INDIAN NEWSPAPER REPORTS, c1868-1942,
from the British Library, London

Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

Adam Matthew Publications

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Indian Newspaper Reports, c1868-1942
Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

Introduction

Bombay, known as Mumbai since 1995, is the capital of the state of Maharashtra. It is the world's most populated city, with an estimated population of 13 million and is the commercial and entertainment capital of India, housing the headquarters of the large Indian banks and Bollywood, India's Hindi film and television industry. The early decades of the twentieth century were very significant in shaping the future of this modern metropolis.

The town of Bombay was the East India Company's first port in 1668 and in 1687 became the Company's headquarters. During the American Civil War (1861-1865) the city became the world's chief cotton trading market and the opening of the Suez canal in 1869 transformed it into one of the largest seaports on the Arabian Sea.

By 1906 it had a population of one million, making it the second largest city after Calcutta. It was the capital of the Bombay Presidency and was a major base for the Indian independence movement – especially boycotts of non-Indian goods, the political activities of prominent moderates and their demands for Dominion status, the All India Home Rule League and the protests from the large migrant labour force such as the general strike of Bombay mill workers in January 1919. Later on, it was in Bombay that the Quit India movement was launched in August 1942. After India's independence in 1947 it became the capital of Bombay state.

Criticism of British rule, British agents and the administration of justice throughout the Bombay Presidency increased in the period after 1880. Lord Ripon's repeal of Lytton's Vernacular Press Act in 1881 saw the abolition of the Press Commissionership. The relaxation in the attempted exercise of political control by the British over the press in India opened the way for vigorous debate on the future of India. The writings of the Indian intelligentsia found their way into an increasing number of new newspapers, Anglo-Indian and Vernacular. The increasingly active independence movement later formed into two separate camps in 1907. There was the *Garam Dal* (the extremists or "hot faction") of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, who founded the Marathi daily *Kesari* (The Lion), and the *Naram Dal* of Gopal Krishna Gokhale (the moderates or "soft faction"). Gokhale was a champion of public education and a mentor to men such as Mahatma Gandhi and Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the future founder of Pakistan. Tilak was arrested and tried for sedition in 1908 after he had defended the Bengali youths who had killed a District Judge. *"In spite of the verdict of the Jury, I maintain that I am innocent. There are higher powers that rule the destiny of men and nations and it may be the will of providence that the cause which I represent may prosper more by my suffering than my remaining free"*. These were his last words at his trial and they are now imprinted in the wall of Room No 46 at the Bombay High Court. The Press Act of 1914 only served to exacerbate problems with its imposition of even stricter censorship on the press. Any editor who disregarded the rules on what could be published was liable to find himself in prison.

These reports of the Bombay newspapers, 1901-1921 cover landmarks in India's history - the repercussions of Lord Curzon's arrival as Viceroy in 1899, the partition of Bengal in 1905, the founding of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1910, the Press Act of 1914, Gandhi's arrival in Bombay in 1915, the new Government of India Act and Rowlatt Act of 1919, the Amritsar Massacre of the same year and the growth in the demand for Home Rule.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, founder of the *Bombay Chronicle* in 1910, and a member of the Bombay Legislative Council from 1893, is recognised as a significant figure in Indian history. He is known as 'the Father of Municipal Government in Bombay'. He had been municipal commissioner in 1873 and was chairman of the Municipal Council in 1884-5 and again in 1905. He had been responsible for drafting the Bombay Municipal Act of 1872 setting out the duties of the municipal corporation in key areas such as sanitation and health, the water supply, the creation and maintenance of roads, the management of hospitals, refuse collection and disposal, sewerage, cemeteries, crematoria, parks, public spaces, beaches and building works. When Gandhi arrived in India from South Africa, Mehta presided over the public meeting held to welcome him. He was twice President of the reception committee when the Congress sessions met in Bombay in 1899 and 1904. Mehta had also presided over the Congress meeting in Calcutta in 1890. In his dual role of political activist and newspaper owner Mehta made his English language weekly into an important nationalist voice of its time documenting the political upheavals of a volatile pre-independent India.

The Indian National Congress, formed in 1885, was comprised chiefly of members of the western-educated professional elite. The very first meeting of Congress was in Bombay. Public opinion had started to turn against the British government of India and it sought to represent the views of the populace from both urban and rural areas. There was an undercurrent of feeling that British rule was unfair and this is reflected in the newspaper reports contained in this collection. Agitation and disturbances in the streets were common and the media played a huge role in re-enforcing feelings of real and imagined grievances. Congress during the first two decades of the twentieth century continued to be a moderating influence with the professional elites keeping the upper hand.

During the First World War the newspaper reports provide a good indication of the mixed reactions to Indian involvement in the conflict. The Indian National Congress decided that the cause of Indian Independence would be best served by helping the British Empire as much as possible – but many people in India disagreed. Despite this, 800,000 troops fought in the various different theatres of conflict. Some 1.5 million volunteered to fight. Tilak was released from prison in Burma in 1914. He re-united with his fellow nationalists and rejoined the Indian National Congress in 1916.

With lots of Indian soldiers fighting on behalf of the British Empire there were growing demands for Dominion status for India. The All India Home Rule League was founded in 1916 by Annie Besant, Muhammed Ali Jinnah and Tilak to demand self government for India. Jinnah headed up the League's Bombay branch. Although Tilak was a critic of Gandhi's strategy of non-violence, in his later years he mellowed considerably and favoured political dialogue and discussion as an effective way to obtain political freedom for India. Gandhi paid his respects at Tilak's cremation in Bombay in 1920 along with 200,000 people.

The Government of India Act of 1919 was passed by the British to enable more Indians to participate in the government of India. The Act provided for a dual form of government whereby in each province some areas of government were answerable to a Provincial Council and other areas of government remained under the control of the Viceroy. The Indian National Congress was unhappy at these reforms and condemned them, believing they did not go far enough in political reform.

Mahatma Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915. His struggle from this point to 1921, when he was invested with executive authority on behalf of the Indian National Congress, can be followed in these newspaper reports. He believed that Indian independence could be obtained not by violence but by non-cooperation and peaceful resistance and under his leadership the National Congress was reorganised with the goal of "Swaraj" (self rule). As part of his strategy he adopted the "swadeshi" policy, the aim of which was to boycott foreign made goods, especially British goods. He also encouraged Indians to wear homespun cloth (khadi) and to actually spin the material themselves in support of the independence movement. He took a major role as peacemaker after the Amritsar massacre on April 1919 when innocent civilians were massacred in the Jallianwala Bagh near the Golden Temple in the Punjab by British troops. After the disturbances at Chauri Chaura in Uttar Pradesh in February 1922 when Gandhi felt that his movement was becoming violent he called off the campaign of civil disobedience. He was arrested in March 1922 for sedition and was sentenced to six year's imprisonment of which he only served two owing to ill health. He spent most of the 1920s out of the limelight but returned to prominence in 1928 when he resumed his campaign for Indian independence and for Home Rule.

The Rowlatt Act of 1919 was passed by the British to extend "emergency measures" after the end of the First World War and was aimed at controlling public unrest. It singled out the Bombay Presidency and the Punjab as "centres of dangerous conspiracy". It had powers to imprison without trial any person suspected of terrorism in India. It caused great upheaval and Gandhi among other leaders was extremely critical of the Act. It was to lead to the massacre at Amritsar when two leaders of the Congress were arrested and a demonstration took place.

As well as much on political life in India, there is also lots of information to be found on advances in communications and living standards in the country which had begun in the late nineteenth century, with the construction of major roads linking the main cities and regions and the development of the railway system. An enormous amount of detail about the impact of the railways can be found in the newspaper reports together with information on the expansion of education, the increase in industrialisation, the growth of agriculture and the development of the first suburbs.

Indian Newspaper Reports

The Indian Newspaper Reports from the Asia, Pacific and Africa Department at the British Library, constitute an important series to be found in the Record Department Papers of the Oriental and India Office Collections. The reports consist of abstracts taken from Anglo-Indian and Vernacular newspapers for the various different regions of India.

The reports were completed weekly and consist of typewritten abstracts of the contents of Indian newspapers with some extracts, translated by an official translator whose name is given at the end of the week's report. An extremely wide variety of newspapers was looked at weekly, ensuring that a wide spectrum of ideas, views and politics was addressed. The reports list the languages of the newspapers, where the papers were published, with a note on the number of issues published, how often and the name, age and religion of the editor.

Part 7: Bombay, 1901-1921

The newspaper reports for Bombay included in Part 7 cover the years 1901-1921 and complete those for Bombay started in Part 6. The abstracts and extracts contained in the reports will provide scholars with an invaluable insight into Indian social and political events, urban and rural conditions, criticisms of the British government, popular protest and the development of nationalist feelings.

The lists of Native Papers (from 1913 called Indian Papers) contain around 165 newspapers each week (over twice as many as those of the average list in Part 6), divided into the following languages: English; Anglo-Gujarati; Anglo-Kanarese; Anglo-Marathi; Anglo-Portuguese; Anglo-Sindi; Anglo-Urdu; English, Marathi and Gujarati; English, Marathi and Kanarese; Gujarati; Hindi; Kanarese; Marathi; Sindi; Urdu; Marathi and Kanarese; Marathi and Urdu; Portuguese and Konkani. The largest amount of papers consulted are in Marathi and Gujarati. In the early years of this part the report for each week has a list of the papers consulted but by the latter part the list is only given at the beginning of each year.

Extracts from the lists for the weeks ending 2 April 1910 and 29 March 1913 will give an idea of the names of papers listed, the editors and the circulation figures:

English

Indu of Bombay	Bombay	Daily	John Wallace, C of E, English, Age 50	1,000
East and West	Bombay	Monthly	Behramji Merwanji Malobari Parsi, Age 55	1,000

Anglo-Gujarati

Gujarati	Bombay	Weekly	Manilal Ichchharam Desai Hindu, Age 32	8,000

Anglo-Sindi

Sindhi	Sukkur	Weekly	Mulchand Bhagchand Hindu, Age 34	1,000

Sindi

Zemindar Gazette	Mirpur Khas	Weekly	Gurudinomal Tahilsing Sadarangani Hindu, Age 31	600

Marathi

Pudhari	Baroda	Weekly	Vasudev Purshottam Sathe Hindu, Age 32	1,000

Urdu

Mufide Rozgar	Bombay	Weekly	Haji Mahomed Hussain Muhamedan, Age 43	600

Gujarati

Satsang	Surat	Weekly	Chunilal Bapuji Modi Hindu, Age 61	1,500

Hindi

Bharat	Bombay	Weekly	Gaurishankar Jugal Kishore Brahmin, Age 30	400
Hindi Jain	Bombay	Weekly	Kasturchand Jbavarchand Jain Hindu, Age 25	600

By 1921 circulation figures of Bengal newspaper reports had grown tremendously as the Indian population became more literate as the figures given below illustrate. It should also be noted that some papers were discontinued over the years and new papers were added.

English

Servant of India	Poona	Weekly	V S Shriniwas Shastn Hindu, Age 48	2,000

Anglo-Gujaratii

Gujarati	Bombay	Weekly	V S Shrinowas Shastn Hindu, Age 48	19,003

Gujarati

Navijan	Ahmedabad	Weekly	Mohandas Karamchand Ghandi Hindu, Age 53	23,000

Marathi

Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar Hindu, Age 41	7,000

The contents of the abstracts for each week are divided into the following sections:

Politics and the Public Administration
Legislation
Education
Railways
Municipalities
Native States
Intelligence extracted from the Press

The early reports such as those for 1901 and 1905 contain mostly detail concerning social and economic conditions and give only an intimation of the problems to come. Topics include:

- Agrarian problems and news from the Forestry Department
- Bombay Legislative Council
- Indian National Congress
- Famine and orphanages
- Indian budget
- Indian census
- Spirit of Independence in European countries
- News on colleges and schools and related conferences
- Extravagance of native chiefs
- Land Revenue Bill
- Lord Curzon speeches
- Visit of Lord Northcote to Kathiawar
- Dacoities in Dharwar
- Visit of Prince of Wales
- Protest meetings against Lord Curzon's Convocation Address
- Railway grievances
- Housing problems
- Proposed demolition of Hindu temples by the Bombay City Improvement Trust
- Oppression of Muhammedans by the Hindu authorities of Mundi
- Riots by mill-hands in Bombay
- Complaints about British rule in India, the possibility of India's political regeneration and "Swadeshi" meetings
- Hospitals
- Sind politics – usually a large section dealing with all kind of matters relating to the area

- Partition of Bengal

By 1910 the topics to be found in the papers start to reflect wider feelings of unrest and the growth of discontentment against British rule in India with articles on topics such as:

- How can India be regenerated?
- Warnings to white colonials to beware of the future
- Workings of the new Press Act of1914
- Training of Anglo-Indian officials
- Treatment of political prisoners
- Oppression in the state of Idar
- Hostile attitude of Parsi newspapers to Moslems
- Disturbances at sittings of the All India Moslem League

By 1921, with the influence of Gandhi and the introduction of the Rowlatt Act, the amount of space devoted to political agitation, nationalism, Home Rule and Gandhi had expanded enormously and large sections under Politics on Non-Cooperation, British Rule, the Governor, Indian Reforms and the Press Act were featured. Subjects included are:

- Appeal to the public to agitate for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act
- Comments on letters from Gandhi to the press regarding agitation
- Comments by Tilak on non-Brahmin representation on the council
- Calls for the Press Act to be repealed
- Bombay's government's attitude to non-cooperation and their warnings of revolution in India
- Extracts from Gandhi's letters on a wide range of topics including non-cooperation, civil disobedience, the Afghan war, the moderates
- Reports on interviews between the Viceroy and Gandhi

The following extracts provide an idea of the richness of the material:

The report for the week ending 20 April 1913 includes the following comments from the *Dnyan Prakash* concerning the formation of a United India League:

"At the last session of the Moslem League held at Lucknow the Honourable Mr Shafi made a suggestion for the formation of an United India League wherein all creeds and castes would join hands. Now that the Honourable gentleman has addressed a letter to the press urging the same idea, we should like to point out that there is no necessity for organising a new body, for we have already amongst us the India National Congress which has been carrying on its propaganda on strictly constitutional and unsectarian lines. The Muhammedans would do well to join it in the interests of all concerned…."

The same paper in the newspaper report ending 27 May 1916 comments on home rule agitation which had grown during the First World War:

"…. Because small demands of the Congress and of other institutions were systematically ignored, the Home Rule agitation has received such an impetus now. So long it was said that political agitation was carried on by a handful of educated men but those who read the proceedings of the Congress and of the Legislative Councils will see the wide public character of our movement. Merchants want Home Rule for commercial purposes. Other professionals want Home Rule as it would encourage their professions…. The demand for Home Rule is becoming universal in this manner in India and the present war has made it quite an insistent question…."

The report for the week ending 14 March 1920 includes the following from the *Gujarati* concerning amendments to the Press Act of 1914:

"Commenting upon the assurance given in the Imperial Legislative Council by Sir William Vincent that the Press Act will be amended, the Gujarati remarks:The most objectionable portion of the Press Act is that section of it which enumerates the offences under the Act. As long as that section stands intact the Press will have to dance to the tune of the bureaucrats or the judges, in spite of any amendments that might be carried out as suggested by Sir Shivaswami Iyar…."

The report for the week ending 13 August 1921 includes the following from *Young India* giving Gandhi's views on the non-Cooperation movement and the use of violence:

"I have never believed and I do not now believe that the end justifies the means. On the contrary it is my firm conviction that there is an intimate connection between the end and the means so much so that you cannot achieve a good end by bad means…. I am fully aware that I am trying a most dangerous experiment – that of inducing thousands of Mussalmans and for that matter, Hindus too, to become and remain strictly non-violent…"

Liz Sargut
April 2008

TECHNICAL NOTE

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Attention should be drawn to the nature of the material. As with all printed sources the inking is variable. Darker and lighter inks, or a dark ink and a light pencil note, can appear on the same page. There are instances when the paper has been badly stained, discoloured, or faded with exposure to light over a period of time. Some pages are torn, crumpled or cropped. Occasionally volumes have been tightly bound and material is slightly obscured in the inner margin. The curvature towards the spine of such volumes inevitably results in some distortion of the text. Sometimes the original paper is quite thin and this results in showthrough which can make the print difficult to read. Every effort has been made to minimise these difficulties and some openings are microfilmed more than once in an attempt to bring out all the features of the original. Nevertheless these original characteristics present difficulties of image and contrast which stringent tests and variations of density cannot entirely overcome.

The most responsible care has been exercised in the filming of this unique collection and every effort has been made to ensure that this microform publication meets the standards established by the Association for Information and Image Management (AIIM), the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) and prevailing European standards.

INDIAN NEWSPAPER REPORTS, c1868-1942
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CONTENTS OF REELS

REEL 1

IOR/L/R/5/156	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1901

REEL 2

IOR/L/R/5/157	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1902

REEL 3

IOR/L/R/5/158	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1903

REEL 4

IOR/L/R/5/159	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1904

REEL 5

IOR/L/R/5/160	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1905

REEL 6

IOR/L/R/5/160	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1905

REEL 7

IOR/L/R/5/161	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1906

REEL 8

IOR/L/R/5/162	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1907

REEL 9		
IOR/L/R/5/163	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1908
REEL 10		
IOR/L/R/5/164	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1909
REEL 11		
IOR/L/R/5/165	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1910
REEL 12		
IOR/L/R/5/166	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1911
REEL 13		
IOR/L/R/5/167	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1912
REEL 14		
IOR/L/R/5/168	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1913
REEL 15		
IOR/L/R/5/169	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1914
REEL 16		
IOR/L/R/5/170	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1915
REEL 17		
IOR/L/R/5/171	Bombay Newspaper Reports	January 1916- June 1916
REEL 18		
IOR/L/R/5/172	Bombay Newspaper Reports	July 1916- December 1916
REEL 19		
IOR/L/R/5/173	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1917

REEL 20

IOR/L/R/5/174	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1918

REEL 21

IOR/L/R/5/175	Bombay Newspaper Reports	January 1919-June 1919

REEL 22

IOR/L/R/5/176	Bombay Newspaper Reports	July 1919-December 1919

REEL 23

IOR/L/R/5/177	Bombay Newspaper Reports	January 1920-June 1920

REEL 24

IOR/L/R/5/178	Bombay Newspaper Reports	July 1920-December 1920

REEL 25

IOR/L/R/5/179	Bombay Newspaper Reports	1921

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

(As it stood on the 1st January 1921.)

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay Chronicle	Bombay	Daily	Marmaduke William Pickthall; Englishman; 45; and Syed Abdulla Brelvi, M.A.; Muhammadan; 27.	9,000
2	Do.	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	7,000
3	Bombay East Indian	Do.	Do.	P. A. Baptista; Roman Catholic; 40	300
4	Commercial Gazette	Sukkur	Do.	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 44.	200
5	Cotton and Finance	Bombay	Do.	Byramji Nasserwanji Kapadia; Pársi; 39	1,000
6	Daily Gazette	Karáchi	Daily	S. Lupton; Englishman; 36	3,500 to 4,000
7	Indian Social Reformer	Bombay	Do.	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A.; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin); 49.	650
8	Mahrátta	Poona	Do.	Dámodar Vishwanáth Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 34.	1,200
9	New Times	Karáchi	Do.	Tikamdas Khemchand Jeswáni, M.A.; Hindu (Lohána); 23.	800
10	Servant of India	Poona	Weekly	Shridhar Ganesh Vaze, B.A.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 42.	2,000
11	Sind Moslem	Sukkur	Do.	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 44.	200
12	Sind Observer	Karáchi	Bi-weekly	E. L. Atkinson; European; 56	750
13	The Indian Commercial Mercury.	Bombay	Weekly	Manchershaw Sorabji Bhamgara; Pársi; 29.	500
14	Young India	Ahmedabad	Do.	Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi; Hindu (Bania); 50.	1,300
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
15	A'ryă Prakásh	Surat	Weekly	Pardhubhai Valabhai Sharma; Hindu (Brahm Bhat); 38.	900
16	Bharat Seva	Bombay	Do.	Harjivan Kalidas Mehta; Hindu (Nágar Bráhmin); 37.	2,000
17	Gujaráti	Bombay	Weekly	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái; Hindu (Bania); 37.	18,500
18	Gujarát Mitră	Surat	Do.	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála; Hindu (Dashalad Bania); 43.	700
19	Gujaráti Punch	Ahmedabad	Do.	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh; Hindu (Mesri Bania); 44.	3,800
20	Hindi Punch	Bombay	Do.	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár; Pársi; 62	514
21	Hindusthán	Do.	Do.	Ramniklal A. Mehta; Hindu (Bania); 37	3,000
22	Hindusthán	Do.	Daily	Do. do.	5,000
23	Jám-e-Jamshed	Do.	Do.	Phirozsháh Jehángir Marzbán, M.A.; Pársi; 44.	6,500
24	Kaiser-i-Hind	Do.	Weekly	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin; Pársi; 37.	6,800
25	Káthiáwár News	Rájkot	Do.	Trikamji Govindji Kotak; Hindu (Lohána); 40.	200
26	Káthiáwár Opinion	Do.	Do.	......	...
27	Káthiáwár Times	Do.	Bi-weekly	A. T. Wazirani; Hindu (Brahmakshatriya); 27.	800
28	Pársi-Sansár	Karáchi	Weekly	Pherozshah Hormusji Dastur; Pársi; 25	1,500
29	Praja Bandhu	Ahmedabad	Do.	Chimanlal Mohanlal Modi Hindu (Shrimáli Bania).	2,700

H 306—1 CON

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	Anglo-Gujara'ti—*concluded.*				
30	Praja Mitra and Pársi ...	Bombay ...	Daily ...	Meherjibhái Pálanji Mádon ; Pársi ; 60 ...	6,500
31	Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra.	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	5,700
32	Sánj Vartamán ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Rustamji N. Vátcha-gándhi ; Pársi ; 54 ...	6,000
33	Stock Exchange News ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Manchersha Sorabji Bhumgara ; Pársi ; 27 .	1,600
34	Wafádár ...	Navsári ...	Do. ...	Saiyad Mahomed Saiyadali ; Muhammadan ; 23.	400
	Anglo-Hindi.				
35	Delhi X Press ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Yadama Vasudev Naidu ; Khshatriya ; 33...	500
	Anglo-Kanarese.				
36	Chandrodayă ...	Dhárwár ...	Weekly ...	G. H. Honnápurmath ; Hindu (Lingáyat); 50.	700
37	Kánara Leader ...	Kumta (Kánara) ...	Do. ...	Atmarám Venkatrao Bhatkalkar ; Hindu (Saraswat Bráhmin) ; 43 ; and Ramrao Sheshgiri Nadkarni ; Hindu (Saraswat Brahmin).	900
38	Karnatak Mitra ...	Belgaum ...	Do. ...	Narayan Sharma Bhaon Joshi Hundekar ; Deshastha Bráhmin (Vaishnav) ; 30.	900
	English, Kanarese and Mara'thi.				
39	Kánara News ...	Kumta (Kánara) ...	Weekly ...	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin) ; 50.	400
	Anglo-Mara'thi.				
40	Dnyánodayă ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Rev. J. F. Edwards, Englishman ...	700
41	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Poona (and Bombay).	Daily ...	Anant Vináyak Patwardhan ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 48.	3,000
42	Dnyán Prakásh ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	4,000
43	Hindu Missionary ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, B.A. (Páthare Prabhu) ; 51.	600
44	Indu Prakásh ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 58.	2,500
45	Jágaruk ...	Poona ..	Weekly ...	Válchand Rámchand Kothári, B.A. (Jain) ; 27.	1,700
46	Jágriti ...	Baroda ...	Do. ...	Bhagavantráo Balavantráo Pálekar ; Marátha ; 32.	700
47	Nireekshaka ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Damodar Bhaurao Gupte ; Kayastha Prabhu ; 35.	1,000
48	Subodh Patrika ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 44.	500
	Anglo-Portuguese.				
49	O Anglo-Lusitáno ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	W. F. Pais ; Goan ; 39 ...	700
	Anglo-Sindhi.				
50	Daulatdár ...	Shikárpur ...	Weekly ...	......	...
51	Frontier Gazette ...	Jacobabad ...	Do. ...	Vishindás Pránjainmal ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 86.	500
52	Lárkána Gazette ...	Lárkána ...	Do. ...	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni ; Hindu (Amil) ; 31.	500
53	Sindhi ...	Sukkur ...	Bi-weekly ...	Virumal Begraj ; Hindu (Bhuráni) ; 47 ...	800
54	Sind Upkárak ...	Shikárpur ...	Monthly ...	Bhai Mohandás Ghanshámdás ; Hindu (Bhátia); 57.	300
	English, Portuguese and Concanim.				
55	A Luz ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 39 .	600
56	Goa Mail ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	B. Vasco D'Gama ...	...
57	O Amigo Do Povo Goano	Do. ...	Do. ...	Manual Anastaz Fernandes ; Goan ; 48 ...	1,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	GUJARA'TI.				
58	Akhbár-e-Islám	Bombay	Daily	Kázi Ismáil Kázi Muhammad Porbundari ; Muhammadan ; 50.	1,000
59	Anavil Sevak	Surat	Monthly	Dayálji Nanubhai Desai ; Hindu (Anavil Bráhman); 44.	3,000
60	Baroda Vartamán	Baroda	Weekly	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel ; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár) ; 50.	1,500
61	Bombay Samáchár	Bombay	Daily	Kaikhusru Mánekji Minocher-homji, B.A.; Pársi ; 45.	3,200
62	Broach Mitră	Broach	Weekly	Trikamlál Harináth Thákor ; Hindu (Brahmă Kshatri) ; 38.	550
63	Broach Samáchár	Do.	Do.	Jehángirji Ardeshir Gandhi ; Pársi ; 41	500
64	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 44.	2,000
65	Deshi Mitră	Surat	Weekly	Harilál Maganlál ; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 25.	2,100
66	Deshodaya	Do.	Do.	Prabhushankar Narbhárám Vyas ; Hindu (Nagar Bráhman); 29.	450
67	Hind Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Dáyábhái Kasandás ; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 54.	1,000
68	Hitechhu	Karáchi	Do.	Harilál Válji Thákur, Hindu (Audich Bráhman) ; 32.	100
69	Insáf	Bombay	Do.	Munshi Fattekhan Ahmedkhan ; Sunni Muhammadan ; 36.	1,000
70	Kaira Vartamán	Kaira	Do.	Somachand Panachand ; Hindu (Jain Bania) ; 44.	550
71	Loka Mitră	Bombay	Bi-weekly	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi ; 45.	600
72	Navjivan	Ahmedabad	Weekly	Mohandás Karamchand Gandhi ; Hindu (Bania) ; 50.	12,000
73	Navsári Patrika	Navsári	Do.	Rangildás Pránjivandás Párekh ; Hindu (Bania) ; 30.	430
74	Political Bhomiyo	Ahmedabad	Do.	Nurkhan Amirkhan Pathan ; Muhammadan ; 63.	2,200
75	Praja Pokár	Surat	Do.	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála ; Dásálád Bania ; 43.	1,100
76	Saraswati Vijaya	Do.	Fortnightly	Manibhai Mohanbhai ; Hindu (Anavil) ; 29.	300
77	Shreyassádhaka	Baroda	Weekly	Jagannath Prabhashankar Pandit ; Hindu (Audich Bráhmin) ; 42.	500
78	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Do.	Do.	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor ; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania) ; 41.	4,200
79	Surya Prakash	Surat	Do.	Nagindas Dahyabhai ; Hindu (Nágar Bráhman); 74.	600
80	Surat Akhbár	Do.	Do.	Pirozsháh Edalji Patel ; Pársi ; 45	600
81	Vivechak	Ahmedabad	Monthly	Dhanshankar Hirashankar Tripathi ; Hindu (Nagar Brahmin) ; 30.	250
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
82	Jain	Bhávnagar	Weekly	Devchand Damji ; Hindu (Bania) ; 34	1,800
	HINDI.				
83	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 44.	1,200
84	Jain Mitra	Surat	Weekly	Brahmachari Sitalprasadji	1,250
85	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár.	Bombay	Do.	Amrutlál Chakrawati ; (Bengali Bráhmin) ; 57.	10,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	KANARESE.				
86	Karnátak Vaibhav ...	Bijápur ...	Weekly ...	G. R. Mannurkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 53.	500
87	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayá.	Dhárwár ...	Do. ...	Venkatesh Rajerao Mudvedkar; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman); 36.	800
88	Loka Bandhu ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	......	...
89	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	M. N. Tembe (Karháda Bráhman); 39 ...	1,200
90	Raj Hansa ...	Do. ..	Weekly ...	Do. do. ...	1,000
91	Shubhodaya ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vasudevacharya Shrinivasacharya Kerur, Pleader; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman); 52.	1,100
92	Vijaya ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Annacharya Balacharya Hoskeri; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhmin); 48.	500
93	Do. ...	Do. ...	Daily ...	Do. do. ...	400
	MARA'THI.				
94	Acharya ...	Poona ...	Fortnightly ...	Vishnu Waman Bapatshastri; Hindu (Chitpavan Bráhman); 48.	800
95	Arya Vaibhav ...	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Tulsidas Govind Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin); 30.	250
96	A'ryávart ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shankar Hari Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 32.	200
97	Arya Vaidyak-bodh	Kalyán (Thána) ...	Do. ...	Kashinath Bhaskar Oke; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 38.	*Nil.*
98	Bakul ...	Ratnágiri ...	Do. ...	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi; Hindu (Bania); 43.	400
99	Bárámati Samáchár ...	Bárámati ...	Do. ...	Hari Anant Joshi; Hindu (Chitpávan Bráhmin); 31.	300
100	Belgaum Samáchár ...	Belgaum ...	Do ...	Hari Bhikáji Sámant; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 58.	350
101	Bhárat Mátá ...	Islámpur (Sátára)...	Fortnightly ..	Vishnu Sitárám Athalye; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 34.	400
102	Chaitanya ...	Belgaum ...	Weekly ...	......	...
103	Chikitsak ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Rao Saheb Abáji Rámchandrá Sávant; Hindu (Marátha); 57.	600
104	Chitramayá Jagat ...	Poona ...	Monthly ...	Shankar Narhar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 44.	12,000
105	Daily Reporter ..	Chopda (East Khándesh).	Weekly ...	Motilál Fattulál; Hindu; Gaud Brahman (Marwadi); 37.	50 to 80
106	Daivadnyaprabodhini ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Pandurang Naráyan Javeri; Hindu (Daivadnya); 32.	800
107	Dharma Vichár va Modá Vritta.	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Damodar Laxman Lele; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 42.	50
108	Din Mitrá	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Do. ...	Mukund Ganpat Pátil; Hindu (Máli); 33 .	1,300
109	Dnyán Ságar ...	Kolhápur ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Vithal Mantri; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 55.	600
110	Dunia ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Dattatraya Hari Gokhale; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 35.	2,000
111	Gogras ...	Bombay ...	Do. ...	Bapu Khanderao Joshi; Hindu (Bráhman); 36.	2,000
112	Gorakshana ...	Thána ...	Do. ...	Anantdas Ramdasi *alias* Dattatraya Moreshvar Lohkre; Hindu (Brahmin); 35.	1,000
113	Hitachintak ...	Sátára ...	Do. ...	Balkrishna Ganesh Abhyankar Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 25.	80
114	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit.	Sholápur ...	Do. ...	Anant Hari Wagh; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 36.	450
115	Kesari ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Krishnaji Prabhákar Khádilkar, B.A.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 48.	30,000
116	Khándesh Vaibhav ..	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do. ...	Yádav Bálkrishná Bahálkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 54.	500

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*continued*.				
117	Kolába Samáchár	Pen (Kolába)	Weekly	Vishnu Naráyan Mándlik : Hindu (Kokanastha Bráhman) ; 31.	500
118	Lokasangraha	Poona	Daily	Sadashiv Laxman Soman ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 40.	2,000
119	Lokasevak	Bombay	Weekly	Sitaram Vishnu Lalit ; Hindu (Karada Bráhmin) ; 45.	1,000
120	Lokashahi	Do.	Do.	Vithal Waman Handap ; Karádha Bráhmin ; 24.	2,500
121	Mahárāshtra Vritta	Sátára	Do.	Rámachandra Balvant Bhonsle ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 35.	200
122	Mookanayak	Bombay	Fortnightly	Pandurang Narayan Bhatkar ; Hindu Mahár ; 33.	700
123	Mumukshu	Poona	Weekly	Laxman Ramchandra Pangarkar, B.A. ; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin) ; 48.	1,200
124	Násik Vritt	Násik	Do.	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 40.	200
125	Pancham George Vijaya	Belgaum	Do.	......	...
126	Pandhari Mitra	Sholápur	Do.	G. S. Bhidkar ; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin) ; 56.	100
127	Prabodh Chandrika	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do.	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 57.	300
128	Pragati and Jinvijaya	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Anna Babaji Lathe ; Jain ; 34	400
129	Pragatik	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Weekly	......	...
130	Prakásh	Sátára	Do.	Rámchandrā Ganesh Soman ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 44.	350
131	Rájakáran	Poona	Do.	Sitaram Keshav Damle, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 45.	3,000
132	Rashtra Dharma	Belgaum	Fortnightly	......	...
133	Sahakari Namdeo	Do.	Do.	......	...
134	Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 40.	8,000
135	Satyă Prakásh	Tasagaon (Sátára)	Weekly	Narayan Ramchandra Vibhute ; Hindu (Wani).	...
136	Satyă Shodhak	Ratnágiri	Do.	Krishnáji Hari Limaye ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 35.	1,000
137	Sholápur Samáchár	Sholápur	Do.	Vithal Narsáppa Jakkal ; Hindu (Telgu Máli) ; 38.	600
138	Shri Namdeo Vritta	Bombay	Do.	Balaram Anant Vaidya ; Hindu (Namdeo Shimpi) ; 38.	750
139	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Do.	Do.	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 58.	5,500
140	Shri Sháhu	Sátára	Do.	Vishnu Ramkrishna Dhavle ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 23.	325
141	Shubh Suchak	Do.	Do.	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Chitale ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 41.	250 to 300
142	Sudhákar	Bombay	Do.	Damodar Krishna Ketkar ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 27.	1,500
143	Swarájya	Poona	Do.	Shivram Mahadeo Paranjapye ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 55.	5,000
144	Udyam Prakásh	Wái (Sátára)	Do.	Vishwanath Dhondi Teli ; Hindu (Teli) ; 32.	50
145	Vichári	Kárwár (Kánara)	Tri-monthly	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim ; Muhammadan (Sunni) ; 46.	450
146	Vidushak	Bombay	Weekly	Vishnu Shridhar Joshi ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 25.	2,600
147	Vijayi Marátha	Poona	Do.	Shripat Laxman Shinde ; Marátha ; 36	1,500
148	Vinod	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Kulkarni ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 31.	100

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*concluded*.				
149	Vita Vritta	Sátára	Weekly	Narayan Laxman Jog; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 33.	60
150	Vrittasár	Wái (Sátára)	Do.	Govind Ganesh Vaidyă; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 24.	150
151	Vyápári	Poona	Do.	Shankar Shridhar Puranik; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 35.	500
	MARATHI AND KANARESE.				
152	Gosevak	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Hanmant Sadashiv Paranjpe; Hindu (Kokanastha Bráhmin); 22.	50
	SINDHI.				
153	Al-Amin	Hyderabad	Weekly	Sheikh Abdul Majid; Muhammadan; 32	525
154	Al-Haq	Sukkur	Do.	Abdul Aziz Sheikh Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 44.	800
155	Al-Wahid	Karáchi	Daily	Abdul Rahman Muhamad Sidik; Muhammadan, Kazi; 26.	500
156	Bharatwasi	Hyderabad	Do.	Jeramdas Dowlatram; Hindu (Amil); 27	1,050
157	Hindu	Do.	Do.	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; 26	850
158	Khairkháh-i-Sind	Lárkána	Weekly	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Khatri); 46.	250
159	Mirpurkhás Gazette	Mirpurkhás	Do.	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Amil); 39.	600
160	Musáfir	Hyderabad (Sind)	Do.	Abdul Wahál Khán; Pathan; 55	200
161	Sind Sudhár	Karáchi	Do.	Khánchand Rahumal; Hindu (Amil); 53	850
162	Sind Vasi	Hyderabad	Daily	Kamalsingh Pahumal; Hindu (Amil); 43	350
163	Vande Mataram	Do.	Weekly	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; Hindu; 26	800
	URDU.				
164	Mufid-e-Rozgár	Bombay	Weekly	Haji Munshi Mahamad Husein; Muhammadan; 49.	2,500
165	Muslim Herald	Do.	Bi-weekly	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf; Muhammadan (Sunni); 41.	1,200

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *á*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

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for

CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 1 of 1921.

Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 1st January 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

A case of *veth* in Taluka Kalol, district Panch Maháls 4
Appeal to Government to release the men still in jail in connection with the Amritsar Martial Law regime 7
British Rule in India an evil 1
Comments on His Majesty the King's speech at the prorogation of Parliament . . . . 9 & 10
Comments on the Dyestuffs Bill passed by Parliament 11
Comments on the Government opium policy 3
Compulsory Bible teaching in India 13
How the British Government is inflicting damage on India 2
Mr. L. Curtis' rejoinder to Sir Michael O'Dwyer 8
Protest against the attempt made by the European tea-planters to be relieved of the export duty on tea 12
Protest against the Punjáb Government insisting on recovering damages in connection with the Amritsar disturbances from the local municipality 6
The Habibiya Library incident at Belgaum 5

Congress and Conferences:

Comments on the Honourable K. B. Ibra[illegible] Haroon Jaffer's presidential speech at the All India Muhamma[illegible] Educational Conference . 31
Comments on the presidential address [illegible] third Session of the National Liberal Federation . . . . 27—29
Comments on the presidential address at the Nágpur Congress . 14—19
Comments on the proceedings of the Indian National Congress . 21—23
Congress and Moderate Conference presidential speeches comparied . 20
The All-India Students' Conference 30
The non-co-operation resolution passed by the Nágpur Congress . . 24—26
Forest Department: Necessity of appointing a commission to inquire into Kánara forest matters 45

Indians in the Colonies:

Comments on the Government of India's despatch to the Secretary of State on the position of Indians in East Africa . . . . 36 & 37
Government of India and the position of Indians in Fiji . . . 38

Indian Reforms:

Comments on the appointments of Executive Councillors and Ministers. 39 & 40
Comments on the Instrument of Instructions to Governors . . . 41

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Judicial Matters:

Comments on the decision in the Cater case 47

Comments on the Magistrate's judgment in Sergeant Davis's whipping case. 48

Military Matters: Comments on the Esher Committee's Report . . . 46

Non-co-operation:

Condemnation of Mr. Gandhi's propaganda 33

Criticism of Mr. Gandhi's scheme of national education . . . 34

How foreign invaders will be dealt with under *Swarajya* . . .

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to India should be boycotted 32

Public Service:

Alleged preferential treatment given to European pensioners by Government 43

Duty of Government to increase the salaries of the Shanbhogs of the Kánara District 44

Comments on the reported chance of Mr. Montagu being appointed Viceroy 42

War:

Alleged cruel attitude of the Allies towards Turkey 52

Comments on the reported cession of Cilicia by the French to the Turks 55

Comments on the threat of the Sharif of Mecca to join the Bolsheviks . 53

Mr. Lloyd George's attitude towards the revision of the Turkish Treaty. 49 & 50

The future of Persia 54

The present condition of Turkey 51

RAILWAYS—

A complaint against the G. I. P. Railway 56

Hardships on Railways in Káthiáwár 57

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

British rule in India an evil.

Young India (14), 29th Dec. 1920.

1. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* under the heading "British rule an evil":—"The *Interpreter* is, however, more to the point in asking, 'Does Mr. Gandhi hold without hesitation or reserve that British rule in India is altogether evil, and that the people of India are to be taught so to regard it? He must hold it to be so evil that the wrongs it does outweigh the benefits it confers, for only so is non-co-operation to be justified at the bar of concience or of Christ'. My answer is emphatically in the affirmative. So long as I believed that the sum total of the energy of the British Empire was good, I clung to it, despite what I used to regard as temporary aberrations. I am not sorry for having done so. But having my eyes opened, it would be sin for me to associate myself with the Empire unless it purges itself of its evil character. I write this with sorrow, and I should be pleased if I discovered that I was in error and that my present attitude was a reaction. The continuous financial drain, the emasculation of the Punjáb and the betrayal of the Moslem sentiment constitute, in my humble opinion, a three-fold robbery of India. 'The blessings of *pax Britanica* I reckon, therefore, to be a curse. We would have at least remained like the other nations brave men and women, instead of feeling as we do so utterly helpless, if we had no British rule imposing on us an armed peace. 'The blessing' of roads and railways is a return no self-respecting nation would accept for its degradation. 'The blessing' of education is proving one of the greatest obstacles in our progress towards freedom."

How the British Government is inflicting damage on India.

Kánara News (39), 23rd Dec. 1920.

2. A contributor, writing in the *Kanara News* on *Swadeshism*, likens the British Government to the demon Ghatotkacha who deceived the people by his fictitious creations, and says that the Indians had sacrificed both their material and mental wealth to the wily ways of the British. The writer adds: The present demoralization of the people is due to the crafty nation which is now wounding our feelings in various ways. They established their dominion here by a series of strategies and by taking advantage of internal quarrels. Not content with this, they resolved to keep the people in perpetual ignorance and to feed upon their wealth and with this intention evolved a policy and a system of education best calculated to attain this end. Like a weevil, they have turned India into a rotten fruit with a beautiful exterior.

Comments on the Government opium policy.

Hindu (157), 17th Dec. 1920.

3. While quoting from Miss L. Mati's book 'Opium Monopoly' criticising the opium policy of the Government of India, the *Hindu* remarks:—But the Government want revenue, and fair or foul means matter nothing to them. The British capitalists also earn a lot of money by the opium trade. Therefore it is that China is being done to death, and India is being discredited for it. We are sharers in the sinful dealing through our co-operation with the Government. India would fain forego the opium income and congratulate the Government if it would only stop that sinful trade. India does not want money acquired through forcing poison down the throats of others. It not only involves the ruin of China but of India also. Mr. Andrews truly says: 'The greatest wrong of the British rule in India is that great evils are being practised under the name of British justice. We Indians have become blind and our consciences have become too dull to distinguish good from evil. Were it not so, we would not have tolerated opium trade for a century and would have revolted against it long ago. For eighty long years we would not have sat silent over the indentured labour system which involves dishonour of Indian womanhood. India had practically lain low bereft of heart and intellect'. Indians! if things of this kind will not rouse you to activity, fie upon your living!

A case of *Veth* in Taluka Kalol, district Panch Mahâls.
Gujaráti (17), 26th Dec. 1920.

4. One Khushalbhai Jhaverbhai writes to the *Gujaráti*:—On the 11th December Shankerbhai Nathabhai of Malav, Táluka Kálol, District Panch Mahâls, had been on business to Kalol where his cart was impressed by two police havildars and the police patel. The man was asked to carry fuel to the Collector's camp, which he refused to do. One of the havildars, by name Nazer Beg, gave him eight severe blows and a slap on the face. He was, therefore, frightened into acquiescence and the two havildars jumped into the cart and asked him to proceed on the journey. The cart was being driven along the Bazar Road when I saw him and freed him from the wrong to which he was being subjected.

The Hábibiya Library incident at Belgaum.
Raj Hansa (89), 24th Dec. 1920; *Karnatak Mitra* (38), 23rd Dec. 1920.

5. Commenting on the order of the District Magistrate of Belgaum against the Habibiya Library displaying the Turkish flag, the *Raj Hansa* wonders at the ignorance of the Magistrate who, it remarks, does not seem to know that the crescent and the star displayed on the flag are the symbols of the Muhammadan religion and not of Turkish sovereignty. It is indeed a pity, the paper adds, that the Magistrate should think it fit to wantonly wound the Moslem sentiment at this time in direct contravention of the pledge given by Queen Victoria that Government would never interfere with the religious practices of the people. [The *Karnátak Mitra* writes in the same strain and expects the Secretary of the Library to practice *Satyagraha* in this matter for the sake of his religion.]

Protest againt the Punjáb Government insisting on recovering damages in connection with the Amritsar disturbances from the local municipality.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Dec. 1920.

6. "The mentality of the Punjáb officialdom which still insists on having its pound of flesh from the citizens of Amritsar, ignoring the bloody toll of Jhallianwalla Baug, is difficult indeed to understand. We are being told repeatedly from the house-tops by the authorities that they are prepared to let by-gones be by-gones and to forget and forgive. Why, then, are the Punjáb authorities attempting to rub salt into the unhealed wound by still insisting on demanding an indemnity from Amritsar city? Is that the way of carrying out the beneficent intentions of the Royal Proclamation of last year? The Municipal Council of Amritsar deserves to be congratulated on the manliness it has shown in refusing to collect the iniquitous impost, and we hope no frowns of official displeasure will deter the public of the city from resisting the demand, which must be extremely galling to their self-respect."

Appeal to Government to release the men still in jail in connection with the Amritsar Martial Law regime.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Jan.

7. "While the cry on every side is for more and more repression it would be vain to hope that the Government of India would so far relent as to pay heed to the appeal that comes from Amritsar for the exercise of clemency, if not of bare justice, towards the 86 victims of the Martial Law regime of last year who are still rotting in jails in India or in the Andamans.......... There was an occasion last year to make a genuine demonstration of Royal Clemency, but the Government of India partially cheated the people of India of it. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught may or may not have been commissioned to exercise the privilege of clemency, but if there is any statesmanship left in the Government of India they would be doing not only the just thing but the politic as well by restoring the 86 persons to freedom. It is never too late to relent."

Mr. L. Curtis' rejoinder to Sir Michael O'Dwyer.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Dec. 1920.

8. "The unrepentent bully of the Punjáb, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, has received a well-merited castigation at the hands of Mr. Lionel Curtis, at whom he has been tilting for some time past......... He described Mr. Curtis' exposure of the habitual insolence of a certain class of Englishmen in India as a lie. He will now be

astonished to find that Mr. Curtis has effectively hurled back the charge by openly pointing to Sir Michael as a bully himself, however highly placed......... It is to be hoped that Sir Michael will not, for his own sake at least, attempt to draw fresh fire from Mr. Curtis."

Comments on His Majesty the King's speech at the prorogation of Parliament.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Dec. 1920.

9. "If Reuter has faithfully summarised all the main points raised in the King's speech at the prorogation of Parliament, the pronouncement cannot but be looked upon as incomplete and highly disappointing.......... The speech contains no reference to the Turkish Treaty, which has yet to be ratified, or to such important subjects as the future of Egypt, the Burma Reforms, and the Indian unrest.......... Scores of millions of His Majesty's subjects of the Islamic faith are anxiously awaiting a pronouncement from the responsible Ministers, which would indicate the willingness and readiness of the British Government to undo the grave wrong done to Turkey and the Khilafat. Such a pronouncement would go a long way to assuage the grief of millions of His Majesty's subjects, but the Government have apparently steeled their hearts and show no inclination to relent.......... A similar indifference is being maintained towards the growing volume of discontent in India. While even partisan critics like Sir Valentine Chirol are drawing the attention of the British public to the gravity of the situation in India, His Majesty's Government appear to be unconcerned and are giving the world to understand that 'peace reigns in Moscow' and the Reforms Scheme to be inaugurated by the Duke of Connaught has before it quite rosy prospects. The grave wrongs, for the redress of which the people of this country have been crying themselves hoarse for the last two years, remain unattended to. So long as these wrongs remain unredressed, His Majesty's 'earnest and unwavering hope' that the Reforms will bring 'increased prosperity and contenment to all my subjects in India' is bound to remain a merely pious hope."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 29th Dec. 1920.

10. We join with His Majesty the King in the hope expressed by him that the new legislators under the Reforms will so discharge their duties as to spread peace and prosperity among His Majesty's subjects; but we must also say that it is really very sad that the King is kept in the dark about the unrest in India, as is evident from his speech. The whole nation, the Moderates and the Congressmen alike, hoped to hear such words of high hope from the King as would help to put an end to this unrest. But it is a pity that His Majesty's Ministers have not shown any foresight in the matter and have committed the grave blunder of neglecting to notice the present situation in India. Of course the King himself is not to blame for this omission, because, in accordance with the constitutional procedure, his ministers prepare his speech and he has to abide by their advice so long as they are in office. At present we have to be satisfied only with the hope that a message announcing some boon will be sent with His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, and the reason why no reference has been made to it in the speech from the Throne is that such announcement should not lose its novelty. But if such was really the idea, we say that it is really a mistake. Such good news ought to have been published before the week in which the Congress and other Conferences are held in order to produce a favourable effect on the proceedings of the great assemblies, and it was not impossible to have arranged to send out the Duke of Connaught earlier to inaugurate the new Councils. It is now an universally recognised fact that one of the most important causes of the unrest all over India is the deplorable policy pursued by that bullying satrap Sir Michael O'Dwyer and the outrages committed with his approval. But still, in spite of the persistent demands of the Moderates for whose co-operation they are so very anxious, the ministers who prepared the King's speech could not see their way to include in it a few words with a view to soothing the minds of the people of India. The only thing that we would say on this point is that the omission is unfortunate both for India and the Empire. The other serious matter agitating the

minds of the people is the great injustice done in the matter of the Khilafat. The British Ministers had a very good opportunity of satisfying the Muhammadans in this matter after the violent changes in the administration of Greece and the attitude taken up by France and Italy. Is it not a matter for deep regret that they neglected to utilize this opportunity?

Comments on the Dyestuffs Bill passed by Parliament.
Kesari (115), 28th Dec. 1920.

11. Referring to the Dyestuffs Bill before Parliament, the *Kesari* says:—When Indians want to apply the same principle to their infant industries, why do the British officials behave differently? A Bill was introduced in 1912 in the Imperial Legislative Council to encourage sugar factories, but it was opposed by all the officials and specially by Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson and a guarantee that factories would be started if the Bill was passed was asked for. But why was no such guarantee asked for by Parliament? India wants fiscal autonomy in order that there be no such differential treatment; but while the British Parliament wants protection so far as Britain is concerned, it does not want to give the benefit of it to India. Such partial administration will not continue for long now. In spite of Parliament, India will achieve industrial progress by non-co-operation and boycott of foreign goods.

Protest against the attempt made by the European tea-planters to be relieved of the export duty on tea.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Dec. 1920.

12. "A sly but influential movement is afoot to secure for the tea industry its old-time privileges at the expense of the public revenue. During Lord Chelmsford's recent visit to the tea districts he was the recipient of an obtrusive show of welcome at the hands of the planters. His Excellency received a deputation of the local industry, which bewailed the present slump of the tea market and made broad suggestions that Government might bear part of the misfortune......... The first claim of the Indian Tea Association is that the export duty imposed in 1916 should be abolished—a claim for privilege which we think should not be conceded.......... The duty brings about thirty to forty lakhs to the country, and the Tea Association now wants it to be abolished because there is a slump in prices. We are afraid the industry is trying to make use of the present opportunity to shake off the tax, and preparing later to resist every claim of Government with the hue and cry that a European industry is maliciously attacked by the imposition of an unjust levy.......... We ask the Government of India not to be jerry-mandered or hustled into a position from which there could be no retreat without friction.......... The planters want to flourish in their competition abroad without paying a pie to the Indian treasury. The cause of the present glut of supplies is the contraction of the market and not the tax. The remedy is to plead for the reopening of trade and the limiting of nonsense by Junkers who plague Russia and mortify themselves by the trade blockade.......... Already the Finance Department is groaning over the problem of balancing accounts next March, thanks to the architects of ruin who work our currency policy. Even forty lakhs is not a trifle in such a crisis. More serious, however, is the question of principle even with regard to a pampered industry. At this rate, the jute magnates may one day clamour for the reduction of the export duty or the abolition of their house-taxes, because there is a decline in their profiteering dividends in one year.......... We think that Re. 1-8 per 100 lbs. of tea is a light duty, which, after the opening of trade with Russia, ought to be standardised up according to the means of the industry and in order, if possible, to remedy the past evasion of contributions."

Compulsory Bible teaching in India.
Al-Wahid (155), 10th Dec. 1920.

13. A Calcutta newspaper is informed by its London correspondent that at the Priests' Congress held in London the opinion was expressed that the Darwinian theory of the origin of man was more sound than the Biblical theory which was intended for early Christians who could not understand the scheme of creation without it. Indians must take note of the fact that some of the

priests of Christianity now regard portions of the Bible as untrue. Such being the case what right have the exponents of Christianity to induce, with the teaching of a useless book such as the Bible, Indians to secede from their faith? It is very strange that the Government gives thousands and even lakhs of rupees from the public money every year to missionary societies to promote Christianity in this country. But this is not the only injustice against Indians. It is one among many and may as well remain along with others.

Comments on the presidential address at the Nagpur Congress.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Dec. 1920; *New Times* (9), 27th Dec. 1920.

14. "No higher praise can be given to the presidential address of Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar than to describe it as an embodiment of a considered philosophy of politics.......... And it is with the true eloquence and true vision of a Radical that Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar dissects the causes of the discontent of India, suggests the remedy, and, above all, urges the need of maintaining that right—human and humane—attitude of mind which will simulate and help 'the effort of nature to release the generous energies of our people.'.. ...... While the picture of India's present plight has often been depicted by masterful hands—Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar characterised it most vividly as 'a position without a parallel in the history of civilized mankind'—and the immediate application of the one and only remedy of complete self-government demonstrated with irresistible reasoning by able advocates, the elements of the correct attitude of mind that must inform the country's efforts towards self-realisation have seldom been indicated as clearly as by Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar in his presidential address.......... The correct attitude of mind, the need of which he emphasised, is indicated in the two separate messages which he has framed—messages to Mr. Montagu and Mr. Gandhi respectively.......... Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar is nothing if not thorough. Not only has he indicated to Mr. Montagu the path he must follow, but he has shown him how he should follow it. We have not the least doubt but that his draft statute will soon form the basis of the instrument that will usher in Indian self-government. With the essential elements of the message to Mr. Gandhi we think all who give serious consideration to the present situation will, in the main, agree. There is no doubt that the national will of the people has expressed itself in favour of the adoption of the weapon of organized non-co-operation—as revealed in the successful boycott of Councils by the majority of the electors. But it is equally evident that the existing programme of non-co-operation, in some of its important items, is not adequate or immediately feasible or advisable, and it will be readily granted that in respect of the boycott of schools and colleges and courts of law its revision in the direction of eliminating the negative and strengthening the positive side is imperatively called for.......... What really matters is that we must control our own destiny and respect ourselves and be respected by the world. This is what Dominion Self-Government means, despite what those who are unnecessarily frightened by the proposed change in the Congress creed may say.......... India, we have no doubt, will determine for herself no other destiny but this of voluntary but equal partnership. It is because she needs the freedom to make the choice that she does not want to make a fetish of "British connection." You must feel free before you enter into an equal partnership." [The *New Times* writes :—"Viewed as a whole, Mr. Raghavacharya's address is an earnest plea for a Free India in a Commonwealth of Free Nations ; but it has not affirmed the Nation's demand with the faith and idealism which are, we profoundly believe, essential to the building of a New Order and which make Mahatma Gandhi the nation's Great Spokesman and a prophet of New India."]

Gujarâti (17), 2nd Jan., Eng. cols

*15. "He then deduces the conclusion, the validity of which is open to serious doubt, that the system of responsible self-government can be immediately established for the government of this country by a simple executive process, and goes on to ask the question whether the Secretary of State for India would co-operate with us and consent to induce the Cabinet to concur with him and to advise His Majesty to issue the necessary instructions by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. In other words, the Congress president wants the Secretary of State to establish responsible government by his advice to the King-Emperor without the legal assistance of Parliament. How Parliament will ever consent to give up its control over the British Cabinet or the Secretary of State, it is impossible for us to understand. If it were so simple a matter, Mr. Montagu would not have thought it necessary to submit his scheme of reforms to the House of Commons and the House of Lords. We confess we are absolutely unable to follow the process of reasoning by which the Congress president thinks we can get over what Parliament has already laid down in the statute it has passed and how Mr. Montagu or the King-Emperor can ever ignore the rights and prerogatives of Parliament. In the treatment of this constitutional question, Mr. Vijiaraghav Chariar was not quite lucid nor successful, and it is, in our judgment, a startling constitutional claim which he has advanced for the Secretary of State for India and which the latter would never think of invoking, even if he had it, behind the back of Parliament. The history of the Montagu scheme of reforms and the parliamentary legislation which has given effect to them are wholly opposed to the extraordinary claim put forward on his behalf by the Congress President." [Elsewhere the paper thus concludes a summary of the President's views on the subject of non-co-operation in education :—" We congratulate the Congress President on the courage and foresight he showed in handling the question of the withdrawal of students from the existing institutions in defiance of the wishes and feeling of their elders, teachers and professors."]

Servant of India (10), 30th Dec. 1920.

16. " He (the Congress President) condemns wholesale the programme of non-co-operation which was adopted by the Special Congress in Calcutta. The only two operative items in it which are of consequence are the educational and legal boycott: and he inveighs against both with exceeding bitterness.......... Now, some of these objections at any rate proceed from an entire misconception of Mr. Gandhi's plan. Mr. Gandhi does not distinguish between primary schools, and secondary schools or colleges; he wishes all of them to be equally boycotted; only while he approaches the students direct in the case of high schools and colleges, he can only appeal to the parents in the case of the primary schools. It is, therefore, unfair to impute to him the desire of establishing national colleges to the neglect of primary education. .... If he is unable to give better education or even any sort of education to the children whom he exhorts to come out on strike, he does not very much mind, because he feels that, morally, it is much better for children to go without education than to receive the best possible education at the hands of a robber Government. One who wants to show the unsoundness of the educational boycott must meet this argument of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar leaves it alone and attacks Mr. Gandhi's scheme on the lower ground of expediency, and even there without correctly appreciating Mr. Gandhi's position. Still more unconvincing is Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar's criticism against the proposed abstention of lawyers from legal practice. A temporary taboo on the law courts will result, he thinks, in 'a gradual decay of the national instinct for freedom'. The most ardent partisan of lawyers will consider this to be an exaggerated claim.......... We have ourselves expressed emphatic disapproval of non-co-operation, but fairness demands that, for that very reason, we should refuse to attach much weight to some of the arguments advanced by Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar against non-co-operation. Of more practical importance, however, than his destructive criticism is the scheme which he puts forward in opposition to that of Mr. Gandhi.......... This weapon is no other than that of 'entire renovation of India'. The Indian nation must first be built up on a secure basis.......... According to him, she is yet to become a nation, and in order to reach that status, he thinks there must be free and universal elementary education and widespread technical education; again there must be no untouchables. The re-construction of society which Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar advocates will find ready acceptance on all hands; but we cannot conceive of any nation-building process so speedy as to win home rule 'immediately'.......... In how many years will elementary education be universalised by private and unaided efforts.......... Surely, this cannot be a more efficacious method of establishing *swaraj* forthwith. The required money must be raised privately because Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar condemns the Reform Act, and rejects its aid with contumely. Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar's plan is, on the one hand, without the advantage which the working of reforms is likely to secure and, on the other hand, without the advantage which may possibly accrue from non-co-operation. His method is the one which we have followed for serveral decades past; only he denies himself the very substantial assistance which the Reforms can render just at the time when such assistance is most needed." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"According to Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, nothing short of a reconstruction of the social and economic fabric will avail to establish full self-government in India, and he thinks this process of reconstruction, if begun immediately, will immediately bear fruit in complete responsible government. We are not concerned here to criticise this view, but what puzzles us is that to such an important matter he joins, with a lamentable lapse from a sense of proportion, the comparatively trifling matter of an official alliance with the Labour party.......... It must be borne in mind that whatever help the Labour party can give they will give, not because the Indian reformers are formally united with them, but because the cause of India makes a strong appeal to their sympathies. To suggest that the Labour party's assistance will not be forthcoming unless we completely identify the future of Indian reform with their future as a party is to cast on them an unmerited reflection. How several of the so-called Radicals in India are at bottom Conservatives is best illustrated by the provision in Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar's draft constitution for India that the Viceroy shall be a Prince of the blood royal from England. This assumes that even those Indians who have imbibed democratic ideas of the west still retain the traditional respect for royalty and high birth.......... We must emphatically repudiate such an implication. It does not hold good in the case of a vast majority of the educated Indians."]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 27th and 30th Dec. 1920; *Hindusthán* (22), 27th Dec. 1920; *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* (78), 30th Dec. 1920; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 27th Dec. 1920; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 28th Dec. 1920; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 28th, 29th and 30th Dec. 1920; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 28th Dec. 1920.

17. The address Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar delivered as the President of the 35th Sessions of the Indian National Congress goes to show that he is a level-headed politician. The non-co-operation movement has made satisfactory progress, but the split it has caused both among the leaders and the people is disheartening. If there is unity among the Indian people in the matter of non-co-operation, the movement will turn out to be a success and will enable them to break the bonds of slavery. The President's speech will cause some disappointment among the non-co-operationists as, in spite of recognising the urgency of the movement, he has not approved of its programme in many of its details. The President is in favour of boycotting the Councils, and has ably exposed the defects of the Reforms in a manner it was never done before. In our opinion the new programme for achieving Responsible Government outlined by the President is at first sight as impractical as the one determined upon by the Congress in its previous sessions. The President, in spite of the vast expenditure involved, presses for making primary education free and compulsory, but we would like to see technical and scientific education made compulsory in this country to some extent. The President urges the immediate establishment of Responsible Government in India. But how can Indians be said to be fit for the immediate granting of *Swarajya* when the President considers compulsory primary education as the means to its attainment? All Congressmen will agree with the views expressed in the presidential address with the exception of those which refer to non-co-operation. The message which the President has framed for being conveyed to the King-Emperor has been very well and logically worded. The message the President has framed for Mr. Montagu is really intended for the British public, and if the latter does not take immediate steps to respond to it grave consequences will follow. [In a subsequent issue the paper dilates upon the unpractical and harmful nature of the programme framed by the President for securing Responsible Government.

The *Hindusthán* writes:—The distrust expressed by the President in the programme of non-co-operation and the methods suggested by him for securing Responsible Government serve to make the speech a disappointing reading. The *Shri Sayáji Vijaya* writes in a similar strain. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* on the other hand writes:—The presidential address is full of learning and wisdom. It exposes the hollowness of Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation and proves the unwisdom and dangerous character of the change in the creed of the Congress as suggested by Mr. Gandhi. Let us hope that the Congress will recognise the futility of pursuing the non-co-operation movement in connection with educational matters and will follow the advice of the President and will not pass any resolution in the matter that will commit the country to a step that would be tantamount to a leap in the dark. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—All Indians should give careful consideration to the address of the President who possesses knowledge and experience in equal degree. He is of the opinion that the non-co-operation movement is harmful and fraught with mischief for India. His speech brings home the conviction to all that disrespect for law is likely to drag India into barbarism. We are, however, surprised that the President favours industrial boycott. Who will suffer by such a boycott? Certainly India. Let us at any rate hope that the non-co-operationists will be convinced of the folly of going full speed ahead and that the Congress will reconisder its resolution in the matter of non-co-operation and will at least amend it in a suitable manner and take the sting out of it. The *Bombay Samáchár* endorses the President's views on non-co-operation and the harmfulness of severing the British connection. In the next issue the paper hopes that the Congress will be convinced of the harmfulness of the non-co-operation movement, particularly in matters educational, and expresses fear that the boycott of British goods will prove harmful to India and expose it to the unhealthy competition of America and Japan. In a further issue the paper endorses the President's views about securing the sympathy of the Labour party and commends Colonel Wedgwood's advice to the notice of the people. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers the presidential address to be full of wisdom, and asks the Indian people to give it the consideration it deserves.]

Lokasangraha (118), 26th Dec. 1920; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 28th Dec. 1920; *Chaitanya* (102), 27th Dec. 1920.

18. The President's speech is worthy of deep consideration. He is not carried away by sentiment, but gives expression to thoughts worthy of his great learning. He has analysed the present condition of the country and suggested remedies with the skill of an experienced surgeon. The Gandhi party has always been asking as to what programme the nation would prefer if the Calcutta resolution was not wanted, and the President has given a clear answer to that query. The leaders of that party have been directing all their energies against pleaders and students, while saving the skin of their followers, *viz.*, the commercial classes. Had Mr. Gandhi taken a hundredth part of the trouble which he has taken with regard to pleaders and students to secure boycott of British goods, what a pinch England would have felt! But in that case the commercial classes would not have made a lion of him and he would not have secured a majority in the Congress. It would be acknowledged on all hands that the President's speech was in every way worthy of the great Congress session. [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—The Calcutta resolution on non-co-operation has for the last four months fomented dissensions among the people. Somebody was wanted to tell this plainly to Mr. Gandhi and we congratulate Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar upon having fearlessly discharged that difficult task. His speech will remain as one of permanent value. The *Chaitanya* also congratulates the President upon having fearlessly given proper but bitter advice to shortsighted people instead of shirking the responsibility of his position as was done by Lala Lajpatrai at Calcutta.]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 26th Dec. 1920.

19. If any simpletons believe that the Extremist party favours non-co-operation, the belief would be dispelled by the Congress President's speech, for the President is not only the leader of the Madras Extremists, but none in the whole of India will surpass him in extremism. He supports none of the items of Mr. Gandhi's programme, but strongly opposes them. Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar is well known for his criticism of Government, but his condemnation even of the most terrible of Government measures has not been half so severe as his sharp and malignant condemnation of the non-co-operation programme. He not only repeats the Moderates' objections to non-co-operation but adds some hitherto unheard of objections against it. Even Government would feel gratified that Mr. Gandhi is being more heavily abused by the Extremists than they cared to abuse Government. Though we ourselves are against non-co-operation, we deem it to be our duty to condemn the preposterous criticism indulged in by the President against the non-co-operation programme and the falsely wicked charges he has brought against Mr. Gandhi himself. That those who have been at every step murdering their own conscience should charge Mr. Gandhi of highhandedness though he has been all along insisting on the verdict of conscience as the final test, is the height of meanness.

Congress and Moderate Conference presidential speeches compared.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 2nd Jan.

***20.** " A comparison of the two presidential addresses is instructive. The Congress President, reflecting in this respect what is now the settled conviction of a vast majority of Indian publicists, does not care to dwell overmuch on grievances, but demands the immediate concession of full self-government under constitutional guarantees which he has formulated in the shape of a draft statute, as the only means of remedying present grievances and preventing future ones. Mr. Chintamani, on the other hand, indicts a formidable catalogue of grievances most of which lie beyond the scope of the 'transferred subjects' in the reform scheme, but he can only suggest that they will be remedied or prevented by working at the reform scheme, and that it is impracticable to ask for a revision of it so soon after its passing.......... It was not a service to the Moderate party to represent them in being some way committed to remain content with the Montagu scheme for the next ten years or so. All Liberals are not inclined to be so. Mr. Chintamani wants as much as Mr. Gandhi complete self-government, but he thinks that it is futile to ask for an immediate amendment of the Government of India Act passed only twelve months ago. A great Viceroy told his Indian colleague that his business was to press the Indian point of view as strongly as possible, that he was there to do it, and that there were others to look at matters from other points of view. That is a piece of advice worth remembering always. If an immediate amendment of the Act is needed we must ask for it, and leave the responsibility for rejecting it with Parliament and His Majesty's Government. The great defect of Mr. Chintamani's address is its deliberate obliviousness to the hard fact that an overwhelming mass of opinion in the country is profoundly disturbed and has ceased to believe in the professions of our rulers. To attempt to laugh this away as due to the machinations of agitators, is to commit the self-same blunder that has landed the bureaucracy in its present predicament. If Mr. Chintamani thinks that the present attitude of mind of a large section of the public can be allayed merely by soothing words or even administrative measures, he either knows more or feels less than some other equally competent and sober observers. We believe that a radical amendment of the Act is needed and needed immediately. The grievances which bulk most largely and have embittered Indian opinion are, to take four outstanding instances, the Jallianwalla massacre, the sale of Reverse Councils, the Esher Committee report, and the treatment of Indians overseas. The reform scheme carefully excludes all the departments to which these matters belong from legislative and ministerial control. The only means of getting them remedied open to Indians, is the descredited one of impotent debate so ruthlessly exposed in the Montagu-Chelmsford report. That the demand for the amplification of the Act is not so futile as Mr. Chintamani thinks is clear from the sentence in the Governors' instructions published last week, ordaining that the Governor shall so further the purposes of the Act that the people of his province shall acquire such habits of political action and respect such conventions as will best and *soonest* fit them for self-government. Compare that with the preamble to the Act in the light of the discussions thereon, and it will be seen that the Instructions in this respect are a notable advance in the right direction. Can there be any objection to amend the preamble to fit in with this instruction? The point is not whether an amendment will be too early or too late, but whether it is urgent or of no immediate importance. Speaking generally, we think that the draft statute of Mr. Vijaya Raghav Acharya precisely formulates the most important changes that are immediately needed. His address, as a whole, is remarkable as much for its firm grasp of political principles as for its accurate reading of Indian conditions and requirements. His criticism of the reform scheme as an afront to the unitary principal of Empire which has come down to us from ancient times, is in complete accord with our own views expressed more than once. In this, as in other respects, he has set himself in direct opposition to the bulk of the Congress party which is in favour of an extreme policy of provincial re-distribution. His condemnation of non-co-operation is more vigorous and goes more to the root of the matter than that of the President of the National Liberal Federation. His plea for retaining the goal of evolution within the British Empire was all the stronger for his relentless exposure of the drawbacks and failures of that rule. His recognition of the importance of the monarchic system finds striking expression in his draft statute which lays down that the Viceroy of India shall be a member of the Royal family. Mr. Vijaya Raghav Acharya's appeal to the Congress and the country to forgive the Martial Law officers guilty of excesses, but not to forget these excesses which should never again be repeated, was the courageous plea of a statesman sincerely desirous of opening a new page in the relations between the people and the Government of India. No Englishman who reads the Congress address with an impartial mind can fail to recognise that it is the utterance of a true friend of England and the British Empire. The number of these in India is by no means increasing. Mr. Acharya's presidential address belongs to a tradition that is swiftly passing away, and will be soon past, if the British people turn a deaf ear to the pleadings of men of his type. The Congress presidential address may seem academic, and, perhaps, it is unnecessarily so at a few places, but as a whole it is a pronouncement of great weight and authority. Nothing falling far short of its main demands as formulated in the draft statute is likely to counteract the incipient feeling in favour of independence of the British connection."

Comments on the proceedings of the Indian National Congress.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 2nd Jan., Eng. cols.

***21.** "The National Congress is no longer 'national'—it deserves any other name but 'national'.......... It has been steadily degenerating for the past five years, and it has now become a mere instrument in the hands of a small party of rank extremists who are slowly verging towards revolution. By changing its creed from the 'attainment of responsible self-government on the lines of the dominions under the British flag' into the 'attainment of *Swarajya* by Indians by all legitimate and peaceful means,' the Congress has deliberately taken a wrong turning. It has once and for all definitely severed itself from those constitutional methods of work so wisely employed by its original founders. This change in the Congress creed will, we are afraid, have an injurious effect on the future peace of this country. It practically removes all control over irresponsible persons who may go about the country employing such methods of political propaganda as may, according to their opinion, be quite legitimate and peaceful. The only control which now remains is the control exercised by Mr. Gandhi himself, and if that were to fail even for a single moment there is no saying what would happen.......... Upto now Mr. Gandhi has been continually laying stress upon the 'non-violent' nature of non-co-operation, but no one who reads the speeches of his lieutenants in the subjects committee and on the Congress platform can be so blind and so thick-headed as not to understand the real intentions of these men. Were it not for the restraining influence of Mr. Gandhi himself, these men would soon plunge the whole country into red ruin. In order to prevent such a dread catastrophe we rely firstly upon the good sense of the people, and secondly upon the Government. After all that is said and done, we have much faith in the innate good sense and wisdom of the people themselves, and we believe that if the issues at stake were clearly and vividly set before them there is bound to be a reaction against the dangerous doctrines which the non-co-operators are preaching .... As a meeting-point where all good men and true might rally to save the country from destruction, we have the National Liberal Federation of India, the mouth-piece of the Liberal Party, which held its third sitting at Madras the other day. The President of the Federation, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, has, in a very able speech, characterised by frankness and vigour, made the position of the Liberal party in present-day politics quite clear to the country. It is the real Centre Party in the country—the party of reform as distinguished from reactionaries and extremists alike. It is not hostile to Government, but at the same time it does not fear to criticise the actions of the Government in a proper and straightforward manner.......... Its supreme concern is the well-being and advancement of the Motherland. We think the Liberal platform is now the only platform where all genuine well-wishers of the country can unite for the common good.......... Finally, we rely upon the Government to take some wise step to remove the present discontents. British statesmanship is certainly not turned bankrupt, and it can surely find out some means, if it wills, to cure the present distemper. Nothing but a broad and liberal change in policy can effect this. The change must be real and not merely confined to words. Mr. Chintamani has made an eloquent and touching appeal to the Government to make an honest and earnest attempt to understand the temper of the country. We cannot but echo every word of this appeal."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 2nd Jan.

***22.** "The new creed, if it may be called one, defines the object of the Congress to be to obtain swaraj within or without the British Empire. A creed implies one single definite end. Swaraj within and swaraj without the Empire are two objects as distant from each other as any two things can be.......... This change has been advocated by Mr. Gandhi on the ground that it enables a few gentlemen who are said to have 'suspended their allegiance' to the King-Emperor to join the Congress, whereas they would not be able to do so with the old creed. As they were present at the Nagpur Congress and took part in the discussion as delegates, there does not seem to have been any insuperable difficulty in the way of their subscribing to the old creed. Apart from that, Mr. Gandhi and his supporters do not seem to realise that the methods of those who work for development within the Empire must radically differ from those of persons who work for emancipation outside it. But logic is not the strong point of present-day Congress leaders. Moreover, the adoption of the resolution on non-co-operation concurrently with the change of the creed, practically reduces the phrase 'within the Empire' in the new creed to a meaningless formula. Taking the two together, the conclusion is irresistible that the trend of opinion in the Congress, whatever Mr. Gandhi and others may personally think, is towards separation from the British Empire."

Hindusthán (22), 29th Dec. 1920; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 30th Dec. 1920; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 31st Dec. 1920.

23. *Apropos* of the change in the creed of the Indian National Congress, the *Hindusthán* writes:—That the confidence of the people in British justice has been completely shattered is clearly seen from the speeches delivered by the leaders in the Congress. If by petitions grievances could be redressed, a satisfactory result would already have been achieved in the matter of the Punjáb atrocities. Formerly people had faith in British justice, and there were several broadminded officials who carefully listened to grievances. But there is nothing of the sort at present. There are a number of complaints made about the disorder in the Postal department; valuable documents and *hundis* belonging to the public are lost; but the people know what sort of hearing their complaints receive. The aim of India is *Swaráj*, and it is to be obtained by peaceful and non-violent means—such is the decision of the great assembly. Colonel Wedgwood said that the adoption of such a creed would deprive the country of the sympathy of those Englishmen who are friends of India. But the subsequent speakers showed clearly that this was simply a delusion on the part of Colonel Wedgwood. The people of India are not so ungrateful as not to acknowledge their indebtedness to those who work in the direction of the welfare of India. But the small party of such people has no great influence in Great Britain; and India cannot change her goal for the sake of obtaining the sympathy of this small section. *Swaráj* is to be obtained by self-reliance, and it is not desirable to depend upon others for it. Such is the decision of the nation, and it behoves the people to be up and doing in carrying it out. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, on the other hand, disapproves of the change, saying that it will involve the country in ruinous calamities. Writing in a similar strain, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* also disapproves of the change in the Congress creed.]

The non-co-operation resolution passed by the Nágpur Congress.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Jan.

24. "The Calcutta resolution was passed by a large majority of the Congress. The Nágpur resolution has been passed by the united voice of the Congress.......... The resolution of the Congress is stronger than the Calcutta resolution, and not the least so because it has softened the negative aspects of the mandate regarding the boycott of schools, colleges and law courts. But its main strength lies in the declaration, made for the first time on behalf of the country, and in no uncertain terms, that the nation has resolved to put into force the entire programme of non-violent non-co-operation with the renunciation of voluntary association with the present Government at one end, and the refusal to pay taxes at the other. That the time when this programme is to be enforced to its last stage, if necessary, is left to be determined by either the Congress itself or the All-India Congress Committee, is an effective and definite notice to friends and foes alike that the country has embarked on this great national endeavour, not in a spirit of adventure, much less on the promptings of despair, but in a devout spirit of service and sacrifice.......... For let there be no mistake about it; what we as a nation are out to fight is a menace greater than any that ever threatened the world—greater than the evil-spirit of Prussianism which the War was waged to exorcise.......... Upto a few years ago the Indian people had faith in the British people—had faith in the connection with Britain, had faith in the promises of Britain—had faith that, despite disappointments and delays, Britain would after the war take India into equal and honourable partnership with her. The tragedic breaches of pledges and the blood-boiling atrocities, and, worse, the inhuman refusal of remorse and reparation, have shaken that faith for ever. And, along with the loss of faith, has grown the fear that Western materialism, to satisfy its insatiable hunger, menaces the basis of civilisation. Now, and after, nothing can retrieve that faith—no promises, no inducements, no threats, no coercion. There is only one way. It is the way of remorse and reparation, accompanied with the immediate attainment by India of *Swaraj*—of Government by the people for the people. Then shall India go hand in hand with Britain, nay, with all the nations of the earth, along the path leading to the greater freedom of humanity."

Mahrátta (8), 2nd Jan.

*25. "The historic gathering of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur was unique—unique from all stand-points of view.......... From morn till eve, the Congress Nagar resounded with devotional prayers to the Almighty to liberate this ancient land, with inspiring songs that nerved the hearts of heroes to strike a blow to be free, and with deliberations and discussions that indicated the deep sincerity and consummate statesmanship of the noblest sons of the land. The gathering at the pandal and the proceedings of the Congress were really a sight for the gods to see, and this session at Nagpur will go down in the history as a session that heralded the dawn of liberty. The dominant note of the deliberations and the proceedings of the Congress was the great change wrought in the political psychology of the country, and Lala Lajpat Rai in his splendid speech struck the right note when he said, 'We shall be lacking in frankness, in patriotism, in honesty and truth, if we were not to announce in the clearest possible terms the change of mentality that has come over the country'; and we must say that the deliberations, the proceedings, and the resolutions showed to the bureaucracy that rules this country, and to England that holds the leading strings, that India has resolved to be free and no mistake should be made about it. This attitude of the Nation was the only logical outcome of the events of the past few years, and the day was indeed blessed when the nation with one mind determined to break the bonds and be free. .... Since 1914 the great war, and the great revolution that it brought out in the political atmosphere, inspired new hopes; but they were dashed to pieces by the sham of new Reforms and the Punjáb incidents, and the aftermath of despatches and discussions in Parliament, with the result that the Calcutta special session of the Congress declared in clear terms the determination of the nation to carry on the struggle by resorting to non-violent non-co-operation. The Nagpur session set its seal of approval on that programme, and further by deliberate change of its creed it declared the determination of the nation to be free. Thus the nation has by long strides—thanks to the bankruptcy of British statesmanship—grasped the right weapon and has come to realise at last its destined place in the world. That is the meaning and the message of the Nagpur session. If we try to follow the events at Nagpur we can at once comprehend the spirit underlying the deliberations of the Congress at Nagpur. The whole atmosphere was electrified by the new spirit that yearned to throw off the yoke of dependency, and the Congress writ in large letters for all concerned to read that the heart of the Nation was sick of the present system of government and beat in unison with the desire to be free. The speech of Mr. Vijaya Raghavacharya, the President of the Congress, laid right emphasis on the repudiation by the nation of any assumed right of Parliament to determine the stages of the progress of India towards the goal of *Swarajya* and struck the note of 'self-determination.' Differences on minor points apart, the speech on the whole breathed the spirit of freedom and the determination to evolve the destiny of the nation by its own efforts. The scheme of the new Reforms Act proposed by the President would surely serve as a right step in the right direction, if the wisdom of accepting and carrying it out is seen early by our rulers. On the whole, the speech of the President bespoke of the older and cautious school of thought, but it unmistakably showed the vigour of the young. The first resolution of the change of the creed into attainment of *Swarájya* by the people of India by legitimate and peaceful means, and the speeches on that resolution of Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajapat Rai and Babu Bepin Chandra Pal would serve as an index to the country's mind.......... The resolution on non-co-operation bespeaks of intense ardour of the nation to win freedom by non-violent non-co-operation, and ushers in a new phase of the struggle. Let England take note of this grim determination of India to win her freedom....... If British people really love freedom for themselves and for others they must show it by solid acts. They must take the time by the forelock and grant India her demand.......... Let them realise the situation, and avert the struggle to their lasting glory. To our Indian brothers we would say that their time has come. Here is the test of the sincerity of their desire to be free. India—Young India—will surely give a hearty response to the call of the nation and be free."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 1st Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 1st Jan.

26. The die is cast, the Indian National Congress has adopted the resolution on non-co-operation. There is no doubt, and it is useless to make a secret of it, that the leaders of the Congress control a very large bulk of the people and that the people are prepared to act as the leaders would ask them to do. Religious preceptors like the Shankaracharya have joined their camp and their utterances show that, according to their opinion, the movement of non-co-operation will rid the people of materialism and lead them towards an honest mode of life. We would wish that this opinion of theirs may prove to be correct and that the non-co-operation movement might not end in heinous crimes which usually go hand in hand with ignorance and idleness. The die of non-co-operation is cast and looking to the mentality of the bulk of the people, no attempt at diverting them from the movement would be free from difficulty. Any policy of repression on the part of Government is bound to prove fatal to the interests not only of India but of the whole British Empire. Government have declared themselves to be eager to avail themselves of the help of the Moderates. The Moderates in their Conference at Madras have said in unambiguous terms that the best

way of successfully meeting the non-co-operation movement is that Government must be ready to redress the grievances which are the root causes which have given birth to the movement. We would again invite the attention of Government to this opinion of the Moderates and pray that they should, not only for the sake of the Indians, but for the sake of Great Britain and the whole of the British Empire, make haste in removing the causes of unrest and disaffection by redressing the grievances of India. [Writing in a similar strain, the *Bombay Samáchár* proceeds :—After the experience of the Calcutta Sessions of the Congress, apprehensions were naturally entertained that there would be a big split among the leaders at Nagpur. But the Congress has unanimously accepted the opinion of the protagonist of the non-co-operation movement and given the lie to such apprehensions. We cannot help congratulating him on the undoubted success that he has achieved. Whatever might be the opinion formed about his activities and the resolutions passed in the Congress under his guidance, still his success proves that his hold upon the people has very much increased instead of decreasing, as it was expected that it would owing to the harmful character of his activities. His influence has now reached such a pitch that he has been able to win over to his side the whole Congress. The Congress has been looked upon as faithfully echoing the voice of the people and inspite of the secession of the Moderates from it, it has gained such a great hold over the country and the people that it would be futile to think that it has lost its national character. On account of the hostility shown towards it, its hold upon the people is fast increasing. Under the circumstances, the responsibility of those who consider the present activities of the Congress as injurious becomes all the more grave with regard to diverting it from such activities and putting it on the right path. As Mr. Chintamani, the President of Liberal Federation has pointed out, the right way of discharging such a responsibility would be a recognition by Government of the real situation and an early adoption by them of a policy calculated to restore confidence among the people so that the minds of the people may be pacified before the injurious activities of the Congress gather strength.]

Comments on the presidential address at third Session of the National Liberal Federation.
Mahrátta (8), 2nd Jan.

***27.** "We do not propose to try the patience of our readers by giving a detailed account of Mr. Chintamani's speech. They can easily imagine its nature. But we cannot help sharing with our readers the pity and amusement which we feel as we read the words of Mr. Chintamani in which he chafes at the conquest of the Congress by the National party.......... The Liberal president, however, is truly liberal in providing abundant inconsistency in his address. While in one place he condemns those who are at present engaged in changing the old creed of the Congress, at another place, in order to inculcate on the minds of his hearers, the value of being always 'practical' he quotes Gladstone's favourite teaching 'not all questions are for all times'. By a simple mathematical attempt to derive a deduction from a proposition, Mr. Chintamani could have easily convinced himself 'all creeds are not for all times'......... Our concern, however, is not much with the inconsistency which is throughout visible in the address, as with the plight of the president in answering official and semi-official critics of his party, and, in justifying the existence of the Liberal party and laying out a programme of work for the Liberals.......... Mr. Chintamani gives a justification for the existence of the Liberals in these words. 'The Congress has now almost abdicated its function of criticism and rendered it the more necessary that we should strengthen our organisation.' So, after all the Liberal party will in future religiously devote itself to the magnificent task of 'writing annotations and criticism' upon the text-books of bureaucratic doings! Evidently since Mr. Chintamani thinks very highly of the present schools and colleges, it is no wonder if he should assign a very high place to 'criticism' in politics. But his followers may well ask 'Where, Sir, in this propaganda of annotations and criticisms, is the room for patriotism and courage and strength to which you earnestly exhort us'? And one is moved to laughter as one reads that these Liberals, who are going to set themselves to the safe task of criticism, are asked by Mr. Chintamani to keep before them the great example of the great Frenchman

Clemenceau whose motto is 'Wage war everywhere'. The fighting Frenchman to be the inspiring ideal for the 'criticism Professor'! Indeed inconsistency itself could not be more inconsistent!"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Dec. 1920 and 1st Jan.

28. "Mr. Chintamani's speech bristles with platitudinous statements whose laboured cleverness is intended to serve as political sanity. There are, however, none so deluded as those who are obsessed by an overpowering sense of their own sanity. Nowhere does this delusion, which is the characteristic note of Mr. Chintamani's speech, become more pathetic than in the passage in which Mr. Chintamani arrogates for his Federation the name and function of the Indian National Congress.......... A careful examination of the speeches on both sides will lead to the conclusion that, whereas the former feel themselves bound by the old traditions and refuse to profit by the lessons of the past, the latter, recognising the futility of the methods pursued so far, are determined to strike a new path, prepared to make the requisite sacrifices, in order to reach the goal.......... We do not acknowledge that the Liberals either quite clearly grasp the full significance of the non-co-operation movement or do justice to some of its cardinal doctrines.......... 'Non-co-operators' have a clearer vision of the goal they are marching to than those who refuse to see beyond the Dominion status, as if it were a sin to do so. The 'Liberals' shut their eyes to the fact that Canada, Australia and other Dominions have elected and will elect to remain within the Empire so long as it will suit them.......... Non-co-operators see their goal clearly enough; and Lala Lajpatrai made the point quite clear when he said that the change in the creed of the Congress was deliberately made, without any pretence or diplomacy about it. It was a notice to the world that India had lost faith in the British Empire, which was only a British 'White' Empire intended for the economic exploitation of the non-white races and, worse, of misusing the resources of the latter for destroying the liberties of other non-white nations.......... Nor is it correct to say that the non-co-operators do not count the cost. It is surely a misleading of history, and especially the history of this country, to declare, as Mr. Chintamani does, that 'the only path that is open' to non-co-operators 'is armed revolt'. Those who speak thus betray their lack of faith in the principles of self-determination and the right of nations to live their own independent lives, which have been sanctified by the blood-bath of the war. If the Philipines can earn their independence by peaceful means, there is no reason why India should not do so by similar means? But, as Mr. Gandhi has observed, it rests with the British to make the evolution of India peaceful or otherwise." [In its next issue the paper remarks:—"The 'Liberals' have passed a number of resolutions pointing out how, if the Esher Committee's recommendations are adopted, Great Britain will have ruthlessly subordinated Indian interests to those of Imperial policy. One would like to know if the 'Liberals' will be prepared to cast in their lot with Congressmen if the bureaucracy, in whom they have so much faith left still, fail in the test they have proposed."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 30th Dec. 1920; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 31st Dec. 1920; *Bombay Samáchar* (61), 31st Dec. 1920; *Hindusthán* (22), 30th Dec. 1920.

29. What Mr. Chintamani's address shows is this, that, leaving aside the question of non-co-operation, there is no difference of opinion among the people with regard to the country's grievances, needs and aspirations, and that they all stand on a common platform. The difference that exists among them is about the means to be adopted for carrying on the agitation. The one important advantage which accrues from the holding of the two different sessions, *viz.*, the one of the Congress and the other of the Federation, is this that it is proved there is no section of the people which holds divergent views in connection with the causes of the present unrest. Several officials, apparently with a view to secure the services of the Moderates in suppressing the agitation, advocated friendship with them. They had hoped that the Moderates would be ready to accept personal benefits in lieu of the country's honour. These hopes of theirs were simply imaginary and the Federation has been useful in opening their eyes. The president has clearly said that, among others, the Punjab atrocities and the Khilafat question are the main causes of the present unrest, and that Government must soon remove them. The president has also protested against the Esher Committee's report. All the same, the effect of such recommendations and protests would have been all the more impressive if they had been made from a common platform combining both the Congress and the Conference. [The *Jam-e-Jamshed* writes :—The present situation in India is so very confusing that there is no knowing as to what will be the result. At such a time, a strong, independent and spirited note of warning is sure to be attended to by the educated section of the community.' Such a warning voice is that of Mr. Chintamani. His stirring presidential address is an exact echo of the feelings entertained by the thinking section of the people, and it is a bitter warning to those who have been leading away the illiterate masses of India. We have hopes that Mr. Chintamani's views on the non-co-operation movement and the analysis made by him of the causes which have given so much strength to the movement will be taken notice of by Government, and that Government will adopt a policy calculated to restore complete confidence among the people. The *Bombay Samáchar* writes :—Under the existing condition of things, we would recommend a patient perusal of Mr. Chintamani's presidential address. Though his address is not such as can stand comparison with the speeches of some of the great presidents of the Congress, it is no doubt such as would become the president of any great national party. His conclusions with regard to the responsibility of Government for creating the present perturbed atmosphere can hardly be stamped as erroneous even by the extremists. His protest against the Esher Committee's report and against the recommendations of the Lovett Committee in connection with the Medical Services is timely and effective. We congratulate Mr. Chintamani on the service that he has rendered both to the people and to Government by advising the latter to throw off the recommendations of the Esher and Lovett Committees and to fulfil the promises made by them in the matter of appointments in the public services. The *Hindusthán*, on the other hand, protests against the president's claim that his party represents the true congress-spirit, adding that such a claim is astounding particularly in view of the insignificant following that his party commands. The paper concludes by saying that his views about the Esher Committee's report may be acceptable, but nobody will support his vain claim to be a Congressman.]

The All-India Students' Conference.
Indu Prakásh (44), 29th Dec. 1920.

30. The *Indu Prakásh* says that Lala Lajpat Rai tried his best to wean the students from non-co-operation, as President of the Nagpur Students' Convention, but that it was of no use. It remarks that the students passed the non-co-operation resolution by a tremendous majority even when Lala Lajpat Rai was plainly telling them that national education was not possible without national government. It holds that students paid more consideration to the influence of individuals rather then to well-reasoned arguments.

Comments on the Hon. K. B. Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer's presidential speech at the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference.
Akhbar-e-Islam (58), 29th Dec. 1920; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 2nd Jan.

31. The address delivered by Khan Bahadur Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer as president of the All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference at Amraoti deserves careful study by all Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans, and the independent and worthy gentleman who delivered it deserves to be congratulated on it. He has had the question of non-co-operation by the throat and done such good justice to it that we are quite certain that even the president of the Congress has not treated it with such an open heart—and that ought to be a matter of no small rejoicing to the Muhammadans. All Muhammadans have not been drawn towards non-co-operation in education, but it is really an honour to the community that there are contained within its fold men like Khan Bahadur Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* declares that the views on the subject of boycotting Government schools and colleges expressed by the Khan Bahadur in his presidential address will not fail to meet with the approval of the sensible section of the Muhammadan community.]

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to India should be boycotted.

Swarájya (143), 23rd Dec. 1920.

32. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is to land at Madras about the 10th January. He being the representative of His Majesty the King, it is necessary that all Indians should entertain feelings of loyalty towards him and we have no doubt that they would do so in their minds. It is, however, not proper that while the people entertain feelings of loyalty for members of the Royal family, the latter should do nothing further than accept addresses from the loyal people. If the people's duty is to be faithful to the King, the King's duty is to be faithful to the people. The Duke of Connaught may come and may go, but if he does not redress our grievances about the Punjáb and the Khilafat, what reason have we to notice his arrival or his departure? That we must be fully loyal to him goes without saying, but it is not at all compulsory that the people should do things that are not necessary or indulge in sycophancy. Therefore, if there are processions, Durbars or illuminations in the Duke's honour, those who have to non-co-operate and who have any self-respect should take no part in them.

Condemnation of Mr. Gandhi's propaganda.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 22nd and 26th Dec. 1920.

33. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* adversely criticises the hypocritical Mussalmans who are making religion a vehicle for propagating their notions by force, which is forbidden by Islam, and holds that those non-religious Mussalmans have nothing to do with religion. It also quotes the remarks of the *Watan* newspaper of Láhore which attributes sinister designs to the propaganda of Mr. Gandhi, particularly in its relation to Mussalman educational institutions, and declares that Mr. Gandhi's activities will not only put a stop to educational progress among a backward community but that it will create a split among Indian Mussalmans which will be more harmful to Islam even than the differences between the Young Turks and the dismemberment of the Osmanli Empire. [In its next issue the paper refers to Mr. Lajpatrai's explanation about emptying Arts Colleges only in favour of technical institutions, and advises Mussalmans to keep aloof from these leaders lest even Mr. Gandhi should commit a somersault next day. Finally, the paper declares that it has no concern with *Swaráj* or Home Rule and that it is interested in serving the cause of the Khilafat which every Muslim should serve.]

Criticism of Mr. Gandhi's scheme of National education.

Gujaráti (17), 26th Dec. 1920.

34. In their attempts to further the non-co-operation movement the followers of Mr. Gandhi have non-co-operated with the Hindu religion and Shri Krishna; and we shall not be surprised if they go the length of non-co-operating with the goddess of learning. In the initial stage of the movement we were told that national schools and colleges would be opened and that national education would be imparted to our boys through them. But people lost faith in such declarations on the selection of the books prescribed at these schools and colleges, and have now been convinced that the education that will be imparted at these institutions cannot lay claim to be national. Bitter experience in the matter of opening national schools has taught the Bengalis that some provision should be made in such schools for giving some kind of vocational teaching so that the boys may not have to starve in after-life. Mr. Gandhi does not provide any vocational teaching in his national schools. It is improbable that all boys would be as self-sacrificing as Mr. Gandhi. This is why Mr. Gandhi has not been successful in Gujarát, the Deccan, Bengal, the United Provinces or Behar. At Benares Mr. Gandhi's failure was due to his inability to convince the boys that they were being given education that would make them slaves. At Calcutta Mr. Gandhi exhorted the boys to boycott Government and aided schools and become breakers of stones and scavangers in order to earn a living! The Punjáb wrongs, are no doubt rankling in the hearts of Indians. But why should the students be sacrificed for it? Mr. Gandhi points out the example of Prahlad to our boys for disobeying their parents; but the example is not appropriate. Prahlad never disobeyed his father and always paid him due respect. Mr. Gandhi now says that all boys under sixteen should obey their parents, as ordained by the Shastras. But do the Shastras ask boys over sixteen to disobey their parents?

How foreign invaders will be dealt with under *swarajya.*

Young India (14), 29th Dec. 1920.

35. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* under the heading "One step enough for me":—"Mr. Stokes is a Christian who wants to follow the light that God gives him. He has adopted India as his home........ Mr. Stokes approves of non-co-operation but dreads the consequences that may follow complete success, *i.e.*, evacuation of India by the British. He conjures up before his mind a picture of India invaded by the Afghans from the North-West, plundered by the Gurkhas from the Hills.......... What does it matter that the Gurkhas and the Pathans attack us? Surely we would be better able to deal with their violence, than we are with the continued violence, moral and physical, perpetrated by the present government. Mr. Stokes does not seem to eschew the use of physical force. Surely the combined labour of the Rajput, the Sikh and the Musalman warrior in a united India may be trusted to deal with plunderers from any or all the sides. Imagine however the worst: Japan overwhelming us from the Bay of Bengal, the Gurkhas from the Hills, and the Pathans from the North-West. If we do not succeed in driving them out, we make terms with them and drive them out at the first opportunity. This will be a more manly course than a helpless submission to an admittedly wrongful State. But I refuse to contemplate the dismal outlook. If the movement succeeds through non-violent non-co-operation, and that is the supposition Mr. Stokes has started with, the English whether they remain or retire, they will do so as friends and under a well-ordered agreement as between partners. I still believe in the goodness of human nature, whether it is English or any other. I, therefore, do not believe that the English will leave in 'a night'. And do I consider the Gurkhas and the Afghan being incorrigible thieves and robbers without ability to respond to purifying influences? I do not. If India returns to her spirituality, it will react upon the neighbouring tribes, she will interest herself in the welfare of these hardy but poor people, and even support them if necessary, not out of fear but as a matter of neighbourly duty. She will have dealt with Japan simultaneously with the British. Japan will not want to invade India, if India has learnt to consider it a sin to use a single foreign article that she can manufacture within her own borders. She produces enough to eat, and her men and women can without difficulty manufacture enough cloth to cover their nakedness and protect themselves from heat and cold. We become prey to invasion if we excite the greed of foreign nations by dealing with them under a feeling of dependence on them. We must learn to be independent of everyone of them. Whether, therefore, we finally succeed through violence or non-violence, in my opinion the prospect is by no means so gloomy as Mr. Stokes has imagined. Any conceivable prospect is, in my opinion, less black than the present unmanly and helpless condition."

Comments on the Government of India's despatch to the Secretary of State on the position of Indians in East Africa.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Dec. 1920.

36. "We wish the Government of India's despatch to the Secretary of State on the position of Indians in East Africa had been couched in more emphatic and unequivocal terms than we find it to be the case. The despatch is halting and apologetic to a degree. The whole tone of it painfully reminds one of the unfortunate fact that the Government of India are still incapable of feeling and behaving as a truly national Government would do. One cannot imagine a Japanese or Chinese Government penning such a despatch about the treatment of its nationals abroad. Apart, however, from this apologetic character of the document, we gladly recognise that the Government of India have in no way yielded ground or betrayed the just claims of our countrymen in East Africa. They have met and demolished one by one the flimsy arguments of the White Colonists and the Colonial Office in justification of the policy of racial discrimination followed in that Crown Colony, and they have finally pressed for the appointment of a Royal Commission to consider the whole question of administration of the East African torritories, including the question of the status of Indians resident therein. It would have been better if the Government of India, instead of pressing for such a Commission, had fought vigorously for the immediate recognition of the principle of equality of citizenship of Indians with other communities in all Crown Colonies. We have not much faith in the outcome of such Commissions.......... Unless India is adequately represented on the Royal Commission suggested by the Government of India, it would be vain to expect that justice would be done to Indians' claims, and that their crying grievances would be redressed.......... Equality of franchise has been one of the principal demands of our countrymen in East Africa, and we are glad that the Government of India have endorsed it in such a manner as to leave no loophole to the East African Government to contend later that India was prepared to accept any compromise on this head.... ..... Indians will not accept any franchise, which is in any way higher than or dissimilar to that of Europeans. What they demand is equality of franchise and a common electoral roll, such as the Government of India have indicated. As in the Legislative Council, so in the Municipal Councils also, no racial discrimination in the matter of franchise can be tolerated. Then we come to the question of segregation, which even more than that of franchise, affects the Indians in a vital manner. Lord Milner's specious arguments and Prof. Simpson's immoral reasonings, have, we are glad to see, in no way dislodged the Government of India from their opposition to the scheme as a whole.......... They suggest that there should be a joint commercial area regulated by strict sanitary and building laws which would ensure that only business of good class, whatever may be its nationality, should be established in the best streets and that business of inferior class should be confined to less important streets. But who is to determine whether a business is of the 'good class' or of the 'inferior class'? And unless Indians are properly represented on the bodies which will determine this question, will not the latter's decisions be open to objection on grounds of racial bias?......... There is no disguising the fact that, however camouflaged, the underlying motive of all the objectionable proposals of the Kenia Government is the aggrandisement of the White race at the expense of the non-whites, particularly the Indians, who, owing to their wealth, industrious habits and simple living, are as thorn in the side of the Whites. The Government of India truly say that public opinion in India regards the case of Indians in East Africa as a test of the position of India in the Empire. It rests with British statesmen to retain or lose the esteem of Indians for the Flag, by the treatment they secure for Indians in the Empire."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 2nd Jan.; *Servant of India* (10), 30th Dec. 1920.

*37. "The Government of India has done well in publishing their able and forcible despatch to the Secretary of State on the position of Indians in East Africa. Notwithstanding the grumbling of the chronically discontented *Chronicle*, the despatch has created an excellent impression. It is felt that in this one matter at least the Government of India has identified itself wholly and heartily with the sentiments of the people of India." [The *Servant of India* writes:—"The Government of India's despatch on East Africa will be generally regarded as an able exposition of the Indian case in that colony; and there can be no doubt that the decision to suspend the operation of the segregation policy in Kenia is in a large measure influenced by their correct interpretation of the Indian sentiment on the subject".]

Government of India and the position of Indians in Fiji.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Dec. 1920.

38. "If in their treatment of the East African question the Government of India have displayed some degree of statesmanship, the attitude taken up by them in regard to the suggestion of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association that a detailed inquiry into the causes and incidents of the recent Fiji tragedy should be made, is extremely reprehensible. If they had merely contented themselves by saying that they had no power to order any such enquiry, their attitude though disappointing would have been at least

understandable. But the Government of India go further and express their inability even to ask the Secretary of State to move the Colonial Office to institute such an enquiry. The refusal of the Government is not due to the characteristic bureaucratic plea that the suggestion is 'unusual', but it is a deliberate flouting of the outraged sentiments of Indians and a callous disregard of the sufferings inflicted on the Indian community in Fiji during the dark days of the miniature Amritsar that was enacted there......... The Government know that the causes of the 'riots'—the wantonly provoked riots—were not economic. And knowing this, they deliberately—for reasons which are impossible to understand unless it be that they, in their heart of hearts, sympathise with the racial prejudices of the white colonists—ignore this fact......... They are unable to find even *primâ facie* reasons for supposing that the situation was handled with undue severity! This, after all the harrowing tales of atrocities, perpetrated against Indian women and men and of the humiliation that the Indian community had to suffer, which have been published in Indian newspapers throughout the country! The Government with an amazing callousness towards the indignities heaped on Indians have simply ignored all these revelations and cries for redress, and still persist in their strange and wholly unwarranted attitude of regarding the despatches of the Fiji Government as the last word on the subject despite the fact that they have been proved to be one-sided and wholly misleading in most essential matters. And after this reprehensible display of an unjudicial attitude of mind, they have the temerity to say that they will always be jealous of the rights of Indians, who are overseas, as British subjects, and will vigorously protest when they find those rights assailed'......... They have once again shown that the sooner they give place to a Government responsible to the Indian people, the better for India and the Empire in which Indians are treated as pariahs."

Comments on the appointments of Executive Councillors and Ministers.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Dec. 1920.

39. "It is announced that Messrs. Surendranath Banerjea and P. C. Mitter have been nominated Ministers by the Government of Bengal, the former being in charge of the portfolio of Local Self-Government and the latter of Education. While few will dispute the fitness of the G. O. M. of Bengal for the post he has been called upon to fill Mr. Mitter's qualifications for the Ministry of Education are rather questionable. We do not remember Mr. Mitter having taken any particular interest in the subject of education, though it would be easy to name at least a dozen prominent educationists of Bengal who would be able to discharge the functions of the Ministry of Education with credit to themselves and benefit to their province. But we forgot that the bureaucracy has its own ideal of what a Minister should be. For instance, the Maharajadhiraj of Burdwan is deemed fit to be entrusted with the responsibilities of an Executive Member of the Council—responsibilities higher than those of a Minister—while Mr. Banerjea, who is certainly his superior from whatever point of view we consider his parts, is thought fit to be entrusted with, in some respects, the less onorous duties of the Minister in charge of a transferred subject.......... By the way, it is somewhat puzzling to find that Lord Ronaldshay is satisfied with only two Ministers, while the court of the ever popular Governor of Madras is adorned with three satellites."

Lokasangraha (118), 29th Dec. 1920.

40. The *Lokasangraha* protests against the number of Executive Councillors and Ministers appointed in Madras and Bengal and other provinces and says that there is not enough work, even for two Executive Councillors and that the arrangement has been effected with a view to providing for Europeans for doing half the work. It says that the bureaucracy does not want that the Ministers should preponderate as they would otherwise do and that the Government of India has done its best to cripple the Montagu reforms as much as possible. It also strongly condemns the apppointment of three confirmed anti-Brahmins as ministers in Madras.

Comments on the Instrument of Instructions to Governors.

Hindusthān (22), 24th Dec. 1920; *Swarājya* (143), 23rd Dec. 1920.

41. Commenting upon the Instrument of Royal Instructions to the Governors of the Indian Provinces, the *Hindusthān* writes :—The Instrument of Royal Instructions which has been recently published does not seem to consist of anything else than mere words of advice. The former proclamations of His Majesty had given birth to a sort of enthusiasm among the people, but the present one is not of such a type. As a whole, the Instrument of Instructions reads like an official report. No such liberal and generous announcements as are usually expected in Royal Proclamations are to be observed in the present one. The governors of the provinces could very well have taken up their functions without the help of such instructions. Again, the suggestions made in the Instrument about safeguarding the rights of the officials, are, in our opinion, out of place. Such suggestions would have been quite appropriate if they had been made about safeguarding the rights of the people so that the Punjab atrocities might not be repeated, the people might not have to suffer insults, and the officials might exhibit sympathy and not arrogance in the performance of their duties. If some such instructions were embodied in the Instrument, they would have proved useful and would have been looked upon as a palliative of the present discontent and unrest. [The *Swarājya* admits that the Instrument of Instructions does contain directions to the Governors for properly carrying out the provisions of the Reform Act, but declares that Indians have known from 1858 that such hollow proclamations have no effect on the administration, and, therefore, no one places any trust in them. These proclamations, it says, contain many directions for the guidance of the officers, but what, it asks, is to be done if the officers do not act up to them. It wants, therefore, that the people should be invested with powers to punish or dismiss such officials, and that is the thing, it says, that the people are demanding in the shape of fully responsible *Swarājya.*]

Comments on the reported chance of Mr. Montagu being appointed Viceroy.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Dec. 1920.

42. "The revival of the report that Mr. Montagu may be expected to come out to India as Viceroy will give rise to mingled feelings in this country. That the *Times* announcement will raise a fresh howl in the Anglo-Indian Press against Mr. Montagu goes without saying. With all their professions of admiration and sympathy for the Reforms, there is perhaps no other politician, British or Indian, whom this press and its clientele abhor so much as 'the hated Jew' who is the author of these Reforms. They are sure to move heaven and earth to prevent Mr. Montagu from coming out to India ; and should he succeed in coming they will undoubtedly try to insult him and put obstacles in his way of doing justice to Indians, in the same way as they did in the days of Lord Ripon. It is evident, therefore, that if Mr. Montagu comes, indeed, to be appointed as Viceroy, both he and the Premier—the former for accepting the risks and the latter for recommending Mr. Montagu to His Majesty—will need have to possess exceptional courage. We are not sure if Mr. Montagu has the requisite amount of courage to stand the test."

Alleged preferential treatment given to European pensioners by Government.

Kesari (115), 28th Dec. 1920.

43. Lakhs of pensioners in India have entreated Government for the last four years for an increase in their pensions, but nothing came out of their prayers. But Mr. Montagu has decided to increase the pensions of the white pensioners in England. We do not know whether he has bid good-bye to impartiality. The order at present applies to pensioners who retired after July 1913, but pensioners who retired earlier are agitating and Mr. Montagu may yield. If so all the pensioners in England will get an increase and the additional burden will have to be borne by India. While considering the applications of the pensioners in India economy suggests itself to the Government of India and the Secretary of State, but when there is a question of giving an increment to white pensioners they forget all these things. If there is any injustice other servants can at least resort to strikes, of whatever use they may be. Pensioners are helpless and, therefore, Government should take more care of them. But the present age is not an age of truth but of giving unequal treatment to blacks and whites; how then can Government act wisely?

Duty of Government to increase the salaries of the Shanbhogs of the Kanara District.
Kánara News (39), 23rd Dec. 1920.

44. The *Kánara News* draws the attention of Government to the great distress prevailing among the Shanbhogs of the Kanara District owing to the delay in sanctioning increases in their salaries. These poor servants of Government, it adds, have exercised their patience to the end and are now forced to go on strike as the last resort. The delay, is says, is the more inexcusable inasmuch as the superior officers, being in touch with the Shanbhogs, know their grievances only too well.

Necessity of appointing a commission to inquire into Kánara forest matters.
Kánara News (39), 23rd Dec. 1920.

45. The *Kánara News* declares that the present difference between the views of Government and those of the people in matters of policy has led to all the present troubles. It points out that while Government seek to further the interests of the Forest Department, the people want to secure those of agriculture. To remedy this state of affairs it suggests the appointment of an Agricultural Commission with a new minister as its chairman for the enactment of a law relating to agricultural rights in the Kánara District. This new law, it says, should secure to the agriculturists of Kánara all the privileges they enjoyed some 40 years ago, and relieve the Forest Department of all control over those portions of the forests meant for the use of agriculture and should hand them over for the present to the Revenue Department with the eventual object of transferring them to the village panchayats.

Comments on the Esher Committee's Report.
Bharatwási (156), 16th Dec. 1920.

46. Non-co-operation engrosses the mind of India now and hence the Esher report which ought to have called forth strong protest meetings and vehement agitation throughout the length and breadth of the land has escaped due notice. The Esher report is prepared by a Committee presided over by Lord Esher. Only two Indians were on the committee as members, one of whom was Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan, who is known to be more loyal to the Government than His Majesty the King himself, and the other, Sir Krishna Gupta, who was appointed on the Committee, some time after its preliminary meetings were held in London, which he did not attend and at which certain fundamentals were settled which were calculated to keep India under perpetual subjection. The strangest part of the whole affair was that the old-sworn enemy of India, Sir Michael O'Dwyer, was the chief member of the committee who presided over its deliberations in India, as Lord Esher himself had not come down. The old sinner indeed wanted such an opportunity, and getting one he has succeeded in burdening India to his heart's content. From the report of the committee it is clear that in India the strength of the Army is to be maintained at the war level. To what purpose? The purpose becomes clear when one finds that the Indian Army is being engaged in crushing independence of countries outside India. India should keep such an army only as is compatible with its needs. It should not be kept with a view to conquer other countries or to deprive some countries of their freedom, which will only bring slur on India and make it suffer in the long run. The present military expenditure in India is double of what was during the time of the war. Far from proposing reduction, the Esher report has recommended still further increase! Who would not feel sorry for it? India needs minimisation of military expense to effect a saving which might be utilised in the advancement of education, sanitation, etc. What is still more to be regretted is that the Esher report has recommended that the control of the Indian Army should be transferred from the Government of India to the British War Office. It is a pity that while Indians are required to pay for the army they should not have any direct control over it! These are the two main defects in the report. The Committee's recommendations, if acted upon, will cause loss of money to India on the one hand and bring disgrace to the country on the other. It is, therefore, necessary that India must openly speak out her mind, protest against the recommendations and let the British Parliament and Cabinet clearly understand that such recommendations have excited great opposition in the country.

Comments on the decision in the Cater case.
Indu Prakásh (44), 29th Dec. 1920.

47. The *Indu Prakásh* says that of late there are many instances of the fact that British justice leans to the side of Europeans whenever there is any case between them and the blacks. Mr. Cater killed Musammat Moti while on a hunting expedition and he was at once charged without any inquiry or delay under section 304A of the Indian Penal Code. There is no mention of any eye-witnesses or their evidence. The Court held it to be an accident and decided that Rs. 500 should be paid to the husband and the brother of the deceased as compensation. It need not be told that Mr. Cater gave the amount gladly and the paper remarks that the Court made it very clear in the case how cheap an Indian life has come to be held.

Comments on the Magistrate's judgment in Sergeant Davis's whipping case.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 24th Dec. 1920.

48. The *Dnyán Prakásh* comments upon the Magistrate's judgment in Sergeant Davis' case, fining the Sergeant Rs. 15 for whipping two boys of the Meerut College, and says:—The Magistrate considers the offence to be very trivial; but then the question would arise as to why the Sergeant was fined at all. The Magistrate says that such cases cause racial hatred not desirable in the present circumstances and that, therefore, he convicted the accused. The students would certainly be led to think from the Magistrate's decision as to what severe punishment they would have received if they had whipped the Sergeant and it was the duty of the Magistrate to have considered as to whether such thoughts would foster or diminish racial hatred. The Magistrate admits that the students did nothing to provoke the Sergeant to use the whip. They cheered because the Indian Polo Team was winning. The Sergeant got angry because of the feeling that he belonged to the race of conquerors. It is this feeling that causes racial hatred and if the Magistrate did not want it then he should have given a deterrent punishment to the Sergeant. The Sergeant did not even express regret. He put up a false plea of *alibi*. The consequences which the Magistrate wants to prevent would be entailed by his judgment.

Mr. Lloyd George's attitude towards the revision of the Turkish treaty.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Dec. 1920.

49. "To General Townshend's offer personally to undertake a mission to Kemal Pasha, Mr. Lloyd George gave the fatuous reply that the Turkish Government being merely a *de jure* Government, the Allies could not get behind them without their consent, and negotiate with a General who was in revolt although he might have four-fifths of Anatolia behind him. It is indeed an ennobling thought, after the Great War of Liberation, that the victors could not negotiate with a leader who had four-fifths of the people behind him!...... Mr. Lloyd George proceeded to say: 'We were unable to give Kemal Pasha Smyrna in exchange for peace in Anatolia.' Why? Because, Britain might 'otherwise get the hatred of the Greeks'! But this mainfestation of love for the Greeks is not disinterested. The motive is quite different. 'If we gave Kemal Smyrna, would the Arabs forget that they had not got Damascus and Aleppo?' And why should the Arabs not demand their own? But, we forget, Mr. Lloyd George believes in might not right.......... Still under the blind influence of syndicates and militarist-imperialists Mr. Lloyd George is living in a fools' paradise.......... It is not the tearing up of the Treaty of Sevres which will be nearly as fatal as war, but the refusal to do so which is a peril to the peace of the East and the world."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 2nd Jan.

***50.** Referring to a recent statement made by Mr. Lloyd George in the House of Commons, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"The Prime Minister maintains that the Treaty of Sevres is vital to the British Empire, and would not consider the question of its modification.

As Mr. Lloyd George said that he was waiting to see the result of the negotiations going on between the Sultan's *de jure* Government and Kemal Pasha's *de facto* Government, there was no occasion for him to indulge in his most embarrassing *obiter dicta* about the consequences of modifying its terms. It was a most unfortunate speech at a most inopportune moment. His Majesty's Ministers cannot expect India to respect their susceptibilities if they take every opportunity of wounding hers."

The present condition of Turkey.
Al-Wahid (155), 15th Dec. 1920.

51. Even if we may not be Muhammadans, we certainly are human beings, and like human beings we have feelings. We have been seeing with our eyes that the proud and imperialist cabinets of Europe want to ruin a noble nation, and a noble Islamic State, simply because that nation is of Asiatic origin and its administrators believe in one God instead in three. We have heard it said that the Turkey Peace Treaty has not only led to the ruin of the Khilafat but has also been the cause of the distribution of the Turkish territory among European Governments. The Allied troops are present at Constantinople, and the Turkish Government has been made so impotent that it cannot come to the succour of its dying people without the permission of the Allies—a permission which has not yet been given. And yet the Viceroy of India assures us that the present strength of Turkey will before long have a bright future for Islam, so that we may remain content with the present position of Turkey, considering it as something that was inevitable in our *kismat*. But how can we find fault with our *kismat* when we see that those who have been ruining the Muslim nation and empire are ministers like Lloyd George and Lord Curzon? We prefer the open hostility to Moslem interests of Lord Curzon to the false promises and trickeries of Lloyd George. After ruining the Khilafat he has declared his intention of ruining the Muslim nation and the Muslim empire. Although these statements are contradicted, yet we have more faith in what the *Bombay Chronicle* correspondent says than in the British promises. For does not what has happened since the Armistice confirm the statements of the correspondent? Lord Curzon's foreign policy has given a death blow to the Muslim nation and the Muslim empire. It was as a result of that policy that the fortifications of Dardanelles and Bosphorus were razed to the ground in order that if any neighbour of Turkey at any time wanted to attack Turkey there might be no obstruction in the way. Under this policy the Turks are to have no big battleships and no army in order that Turkey may easily be given a death below by its enemies. One cannot say what will be the final result of Lord Curzon's foreign policy, whether the Muslim nation and the Muslim empire will be ruined or the British Cabinet. History teaches us that the oppressor has always been destroyed while the oppressed one has survived his sufferings. The time is not far distant when the cruel Cabinets of the world and their cruel methods based upon land-grabbing and the exploitation of the helpless nations and countries, will disappear from the world and a brotherhood of nations with sympathy for each other will take their place; and when that time comes the British nation itself will hang men like Lord Curzon and support our reasonable demands in connection with the Khilafat and Turkey.

Alleged cruel attitude of the Allies towards Turkey.
Al-Wahid (155), 14th Dec.

52. Although the war is over, the Turks are still in the agonies of war. Thousands of men, women and children who have been turned, thanks to the cruel policy of the Allies, out of their homes and fields, by tyrants from Greece are in a destitute condition with no food, no clothing, and no shelter. Their only fault is that they belong to Turkey, a Muslim State, which the capitalists of Europe want to destroy. At the same time we are sure that there would have been no massacre of 1,00,000 Turks—men, women and children—at the hands of the Greeks in the presence of the Allied troops in Turkey, if that State had been a Christian State; nor would 3,00,000 Turks have been turned out of their homes and fields if Turkey had been a Christian country. All this occurred when the cruel soldiers of Venizelos were allowed to occupy the port of Smyrna. Now that Venizelos has fled from the field of

his activities, who is there now who will do his work, the work of destruction of Turkey? We now find that when France and Italy have pressed for the revision of the Turkish Treaty and for the restoration of Smyrna and Thrace to the Sultan, Lord Curzon is opposed to the idea, and wants to ruin Turkey. Neither the British nor the other Allies have left anything undone in destroying that Muslim State. If any one wants to know what is meant by the destruction of the Muslim community in Europe, he had better turn to the pages of the Islamic history of Spain. What was achieved in Spain 400 years ago is going to be achieved now by the people of Europe. As an illustration of the methods which Europe will employ for the extirpation of the only Islamic State, we refer to an incident which has now occurred. The Turkish Government asked for permission from the Allies to succour those of its people who were in destitution, The permission was refused on the ground that the contemplated Financial Commission had not yet been appointed. This was horrible indeed. Oh, you cruel ministers of Europe, are you brutes or human beings? Human beings are lying wounded before your eyes, and you cruel ones, you will neither dress the wounds yourselves, nor allow others to do so. Remember, the cry of the oppressed will lead to God's wrath, and to the disappearance of the tyrants from the world. If the Turkish Government had given little children milk to drink, would that have led to the ruin of Europe? If destitute Muslim women had been given food and clothing, would that have affected your factories? Oh, you enemies of humanity, is it the case that in the desire for expansion of territory, your human qualities have turned into those of an animal?

Comments on the threat of the Sharif of Mecca to join the Bolsheviks.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 2nd Jan.

53. Referring to the communication of King Husain of the Hedjaz in the course of which he has threatened to join with the Russian Bolsheviks if the Allies do not fulfil certain stipulations, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* declares that Sharif Husain of Mecca has been reduced to his present straits because he rebelled against his master, the Sultan of Turkey. It believes that the Sharif's threat is worthless, and that nobody can become a King without divine support and beneficence. It also opines that any union with the Bolsheviks will rekindle the fire of war in the Holy Land, and it counsels the Sharif to let matters take their course.

The future of Persia.
Hindusthán (21), 26th Dec. 1920, Eng. cols.

54. "Phalos" writes to the *Hindusthán*:—"Persia seems to have a most undecided future before her. On the one hand, the British Government has decided to clear out from there by next spring. On the other hand, the Bolsheviks declare that they will clear out from there immediately the British do so. That means that both of them are watching each other suspiciously. Even before the war these two Powers were rivals there. They know each other's tricks. Neither the one nor the other is so altruistic as to help Persia for her own take. Under these circumstances perhaps neither neither of them will absolutely clear out of Persia altogether. That means that the Persian Cat might be crushed between the British Lion and the Russian Bear. The British Lion has however committed himself to so much after the war that he finds it necessary now to get out of his commitments. Once let him get out of Mesopotamia and Persia, and he will find it impossible to return there again. The Russian will step into his shoes, and it will require armies stronger than those of Great Britain to make him get out of them. The Japanese can perhaps do it, but certainly not Great Britain or even Frence."

Comments on the reported cession of Cilicia by the French to the Turks.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 26th Dec. 1920.

55. Referring to the reported evacuation of Cilicia by France on condition that the Turks should not molest the Armenians, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* states that the Turks punished the Armenians for continued ill-behaviour, and maintains that the French desire to confer a boon on the Turks by evacuating Cilicia is a mere boast, and that this evacuation is contemplated owing to a desire to avoid a fresh war against the Turks, who have already had a skirmish or two with the French.

RAILWAYS.

A complaint against the G. I. P. Railway.
Kesari (115), 28th Dec.

56. The *Kesari* complains of the new rule enforced by the G. I. P. Railway of not issuing receipts for goods given in its charge till they are loaded in a waggon and till the number of the waggon is mentioned in the receipt and says that people have in consequence of the rule to wait for many days for getting their receipts and that nobody is responsible for the damage, if any, that may be caused to the goods in the meantime. It says that Bombay merchants have in consequence refused to send goods to the Boribunder and Wadi Bunder Stations. It remarks that one of the points before the Railway Committee now sitting is to maintain friendly relations between the merchants and the Railway Companies and it deprecates the enforcement of questionable new rules that would entail loss. It hopes that the question will be satisfactorily settled on the 5th instant when a deputation of merchants is to meet the Traffic Manager.

Hardships on Railways in Káthiáwár.
Káthiáwár Times (27), 29th Dec. 1920, Eng. cols.

57. "Now that the Railway Committee is sitting in Calcutta to enquire into the working of the railways in India some amelioration of the indifferent conditions in which the administration of the railways is at present conducted is expected.......... Railways in this country, and particularly in Kathiawar, indeed, do not exist for the public but the public exist, and specially the third class passenger, for keeping the railways going. We have, very often dwelt upon this subject in our columns and how the railways in Kathiawár, in view of the countless defects in their management, *viz.*, shortage of carriages, lack of lighting, irregularity in keeping time, want of resting accomodation at some stations, etc., are a bane rather than a boon to the public.......... There is no company administration in Káthiáwár. Here the administration is in the hands of States who own their railways. But it is sad to say that they are seized upon with love of making profit more than the companies in British India.......... We hope the Railway Committee will do something to remedy the thousand and one defects tainting our railway system and to keep it abreast of the times by meeting the growing wants and the real convenience of the public."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 7th January 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 8th January 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged differential treatment of Indians and Europeans by Indian Law Courts . . . 74
Appeal to the Indians to take steps betimes to stop the wholesale export to England of Indian oil-seeds . . . 79
Appeal to the Shanbhogs of Kánara to return to work . . . 77
Boycott of British goods the best method of compelling the British public to do justice to India . . . 75
Comments on Sir Valentine Chirol's letters to the *London Times* on the position in India . . . 69
Compulsory land acquisition in the Mulshi Valley (district Poona) for Messrs. Tata & Sons . . . 81 & 82
Protest against certain remarks of the Commissioner, Berar, about political agitators . . . 76
Protest against the contemplated export of rice to England . . . 78
Reflections on the Dyestuffs Bill in Parliament . . . 72
Reflections on the British Mission to Kabul . . . 71
Sir William Meyer and the purchase of stores for Government . . . 70
Suspicion about certain Indian leaders being the spies of Government. 73
The British Empire is becoming too unwieldy . . . 68
The proposed revision survey of the Deogad and Rájapur Talukas of the Ratnágiri District . . . 80

Congress and Conferences:

Alleged seditious character of the utterances at the Nágpur sessions of the Congress . . . 34
Comments on Dr. Ansari's address as President of the All-India Moslem League . . . 45
Comments on the change of the creed of the Congress . . . 19—22
Comments on the Congress presidential address . . . 13—18
Comments on the presidential address at the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference . . . 48
Comments on the presidential address at the Madras Sessions of the National Liberal Federation . . . 39—44
Comments on the proceedings of the All-India Students' Conference . 46 & 47
Congress resolution regarding boycotting His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit . . . 29
The English Labour delegates and the Nágpur Congress . . . 36
The exchange question in the Congress and the National Liberal Federation . . . 35

H 812—6 CGN

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Congress and Conferences:—*concld.*
- The Indian National Congress and the Liberal Federation counterparts of each other . . . 38
- The Labour Party's sympathy for India . . . 37
- The Nágpur Congress . . . 30—33
- The non-co-operation resolution in the Congress . . . 23—28

His Excellency the Governor: Appeal to — to release the political prisoners in the Presidency . . . 49

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught:
- Reflections on the arrival of — in India . . . 1
- The people of Madras should demonstrate to — that the newly-elected Madras Legislative Council is not truly representative, etc. . . . 2

Honours List: The New Year's— . . . 50—53

Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the Government of India's despatch on the position of Indians in East Africa . . . 62—64

Indian Press: Prosecution of the editor of the *Al-Wahid* of Karáchi . . . 84

Indian Reforms:
- Comments on the appointment of new Executive Councillors and Ministers for Bombay under the Reforms . . . 4—8
- Comments on the appointments of new Executive Councillors and Ministers in Bengal, Madras, United Provinces, Punjáb and Central Provinces . . . 11
- Comments on the distribution of the transferred subjects among the Bombay Ministers . . . 9
- Comments on the Royal Instructions to the Provincial Governors . . . 3
- Complaint about Parsis not being selected as Executive Councillors and Ministers under the Reforms . . . 10
- Position of Ministers as regards public meetings . . . 12

Irrigation: An—complaint . . . 83

Non-co-operation:
- Condemnation of — in the field of education . . . 60
- Government cannot use brute-force against the non-violent — of Mr. Gandhi . . . 59
- Government should not allow themselves to be alarmed into taking hasty action against the—movement . . . 58
- Non-co-operation is enjoined by religion . . . 57
- Reflections on the closing of the national school at Talsana through the interference of the Political Agent . . . 61
- *Swarajya* can be achieved even earlier than in nine months if private servants also join in the boycott . . . 56
- The evil result of— . . . 54 & 55

Public Service:
- Comments on the new orders for the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service . . . 66
- Lord Reading as Viceroy . . . 65
- People are being much inconvenienced by the Talati strike . . . 67

War:
- Comments on the alleged negotiations between Canada, South Africa, etc., for the exclusion of Japanese . . . 87
- England and the revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty . . . 85 & 86
- India and the Bolshevik menace . . . 88

MUNICIPALITIES.

Alleged capitalistic tendencies of the Bombay Corporation . . . 89

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Reflections on the arrival of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught in India.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 9th Jan., Eng. cols.: *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 7th Jan.

1. "His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught lands at Madras on Tuesday. The whole country will welcome him with all the honour due to him as a venerated member of the Royal Family and as the representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor. India has been of yore famous for the virtue of hospitality, and we have no doubt that this hospitality will be cordially extended to our royal visitor during his brief sojourn in this country. The Duke has rendered many and important services to the Empire during his long career.......... Nor is the Duke quite a stranger to this country; for he has spent several years in this Presidency as the head of the western command.......... We hope that on his return he will take away with him a favourable impression of the great change that has taken place in the mentality of the people and the great awakening of not only the educated class but also the masses to a sense of civic responsibility. The visit of His Royal Highness will be associated with an important event in the history of India, namely the inauguration of the new Councils which come into existence under the Government of India Act. We know that persistent attempts are being made in various quarters to belittle the Reform Act and to scoff at the new Councils as mere empty show, but we have not the least doubt that this Act will be a great instrument in moulding the future of India.......... Bombay, as the gateway of India, has had up to now the honour of greeting royal visitors on their first landing on Indian soil. This time, however, the order has been changed owing to the fact that the Madras and Bengal Presidencies claim seniority over Bombay, and their Councils are therefore to be opened sometime before that of Bombay. His Royal Highness will open the Council of State and the Chamber of Princes at Delhi, at which important function we may expect some noteworthy announcement to be made regarding the future policy of the British Government in India. The Duke comes here at a time when the political atmosphere is clouded through various causes. Owing to a concatenation of circumstances which were unavoidable, several regrettable incidents have happened which have shaken the faith of many in the uprightness and justice of the British Government.......... The sane-minded portion of the public, however, believes that the situation is neither desperate nor irremediable. The Government can still take such tactful and effective measures as will restore public confidence and deprive the agitation of its sting. The Nagpur Congress has gone even so far as to advise people to boycott the Duke of Connaught's visit. Whatever may be the resolution which the Nagpur Congress has passed, we are sure it dose not represent the united opinion of the whole country.......... The Duke's claims upon the esteem and affection of the people are so strong that we are sure they will pay but little heed to the recommendation of the Nagpur Congress." [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The people of India have high respect for the Royal family for they know that the members of that family have a deep sympathy for them. The forthcoming visit of the Duke of Connaught is in connection with the new reforms and as a large section of the people are dissatisfied with these reforms, they have resolved to resort to non-co-operation. Since the people cannot participate in the scheme of the new reforms it is not possible for them to join whole-heartedly in the festivities that would be organised in connectoin with theDuke's visit.]

The people of Madras should demonstrate to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught that the newly elected Madras Legislative Council is not truly representative, etc.

Young India (14), 5th Jan.

2. With reference to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's forthcoming visit to Madras, *Young India* writes:—"We need not remind our Madras friends of the Nágpur Congress Resolution in this connection which must be so fresh in their mind. We hope they will be able to keep before His Royal Highness a true perspective of the state of affairs in the country, by their silent but unmistakable protest that these Councils do not represent the electorate, meaning thereby the majority thereof, and to impress

upon the Duke the fact, which he might carry to His Majesty, that India will be satisfied with, and is determined to have, nothing short of full Swaraj and a complete retrieval of the Khilafat. It would not be too much to expect, after what has happened at Nágpur, those of our patriotic countrymen who have allowed themselves to be elected on the Council to withdraw forthwith in respect to the wishes of the major portion of their constituencies, and more to the call of the country."

Comments on the Royal Instructions to the Provincial Governors.

Sindvási (162), 23rd Dec. 1920.

3. The instructions issued by the King-Emperor to the Provincial Governors demonstrate the genuine desire on the part of His Majesty and the British Government to open a new page in the Indian administration, basing it on sound principles of justice, equity and good order. If these instructions are acted upon, we feel confident that the administration will improve considerably. The instructions are as follows:—The Provincial Governors should work the Reform Act in such a manner that the people of India shall appreciate the advantages of self-Government and gradually become fit to govern the country for themselves. This responsibility on the Governors will be discharged in a fitting manner by such of them as have a trait of liberal mindedness in them. We are glad to note that almost all the present Provincial Governors have that trait in them, and if they refrain from the old short-sighted policy, and not commit the same errors as have been committed by the former Governors in the past, they will be able to work the reforms in such a manner as to enable the Indians to acquire the art of self-Government, so that His Majesty's hopes will soon be realised. The Governors have also been instructed to devise such measures as might promote the moral, social, and industrial welfare of all classes of the population without distinction. Such an instructiion was quite necessary in view of the fact that the Provincial Governments in the past were sadly wanting in habits of impartiality. If the present Governors act upto this instruction, there will be real democracy in the country for which our leaders have been agitating so much. The above shows in what benevolent spirit His Majesty has conceived the instructions. We once more express our hope that the Royal instructions will be acted upon in the right spirit. If it so happens, we trust, the present impediments and obstructions in the path of reforms will, to some extent, cease to exist.

Comments on the appointment of new Executive Councillors and Ministers for Bombay under the Reforms.

Gujaráti (17), 9th Jan., Eng. cols.

*4. "The appointment of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad to the Executive Council of the Bombay Government means a heavy loss to the Indian Legislative Assembly, and that of the Honourable Mr. Chunilal V. Mehta as a Minister involves his withdrawal from public life and deprives the local Legislative Council of a capable non-official member. Principal Paranjpye's appointment as Minister deprives the Fergusson College of the services of its foremost and self-sacrificing educationist and the public life of the Deccan of one of its most independent and talented citizens and the Bombay Council of an ever-watchful, diligent and courageous Councillor. But all the three appointments are so eminently satisfactory that we cannot but congratulate His Excellency on the courage and breadth of mind he has shown in selecting them. The Honourable Shaikh Gulam Hussein Hidayatullah, who hails from Sind, has been a practising pleader and a member of the local Legislative Council, and in an atmosphere purged in a large measure of its usual cramping influence, he too may be expected to walk hand in hand with his two able colleagues. Then we have in Sir Ebrahim Rahimtullah one of the strongest of Mahomedans, and with the accession of such a strong colleague like Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad we have no doubt that both will be able to make their influence felt.......... It will be for them to show, when the proper time comes, why they could not do more than they did and thus pave the way for a still larger instalment of reform. Their success will be the success of their countrymen and the defeat of the calumniators of Indians. For our own part we have no doubt that if the new members of the Executive Council or the Ministers fail, it will be not because they were incompetent or unpatriotic but because of the restrictions and limitations in which they had to work. Even that will strengthen the demand for reforms on more radical lines. Anyway we look upon the present experiment as most promising, especially if His Excellency Sir George Lloyd is able to inspire his government with the same liberality of spirit he has exhibited in choosing the Indian members of his Executive Council and his Ministers. If the experiment is found unsuccessful in Bombay —we do not think it will be—it cannot be successful in any of the other presidencies where the combination of non-official talent and experience is not quite so strong as it is in this presidency."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Jan.

5. "The constitution of the Government of Bombay has at last been announced. The delay in the announcement had led us to believe that Sir George Lloyd—whose main strength, we were told, lay in his disdain of prestige and the subordination of the latter to the interests of the people—was determined not to follow the evil example of the Governments of Madras and Bengal in having four members of the Executive Council. We regret Sir George has, after all, proved himself to be no less a votary of prestige than the average bureaucrat in this country—and no less indifferent to the waste of public money. Apart from this, the selection of Indian members of the Executive Council—having regard to the fact that no Congressman would, of course, associate himsef with Government—is unexceptionable, both Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola and Sir Chimanlal being far and away superior in calibre to the best of bureaucrats in any part of the country. Perhaps, when the occasion comes, Sir Chimanlal may excel even the most hardened civilian in his characteristic defect of being 'bureaucratic'. As for the Ministers, there can be no doubt—bearing in mind the same reservation as we have made in respect of the Executive Councillors—they represent the brain of the present Council, as it is composed. Both Mr. Chunilal Mehta and Mr. Paranjpye' have adequate personal qualifications for the office to which they have been called. We cannot say the same thing about Mr. Hidayatullah, who has evidently been selected merely because of his seniority. For the rest the Ministers must be told that they are the nominees of the Governor and that they no more represent the people of Bombay than does the man in the moon—for the simple reason that the people have no faith in this Council and the tinsel 'concession' of 'Responsible Government' which it is supposed to confer. If, therefore, they fail to do anything, let them thank themselves. They will perform their duty to the people best—by resigning their Ministership."

Bombay Samáchár (61), 6th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 4th Jan.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 9th Jan., Eng. cols.

6. The care exercised by His Excellency the Governor in selecting members of his new Executive Council and the Ministers will, we feel sure, make for the success of the Reforms. We may not have secured complete *Swarájya*, but the presence of five Indians as the coadjutors of the Governor will go a great way in setting at rest the old complaint about popular opinion being in the minority with Government. The appointment of Ministers for transferred subjects is a step in the direction of responsible Government and none but the people themselves will have to be blamed if they for some reason or other fail to take full advantage of the situation. The appointment of Sir Chimanlal Setalwad to the Executive Council will be approved in all quarters and no one can make bold to say that a better selection could possibly have been made. The appointment of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye and the Honourable Mr. Mehta as Ministers will be received with gratification. The gentleman from Sind is not so well-known, but we can entertain high hopes of him by looking to the courage he has shown in accepting the post at a time when such high feelings prevail in the Moslem community. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* approves of the appointment of the Bombay Executive Councillors and Ministers on the whole but takes exception to the appointment of Mr. Hayward on the score of his being brought to the Executive Council from the High Court. It is of the opinion that High Court Judges should not be made Executive Councillors.

The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"In Sir Chimanlal Setalvad Government have selected as Councillor one who with his trained judicial intellect can be relied upon to give his opinion impartially upon any subject. His Excellency the Governor will continue to be in charge of the Public Works Department, and the Bombay Development Scheme is likely to make rapid and satisfactory progress under his personal keen supervision. The selection of the ministers has been made very judiciously. They are all men who can be implicitly relied on to do their best to promote the public interest. In choosing Mr. R. P. Pranjpye as minister for education Government have made the best selection possible. Mr. Pranjpye is very keen on matters of educational reform, and we may be quite sure education will make good progress in this presidency under his ministry. Mr. C. V. Mehta is a young and energetic man who has come rapidly to the front by his proved ability. Shaik Hidayatullah hails from Sind but is not so very well-known in this Presidency. These three ministers have already been installed in office, and we wish them every success in their new sphere."]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 4th Jan.

7. Commenting upon the appointments of Ministers, the *Dnyán Prakásh* says that His Excellency the Governor could not have found a better man than the Honourable Mr. Paranjpe for the post to which he has been appointed. It considers that appointments also of the Honourable Mr. C. V. Mehta and the Honourable Shaikh Ghulam Hussain as satisfactory and expresses its belief that the Presidency will make real progress during their tenure of office. The paper congratulates His Excellency the Governor on making right selections for the posts of Ministers.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 9th Jan.

*8. "The selection of Ministers in the Governors' Provinces is, on the whole, unexceptionable......... The whirligig of time brings about strange things, but seldom one more dramatic than Mr. Harkishan Lal's accession to Ministership within less than two years of his arrest and condemnation as a political conspirator. Sir Edward Maclaglan could have given no stronger proof of His Excellency's utter repudiation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's disastrous policy, and Mr. Harkishan Lal has shown true public spirit and patriotism in grasping the hand of reconciliation so cordially extended to him and, through him, to the Punjáb. The Hindu Governor of Bihar and Orissa has selected a Mahomedan and an Indian Christian for his Ministers, and the *Searchlight*, a vigilant critic, is not disposed to quarrel with his choice. The Central Provinces and Assam selections seem to have given satisfaction in these provinces."

Comments on the distribution of the transferred subjects among the Bombay Ministers.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 9th Jan.

*9. "Education goes appropriately to Mr. Paranjpye, but with it are lumped together Medical Administration, Public Health, Sanitation and Industrial Development. His charge represents at least three groups of distinct subjects, and no one can say that they could not be better administered if there were at least one more minister. Mr. Chunilal Mehta is placed in charge of Forest and Excise. Unless he himself had felt some hesitation in taking up the industrial portfolio, for which he is best qualified on account of his previous connections with several local concerns, there seems to be no reason in not giving it to him. His commercial experience may be useful perhaps in Forest development, but it will be of no use, if not of positive hindrance, in the case of Excise. This seems to be a case of finding a round hole for a square man of deliberate purpose. Local Self-government has been thrust into the background by the Montagu scheme of reforms in more ways than one. The department in the new Bombay arrangement is placed in charge of the Minister from Sind. We recognise the difficulties in the distribution of work among a limited number of Ministers, but we connot help thinking that, nevertheless, there might have been a more equitable arrangement than what has been made. We note that the Development of Bombay has been taken out of the Local Self-government department and give to a Member of Council. It is not clear on what principle a 'transferred subject' can be split up in this manner."

Complaint about Parsis not being selected as Executive Councillors and Ministers under the Reforms.

Praja Mitra and Pârsi (30), 5th Jan., Eng. cols.

10. "Over a score of persons have been appointed, in the various provinces, to be the Ministers and members of Council under the Reforms Scheme. They are all Hindus and Muhammadans in pretty equal proportions. The other Indian communities are hardly represented in the executive of the new Governments. To a large extent this is natural and necessary; yet, from the standpoint of the minor communities, this arrangement is not altogether satisfactory. Confining our attention to Bombay, the entire exclusion of Parsis from the Council and the Ministerships is noteworthy. Looking to their civic and social importance, the Parsis had some sort of right to a place in the Government of Bombay. Yet none of the executive members or Ministers is a Parsi. Ordinarily, the question of representing the different communities on the executive of a province would not arise. But looking to the meticulous care with which the Government have tried to maintain the communal balance on the Executive Councils of all the provinces so far as the Hindu and the Muhammadan communities are concerned, the other Indian communities too might well have been considered in places where they are of consequence. The Parsis can claim to be an important minority in the Western presidency; and they have contributed more than their share towards the commercial, industrial and social development of Bombay. Under the old regime they enjoyed a fair proportion of power and position. In the new dispensation they appear to have been swept off, in spite of the very large extent to which non-co-operation has prevailed. But for non-co-operation it is doubtful if any Parsi would have been able to get himself returned to the Provincial Council, the Legislative Assembly, or the Council of State. As it is, owing to the Hindus and Muhammadans having refrained from contesting the seats on these assemblies, a goodly number of Parsis have got in. But this has proved hardly an advantage of any sort; for the nationalists have been roundly abusing the Parsis for the feeble response to the non-co-operation movement and the boycott of Councils. And the Government have not rewarded them. Thus they have drawn upon them the odium of patriotic Indians without any corresponding political advantage.......... The position is unenviable, and illustrates the political insignificance of the Parsis. It would be well if they would take the lesson of this situation to heart. Having a hopeless numerical inferiority which cannot be corrected in any way, their salvation lies in increasing their political significance. And for that they must do political work."

Comments on the appointments of new Executive Councillors and Ministers in Bengal, Madras, United Provinces, Punjáb and Central Provinces.

Gujaráti (17), 9th Jan., Eng. cols.

*11. "In the Madras Presidency the nominations are, on the whole, so unsatisfactory that one never expected Lord Willingdon to exhibit the spirit he has shown in selecting his Ministers. None of them has made his mark in public life, and it passes one's comprehension why Lord Willingdon has passed over men whose claims to recognition were not open to any challenge......... The only appointment that can be regarded as satisfactory is that of Mr. Shrinivas Iyangar, *ex*-Advocate-General, as a member of the Madras Executive Council.......... In the Central Provinces also the selections are of a very satisfactory character. Both Messrs. Joshi and Kelkar are men with record of past services, of undoubted capacity, knowledge and experience.......... In the United Provinces the nominations of Pandit Jagat Narain and Mr. C. Y. Chintamani as Ministers have been hailed in all circles. The former is known to be as straight as an arrow and possesses considerable knowledge and experience. He is respected by the public as well as by the official classes. Mr. Chintamani's services as a member of the local Council have been so invaluable that it would have been a great injustice if he had been left out in the cold........ It is impossible for any one who has marked his remarkable career for the last 25 years not to congratulate him on the position he has won for himself and on the patriotic and soundwork he has already done. Amongst the Congressmen who contributed a good deal to the strength, prestige and reputation of the Congress movement for political sanity and even statesmanship Mr. Surendranath Bannerjee has always occupied the conspicuous place. He has been in the public life for the last fifty years and more and played a distinguished rôle in helping on the political evolution of New India.......... His is the best and most fitting appointment that could have been made by the Bengal Government, and those who will not allow themselves to be carried away by the passions and prejudices of the hour will realise the true meaning of the phenomenon that one of the foremost Indians, who was consistently abused by the Anglo-Indian press and was scarcely a *persona grata* with the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, has now been chosen a Minister by the Bengal Government to take charge of an important portfolio! That is the greatest triumph of the principles and methods of the old Congress of which he was such a distinguished leader. The appointment of Mr. Harkishenlal and Fazali Hussain as Ministers for the Punjáb has been received with approval in all quarters except in circles belonging to the faith of uncompromising political fanaticism. The former has been a veteran Congress leader in the Punjáb for nearly three decades and the latter a vigorous Moslem League leader. .... No more crushing condemnation of Sir Michael O'Dwyer's policy and administration can be imagined than Lala Harkishenlal's appointment as Minister......... Truth and Righteousness have never so completely triumphed as in this instance, and we are sure Lala Harkishenlal's career as Minister will afford further illustration of this signal moral and political victory to the eternal shame and disgrace of O'Dwyers. At the same time a word of sincere praise is in fairness due to the present head of the Punjáb Government who has undoubtedly shown political righteousness as well as generosity in selecting him for one of his Ministers.......... We congratulate Lala Harkishenlal upon the shrewd statesmanship he has shown by boldly consenting, in face of adverse and thoughtless criticism at the hands of some of his own countrymen, to enter the inner sanctuary of government and availing himself of the opportunity to show that he, a convict under the O'Dwyer *regimé*, was and is quite as honourable as the very Governor of his province!"

Position of Ministers as regards public meetings.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 9th Jan.

***12.** "The Provincial Governments have all been reconstituted and now consist of a Governor, members of his Executive Council and his Ministers. What is the precise position of the Ministers? Sir Surendranath Banerji, speaking at a congratulatory function, is reported to have said that he was not an official but a servant of the public, and that he had the permission of the Governor to address public meetings. No one who is not an official is required to obtain the permission of the Governor to address public meetings, and that Sir Surendranath thought it necessary to obtain such permission shows that his position is not exactly what he takes it to be......... The Minister cannot criticise publicly matters pertaining to Members of the Executive Council. He, obviously, will not criticise his own department or that of his ministerial colleagues. What remains? Only non-official popular, political movements. Whatever the ultimate results may be, the immediate effect of this scheme is certainly to prevent some score of publicists from criticising Government policy. This might or might not matter, but it is better to have a correct appreciation of the position of Ministers in order to do them justice. One cannot both eat one's cake and have it. No more can one accept a salaried position even in a dyarchic Government and at the same time claim to be independent of that Government. Sir Surendranath Bannerjee's claim, therefore, has no substance in it."

Comments on the Congress Presidential address.
***Jáme-e-Jamshed* (23), 3rd Jan., Eng. cols.**

13. "The gentleman who presided over the Indian National Congress at Nagpur this year is a statesman of genius. And like all men gifted with an unusual dose of keen intellect he has developed idiosyncracies. These he displayed in full in his presidential address of portentous length.......... Mr. Acharya is in public life for forty years. His independence of thought has earned him merited recognition. This consummate courage led him to denounce Gandhism in its most *raudra* or terrific feature of non-co-operation—a denunciation which must be read in his mother tongue by every Indian who does not understand English. To those numerous peasants or *Kisans* who are illiterate Mr. Acharya's reasoned views should be read aloud. Unfortunately men interested in the welfare of India as a whole will not go further. They will not recommend that the rest of his interminable address be likewise commended to the study of an awakened India.......... Two things the self-possessed thinking Indian will deduce from the National Congress Presidential address and part of its proceedings: total absence of unanimity on vital points among leading Indians and a pronounced disposition to believe in the right of might.......... Nevertheless, lest our inveterate enemies of the white beaurucracy crow over the scenes of dissension in the *Mandap* and exaggerate the divergence of standpoints, we would point with gratification to the patience with which the Gandhi section listened what was gall and wormwood to their ears and to the generally successful organization of the huge political *mela*."

Political Bhomiyo (74), 31st Dec. 1920, Eng. cols.; *Gujarâti Punch* (19), 2nd Jan., Eng. cols.

14. "The address of Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar, President of the 35th Sessions of the Indian National Congress, may be characterized as not only thoughtful, but also very original in several respects. The Nationalist-Extremists will find it disappointing, as the President adversely criticises non-co-operation and refuses to go headlong with the present whirlwind. The Moderates also, on the other hand, while accepting some views of the President, will find it difficult to agree with others. The President has tried to defend the principle of non-co-operation and declared the movement to be 'sacred,' but he could not help strongly condemning its programme! His first statement can well be understood to be made to placate the large number of non-co-operationists present over whom he was presiding, while in his second statement attacking the programme one can feel the Old Congressman that he is speaking out boldly against the items of a propaganda which cannot but gravely injure the interests of the country.......... The President expressed himself strongly against the fetish of severing the British connection, and thereby again dealt a blow to Mr. Gandhi and politicians of his ilk who profess to stop at nothing to achieve their ends.......... The President, it seems, is inclined to prefer economic coercion to non-co-operation. He strongly recommends that Englishmen should be brought to accept the Congress view by a systematic campaign of national strikes on the Railways and in the Posts and Telegraphs and by withdrawing labour from factories and stoppage of exports, etc. This, in our opinion, is no panacea for India's difficulties, for by the suggested means Indians themselves would be the chief losers.......... Every Moslem will agree with the President's views about the Khilafat. Also there will be absolute unanimity of agreement with his remarks about the treatment meted out to Indians abroad in the British Colonies. As regards the Punjâb his views are worth noting.......... Many in India will agree with him that a curtain should fall over this horrible incident......... On the whole, we cannot help feeling that though the lengthy speech of the Congress President is certainly not lacking in courage in several parts of it, still he has compromised his own convictions to a certain extent to keep in tune with the hullabaloo raised by Mr. Gandhi and his non-co-operationist henchmen. There is much theorizing and overmuch anxiety to weld together the Extremist and Moderate views, but it must be said that there is very little in the speech which suggests constitutionally feasible and practical means for the solution of the present problems." [The *Gujarâti Punch* remarks :—"The presidential oration of Mr. C. Vijay Raghav Chariar is a statesmanlike pronouncement, and we congratulate most heartily the country and the Congress on it......... Whether the Congress at large will accept presidential gospel or not is another question, but even if the country persists in the pursuit of dubious and doubtful means for the attainment of its political goal it will not be through want of sane but more effective counsel."]

15. The President of the Congress has conclusively proved that the British have no right to rule India as our masters. The President's suggestion for organising strikes and withholding the raw produce of the country can scarcely be incorporated in Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation and it has met with strong opposition. The President has made a suggestion for sending a memorial to Government when the Congress has given the go-bye to the policy of memorialising. We do not think that the Congress will adopt the suggestion. India is losing faith in the sympathy of the British public and the Congress is not, therefore, likely to send any representation of the kind suggested by the President.

Praja Bandhu (29), 2nd Jan.

16. It is well known that this year's Congress is of very great importance in the history of the country. It may also be said that this year's President was a fitting choice. But we have to admit that the President's address has been a sore disappointment. Some have likened it to a total eclipse. We, however, think that it is a partial eclipse. It has both its lights and shades. The address is all right until it enters upon the subject of non-co-operation when it becomes hopeless. We really cannot understand why the President seems to be afraid of the boycott of schools and law courts when he sees that every day brings success to the movement of non-co-operation. The want of funds for the purposes of National education seems to scare him. Does he not know who supports the present system of education financially? The President must realise that the days of requests and petitions are gone—for good.

Karnatak Mitra (38), 30th Dec. 1920.

17. Commenting upon the address delivered by Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar as President of the National Congress, the *Jagriti* writes:—Although the President has given expresion to many sensible views, most of the remedies that he has suggested to compel the English to concede our demands will be found to be futile and harmful. For instance, his suggestions include the bringing about of strikes of Railway, Post Office and Telegraph employées and the stoppage of exports. Now, labour must be organized by all means; but if this is done to gain some political end workers alone will be the sufferers. If they once come to the conclusion that the educated people do not hesitate to sacrifice them to serve their own purpose they will turn against them and thus the condition of the country instead of being bettered will become still worse. Similarly, we ourselves will be the losers if we donot export the raw materials which are not of much use to us or which are in excess of our requirements. We shall always be required to import some foreign articles, and if we do not pay for them by exports we shall have to pay in cash, and all the while our raw materials will be running to waste. No sound knowledge of economics is required to grasp such a simple truth, but Mr. Vijayaraghavachariar suggests such measures as sovereign remedies for our political ills, thus showing clearly that he is led away by the heat of the moment. The speech does not give satisfaction to any one party in India. It does not supply a key to the solution of the many important problems that are now facing the country. It may be full of legal lore but is on the whole unsatisfactory.

Jagriti (46), 1st Jan.

18. The *Kesari* feels disappointed at the speech of the Congress President and says that it is the misfortune of the country that he has crippled the non-co-operation movement by speaking against the boycott of schools and courts. It regrets exceedingly that the President himself should try to cripple non-co-operation when it has had already a great effect on the bureaucracy and when the bureaucracy was engaged in considering what inducements to offer in order to induce the people to withdraw from the practice of non-co-operation. It argues that it is quite necessary to resort to the strong remedy of non-co-operation in order to cure the disease of dependence. If the President did not really want non-co-operation, it continues, he should not have bothered himself with the Presidentship, but it appears, it says, that he is not against the principle of non-co-operation. It observes

Kesari (115), 28th Dec., 1920.

that non-co-operation is not based on hatred and anger but on self-control and self-sacrifice, and that the argument of the President that India would be re-barbarised if schools and law courts are boycotted is quite absurd. It quotes here the story of Babu Rabindra Nath Tagore about the parrot in a cage which was afraid to leave its confinement as it was afraid to lose its perch of brass and the delicacies on which it was fed, forgetting that the outside world afforded vaster opportunities. The Congress President argues, in the paper's opinion, like the parrot in the story. The present system of education, it says, has turned the Indians into so many Hamlets with their heads full of ideas but with no capacity for work. It condemns the President's ideas about a contract between the rulers and the ruled and his suggestion that *swardjya* may be granted under Letters Patent by the King-Emperor or by the Secretary of State in a despatch. The Congress leaders, it declares, must have been surely disappointed for not electing a proper President. When the nation is progressing speedily, it asks, how can a President of such a slow pace control it? It does not think, however, that national work will be harmed in any way. It hopes that non-co-operation will not be dragged back but that it will progress further in the proper direction, now that it has been tried and tested and it has been seen how its opponents quake before it.

Comments on the change in the creed of the Congress.

Gujaráti (17), 2nd Jan.

19. In urging the change in the creed of the Congress Mr. Gandhi laid stress on the non-violent nature of his propaganda for acquiring *Swardjya*. But it must be noted that Mr. Shaukat Ali declared that he had a large army with him! Mr. Gandhi relies on soul-force. But is it possible to secure political liberty by soul-force? We, moreover, fail to understand the claim advanced by Mr. Gandhi that any man in the street can acquire soul-force. The opinions expressed by Lala Lajpatrai and others in the Congress ought to convince Mr. Gandhi that he cannot stop people from thinking of violence in advancing their propaganda for *Swardjya*. The Congress had not sufficient time to listen to the arguments against the change in the creed and the change was ultimately carried against a small minority.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 6th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Raja Hansa* (89), 1st Jan.

20. In the course of an article in which it strongly condemns the change in the Congress creed, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—"With faith born of strong conviction, we believe that under good report or bad, British connection is most essential for India. We labour under grievous wrongs, but nothing that has happened or is likely to happen is going to justify by one jot the demand on the part of any sane person to think of or to dream of severing the British connection under any conceivable circumstance. We have all legal and constitutional means at our command for righting our wrongs, and let it be remembered that the present British Cabinet is not to remain in power for ever, nor is a Chelmsford going to preside at Simla and Delhi in perpetuity. .... The change in the Congress creed, as Mr. Gandhi explained to his critics in the Congress, provided for both parties coming in. With all due respect to the great man, we are bound to acknowledge that it will do nothing of the kind. It will bring in those only who have made up their minds to sever India from British connection. The new creed instead of broadening the basis of the Congress platform is bound to make it narrow and self-contained.......... We boldly assert that the new creed is unworthy of the Congress, simply because if it had the courage of its conviction, it ought to have boldly declared whether it was for British connection or against." [The *Raja Hansa* writes:—The change in the creed of the Congress has been made in the right direction. Some such change was necessary. The word "gradual" which occurred in the now superseded creed was a very elastic one and therefore dangerous.]

Jágaruk (45), 2nd Jan.

21. Looking to the revolutionary change made in the Congress Creed, the strengthening and extension of the Calcutta non-co-operation resolution, and the fanatical and irresponsible speeches delivered by Messrs. Muhammad Ali, Lajpat Rai, and other speakers, at Nagpur it appears to be clear that instead of there being any prospect of the country being freed from Mr. Gandhi's calamitous movement, the coming year will see the danger still more aggravated. Many had hoped that the keen opposition which exists in the country among the educated classes to Mr. Gandhi's movement would make itself strongly felt at the Nagpur Session of the Congress, but Mr. Gandhi's opponents having practically absented themselves from the Session, his party carried the day. The President of the Congress, it is true, severely condemned Mr. Gandhi's programme, but it must be noted that he stands for the principle of non-co-operation, and he suggested certain things, such as compulsory primary education, raising of the depressed classes, boycott of foreign goods, etc., as his own programme. We, however, fail to understand why that programme should be called non-co-operation. He appealed to the Congress not to drop the British connection from the creed, but it has contemptuosly spurned his suggestion.

Servant of India (10), 6th Jan.

22. "No mention is to be made of the British connexion because certain Muhammadans, so far as their feelings go, have already disowned allegiance to Britain, and room must be found for them in the Congress. One may ask, whether on this reasoning, it is not equally necessary to include within the means open to the Congress even the use of violence, because there are some Muhammadans who believe in force as the most effective remedy. It would be equally wrong in that case to restrict Congressmen to the employment of peaceful means. The Congress, too, has an eye to the expedient."

The non-co-operation resolution in the Congress.

Kesari (115), 4th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 5th and 7th Jan.; *Lokasangraha* (118), 2nd and 4th Jan.

23. The *Kesari* says that the Calcutta non-co-operation resolution was amended at Nágpur in accordance with the views of the Nationalists. Mahatma Gandhi understands, as Mr. Tilak did, that the real importance regarding such resolutions lies in compromise and unity and not in fighting about mere words. The second controversial point was, says the journal, the first clause of the Congress constitution. But there was nobody in India with its craving for legalities to be deterred from saying that *swarájya* is the ideal and thus unanimity was easily achieved. The Congress policy is not narrow and it achieved in many ways unity and progress. The paper remarks that the Congress has become truly representative and that it is not any longer confined to lawyers and the educated classes. It further remarks:—Many of the few resolutions passed by the Congress were about the poor. The Hindu-Muhammadan unity has become adamantine. The Sikhs joined this year the Congress being assured that their interests would be protected as those of the Indians. The resolution passed by the Native Christians recommending that they should join the Congress shows that people are beginning to confide in the truly national policy of the Congress. The Congress has changed its creed and constitution and has made itself a more practical body. The question still remains what should be the relation of India to the British Empire, but the answer will depend on the conduct of Government. Mahatma Gandhi has always been saying, 'We shall obtain *swarájya*, as far as possible by remaining within the Empire. But if Government make it impossible for us to do so, we shall break away from the Empire'. The whole of India speaks the same thing to itself and the public. The word *swarájya* has been inserted in the creed with the same meaning. [The paper then proceeds to give the details of the constitution and congratulates the Nágpur workers. The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks:—The Extremists are really against non-co-operation, but being afraid of the following of Mr. Gandhi, they gave their assent to the resolution. A split would have been more welcome. The paper in a further issue remarks that there was no occasion for Mahatma Gandhi to yield but he did so because the response of the country to the Calcutta resolutions was poor. It denies that the Nationalists were in any way victorious over Mahatma Gandhi. It is of opinion that the Nágpur resolution is weaker than that of Calcutta, though it appears to be more extensive. The *Lokasangraha* writes:—The Congress resolutions on the creed and non-co-operation are such as would command universal approval. The Congress now does not issue definite

orders. It has allowed individual discretion, specially in the case of schools. The Calcutta resolution asked people at once to take the leap. Nágpur asks them to measure their strength before doing so. In a further issue the paper thanks Mahatma Gandhi for abandoning his difficult path and coming down to more accessible ways approved by the leaders. It holds that the Congress resolution does not particularise anybody and that it applies to all equally. The resolution in this way has become stronger and not weaker.]

Gujaráti (17), 2nd Jan.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 2nd Jan.

24. We have not so far heard of a more scathing criticism of Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation than the one made by the President of the Nágpur Congress wherein he condemned the suggestion for boycotting schools and law courts as 'an unintentional and even unconscious proposal to re-barbarise the people of India'. Such an opinion from the President is well worth consideration. While condemning non-co-operation, the President has suggested the boycott of foreign goods combined with the cessation of the export of raw produce. The execution of this suggestion is not so very easy as it seems and is not likely to secure *swarájya* in nine months. While Mr. Gandhi's programme of boycotting schools is likely to lead the country into darkness, the President's suggestion is likely to do harm to the exporters of raw produce. No good purpose is likely to be served by such methods which are exemplifications of the saying about 'cutting one's nose to spite one's face'. We would rather prefer Mr. Gandhi's age of darkness which will not stand in need of goods of foreign manufacture. The country will be greatly benefited if the people were to make an extensive use of *khadi* cloth; but the supply of such cloth is not equal to the demand. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* considers the President's condemnation of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement as a severe blow to the movement and considers it very strange that the President should have made such harmful and mischievous suggestions as organising strikes and withholding exports of raw produce.]

Swarájya (143), 6th Jan.

25. The *Swarájya* attaches great importance to the presence of two Shankaracharyas and many Sadhus in the Congress. It is the prime and chief duty of the religious heads, it says, to obtain freedom and the rights of *Swarájya* for the country. Religion should exist to get *Swarájya* and not to increase slavery. It approves of boycott and quotes Article XVI of the League of Nations laying down that recalcitrant nations should be boycotted, in support of the boycott. Further on it talks about the rumoured appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy and says:—It remains to be seen now long his liberalism will last after he comes to India. If his liberalism does not go far enough to get *Swarájya* for India, the appointment will be troublesome both to His Lordship and the people of India.

Akhbár-e-Islám (58), 6th Jan.

26. It seems from the proceedings of the Congress that Mr. Gandhi's followers do not want to show openly their hatred against the British but that they want to show that they are prepared even to exercise their rights of self-government. The work undertaken by the Congress is of a very serious nature, but those who took part in passing the various resolutions do not seem to have realised their responsibility. The Congress has undertaken a visionary programme and there can be no hope of success in the struggle against industrial competition from abroad without radical changes in our industries. Hatred of the British seems also to be at the bottom of Mr. Gandhi's co-operation with the Ali Brothers in the matter of the Khilafat. The Muhammadans are being driven to fanaticism in the name of religion to such an extent that they have begun to look to foreign help in case of a *Jehad* in India. All these things should afford food for thought to Government. But these political movements can be effectively counteracted by successfully working out the new reforms, and much depends on how Government work them.

Sánj Vartamán (82), 5th Jan.

27. Fears were entertained in various quarters that the Nágpur Congress would weaken the original resolution in respect of non-co-operation, but the Congress has, on the contrary, materially strengthened the resolution. It

must be noted that opposition to the resolution has disappeared and that it was unanimously passed. We must congratulate the Congress on the unanimity shown by it on the question. The success so far achieved by the non-co-operation movement is solely due to its non-violent character. Non-co-operation is giving quite a new kind of training to the people and teaching them to acquire their independence by soul-force alone. If the Indian people succeed in this movement they will afford an object lesson to the rest of the world.

Servant of India (10), 6th Jan.

28. "The non-co-operation resolution which found acceptance in the Congress is described as a compromise resolution and seems to have met with the approval of those who were loud in their denunciation of the Calcutta programme. It is not a compromise if it is meant that there is any whittling down, so far as the terms of the resolution go, of the plan adopted in the Special Congress; for this year's resolution reaffirms the Calcutta resolution without abating one jot of it, and enlarges its scope so as to include in it all the four steps of non-co-operation enunciated by Mr. Gandhi, leaving it to the Congress or its all-Indian executive to give the word for their entire or partial execution.......... One cannot help feeling that the idea at the back of the minds of some of the prominent Nationalists, who, after making fierce attacks on the limited programme, have reconciled themselves on the more comprehensive one, must be that the extension of the movement will result in such a wide and general divergence between precept and practice that failure on the part of the Nationalist leaders to carry the programme into execution will be the less particularly noted by the country at large; that it will give them an opportunity of propagandism without imposing upon them any intimate responsibility for corresponding deeds. But Mr. Gandhi will surely hold them to their word. It may appear very uncharitable to present this view, but on no other hypothesis is it possible to account for the dropping of the vital objections urged by some of the Nationalist leaders, among whom none was more scathing in his denunciation than the president of the Congress. If the Calcutta scheme was unpractical, how has the extended version of it become more practical? It must also be recollected that the Nationalists condemmed the non-co-operation plan, not alone on the ground of impracticability but equally on the ground of undesirability. What is there in the new resolution which would convert an extremely undesirable thing into the most desirable one?"

Congress resolution regarding boycotting His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit.
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 4th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 4th Jan.

29. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* characterises the resolution passed by the Indian National Congress to boycott the visit of the Duke of Connaught as 'disgraceful' and remarks:—India is famous for its hospitality and it knows full well how to accord a fitting welcome to the revered scion of the Royal family. Indians do not require to be instructed in their duty by foolish non-co-operationists or purse-proud Bomanjis. Indians have had close and intimate connection with the Royal family and they will condemn any suggestion made with a view to break that honourable connection. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Congress showed some wisdom in making it clear that it had no personal quarrel with the Royal family in passing the resolution about boycotting the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. If the Congress wanted its grievances to be redressed, it should rather have passed a resolution for making a representation to His Royal Highness in respect of the grievances of the Indian people. Nothing would be lost in making the Duke aware of our grievances and seeking through him the redress thereof.]

The Nagpur Congress.
New Times (9), 28th Dec. 1920.

30. "It would be difficult to exaggerate the truly tremendous enthusiasm which characterised the opening of the Nagpur Congress.......... The national sentiment has penetrated to the masses; the movement for *swaráj* is developing into a mass-movement; the national ideal is taking grip on multitudes of people; and those whom our Anglo-

Indian critics are pleased to call 'the uneducated' love India with a growing love and wish to see her a Free Nation. Will the reactionaries still hesitate to confess that 'political hunger' is not confined to self-interested fire-brands and misguided students'?"

Kánara Leader (37), 28th Dec. 1920.

31. The most momentous session of the Congress is being held this year. The Nation has passed from the stage when it was satisfied with armchair politics. It knows what it wants and gives expression to it unmistakably. It is first of all essential to free the Indian mind from the shibboleths of the past. Tender thoughts and tender ties of friendship are good in their way, and it would be excellent if British connection is allowed to be retained by the Britishers themselve. Have the connection by all means if you can, but let the nation look further ahead. When we think of *swarájya*, we should be solemn and not waste our time in discussing whether we should retain this or that connection. A state that has *swarájya* will have its best friend as its ally. The latter has to decide whether to be friend or foe! What the Congress has to decide therefore is about the best way of attaining its goal in the surest manner.

Nireekshaka (47), 31st Dec. 1920.

32. The *Nireekshaka* is grieved to find from the proceedings of the Nagpur Congress that the estrangement between the people and Government has seriously increased instead of abating since the Calcutta session, and it regrets that the Moderates boycotted the Nagpur sitting and thus lost an opportunity of influencing its deliberations. It condemns the attitude of the Moderates as it creates an impression among the people that they are forming themselves into an exclusive caste opposed to the general public, and it declares that if the Moderates want to induce the people to co-operate with Government, they cannot do it by standing aloof from the Congress. It points to the example of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mr. Jinnah, and declares that if the Moderates, without being frightened by the verbal change in the creed, take part in the proceedings of the Congress they will be able to save that body from proceeding along the wrong direction which it is taking.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Jan.

33. Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall concludes an article on the Nágpur Congress as follows:—"To all who forboded evil from my countrymen, I answered: 'God forbid'; and got the answer in return: 'You do not know your countrymen in India'! Perhaps not; but I had seen how the Government police at Nágpur tried to be helpful; I had seen how the G. I. P. Railway authorities, who after all are not quite unrelated to the bureaucracy, did everything that could be done to further Congress traffic; I can see that my countrymen in India are now presented with a golden opportunity, and cannot think them quite so blind as not to see it for themselves. At Nágpur it was perfectly clear to an observer with his wits about him that there was not the least objection in the Congress to the presence of the British in India, save only in so far as they are anti-Indian; and that, however anti-Indian he or she may be, no British man or woman in India has anything to fear from the non-co-operation movement. The last and permanent impression of the Congress on my mind is one of goodness. From the first day to the last there has been nothing mean or vulgar—much less evil or dishonest—in its counsels. I wish that the British rulers of India could have been in my place that they might know the truth for once without the comments of some interested intermediary, might know the actual character of men who have been much maligned. I hope the truth will somehow filter through to their intelligence, and if that happens soon I feel quite sure that Mr. Gandhi's prophecy will be fulfilled and all the points of non-co-operation will be gained within one year in the most satisfactory and simple manner, that is, by the British joining with the rest of India."

Alleged seditious character of the utterances at the Nágpur Sessions of the Congress.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 4th December 1920, Eng. cols.

34. "Judged by the standards familiar in the public affairs of this country the entire proceedings of this year's Congress might come under the ban of the law of sedition. Most of the speeches delivered in the Congress pandal and in the subjects committee at Nágpur were characterised by an extraordinary bitterness and violence of tone against the British Government. The speakers did not mince matters, and expressed their sentiments with the utmost frankness and fearlessness.......... Except Pundit Malaviya, Mr. Jinnah, and one or two others, the rest do not appear to have measured their words or the probable effect of them. Many speeches, when carefully analysed, seem to be devoid of sense. Others, in the light of history and the cold logic of facts, appear to be tainted with an ugly swagger, entirely out of place in a dignified political assembly like the Congress and its committees. The element of swagger in the Congress seems to have been supplied mainly by some of the Musalman speakers. The chief sinners in this respect were of course the Ali Brothers, who for some time past have consistently indulged in the exhilarating pastime of rattling the sword.......... The Ali Brothers, by the manner in which they rattle their wooden sword. make both themselves and their cause ridiculous; and it is time that the responsible leaders of the nation, for the credit of the cause, checked them in this over-indulgence of a hectoring, bullying and blustering policy.......... This type of boastful bluster is worse than useless. It is not calculated to raise India or the great Moslem community in the estimate of the nations.......... Such utterances merely betray the extremity of impotency. Swagger and egotism are inconsistent with true manliness. The real manly ring was in Mr. Jinnah's speech, though Mr. Jinnah did not appeal to the 'hearts of the masses'. Other speeches, though free from the taint of swagger and egotism, were equally spoilt by a want of balance.......... The point to emphasise is that, however transported one might feel by the enthusiasm or fanaticism of the moment, these speeches do not indicate the proper temper of the nation at the present hour. Let not friend or foe run away with the notion that India deliberately feels or thinks as the Ali Brothers or Mr. Bepin Pal or even Mr. Gandhi express themselves for the time being."

The exchange question in the Congress and the National Liberal Federation.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 7th Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 5th Jan.

35. One of the most important resolutions passed by the Congress is in connection with the exchange situation. The exchange policy of Government has done immense harm to Indian commerce and has enriched British merchants and the British treasury. Indian merchants were induced to indent for British goods at the rate of two shillings per rupee and they are now placed in an awkward position by the rise in the rate of exchange to one shilling and five pence per rupee. When will such a policy come to an end? Will the new Councils be able to change it? Let us see what the gentlemen who have entered the Councils by defying the Congress are able to accomplish. [The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The present exchange policy has inflicted a serious loss upon Government and the people alike, and the attempts of Government to put matters right have aggravated the situation. The National Liberal Federation has also passed a resolution on the exchange question and though its point of view may be different from that of the Congress the resolutions passed by these two bodies should be able to convince Government of the necessity of putting an end to their arbitrary policy in the matter. Let us hope Government will take immediate steps to appoint a Committee to investigate into the question as suggested by the Federation.]

The English Labour delegates and the Nagpur Congress.

***Bombay Chronicle* (1), 5th Jan.**

36. "When we recall the sensation which the news that 'fraternal delegates' from the British Labour Party were to attend the National Congress at Nagpur caused when it was first announced in India, when we recall the hopes that were then expressed of the results of their attendance, the actual event seems rather disappointing. Three gentlemen from the British

Labour Party did attend the Congress. They took part in the discussions of the Subjects Committee, and they sat in prominent positions on the platform in the pandal. But far from their attendance rousing the enthusiasm which it would have roused two months ago, the attitude of the assembly towards them was distinctly sceptical. We are far from regretting that it should have been so. May we contend that it was perfectly correct attitude for an assembly tuned to a high moral purpose to assume towards men who, from all the indications available, attached more value to political claptrap than to moral or religious principles?......... We believe that if Mr. Ben Spoor, instead of Col. Wedgwood, had been touring India all these weeks, the fraternal delegates of the British Labour Party would have had a great ovation at the Congress. As it was, it was Mr. Spoor who saved the situation. His speeches had exactly the right tone of modest and sincere goodwill required to correct the false impression which had been created by the indiscretions of his colleague.......... It is on him that we rely to carry a sympathetic and correct report to England of what happened at Nagpur."

The Labour Party's sympathy for India.
Lokasatta ( ), 25th Dec. 1920.

37. Colonel Wedgwood has suggested a Round-table Conference to remedy the present discontent in the country. But he is merely a leader of the Labour Party and not one of the statesmen at the head of the Empire's affairs. All his wisdom will be of no avail in the absence of power. We would ask both the Colonel and Mr. Spoor who have come to India all the way from beyond the seas to make up the dispute between this country and England, as to why they do not try to extinguish the conflagration taking place so near England, *i.e.*, in Ireland. Why do they not compel the British Government to bring about the suggested conference? They should bear in mind that Indians would refuse to entertain any such pleasant-looking suggestion until the bureaucracy shows by its doings that it is really sorry for the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs.

The Indian National Congress and the Liberal Federation counterparts of each other.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 9th Jan.

*38. "Three years ago when the Liberal organization was first started, we observed that it was mainly needed as the second chamber of our unofficial Parliament. The Resolution on non-co-operation (by the National Liberal Federation meeting at Madras) brings out its second chamber frame of mind, clear-sighted in fixing responsibility and in applying principles but indisposed itself to take the initiative in setting things right. A collocation of the resolutions passed by the Nagpur Congress and by the Madras Federation leaves little on which the Government can congratulate themselves. In fact, those of the Federation are in many cases weapons of deadly precision as compared with corresponding Resolutions of the Congress which are mostly fire-works that may explode at an altitude of several thousand feet or in the speakers' hands. Apologists of Government, by firmly closing their eyes to the resolutions and speeches at the Federation, and opening them just enough to see the passages and phrases condemning non-co-operation, may, in the manner of a drowning man catching at a straw, draw what comfort they can as regards the trend of public feeling. But the Federation did not mean these resolutions merely as a means of making its views against non-co-operation acceptable to the people. It was as earnest about its resolutions as against non-co-operation, and we are sure that the leaders of the Federation do not in the least appreciate tributes to their sagacity, sobriety, and so on, unaccompanied by proofs of a genuine desire to support their demands for the redress of wrongs and for the removal of invidious inequalities between Indians and Englishmen within and without the country. They can do without the praise of those who do not propose to take their advice which, as shown above, does not materially differ from that of the Congress. ...... Sincere regret, of course, means repentance and restitution as far as that is possible. Mr. Sastri's demand is not very different from what Mr. Gandhi himself has been repeatedly making. In fact, the differences between the Congress and the Federation are mostly traceable to temperamental differences. The Congress represents the explosive and the Federation the expansive type of temperament. The Congress and the Federation are counterparts of each other—one the emotional, the other the intellectual; the one supplying the motive force at the wheel, the other the steering skill at the helm. To-gether they constitute one movement. The things that keep them apart are mostly personal and temporary; the things that they have in common are permanent and fundamental. It is the duty of every friend of Indian political progress to do what in him lies to emphasise the fundamental unity and to eliminate the superficial differences between the Congress and the Federation."

Comments on the presidential address at the Madras sessions of the National Liberal Federation.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 4th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 5th Jan.

39. The opinions expressed by Mr. Chintamani as president of the National Liberal Federation are on the whole so very outspoken that for a moment we feel that he differs in no way from the Indian National Congress. But unfortunately he is so much engrossed by the opinions of his party that he cannot approve of the policy adopted by the Congress or have any confidence in the non-co-operation movement or its promoters. The Moderates consider the non-co-operation movement as harmful, but the remedy suggested by Mr. Chintamani in place of that movement is in reality fraught with danger. The country is not prepared to accept the challenge of Mr. Chintamani and to rise in a rebellion against Government. Such line of action may be adopted by European nations; but it is opposed to the traditions and culture of our people. Mr. Chintamani has failed to appreciate the spirit of the non-co-operation movement and has insulted its followers by doubting their honesty of purpose. The salvation of the country cannot be effected by the Moderates, and so if they mean to discharge the duty they owe to the country they should make common cause with the non-co-operationists. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, on the other hand, considers the presidential address at the National Liberal Federation as quite in keeping with the true traditions of the Congress, and while approving of the president's condemnation of the non-co-operation movement and the warning given by him to the Viceroy to set right the wrongs to which India has been subjected, wishes success to the activities of the Federation. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—Mr. Chintamani's speech is as much characterised by foresight and coolness as it is replete with courageous and impartial criticism. Mr. Chintamani has shown by his speech that a man can be both a Moderate and a fearless critic of the policy of Government. The Liberals are convinced of the harmfulness and impracticability of the non-co-operation movement and they pin their faith to the success of the constitutional and peaceful agitation pursued by the Congress in the past. The path adopted by the Liberals may be long, but it is sure to lead to the goal of India's political ambitions.]

Nireekshaka (47), 31st Dec. 1920.

40. "His (*i. e.* the Congress President's) address is made of the same sorry stuff as Sir Narayan's writings and speeches are made of and is rounded with the same insufferable pedantry or in a word 'foppery' which characterises the utterances of our local knight.......... The president's address furnishes abundant evidence to show that a scholar is not fitted to lead the nation through a crisis of such magnitude as overwhelms the nation at present, and we feel more than ever convinced that a lawyer, if not a pre-eminent one at that, possesses far less qualification for the task."

Gujaráti (17), 9th Jan., Eng. cols.

*41. "Mr. C. Y. Chintamani's presidential address delivered at the third annual session of the National Liberal Federation of India is a well-reasoned, outspoken and compact pronouncement upon the various burning topics of the day, some of which have not received that attention which they deserved. .... Mr. Chintamani is, of course, no non-co-operator and has nothing to say in support of Mr. Gandhi's movement. He very properly invites the attention of the authorities to the important lesson to be deduced from the policy followed in the Punjáb and elsewhere in 1919 and the different policy adopted this year and announced in the resolution of the Government of India regarding the non-co-operation movement. The latter has avoided breaches of the public peace and tranquility and not come in the way of a free ventilation of public feeling......... He has asked the Government of India to realise that there is acute discontent in the land and that immediate remedial measures are imperatively needed if the confidence of the people in the sincerity and good faith of the British Government is to be secured."

Swarájya (143), 6th Jan.

42. The *Swarájya* says that the President of the Moderate Conference disappointed altogether the bureaucrats who had set high hopes on him and also the Anglo-Indian Press. It remarks that nobody approves of the bureaucratic deeds and that everywhere they are condemned. The Congress of course does not commend them, but it is indeed most regrettable that even the President of the National Liberal Fderation who has recently been made a minister does not assume the rôle of a bard singing the praises of Government. But still it is difficult to change the inborn nature of the Moderates. The paper continues to observe that the Moderates do things rejected by others, and that while the Congress has stopped subsidising the propaganda in England, they have proposed to spend £6,000 there.

Servant of India (10), 6th Jan.; *Chaitanya* (102), 3rd Jan.

43. "Mr. Chintamani's address was remarkable in many respects. It was indeed one of the old series.......... In a comparatively short address he surveyed in his characteristic vigorous language the important events of the year, fearlessly criticised the misdeeds and omissions of Government, spared no word in pointing out where his own countrymen were going wrong, appealed to Government regarding what it should do to gain the confidence and affection of the people, showed his fellow-workers what task lay before them and exhorted the Liberal Party to perfect its organisation and carry on its work with increased vigour.......... The chief feature of the resolutions was that they were largely constructive. The resolution on non-co-operation naturally claimed the greatest attention. The form in which it was passed should indeed satisfy all shades of opinion.......... It will not be much for a prophecy to say that the Liberal party in this country will concern itself more and more with the problems of social welfare as did the great party of its name in Britain in the latter half of the last century. When its programme in this direction develops, and when its members, trusted with power as Ministers and Councillors, give effect to it in the various provinces, those of our countrymen who are now carried aloft on wings of unmanageable emotion and lost in the cloudlands of dreams will recognise in it a safe landing place and a field for spending their energies to better purpose." [The *Belgaum Samáchár* remarks that Mr. Chintamani's address clearly demonstrates the necessity of the existence of the Liberal party and gives a proper idea of its past achievements and future aims, and it congratulates him upon having fearlessly laid before the nation the straightforward way to achieve progress.]

Dnyan Prakásh (41), 4th Jan.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 4th Jan.

44. Commenting upon the proceedings of the National Liberal Federation held at Madras the *Dnyan Prakásh* writes:—The wave of non-co-operation will not last long. It commands popular support to-day because the time has not yet come to give effect to its programme. When that time actually comes it will be seen to what extent it has the support of the people. But setting aside that question, one thing is quite clear, *viz.*, it is distracting the attention of the people from questions which are of vital importance to the country. If the recommendations of the Esher Committee are accepted, while we shall be expected to find the money for the army, others will exercise control over it. If the Liberals had not seceded from the Congress Government would not have known what the popular point of view is regarding questions such as these. We congratulate the Federation held at Madras, therefore, on the resolutions passed by it. [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—Mr. Chintamani exposed the faults of Government in no uncertain terms. Both the Congress and the Liberal party are agreed that

Government alone are responsible for the present situation in India. Government will only make matters worse if they fail to take note of a situation about the seriousness of which there are no two opinions.]

Comments on Dr. Ansari's address as President of the All-India Moslem League.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 7th Jan ; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 4th Jan.

45. The speech delivered by Dr. Ansari as the President of the All-India Moslem League furnishes a model of moderation in speech. The Doctor has justified the non-co-operation movement and proved that it is enjoined by his religion on the Moslem in circumstances like the present ones. So far the non-co-operation movement has, with a single exception, been carried out in a peaceful and non-violent manner and we feel sure that our Moslem brethren will faithfully carry out the programme of the movement that has been placed before the country. [The *Bombay Samáchár*, on the other hand, writes:—Dr. Ansari's speech gives a real picture of the strong feelings entertained by the Moslems in the matter of the Khilafat. We do not think that non-co-operation as suggested by the Doctor will serve any good purpose at a time when there is a chance of the wrongs in the matter of the Khilafat being righted. Not a resort to non-co-operation but a strong deputation to England is more likely than not to lead to the soothing of Moslem feelings.]

Comments on the proceedings of the All-India Students' Conference.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 2nd Jan., Eng. cols.

46. "The All-India Students' Conference which met Nagpur during the last week under the presidentship of Lala Lajpat Rai has given its verdict in favour of an immediate and unconditional boycott of Government and Government-aided Colleges, and we need not say that we sincerely deplore it. We have always maintained that the education of the youth of a country can very well go on side by side with its political struggles, and there is neither rhyme nor reason in playing upon the sentiments of the youth of the country to induce them to give up their study in the name of patriotism. India already suffers from a sad dearth of educational institutions, and our primary need is a hundred-fold multiplication of them. We consequently regard the educational aspect of the non-co-operation movement as the most objectionable, if not positively reprehensible, and we are much grieved to find that students are beginning to be caught into the clap-trap of the conscience-argument."

New Times (9), 29th Dec. 1920.

47. "We will not blame Lala Lajpatrai for having left the Students' Conference on the last day. He expressed his regret that he could not guide the deliberations of the Conference; he was not in sympathy with the non-co-operation resolution adopted by the Subjects Committee. That resolution 'whole-heartedly supports the immediate and unconditional boycott of the Government and Government-aided Colleges' 'in view of the Nation's Call'. ...... Those students, indeed, who feel that 'boycott' is to them the 'Nation's Call' have no option in the matter; it is to them a matter of conscience. But do the majority of the students have the inward feeling that the Nation 'calls' them to sacrifice their studies to politics? Those who have not the feeling cannot be blamed for not supporting the idea of 'immediate and unconditional boycott' of the Government and Government-aided Colleges. The Conference asks students to take up propaganda work of the National Congress. We wonder how many of the students are qualified to speak of the Indian problem to peasants and villages; a great responsibility lies on us at this hour of the awakening of the masses; it should be our duty to speak to them of the Indian situation but with knowledge and with no hate in our hearts.......... We have every sympathy with the appeal of the Conference to Indian students for an organisation of practical service and usefulness.......... It will be a great day in our history when students and young men become National Volunteers; but they be trained and inspired for their work; they must have the equipment of knowledge and faith; and they must not forget that humanity is higher than any nation. Only so will they strengthen the forces of progress and help the cause of Indian freedom."

Comments on the presidential address at the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 5th Jan.

48. At a time when the non-co-operation movement is in full swing and people are being earnestly exhorted to boycott Government and aided schools and colleges, the address delivered by the Honourable K. B. Ibrahim Haroon Jaffer as President of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference at Amraoti cannot fail to attract general attention. The Khan Bahadur deserves to be congratulated on the views which he has expressed with so much frankness at a time of political crisis like the present. As a matter of principle, he has condemned non-co-operation in educational matters, and there is hardly any one who will say that the arguments urged by him in support of this view are without weight. We hope that Muhammadans will take to heart K. B. Ibrahim's advice not to go in for non-co-operation in education and thereby prevent further harm being done to themselves. No doubt the Khan Bahadur has condemned the non-co-operation movement; but at the same time he has condemned the cause of that movement, *viz.*, the policy of the British Government.

Appeal to His Excellency the Governor to release the political prisoners in the Preridency.

Bombay Chronicle (1). 5th Jan.

49. "Lord Ronaldshay has signalized the inauguration of his new Council by setting at liberty those political prisoners who had been interned under the obsolete Regulation 3 of 1808.......... Will the rest of the provincial satraps follow the example set by Lord Ronaldshay? Sir George Lloyd, especially, who has so far maintained an attitude of unrelenting severity towards political victims, would be well advised if he softened his heart a little towards them. The reluctance of the local Government to extend the benefit of the Royal Amnesty to the Savarkar Brothers has left a disagreeable impression on the mind of the public of this Presidency, so also has the refusal to remove the ban against Mr. Horniman. So long as such acts of injustice remain unredressed, the public will continue to refuse to believe in the changed angle of vision of our 'rulers'."

The New Year's Honours List.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 3rd Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 6th Jan.

50. The New Year's Honours List shows as usual that high titles are conferred upon Government officials. This will supply an additional weapon to the non-co-operators in support of their agitation, and they will ask how anyone can co-operate with a Government which confers honours upon an unpopular bureaucracy at the expense of the people. This list contains many Hindu and Muhammadan names, and it is to be seen now how many of them, acting upon the advice of the advocates of non-co-operation, address urgent telegrams to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State rejecting the honours conferred on them. It seems that the title of K.C.S.I. has been specially reserved since some time past for Government officials. Why should there be this invidious distinction? Why is this high distinction set apart for these officials who serve the Government on extraordinarily high salaries? Why should this high honour not be conferred upon the Indian national leaders who unselfishly serve both Government and the people? We wish that Sir Gokaldas Parekh may live long to enjoy his Knighthood. If the Government had appreciated the services of its honest critics in this way from the beginning, the history of this country for the last twenty or twenty-five years would have been written quite differently. There would not have been so much difference arising out of bitterness between the authorities and the people. The nationalists or the non-co-operators would not have come into existence. A severe blow has been dealt against the prestige of Government owing to the haughty and unsympathetic policy of Anglo-Indian advisers and a more sympathetic policy should be adopted to remove the effects of this. Government may be thinking that the title of Khan Bahadur conferred upon Mr. Sorab Framji Bilimoria, the well-known Judge of the Court of Small Causes, Bombay, is a fitting reward for his services as an impartial Judge, but we feel that if the services of such officers are recognised by higher titles worthy of their learning and abilities, the prestige of their position might be better safeguarded. [In the course of its article, the paper writes appreciatively of several of the honours included in the list. Among others, it notes with satisfaction the C. I. E. conferred upon Mr. J. B. Murzban, which, though late in coming, is, in its opinion, a fitting reward for Mr. Murzban's services in connection with printing, journalism, the development of Gujarati literature, and Parsi charities. The *Sánj Vartamán* makes similar remarks and points out that with few exceptions the distribution of honours and titles on the occasion of the New Year of the ruling race is as disappointing as usual. It adds:—The people do not now entertain the same respect that they did before for titles, and the main cause of this is the unsatisfactory manner of their distribution. The Government of this country has always been sadly backward in appreciating the services and conferring suitable honours upon those who for years have served their community, their city and their country incessantly with their abilities, wealth or through self-sacrifice. It is Government themselves who lower the value of their titles. One noteworthy feature not only in the distribution of titles but also in the presentation of offices is that they are liberally conferred upon those who are agitating against the non-co-operation movement and are in their public utterances speaking strongly against non-co-operation and are running down the Congress and the Congress leaders. For instance, Mr. Surendranath Bannerji was for years regarded as an inveterate extremist by the authorities who did not hesitate even to dub him a revolutionary. But now that he has broken away from the Congress, he appears in the eyes of the officials to be a store-house of wisdom, and has not only been awarded the Knighthood but has also been selected by the Bengal Government as one of its ministers. We do not grudge Mr. Bannerji his honour; we are only sorry it has come so very late. But we think that if, instead of breaking with the Congress, he remained in it and joined the non-co-operation movement, he would not have his Knighthood. If people suspect that Mr. Bannerji has been rewarded not for his patriotic services in the past but for having joined the ranks of Government, it is not their fault but that of Government, who up to now did nothing to recognise his patriotic services. How little Government care for such services in the cause of the country may be seen from their neglect of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 9th Jan., Eng. cols.

***51.** "The honour of knighthood conferred upon Surendranath Bannerji is a fitting recognition of his manifold public services. It is well-known that Surendranath is an opponent of the non-co-operation movement and is putting up a staunch fight against it in his well-known paper, the *Bengalee*. His opponents will, therefore, bring down a shower of invectives on him for having accepted the knighthood. Yet the whole country knows that Surendranath Bannerji is a brave and independent patriot, who has not hesitated to criticize the Government's policy in strong terms whenever there was any need to do so."

Swarájya (143), 6th Jan.

***52.** The *Swarájya* remarks that people do not any longer value titles but that they are being tenaciously conferred. It adds:—Mr. Curtis has been knighted and Mr. Mead gets a C. S. I. We do not know whether Mr. Curtis gets the title for his skill in editing the reply of Mr. Mead to the Mamlatdars and for his other work. But why is Mr. Mead honoured when he does not even know how to speak to high officials like the Mamlatdars? Is it because he insulted them and wounded their feelings deeply? Really speaking he should have been called upon to explain, but on the contrary he is being honoured. It shows how the officials are struggling to maintain each other's prestige. An ordinary labourer who pokes his nose in the Labour party on behalf of Government becomes a C. I. E. People are in great difficulty to determine whether the labourer's value is increased or whether the value of the C. I. E. has been decreased by it. Mr. Bannerjee becomes a minister and he is knighted. In 1907-08 he was on the side of the people and one morning it was given out that he got himself crowned. It would be a great wonder if such a man should feel blessed by the title! But do we not see in many circuses that many lions who roamed about independently in the forests are living very gladly in a dependent state in a small wooden cage, thinking it to be a palace, subsisting on pieces of flesh supplied by the owner?

Indian Social Reformer (7), 9th Jan.

***53.** "It is as creditable to Government that they chose a devoted worker like Mr. Joshi for the honour as it is to Mr. Joshi that he has not been able to accept it for the reasons stated in his letter. Non-co-operation makes a fuss about titles, which, in the light of Mr. Joshi's quiet and dignified attitude cannot, but strike one as vulgar."

The evil result of non-co-operation.

Frontier Gazette (51), 18th Dec. 1920.

54. We give below the fruits yielded by non-co-operation hitherto, and leave the readers to judge for themselves whether they are sweet or bitter. Non-co-operation movement was started with a view to sever connection with the Government, but we find connections with each other broken off instead. Formerly old people were reverenced and consulted in emergencies; nowadays stalwart Congressionists and leaders like Surendranath Bannerji, Mrs. Besant and others are cursed and even several advanced nationalists like C. R. Das and B. C. Pal and others are howled at. For boycott of schools and colleges, boys egged on by the promoters of non-co-operation, ignore their parents. Non-co-operation has destroyed the moral sentiment in its followers to such an extent that they would not refrain from offering insults even to the dead as was evidenced in the case of Khan Bahadur Maulavi Abdul-Ahad of Delhi, a trustee of the Aligarh College and Rai Bahadur Lala Shiv Parshad. Our non-co-operator friends who pretend to fight Government because freedom of speech and writing is denied to Indians and justice is scarce, do not themselves allow freedom of speech and pen to those who express their minds according to their own light, experience and conscience, but punish even the dead for difference of opinion and view.

Servant of India (10), 6th Jan.

55. "The non-co-operation movement will considerably lose its hold on the public mind if within the next few months the new Ministers could show some solid progress in the nation building departments entrusted to their charge, such, for instance, as education, sanitation, medical relief, industries and local self-government. This is obviously impossible without the hearty co-operation of the Governor and his executive councillors; and it is to be hoped that this will be forthcoming in the fullest possible measure. So far as this presidency is concerned, there is good reason to believe that our Ministers will rise to the height of their opportunities. Mr. Paranjpye's selection for the portfolio of education is an indication of Sir George Lloyd's solicitude for the educational progress of the province. In our opinion his choice could not have fallen upon a better person......... We congratulate the new Ministers, including Mr. Gulam Hussain Hidayatullah, as also Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, who joins the Government as an executive councillor and wish them every success in their work for the uplift of their country."

Swarajya can be achieved even earlier than in nine months if private servants also join in the boycott.

Sandesh (134), 6th Jan.

56. The *Sandesh* tells the people that Mr. Gandhi promised to obtain *swarajya* for them relying not on his own strength but on the sacrifices which he expected them to make. It assures the people that if they will make up their minds to make the necessary sacrifices only for nine months, they will not have to wait for *swarajya* for that period but will get it much earlier. In addition to advocating complete boycott of courts and Government educational institutions, the paper also asks the domestic servants, such as cooks, washermen, etc., to withhold their services from those Europeans who cannot do without them at present.

Non-co-operation is enjoined by religion.

Rashtra Dharma (132), 30th Dec. 1920.

57. Some Moderates have raised the outcry that non-co-operation is opposed to religion. But we say that it is enjoined by religion. The Smrities enjoin the people to have no connection with those guilty of heinous sins. It being a sin to have anything to do with those authorities who have cruelly massacred unarmed men and women in the Punjáb, who have told lies in connection with the

Khilafat and other political matters, and who have slaughtered countless cows these hundred and fifty years, it would be according to religion to have no connection with the rulers until they undergo penance for the sins committed. Therefore those who are afraid of committing sin should scrupulously go in for non-co-operation, and the public should unitedly make use of this weapon to secure a change in the present system of administration.

Government should not allow themselves to be alarmed into taking hasty action against the non-co-operation movement.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 9th Jan., Eng. cols.

***58.** "As was to be expected the reports of the proceedings of the Indian National Congress telegraphed to England have created quite an exaggrated impression on the minds of many people there, so that papers like the *Daily Telegraph* and others who are hostile to Mr. Montagu and to Indian aspirations are spreading false alarms and crying out loud to the Government of India to take steps to suppress (that ugly word!) disloyal propaganda. Some Anglo-Indian papers in this country are also urging the Government to take measures to suppress agitation. We sincerely pray Lord Chelmsford will not be misled by these false alarms into taking any hasty and ill-judged action in the matter. The Duke of Connaught's visit and the announcement of the appointment of a new Viceroy are sure to have a steadying effect on the country. Meanwhile it does not matter if the alarmists get a hoarse throat by too much shouting."

Government cannot use brute-force against the non-violent non-co-operation of Mr. Gandhi.

Mahrátta (8), 9th Jan.

***59.** "The Nation has realised the eternal truth that no nation can be long governed against the declared will of the people. India has determined to put an end to the present system of government and has demanded in clear terms the grant of immediate Self-Government on the principle of 'Self-Determination'. Even England with all her resources of the Empire cannot keep India in bondage for a long time, if the people of this country refuse all co-operation with the rulers of this land. Just a moment of thought can bring absolute conviction of the truth of the above proposition. Englishmen govern in India because the people co-operate in their government; they even live in India by the sufferance of the people, as they have to depend upon the services of the people for their daily life; and once people determine to withdraw their co-operation in all these different spheres of life, we are sure the machinery of the government would come to a standstill in no time. Military occupation of the land and enforced labour are the only alternatives if the English rulers decide to resist the demand of the Nation. But it postulates eternal bitter struggle, in which brute-force plays a prominent part. Such a brute struggle always thrives on opposition based upon brute-force and in that case the greater brute naturally succeeds. But India, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, has decided upon a policy of non-violent non-co-operation based, in the main, on the spiritual soul-force, and such a struggle precludes all possibility of the policy of military occupation or enforced labour being successful. Let England and her statesmen take note of this spirit of the new movement and frame their policy in future."

Condemnation of non-co-operation in the field of education.

Broach Samáchár (63), 3rd Jan.

60. It is only through untold exertions and vast expenditure of money on the part of the British Government that education in this country has reached its present stage. To further its progress is a blessing, to destroy it is a curse. Education under British rule has bettered the lot of lakhs of people in this country. Its structure has been reared and fostered through great sacrifices on the part of Western men of learning. Those who, under the maddening influence of non-co-operation, have come forward to destroy it at a single blow, are doing nothing but harm to their country and to the future generations of their countrymen. We feel great grief at their folly and at their unholy efforts to instigate children to defy the orders of their parents.

Reflections on the closing of the national school at Talsana through the interference of the Political Agent.

Navjivan (72), 2nd Jan.

61. Mr. Kishorilal G. Mashroowala writes in the *Navjivan*:—I have heard that a national school opened in Talsana some time ago has been pulled down through the interference of the Political Agent. The founders of the school would have been less to blame if this had been done by an order under some law, but according to what I have heard, this was done through sheer personal pressure or threats. It is useless to ask as to why the Political Agent should interfere in this way. The Government officials are autocratic and hence there is non-co-operation against them. How else can they use this autocracy, if not to curb non-co-operation? Even a simple man must understand that the greatest interests of the Government are involved in curbing non-co-operation. It will coax the leaders and the people to fight against it, it will tempt them, intimidate them, frighten them, make them quarrel among themselves and as far as lies in the power of the officials it will directly or indirectly adopt repressive measures. The police will try to trump up false cases against the non-co-operators and will assess their earnings to heavy income-tax. It is proper for us to join the non-co-operation movement only if we have the courage to remain faithful to the movement under such adverse conditions. Before taking a step the people should think well, as to whether they should non-co-operate or not, but to recede after joining the non-co-operation movement, must be regarded as disgraceful. But whether the school was closed by the lawful order of the Political Agent or whether the promoters closed it through fear, yet it behoves non-co-operating parents not to send their children to Government schools. It is the duty of non-co-operating teachers to call the students to their own houses and teach them there, and if that is not possible, they should go to their houses and teach them there. If a teacher is not available, the parents should teach their children what they themselves have learnt, or teach them to labour; but they should not send them to Government schools. Culture does not consist in merely learning to read and write. Culture consists in a noble nature. There is no cause for dissatisfaction if the parents induce a noble nature in their children. Again, culture consists of a thirst for knowledge. A man does not acquire even a hundredth of his knowledge in school. Ninety-nine parts of it are acquired in later life. Even though the hundredth part acquired in school may be of importance, yet it is not a big sacrifice, if one has to give it up for the sake of the duty lying before the country.

Comments on the Government of India's despatch on the position of Indians in East Africa.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 2nd Jan., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 2nd Jan.

62. "The Government of India's despatch to the Secretary of State on the position of Indians in East Africa makes refreshing reading, and but for the apologetic tenor in which it is conceived it would have been unexceptionable. Their proposal for a common franchise and their observations on the evil effects of communal representation will be endorsed, word for word, by every Indian here and in East Africa; but we have grave misgivings as to whether commercial segregation which is proposed to be substituted in the place of racial segregation will either be so universally endorsed, or even if so done would not be a source of irritation in the future as a result of its probable unsatisfactory working. Besides, we fear, we cannot support the proposal put forward by the Government of India for the appointment of a Royal Commission to go into the whole question. India has had too long and invariably too bitter an experience of Committees and Commissions to have even an iota of faith in them any longer, and no useful purpose will be served by our withholding the fact that we regard them only as pompous instruments for delaying, if not for actually shelving, the solution of vital and urgent questions. In this particular case, however, that is only a secondary reason; for we frankly refuse to admit that the claims of Indians in East Africa stand in need of being supported by the testimony of a Commission—Royal or otherwise. The Indians in East Africa have as great, if not a greater, claim to be there and to enjoy all the privileges of free citizenship as the Europeans, and they stand on their rights. They want absolutely no outside testimony to support their claims; and we fail to understand why the

Government of India should go in for a Royal Commission instead of taking their stand on right, and right alone.......... We very much wish the Government of India would go about their business in a perfectly frank and straightforward manner. If they hope to see any weakening of the Indian claim for equal status by the time the verdict of the Commission is out, they will be grievously disappointed. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that the intervening period will deepen discontent." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—We think that if, as suggested by the Government of India in their despatch, a Royal Commission is appointed it will give great satisfaction to the Indians, and hopes can then be entertained that a matter which has served as a cause of complaint to Indians for a long time will in some way be solved. The whole country will eagerly watch to see what steps are taken by the Imperial Government in this matter.]

Servant of India (10), 6th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 8th Jan.

63. Mr. Andrews in the course of an article in the *Servant of India* says:—"Sir Benjamin Robertson and his Secretary, Mr. G. S. Corbett, and his Assistant Secretary, Mr. Sen, are all to be heartily congratulated on accomplishing a very fine piece of work, and on setting forward an unanswerable case. How extraordinarily ill-informed and ill-advised the Colonial Secretary, Lord Milner, was in drawing up his most disastrous Pronouncement (advocating race segregation, communal and limited franchise, with racial land restrictions) may be easily seen from the fact that he evidently went far beyond the wishes of the two Governors of Kenya Colony and Uganda themselves, in his hasty decisions. It is probably not at all too much to say that both these Governors were hardly less distressed at the terms of Lord Milner's decision than the Governor-General in Council here in India itself. Reading between the lines of the present despatch, it would appear not too sanguine to hope that both these East African Governors, along with the Governor of Tanganyika, would welcome a Royal Commission in order to unsay what Lord Milner has so unfortunately said, and to undo what Lord Milner has so unfortunately done; for the matter cannot for a moment rest as it does to-day. To take one single instance of the *impasse* which Lord Milner's pronouncement has produced. Tanganyika will be held under a Mandate from the League of Nations and will have to report each year to the League of Nations, that no discrimination has been made against any member of the League. India is an original member of this League of Nations. How will it be possible then to discriminate against Indians in Kenya Colony, while treating Indians in Tanganyika (which is next door) on an equal racial basis? Again, Lord Milner has been so careless in distributing his new decisions on Indian policy and scattering them abroad, that he has made them apply even to Uganda, where there was no need of any pronouncement whatever, because Indians and Europeans were friendly to one another, and were settling their own difficulties by mutual arrangement and consent.......... When we turn to the despatch itself, we gladly note that the main issues, for which the people of India have contended all along, have been strongly affirmed and emphasised by the Government of India. In this public question the Government of India have wholly taken the side of the people." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* declares that at a time when the status of the Indians in the Colonies was in great danger, the Government of India have no doubt created feelings of great satisfaction among the crores of the Indian population by running to the rescue of the Indians in East Africa. It recounts the indignities to which Indians are subjected in the various Colonies of the Empire and quotes from a speech delivered by the late Mr. Gokhale in which he declared though the Indians willingly owned allegiance to the Empire, still if they were treated as helots in it, the Empire would be a mere nameless thing and Indians would have to reconsider their position. The paper hopes that before that happens the British Government will think it fit to use its influence with the white Colonials to have justice done to Indians in the Colonies.]

Young India (14), 5th Jan.

64. Mr. L. A. Advani writes in *Young India*:—"The Government of India Despatch on the Indian situation in East Africa is but one more instance of the utter incapacity and failure of this Government to understand the genesis of the whole Indian situation which they themselves have mainly been responsible in creating. Just at a time when the people in this country and in far off Africa, having lost all faith and hope in British justice and fairplay, were deliberating in their respective National Assemblies upon a programme of Non-co-operation, such as would bring an automatic end, root and branch, of the system of government which can tolerate and perpetuate the wrongs heaped upon India and Indians abroad, just then the preservers and prolocutors of that system of Government come out with a wordy despatch, like a quack who takes some ready-made stock pills before a seriously affected patient! Needless to say, he dwells in a fools' paradise who, unmindful of the untold broken promises and pledges, the blood-boiling atrocities, and worse, the inhuman refusal of remorse and reparation, still attaches a grain of importance to the despatch and harbours the hope that long-winded despatches like the one under consideration can revive the lost confidence of the nation...... The sole concern as regards the despatch is to sound a timely note of warning to the nation to be for the present and the future ever on the *qui vive* against falling into pit-holes by such red herrings as this despatch being drawn across our path. To the casual reader the despatch might constitute, as it has actually done in the case of some friends, rather a strong plea on behalf of the over-seas Indians. But we can only decide for the future by what has gone before in the past. And although a thousand despatches of the nature of the present one cannot affect or modify the present national position to the extent of an inch, it was necessary shortly to analyse the despatch, to lay bare once again the kind of advocacy that the Government makes on our behalf. The Government suggests a Royal Commission. But the least inquiring of us knows the be all and end all of commissions. After all, what further exposition of the case, whether European or Indian, remains for the Royal Commission to make than that already made in the past, and in the very despatch itself? And when the authors of the despatch themselves fail, in spite of the irresistible strength and justice of the Indian case, in recording an unequivocal, unqualified and emphatic verdict for those 'on whom the present prosperity and growth of the colony depend,' and only blurt out, amidst a farrago of false praises of Lord Milner and Governor Sir Edward Northey, milk-and-water advocacy of the Indian claims, the recommendations of a Royal Commission are a foregone conclusion. In the natural order of things a Government or any other constituted authority for that matter, would first put right the problems lying at its very door. Hence what are we to conclude of a Government which, unheedful of the horrors remaining at hand unhealed, would look even across the seas for grievances to be remedied! The lesson of the despatch and of the temporary suspension of the policy of segregation at this hour is simply this, that we should be fully guarded and remain ever awake against being led away from the path that has been chalked out for us by the Mother Body at Nágpur. I do not belong to the alarmist school, but I must confess that I suspect in the despatch the first attempt to wean away from the goal of our ambition at least the credulous and the unsuspecting in the great attempt at nation building. And I would respectfully ask my countrymen to pause and examine, before thankfully accepting any of the small and big 'boons' that may be in store for us, the credentials and the past record of the givers of the 'boon', and the motive and spirit behind that boon."

Lord Reading as Viceroy.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Jan.

65. "Lord Reading is a Liberal—not the pseudo-Liberal of whom we have plenty in these days and some in this country itself but a genuine Liberal......... But whether his Liberalism extends beyond the sea-girt isles of his country remains to be seen. We do not suppose that he has any special knowledge of India or any particular sympathy for the aspirations of the Orient......... Lord Reading is in every respect a dark horse. We do not question his judicial record or his ability, which is exceptionally brilliant, but whether he has the administrative capacity or the imaginative sympathy to handle, to use a well-worn phrase, the destinies of 320 millions at the present juncture in the history of India is very questionable. We are not even aware whether his Lordship has any idea of the crisis which he is called upon to face."

Comments on the new orders for the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Jan.

66. "The Calcutta Congress of 1917 insisted on the normal procedure of recruiting the services of a country from among its own people, leaving the door open for foreign competitors to excel on fair terms. The Public Services Commission, on the other hand, wanted to crush the chances of Indians in the London examination by lowering the age to the school-leaving period of British students. The Secretary of State has happily discarded the insidious restriction and adhered to the old age limits. The resolution speaks of the paramount necessity of securing for the I.C.S., officers of the 'highest possible quality,' an aim that is exceptionable, but its restrictions again exclude the free claims of Indians to prove their quality......... The policy of gently amputating Burma—which is now the land of promise for mining and industrial capitalists—has been pushed forward by the provisions that no Indian shall henceforth serve in the Burma section of the I.C.S., and no Burman in the rest of India......... It is preposterous that an original inhabitant of British Guiana should be free to serve in Burma while an Indian, because he is an Indian, should be penalised. As a matter of principle, it is our grievance which should have a correlative prohibition. Candidates from countries in which Indians are not allowed to land or reside or serve, should be told that reciprocity bids them do something else than serve untouchable Indians. It is humiliating that while Indians are insulted and despised in South Africa, it should be free for a South African to come and develop this country, and incidentally pocket the gains of a profiteering service. What, after all, is to be the percentage of Indians in the Civil Service.......... The proportion mentioned is 33 per cent. to rise gradually to 50 per cent in ten years......... The examinations in India are merely to provide for the marginal addition required to complete the ordained percentage each year. The resolution says: 'The number of Indians to be recruited in India by examination and nomination will be fixed each year after taking into account the number of Indians recruited in other ways including the open competition in London.' It is the old game of 'Heads I win, tails you lose,' and the yearly opening in India will depend on the results of the London examination. We emphatically protest against these pseudo-statutory fixations of limit, because it is a shameless violation of the assurance, first proclaimed by Queen Victoria, that every office under the Crown in India would be accessible on the test of merit, without any reference to race, creed or colour.......... To say that a particular office or a particular number of offices shall belong to Europeans and not to Indians, is to go directly against royal pledges which deliberately discarded the rule of racial discrimination....... And is it any wonder that while the bureaucracy is anxious to retain the loaves and fishes of office and falsify pledges for the purpose, it manages to make a big hole in Indian finance?......... To show the audacious claims of the Service for every office of first-class importance that may be secured, we shall merely refer to the stipulations laid on the Indian Finance Department.......... A critical study of the Government Resolution reveals how Indian interests are run over by the Juggernaut Car of the Civil Service, and how firmly they resist the honest observance of recognition by merit and equal opportunity."

People are being much inconvenienced by the Talati strike.

Bakul (98), 26th Dec. 1920; *Prakásh* (130), 22nd Dec. 1920.

67. The *Bakul* expresses its regret that Government have not yet seen their way to meet the legitimate demands of the Talatis who went on strike in October last. It points out that this omission on the part of Government has been causing inconvenience to the ryots since many villages are at present without a Talati and the few men that have been taken up are wholly ignorant of their duties. The paper pleads for the re-employment of the men on increased remuneration and also asks the people to give them pecuniary help in their hour of need. [The *Prakásh* regrets that Mr. Moysey, the Collector, appears to have believed the report that the strike of the Talatis in the Satára District was due to the political machinations of Brahmins and declares that the strike was due purely to economic causes. At the same time it exhorts the Talatis to remain firm and have faith in God as their cause is sure to succeed owing to its justice.]

The British Empire is becoming too unwieldy.
Lokasangraha (118), 3rd Jan.

68. The great war began in 1914 and England unsheathed her sword in defence of the liberty of the world. For four years the world listened to the praises of liberty *ad nauseam* and at last the enemy was defeated. Everyone was then anxious to know which of the countries which formed part of the British Empire would get *swarajya* and thus cease to cause anxiety to England, when, lo and behold, the belly of the Empire instead of shrinking became still more big! [The paper here mentions the countries and colonies together with their extent and population which have passed under the influence of the British Empire as a result of the war.] We believe the English themselves will admit that the present vast extent of the Empire is unnatural. The main reason that contributed to the downfall of most of the Empires in the past was their unwieldiness. The English ought to learn a lesson from the history of the world. They cannot assume that their star will always be in the ascendant. Many people have lost their liberty as a result of the war waged in defence of it. The English may be at the zenith of their power today and may have arrested the free development of many peoples, but they must remember that they cannot stop the motion of the wheel of time. When will the ambition of England be satisfied? To what extent is the British Empire to increase? England should understand the inwardness of these questions that are being asked and should give betimes full *swarajya* to the countries at present under her domination. Even gluttony must have a limit; otherwise all that has been swallowed will have to to be disgorged.

Comments on Sir Valentine Chirol's letters to the London *Times* on the position in India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Jan.

69. "Sir Valentine, as the Indian public know but too well, is a past master in the art of misrepresentation, but he will find the job a good deal stiffer than usual this time. It will be noted that he is unable to play the non-Brahmin against the Brahmin or the Muslim against the Hindu, as has been his favourite game all these years.......... He is evidently at a loss to explain satisfactorily to his countrymen the strange phenomenon of Indian Muslims joining Mr. Gandhi's efforts to establish *Swaraj* ..... He is not unconcerned about the dangers to his country from the boycott movement which is spreading apace, but is trying to reassure his countrymen that it will be some time before British industries are directly affected. Finally Englishmen are assured that Mr. Gandhi's pacificism is as repugnant to the Indian people as Bolshevism. If this were a fact, why raise such hullabaloo about the non-co-operation movement and the menace of Bolshevism in India?"

Sir William Meyer and the purchase of stores for Government.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Jan.

70. "The truth of our observation, in our criticism of the appointment of Sir William Meyer to the High Commissionership of India in London, that being a non-Indian he would never be able to bring to bear, in the discharge of his responsibilities, the same impartiality of attitude and especially the same genuine concern for the progress of Indian industries which an Indian in his place would have done, is well illustrated in the communique he has just issued in England on the subject of the purchase of stores for the Government of India......... As a result of the Crewe Committee's recommendations some hope has been held out lately that as far as possible purchases of these stores will be made in India itself, and that also due encouragement will be given to Indian manufactures. This has naturally alarmed the British manufacturers who had been enjoying the monopoly of official patronage all along. It is with a view to allay this alarm that Sir William has hastened to tell them that no radical change in the old method of purchases is contemplated and that they may rest assured that their interests will in no way suffer. Would an Indian High Commissioner have deemed it necessary to allay such selfish alarm as the British manufacturers are showing? We repeat again that Indian interests can never be safe in the hands of any persons, however exalted, save those of Indians themselves."

Reflections on the British Mission to Kabul.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 9th Jan.

***71.** The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* publishes news about the entry of the British Mission to Kabul and adds:—How wonderful an event it is that a Mission of a great power should go to the door of a small state for securing peace! [Elsewhere the paper publishes a poem from the pen of Munshi Ghulam Ahmed of Kashmir in which no reference to any section of the public is made, but which contains the following verses: Those who used to beg alms at our doors have had Crœsus's wealth bequeathed to them. Those who did not know how to clothe woman properly are now bedecked in velvet and brocade. Hearts which were ignorant of the use of the sword, dagger and lance, have attained eminence owing to (the use of) arms.]

Reflections on the Dyestuffs Bill in Parliament.
Satyashodak (136), 26th Dec. 1920.

72. Commenting upon the Dyestuffs Bill before Parliament the *Satyashodhak* writes:—The British Government are perfectly justified in safeguarding the interests of their own country. But what about the principle of Free Trade the merits of which are sung in season and out of season? Or, is it to be made applicable to India alone? All free countries including the British Colonies abandoned this principle whenever they found it necessary to do so to protect their own industries from foreign competition. But poor dependent India is not allowed to take that course! If a rich and manufacturing country like England finds it necessary to enact a measure giving protection to her infant dye industry, how much more necessary such a course must be in the case of a country like India whose industries have all been killed by foreign competition and half the population of which is dragging a miserable existence in consequence? What has our Government done to develop our industries? The fact is our Government is perfectly indifferent to our industrial progress and the reason for this is not far to seek. How can men who are accustomed to purchase our raw materials at cheap rates and then sell them again to us in the shape of finished articles, like to see our own industries developed? The Parliament is composed of these manufacturers or their representatives and it is they who determine our fiscal policy. It is futile, therefore, to expect encouragement to our industries from that quarter. The remedy lies in our own hands. If Government does not take steps to develop our industries, we should boycott foreign goods. This will involve sacrifices, but we must not allow these to deter us from our resolve in view of the goal we want to reach.

Suspicion about certain Indian leaders being the spies of Government.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 9th Jan.

***73.** With reference to a remark in Mr. Gandhi's article in a recent issue of *Young India* on the "Sin of Secrecy" to the effect that he could recall the names of at least two prominent leaders who were suspected in high Indian circles of being spies of Government, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"It would have been more in consonance with his principle if Mr. Gandhi had named the two suspected leaders. He not only keeps their names secret, but also hints that there were probably more. If Mr. Gandhi believed that the suspicion has a solid basis he should have had no scruples in naming the persons. If he did not believe so, or if he had no means of testing the truth, he should not have lent himself to the dissemination of the very evil against which he is inveighing. As it is, his statement can only have the effect of intensifying the poison which infects Indian public life. The Moderates who have kept aloof from the Congress have saved themselves the odium of incurring the suspicion which Mr. Gandhi evidently shares."

Alleged differential treatment of Indians and Europeans by Indian Law Courts.
Kesari (115), 28th Dec. 1920.

74. Only lately an Allahabad judge sentenced the accused in a big misappropriation case to one year only because he was a European. A Sargeant was fined Rs. 15 only for whipping a Meerut College student. If all such instances are collected, it will form a big epic. Still the Punjáb villain denies things openly occurring! If anybody wants a fresh instance as to how insolently selfish Europeans behave towards Indians, we refer him to the treatment given to Swami Viswanand by Europeans of

Barakar coal mines near Ranigunj. Let Curtis and O'Dwyer consider what humanity there is in persons who endanger the life of others as soon as they begin to suffer a loss ever so little.

Boycott of British goods the best method of compelling the British public to do justice to India.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 6th Jan.

75. Mr. Gandhi and his followers have done more harm than good to this country by boycotting the Councils. The policy pursued in this respect, as pointed out by our British friends in the Congress, will not be able to move the British public to a sense of their duty towards India. What can the British do if we do not avail ourselves of the advantages offered by the Reforms which provide a non-official majority in the Councils and place some important portfolios in the hands of the Ministers? How can we hold the British public responsible for our failure? Of what avail is it to complain of the injustice or indifference of Government when we do not make proper use of the power given to us to ask interpellations or move resolutions in the Councils. We would like to repeat what we have said very often in the past that the most effective method of awakening Parliament and the British public is to boycott British goods. India affords an extensive market for British goods and a determination on our part to boycott British goods would tend to increase the prices of foodstuffs in England and swell the ranks of the unemployed. If, therefore, we want to get our wrongs redressed at the hands of the British public we should resolve to boycott British goods.

Protest against certain remarks of the Commissioner, Berar, about political agitators.

Lokasangraha (118), 6th Jan.

76. Officials who side with the Satya Samajists and attack the non-co-operationists are not confined to the Sátára District alone. Berár also can claim one such official in the person of its Chief Commissioner and he has recently satisfied his desire of decrying the political agitators. At present the province is in the grip of famine and naturally the duty of saving the people from the jaws of death devolves upon Government who make huge yearly collections of land revenue and income tax from them. Indeed, the bureaucracy who boast in season and out of season that India is daily prospering ought to be ashamed of having impoverished the people to such an extent that they are obliged to have recourse to relief works if the crops fail in any year. The Central Provinces Government are, however, free from any such feeling of shame and they have boasted on the contrary that they alone are the friends of the people in their hour of need and that the political agitators are mere prattlers. But then is a Chief Commissioner needed to tell the people that there is nothing common between the political agitators and the Government who exact crores of rupees from the people in the shape of taxes? If the bureaucracy want to know who the well-wishers of the people really are they should surrender their power to the agitators and then see whether under them their countrymen are obliged to have recourse to relief works or whether they are able to maintain themselves comfortably at home in spite of the prevalence of famine. Why indulge only in tall talk?

Appeal to the Shanbhogs of Kánara to return to work.

Vichdri (145), 1st Jan.

77. Referring to the strike of some of the Shanbhogs in the Kánara District on account of the non-increase of their salaries by Government, the *Vichdri* appeals to the Shanbhogs to re-consider the matter and, returning to their work, to agitate constitutionally for the increase which is so urgently needed. The paper feels confident that if the Shanbhogs act up to its advice, Mr. Haig, the popular Collector, will not fail to do everything for them.

Protest against the contemplated export of rice to England.

Hindu (157), 24th Dec., 1920.

78. The merchants in England have now set their eyes on rice also. The Imperial institute has issued a report about this commodity and its materialisation will as woefully affect India as the one about the oil-seeds. It means that robbing the Indians of their cereals is resolved upon. The report wants provision of facilities on lands and Railways for British merchants and zamindars and ensurance of minimum freightage and cost to ensure rich profits for merchants of England. The report also wants that Government should so far as possible help them by finding cultivators, etc., for them and enacting laws. In a word the British capitalists are now determined to utterly beggar the poor Indians. We would not object to export of rice if the harvests were abundant. Statistics show that the rice crop in India in 1919 yielded about 2½ crore tons which distributed among 30 crore Indians would ensure a store of 5 seers per month per head. Of these 5 seers one seer is exported and four seers per month per head alone are left to Indians which amounts to one quarter of a pound per head per day. Therefore if rice is also taken away from India like wheat, privation in India will grow inconceivably acute. What should be done? The English press conveys that the Indian Government has begun work on the lines of the report of the Imperial Institute. We won't turn for help to Government which has forefeited our confidence. The question at issue is 'will the Indians shake off their slumber yet? If not to-day, when will they?' Government announced contemplated export of wheat to the tune of one crore 20 lac maunds at a time when crops had yielded an insufficient harvest, when Indians could get only 2½ seers per month per head. Does it not amount to robbing Indians even of their scanty morsel? Not to speak of our other things, even our foodgrains are now going to be drained off. Is it proper under the circumstances to continue indifferent? If we do not wake up yet the little vitality that yet remains in us, our impoverished blood and life essence will also be sucked out of us. Dreadful schemes are in course of being formulated. It has become problematic for us now to save our very lives. The eyes of the foreigners are covetously set on our ghee, oils, cereals and other products. No course of self-preservation is conceivable save forming unions of cultivators and labourers. Only with reliance on them can the motherland ensure her own self-preservation. Brethren! Wake up!

Appeal to the Indians to take steps betimes to stop the wholesale export to England of Indian oil-seeds.

Hindu (157), 29th Dec. 1920.

79. The British merchants are ever haunted with the dread of German commerce. Rapacity for robbing others of monies has grown rampant among them. The hands of the robbers have been imperceptibly at work to raise the price of ghee, milk and oil. By sending 1 crore 10 lac maunds of wheat out of the country the Government have plainly shown their small concern for the people of the country. Such want of concern strikes us the more when we see that the American Government reserves 5 maunds of wheat per head while the Government of India retains in this country only 2¼ seers per head and would drain out some more out of those 2¼ seers per head if it could help it. Letting wheat alone, we are now astounded to learn that the merchants of England are keeping an eye on the oils of India. The newspapers received from England point out that great designs are being hatched to bring oil-yielding drugs and oil-seeds under the control of the British capitalists. Great companies are going to be formed and factories started. If the oil seeds and drugs are to be exported from India, oil will sell at the ghee-price and ghee will be procurable only for the use of Rajas and the rich. Before the late war oil-seeds were purchased in very small quantities by Germany, France and Belgium. During the war the same were purchased by England who having realised large profits from it regrets her past folly and now wants to try her utmost to secure for herself all the great profits by purchasing the whole stock of oil drugs available in India. For this purpose a Committee of the Imperial Institute of England, which sat lately, has made certain recommendations. Brethren! such are the designs that are being hatched in England and we believe that the Government of India will ere long join in the enterprise. Even the small quantity of oil-seeds that is being exported at present has raised the price of ghee and oil to an enormous extent so that oil-seeds like groundnuts, etc., are selling at triple or quadruple the old rates. If the whole stock of oil-seeds is swept off the country what will be the state of the country? When once the Government take it into their head to do a thing and issue their strange orders no amount of protests however strong would make them budge an inch from their determination. That is indeed our sad experience of the Government gained through repeated trials. Readers! reflect over the frightful state which threatens India now. Dearness of ghee, milk and oil will raise the infant mortality considerably. Men will grow constitutionally weak. Plague, cholera and malaria will spread in the country. Vitality among men will slowly decrease and every one will fall an easy prey to death. A dreadful situation is bound to spring up if oil-seeds ure take away from India. People ought to be awake now and work so as to counteract the designs of the foreigners. We Indians are already physically weak. If the remaining stock of ghee, milk and oil is forcibily taken away from us we shall be reduced to a condition more dead than alive. Times are hard. The Europeans are gradually bringing all the resources of India under their control. They are by and by securing all Indian cereals, ghee, oils, etc., to themselves. It is not too late yet to wake up. A little more delay will produce regrettable results.

The proposed revision survey of the Deogad and Rajápur Talukas of the Ratnágiri Disfrict.
Satyashodhak (136), 2nd Jan.

80. A correspondent writing in the *Satyashodhak* refers to the proposed revision survey of the Deogad and Rajápur talukas of the Ratnágiri District and says that the probable increase of assessment after the survey is causing anxiety to the people. In his opinion the land is already heavily taxed and, at any rate, no new conditions have come into being to justify an increase in the assessment. The writer declares that the increase, if made, will make the condition of the rayats, who are already impoverished, still more deplorable.

Compulsory land acquisition in the Mulshi Valley (district Poona) for Messrs. Tata and Sons.
Mahrátta (8), 9th Jan.

***81.** "The agitation against the compulsory land acquisition on a large scale, and the consequent expropriation of a large number of agriculturists, in the Mulshi Valley, Poona District, has apparently hit the mark. The capitalist oppressor has found it necessary to come out from his unholy sanctum and to attempt a reply to Mr. Kelkar, whose association with the agitation has enabled the grievance to be placed before the Congress. The *Times of India* also has been pressed into service, and perhaps even Government might sooner or later attempt a ventriloquism on the subject. Let us hope that Mr. Paranjpye, who has now secured a place in the Bombay Government, will not forget or forswear the points he made against Government and their capitalist friends in the Legislative Council, but will insist upon justice being done to the Mulshi Valley peasantry. He is now in charge of a portfolio which, if we mistake not, has a direct bearing upon questions of land acquisition for industrial purposes; and those who admired the plucky fight he made in the Council last year, on behalf of this doomed peasantry, will very naturally look forward to the action that he takes in this matter, even independently of any representations to be made to him......... Every piece of land like every man, has its price, if we may allow ourselves to be cynical enough to say it. And the really perverse economics would be that which ignores the private owner of land as the party who must be satisfied by private negotiation before he is disposssseed of his land or that economics which supports the impudent claim of the capitalist to Government help for the owner's expropriation. The price of coal-power may be higher than that of water-power; but we fail to see how that can be a valid argument for expropriating agriculturists who are themselves not to benefit in any way by the use of that power. Mr. R. D. Tata, in a speech made by him some time ago, sought to prove that the Mulshi Valley peasants would be benefited by the deluge on their lands in the opportunities it will give them to work in the Bombay Mills as labourers. This is not only illogical but heartless. And we are simply surprised that neither Mr. Tata nor the *Times of India* can show either the sense or the sensibility, which an average 'Macaulay's school-boy' possesses. We do not know whether such super-millionaires exist in the world as can easily buy capitalists like Tata and Sons, or can exert direct or indirect financial influence upon Government to help this process by the use, or rather the abuse of law; but we can very well imagine the feelings of Tata and Sons, if it were possible to purchase them, their homes and their hearths and make them toil at the sweet will of their masters. Mr. Tata argues that the lands in question or most of them are already pledged, but the word he himself uses carries his condemnation with it. It may be true that some of the lands may now be mortgaged or hypothecated, but some of these may also be redeemed. And even assuming that the local *sawkars* have got them in their grip, we fail to see any ethical justification of the claim of Tata and Sons to rob these of their gain except perhaps the law of nature which allows the big fish to eat the small fry.......... Supposing the water tank, which it is proposed to construct in the Mulshi Valley, were to be an irrigation tank and the expropriated peasants were offered the refusal of the lands along the canal, there would be some justification for the industrial undertaking as a public purpose; for while the expropriated owner would not have to change his life's occupation the Government also would benefit by the irrigation revenue. But in this particular case it is after all a few individuals that are to be benefited financially, and not the public. The *Times of India* pretends to insist upon fullest compensation being awarded for the lands compulsorily acquired; but the *Times* should have known that if expropriated land-owners' were really paid the fullest compensation in previous cases of compulsory acquisition, the present agitation might perhaps not have been set on foot. It is the disappointment and the ill-treatment of their neighbours in this respect by Government that has warned the Mulshi Valley peasants of their impending fate. It is the perverseness of the compensation officer and the sanctioning authority that has led, in this case, to the preaching of the apparently 'perverse economics'. If the capitalist and his friend—the Government—are prepared to pay the fullest compensation in a literal sense, we see no reason why they should not succeed in private negotiations with the land-owners for their acquisition. If electric power is admittedly so much cheaper than coal, the organisers of new industries or of the new uses for electricity should be able to make the sale of land a sufficiently tempting business-proposition to the land-owner. But the bed-rock fact of the situation has always been that the land-owner is never fully compensated, nor compensated in good time for him to rehabilitate himself with a new occupation.......... The agitation is unconnected absolutely with any political tactics. It echoes the genuine voice of the Mulshi Valley peasantry who really feel threatened with destruction and may be driven to more severe forms of protest than hitherto, out of sheer despair. The *mabap sarkar*, which knows how to put the Land Acquisition Act in force, should also know how to coerce the capitalist into private settlement of land-values."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Jan.

82. "Even taking the most comprehensive view of 'public purpose', we are unable to agree with Mr. Tata that the new Hydro-Electric Scheme started by Messrs. Tata and Company constitutes a legitimate public purpose for which Government may forcibly dispossess thousands of ryots of their lands.......... It is evidently a private capitalist scheme, and if Messrs. Tata and Company want land, they must buy it in the open market, and the State cannot aid them by driving out the ryots from their lands which have been in their possession for centuries.......... The heartless manner in which Mr. Tata talks of the Maoli ryots is calculated still further to inflame the already excited public opinion in that part of the country against the scheme. .... It will be a clear misuse of the Land Acquisition Act to drive away the ryots, without in the least caring what becomes of them. We do not certainly want in India the conflict between Labour and Capital, now convulsing Europe. Capitalists in India should take all possible ameliorative measures before seeking the sympathy and support of the public for their big schemes. Bombay wants electrification of railways and many other things besides. But if Bombay cannot have these things except by sacrificing thousands of ryots, Bombay will not care to have them. Government are never tired of telling us that they are the special and chosen friends of the ryots. A pretty sample of friendship they are displaying indeed in the Mulshi case!"

An irrigation complaint.
Indu Prakásh (44), 4th Jan.

83. A correspondent writing in the *Indu Prakash* complains that the officials of the Kadwa Canal while supplying liberal quantities of water to the sugar-cane growers, supply the other cultivators with water hardly enough to meet their requirements, with the result that their crops have in many cases withered. The writer also accuses the canal officials of making illegal recoveries from the people.

Prosecution of the editor of the *Al-Wahid* of Karáchi.

New Times (9), 28th Dec. 1920.

84. "It is a moving message Kazi Abdul Rahman, editor of the *Al-Wáhid*, has left for his countrymen; and in its closing words he asks them to 'stand by the sacred cause of non-co-operation as soldiers of truth and righteousness,' to let 'no fear enter' their hearts 'during the struggle of the coming days', and 'to keep the flag flying'......... We trust no attempt will be made to induce him to ask to be released on bail or to engage any counsel to plead for him. The dignified thing for him to do will be simply to give a statement to the Court. There are rumours that some more warrants will soon be issued. What matters, however, is not any rumours or arrests but the spirit in which the challenge of repression is met. Repression should be met in a spirit of courage, faith and self-control. It will do no good to the cause to spend our strength in excitement or abuse of the official. A Government which will not reform itself must naturally repress. It is for us, the people, to conquer repression by self-suffering. And as many as live by the faith of non-co-operation will do honour to India and the cause."

England and the revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 3rd Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 5th Jan.

85. The explanation tendered by the Premier in reference to the suggestions with regard to the Turkish problem made by General Townshend is extremely disappointing, and the Indian Muhammadans would not at all be wrong if after reading this explanation, they come to the conclusion that the only obstacle in the way of doing justice to the Turks and returning to them their wrested territories is the foreign policy of Great Britain. While France and Italy are ready to come to terms with Turkey and revise the Treaty of Sevres, Great Britan is not only undecided, but it waits to see the new turn that the affairs in Greece might assume. After the success of ex-King Constantine of Greece, a very hopeful state of affairs had arisen in regard to Turkey; and if England had desired to assuage the injured religious susceptibilities of seven crores of Muhammedans, she would have grasped this opportunity and taken the lead in the matter of revising the Turkish settlement. While the English policy is unsettled, the French seem to have come to a wise decision. Mr. Lloyd George declares that no territories belonging to Turkey, which the Allies have distributed among themselves, should be returned, because if we hand over one they will ask for another, and if we hand over the second, they will ask for a third. We cannot accept this argument. This sympathy of the Premier for Greece is surprising and quite strange. Greece did not pay any heed to the threats of the Allies and Constantine has boldly returned to the throne of Greece. It is really strange that England cares so much for faithless Greece. The Primier attaches very great importance to the friendship of Greece in the Mediteranean; but we say that the friendship of seven crores of Indian Muhammadans is more important to Great Britain and the Empire than the friendship of the Greek nation. There is no wisdom in this policy of Great Britain. Sooner or later it will be compelled to change this policy. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* points out how during the war solemn pledges were given and tempting promises were made to the Arabs with a view to enlisting their aid and how after the war all those promises and pledges had vanished into thin air. It declares the arguments urged by the Premier in support of Britain continuing to hold Mesopotamia and to occupy Constantinople and the Bosphorus to be quite astounding. The paper then adds:—Greed has so blinded the vision of Mr. Lloyd George that he has forgotten all the sacred pledges publicly given on behalf of the British Government, and the result has been that Britain's anxieties have increased instead of diminishing and more troops have to be employed than even during the war.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Jan.

86. "The Premier's pronouncement in the Commons last week on the Turkish question has revealed to the world how strong is his opposition to a revision of the Turkish Treaty. The statement ascribed to the French Foreign Minister that there is no difference of opinion

between himself and Mr. Lloyd George regarding the affairs in the Levant, but that the latter does not desire a public discussion on the revision of the Treaty of Sevres is only calculated to confirm the impression that he is determined, so far as he can, to prevent justice being done to the Turks and Islam alike. Why then this aversion publicly to do the right and just thing by taking advantage of a favourable opportunity? However that may be, a rude awakening awaits Mr. Lloyd George, and whether he wills it or not, the hard logic of events will compel him to abandon the designs of militarist aggrandisement and economic imperialism, for the fulfilment of which the crime of the Treaty of Sevres was perpetrated."

Comments on the alleged negotiations between Canada, South Africa, etc., for the exclusion of Japanese.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Jan.

87. Referring to the alleged negotiations going on between Canada, Australia, South Africa and the United States for the exclusion of Japanese and other Asiatics from these countries, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"If Japan, who has risen to be a first class Power and who is ready and capable enough to defend the interests of her people by force of arms, if necessary, is treated as 'a pariah' by the self-governing 'whites', what of the other down-trodden Asiatics? The moral is plain. It is for the Asiatic people, everywhere, to bestir themselves and assert their rights as equals of any 'white' people. They cannot do so until they become masters in their own country. It is this determination of the 'whites' to exploit Asiatic countries for their own aggrandisement and to keep their own countries as exclusive 'preserves' against Asiatics which is the menace of the present and the immediate future. And it provides one more reason why India must get *Swarâj* immediately, so as to be able to play her due part in averting the menace and making the world safe for humanity."

India and the Bolshevik menace.
Gujarât Vartamân ( ), 5th Jan.

88. A new danger is threatening us. According to the latest reports, the Bolsheviks are going to pounce down upon Persia in March next. We know very well that Persia is not at all in a position to protect itself, and it would be no wonder if it at once falls into their clutches. With Persia in their power, only Afghanistan would stand between them and India. Bolshevist agents have already for some time past been making efforts to make the way smooth in Afghanistan, and the small population of that country will not be able to make a stand against the Bolshevists. If Afghanistan is conquered, these unwelcome guests will be in our midst the next instant, and then our plight may well be imagined. The terrible and blood-curdling deeds of the Bolsheviks are not unknown to us, and we shudder to think of the condition of the meek population of Hindus then. God knows whether our present-day leaders have given any thought to this impending menace. We are so involved in the waves of *swarâjya*, that we cannot see very far; and we doubt whether our humble voice will be attended to. The present political atmosphere is quite favourable to the propagation of Bolshevik principles. Forewarned is forearmed. We would, therefore, earnestly pray our leaders to see that, in the race for *swarâjya*, we do not fall victims to this terrible menace. In our humble opinion it is the duty of all well-wishers of the country to devote their attention to the framing of suitable plans for facing the coming danger.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Alleged capitalistic tendencies of the Bombay Corporation.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Jan.

89. "The decision of the Bombay Corporation to refuse to consider the grievances of the public in connection with the lighting of the city does not surprise us. Knowing as the public do but too well the predominance of capitalistic interests in the present constitution of the Corporation, it would have been expecting figs to grow on thistles to have hoped that such a body would either take a sympathetic view of the grievances of the employees of the Gas Company or pay heed to the hardships of the public caused

by the default of the Company's management.......... Even now pedestrians and vehicular traffic in many localities have to put up with inconvenience which would be tolerated in no modern city in any other country but our own. And yet Corporators are not wanting to tell us that 'the Company had managed to carry on the work to the satisfaction of the city and the citizens.' Sir Dinshaw Petit goes one step further than Mr. J. B. Petit and confidently asserts that in order to discourage such strikes the 'public' are prepared to undergo further inconveniences !......... The public and the submerged classes of this city have put up long enough with their wrongs and grievances at the hands of their exploiters and it is time they asserted themselves."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 14th January 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 15th January 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged insult by a Police Sergeant to an Indian High Court Judge of Madras . . . 31
Alleged menace to India from the proposed Dominions Conference . 35
Comments on the Ceylon Government's decision not to proceed with the Labour ordinance at present. . . . 39
Comments on Government defraying the whole expenditure of the Establised Church to the detriment of other religions . . . 36
Government and the exchange question . . . 32
Grant of *Swarajya* the best remedy against Bolshevism . . . 34
How villages should be acquired under the Land Acquisition Act . 30
Necessity of closing all the slaughter-houses for cattle in the country . 37
Prospects of the success of the British Mission to Afghanistan . . 40
Self-Government of any sort better than the present foreign Government . . . 33
The agrarian disturbances at Rai Bareli (C. P.) . . . 38
The Mulshi Petha Hydro-Electric Scheme and the hardships of the rayats . . . 27—29

Congress and Conferences:

Comments on the change in the Congress creed . . . 60 & 61
Comments on the Congress President's speech . . . 64
Comments on the Congress resolution for the abolition of the British Congress Committee . . . 62 & 63
Comments on the speech of the President of the Moderare Conference. 65
The Nágpur resolution on non-co-operation. . . . 58 & 59
His Excellency the Governor: Comments on certain views of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd on the subject of education in India . . . 24
His Excellency the Viceroy: Appeal to Lord Chelmsford to remove injustices done to India before his departure . . . 23

Honours:

Comments on the New Year — List . . . 25
Comments on Mr. N. M. Joshi's renunciation of the C. I. E. . . 26

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught:

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Madras . . . 1—8
Reflections on the Duke of Connaught's visit . . . 9
Why the Duke of Connaught's visit should be boycotted . . . 10

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PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Indians in the Colonies:

- Comments on the Government of India's despatch on the subject of the position of Indians in East Africa . . . . 69 & 70
- Comments on the resignation of Lord Milner as Colonial Secretary . 68

Indian Reforms:

- Appeal to the Bombay Ministers to have the Abkari laws radically revised 41
- Comments on the allotment of portfolios to the Bombay Ministers . 44
- Comments on the appointment of Lala Harkishenlal as Minister in the Punjáb 46
- Comments on the appointment of the new members of the Executive Council and Ministers for Bombay 42
- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas' motion before the Council of State for the establishment of a separate department of Government to watch the interests of Indians abroad . 48 & 49
- How the I. C. S. has benefitted by the Reforms 47
- Military extravagance in India must be put a stop to before allowing the ministers to place additional burdens upon the people . . 45
- Protest against a resolution on cow-killing to be brought in the Indian Legislative Assembly 50
- The newly appointed ministers are likely to be used by Government in suppressing the non-co-operation movement 43

Millitary matters:

- Members of the Indian Defence Force, University Section, should not join the Indian Territorial Force 66
- Protest against Indian soldiers being still employed in foreign countries. 67

Non-co-operation:

- Can Indians benefit by the sympathy of the Labour Party in England. 56
- Closing of the national school at Talsana owing to the intervention of the Political Agent 54
- Comments on the *Daily Telegraph's* remarks against the—movement . 53
- Exhortation to Indians to beware of being deceived by English visitors to India 55
- Repression cannot suppress the—movement 51
- Sir Michael O'Dwyer's advice to the Government of India to adopt a policy of repression 52
- Warning to Government to take steps betimes to ward off the evils threatened by the—movement 57

Public Service:

- Agitation by the European members of the I.M.S. to secure immunity from outside control 21
- Comments on the appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy of India . 11—20
- The talatis on strike should not yield to mere empty assurances of Government 22

War: Need of revising the Turkish Peace Treaty . . . . . . 71—73

EDUCATION.

Comments on the order of the English Head Master of a Government school at Meerut prohibiting the wearing of the Gandhi cap . . . 74

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against Government not taking up the question of the improvement of the drainage of Poona 75

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the proceedings before the Railway Committee . . . 76

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Madras.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 16th Jan., Eng. cols.

*1. "The eloquent and touching speech which His Royal Highness made on his landing at Madras shows that he has come to this country not merely to perform a pompous ceremony, not merely to show the power or the splendour of the Royal Family, but as a messenger of peace and goodwill who has come to communicate to us the sympathy of His Most Gracious Majesty and of the people of Great Britain with the new spirit of progress that is now abroad in India. The advice which His Royal Highness, as an old friend and well-wisher of India, gives to the people is not to brood over the past but to look courageously and hopefully ahead to what the future may bring to them. We are well aware that this advice will not be to the liking of those who have taken up an implacable attitude of 'no compromise'. Still the advice of one who can claim the privilege of age and experience is worth taking to heart. The Duke has shown a praiseworthy desire to be personally helpful in bringing about a renewal of greater mutual confidence and goodwill. After recalling to mind the name of Queen Victoria, whose memory is held sacred by the countless millions of India, he has expressed a personal willingness to play a part worthy of the son of that great Queen by helping, as far as lies in his power, to heal old wounds and remove bitter memories. This generous offer on the part of His Majesty's representative leads us to hope that during his stay in this country he will use his personal influence to bring about a removal of outstanding complaints. His work would be rendered easier if Government officials in all quarters were inspired by a similar noble spirit and a similar breadth of vision."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 16th Jan.

*2. "The speech which the Duke made on landing in reply to the address presented by the Madras Municipal Corporation as well as the one which he delivered in opening the Madras Legislative Council, fully sustained the traditionary qualities of sympathy, respect, and personal affection for the Indian people which, beginning from the Queen's great Proclamation, have distinguished the utterances of Her Majesty's successors and descendants addressed to the people of India. There is no need to read between the lines of His Royal Highness' speeches in Madras to see that the Duke fully realises that things have been done in the name of authority in this country that ought not to have been done; that the true goal of British rule has been misunderstood, if not deliberately ignored, by some who ought to have known better; and that in addition to and in furtherance of the special mission entrusted to him by His Majesty, His Royal Highness is personally anxious to do all that he can to heal the wounds of His Majesty's Indian subjects. In India as elsewhere leaders of the people and editors of newspapers have to observe some circumspection in retreating from positions which they had once taken. Publicists who had taken up an uncompromising attitude should not be expected to applaud unrestrainedly the speeches of His Royal Highness, speak he never so wisely and feelingly. But the Indian, after all cannot be anything but an Indian, and the non-co-operationist Indian is the most sentimental of Indians. It is, therefore, nothing surprising that beneath the stern phrases of non-co-operationist writers and orators, is discernible to the trained eye the softening which the Duke's reminder of his sonship to Queen Victoria, the respect which India never fails to accord to age and experience, and the sole justification of British rule in India being that laid down by the noble-hearted Munro, 'Father Munro' as he is spoken of still in the districts where he served longest, cannot fail to have in the hardest Indian heart. His Royal Highness' address in opening the Council contained words of wisdom which India can never afford to forget. The full measure of the success of the Duke of Connaught's mission will take time to declare itself and is not to be guaged merely from the public demonstrations which may greet him, or may even seem to be withheld from him, in his progress through the country. But that the Mission is already assured of a deep and abiding success, is certain. His Majesty could not have selected a more suitable ambassador to take the place of the Prince of Wales, and indeed, we are inclined to regard it as an advantage that the Duke has preceded the Prince in his present mission."

Gujaráti (17), 16th Jan., Eng. cols.

***3.** "The two speeches that His Royal Highness has delivered, one in reply to the address of welcome presented by the Madras Municipal Corporation and the other at the time of opening the first session of the new Legislative Council at Madras, were sympathetic and conciliatory in tone. They appear to have been touched up or influenced in certain places by some bureaucratic mind behind the scenes. But there is very little in them that can be fairly objected to. They are sufficiently cautious in expression and betoken a desire to conciliate. At the same time it must be said that in certain observations His Royal Highness has run the risk of giving one-sided counsel, and it also appears that he has not been made sufficiently conversant with the intensity of the feeling of distrust, irritation and dissatisfaction that has been aroused in the country. Nor does His Royal Highness seem to have realised the character of the remedies that alone will restore the confidence of the Indian people in the British sense of justice and humanity and inspire them to undertake readily constructive work for the attainment of full responsible government in the not distant future. In his reply to the Municipal address there is one significant but mysterious remark that calls for notice. 'If it were granted to me', said the Duke of Connaught, 'by my presence once again in your midst to help, so far as in me lies, in the healing of old sores, in the removal of bitter memories, in the strengthening of the old ties and in the renewal of a greater mutual confidence and good will, then I feel I should, indeed, be taking a part worthy of a son of Queen Victoria...' It is difficult to see how this object can be achieved when the situation has too far advanced owing to hopeless lack of statesmanship both on the part of the authorities in India as well as England.......... Colonel Wedgwood has, we notice, declared in the *Daily Express* that there is a deadlock in India and that it is necessary to hold a round table Conference with all shades of opinion represented.......... We fail to understand how any Round Table Conference or even His Royal Highness can successfully tackle these problems.......... Nothing, however, will be lost by an exchange of views at an informal or private conference. That will enable His Royal Highness at least to guage the depth of sore feelings that have been engendered by colossal blunders on the part of Lord Chelmsford's Government as well as those committed by the Home Government. The Duke of Connaught is not responsible for the present state of affairs in India, and whilst fully appreciating the conciliatory and even generous spirit which has marked his two pronouncements, it is necessary to impress upon His Highness the truth that genuine pacification of India and her people depends upon the immediate removal of her great wrongs and upon a complete change of spirit on the part of the bureaucracy in the governance of this poor and unhappy country."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Jan.

4. "His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has arrived in this country and has made his first public pronouncement, which shows that he has not been acquainted with the truth about the present situation and the determination of the people not to take any part in the functions or festivities in his honour during his visit...... ... The Duke of Connaught, in normal times, would have been assured of a most enthusiastic welcome. It would have been a spontaneous expression of the joy of the people at having in their midst one who was not only a member of the Royal Family but one who had lived and served in India and, above all, one who was the son of the great and good Queen Victoria whose memory, in virtue of her memorable Proclamation, the Magna Charta of India—alas! more honoured in its breach than in its observance—is enshrined in the grateful hearts of the people......... The people of India in deciding to have nothing to do with the visit of the Duke have taken the only human and honourable course they could have taken. Their decision is not prompted by any feeling of disrespect or discourtesy to the Royal Family. In fact, they now stand face to face before their Sovereign—with their faith in his representatives shaken and their own determination to be masters of their destiny already made—demanding the immediate removal of the wrongs from which they suffer, if the imminent peril to the Empire is to be averted. The Royal response must come to them in deeds and not words. If, instead of that response being given to India, His Majesty's present advisers think fit to mock the agony of the people by going through the farce of 'inaugurating' Mr. Montagu's 'Reforms' with pomp and pageantry, wrongly paid for out of the people's money, not only will they be adding insult to injury, but they will also be doing an irreparable wrong to their own country.......... There is a passage in the Duke's first pronouncement which, though it is addressed to the Indian people, should more properly have been addressed to the British 'statesmen' who now misguide the destiny of the Empire. 'There are enough unhappy, incomprehensible tragedies taking place in the world to-day', said His Royal Highness, 'without our adding to them here'. These words the British 'statesmen' must lay to heart if they are to prove true to their own people. 'In Great Britain and throughout the British Empire on the minds of men who previously had not interested themselves in the affairs of this great country,' the Duke says, 'the part which India played in the war produced a profound effect, the force of which may, I think, hardly have been realized here in India.' These words afford a grim commentary on the deeds of British 'statesmen,' who have made India realize—through the iniquitous Treaty of Sevres, the shambles of Jallianwalla Bagh and the criminal waste of her money and the lives of her soldiers in the imperialistic and militarist adventures in Mesopotamia and Persia, the interest aroused by her glorious part in the war! Yes, India has realized how shamefully she has been betrayed. It is for the British people who, as the Duke says, have warm sympathy and firm goodwill towards India, to undo the betrayal.......... And the British people could be under no greater and more dangerous delusion than to think that by promises and sweet phrases and tinsel 'concessions,' that make the agony of the wrongs keener, they will be able to conciliate a united people determined to be self-governing and self-respecting."

*5. "In his reply to the Madras Corporation's address, the Duke proceeded to minister a few words of advice to Indians and said, 'You have recently passed through a period of troubles and difficulties. Do not brood over them....... Standing here to-day have we not cause to be unspeakably grateful that things have not been worse, infinitely worse!' Yes, verily! Should we not be grateful that the Punjáb atrocities had not resulted into a wholesale massacre of the Punjáb people? Should we not be grateful that the Indian Government had not started a campaign of burning houses and villages? His Royal Highness also remarked, 'If sanity and true patriotism guide your leaders nothing can debar India from her high destiny.' Even granting that 'Sanity and true patriotism' do not guide our leaders why should not the omniscient and omnipotent countrymen of the Duke be able to work out the high destiny of India in spite of these lunatic leaders? The way in which the Duke has repeated the stereotyped speeches of high officials, their external criticism of the Indian leaders and their advice to Indians, contradicts his protest against being called a Rip Van Winkle who expects the old orders to be never-ending. His Royal Highness admits that Indian feelings have been wounded. But what is his remedy. It is this: '...... If it were granted to me by my presence once again in your midst to help in the healing of old sores ...... I should indeed be taking a part worthy of a son of Queen Victoria!' The sores in Indian hearts to be healed by the Duke's 'presence'! Times were when Johnson's scrofula was supposed to be curable by the Royal touch! But unfortunately India is suffering from a disease of which the 'mere presence' of Royalty is not a cure."

Mahrátta (8), 16th Jan.

6. Both the speeches made by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught on his landing at Madras are full of sympathy and goodwill towards India. Unfortunately, the Indian people have met with so much disappointment in the past that they can no more be pleased by such sympathetic pronouncements. The wounds of India are so deep and severe that they cannot be healed by the kind words coming out of the mouth of a beloved member of the Royal family. We have no doubt that the Duke wishes well to India with all his heart; but we fear that he has not been rightly informed on the state of mind of the Indian people in respect of the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs. We must thank the

Sánj Vartamán (32), 14th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (21), 1[illegible]th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 12th and 14th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 13th and 15th Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 13th and 15th Jan.; *Deshi Mitra* (65), 13th Jan.

Duke for the assurances he has given us; he has only to consult the speeches of our political leaders if he wants to find the remedies that are needed to set matters right. It is matter for no small regret that Government have not yet come to consider India fit for self-government even after about a hundred years of the writing of Sir Thomas Munro's famous despatch referred to by the Duke of Connaught in opening the new Council at Madras. After a hundred and fifty years of the British administration a large portion of the population is groping in ignorance! How can England justify the existence of her sway over India if Indians are not yet considered fit to administer their own affairs? The administration of India should be handed over to the people without any delay if England means to justify her rule in India. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—The reference made by the Duke to the new spirit abroad in India should be carefully noted by the papers like the *Morning Post* and Englishmen of the O'Dwyerian school. The assurance given by the Duke of the warm sympathy and goodwill of the people of Great Britain in the forward march of the Indian people testifies to his sympathy with our aspirations. Let us hope that the pronouncement made by the Duke will silence all those who find fault with the political aspirations of the Indian people and see germs of a revolt in them. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Duke at the very outset of his visit has shown us the stuff he is made of. He wants to heal old sores and to remove bitter memories and wants us to extend our help and good wishes to him. The Duke's speech proves the flimsy nature of the arguments advanced by Mr. Gandhi in his manifesto for boycotting the Duke. Let the non-co-operationists now act according to the wishes of the Duke and extend the hand of fellowship to him by placing their suggestions before him and suspending their movement till the Duke is in a position to show the results of his own intercession. In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—In opening the new Council at Madras the Duke referred to laying of the foundation of the British Empire with a view to training India in the art of self-government. That object can well be said to have been accomplished. The political reforms that have now been given to us will enable us to be better educated and more united, and if we succeed in doing this much no power in the world can prevent us from securing and enjoying the fruits of complete *swarájya*. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is pleased with the pronouncement made by the Duke on his landing, and exhorts the non-co-operationists to cease boycotting the Duke and to place their grievances before him with a view to enable him to succeed in his mission. In a subsequent issue the paper appeals to the non-co-operationists to respond to the appeal made by the Duke to sink all differences and to magnify the points of concord and asks Mr. Gandhi and his followers to give up their mad race for *swarájya* in nine months. The *Bombay Samáchár* is of the opinion that the Congress was very ill-advised in passing the resolution for boycotting the Duke and asks all non-co-operationists to place the Duke in a position of knowing the true facts about India of which, according to their opinion is he, ignorant. In a subsequent issue the paper expresses gratification with the speeches made by the Duke on his landing and at the time of opening the Madras Council, and expresses hope that the new Councils will justify the hopes expressed about them by His Royal Highness. The *Deshi Mitra* reproduces the manifesto published by Mr. Gandhi to boycott the Duke and expresses hope that those who have accepted the non-co-operation resolution of Mr. Gandhi will not fail to carry out the instructions contained in the manifesto.]

Swarájya (143), 13th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 13th Jan.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 13th Jan.

7. Unfortunately, the very first speech which the Duke of Connaught made at Madras after landing was utterly useless and disappointing. India was eagerly awaiting his first pronouncement; but she has been sorely disappointed. The usual practice of British statesmen is to speak much and make hollow statements, but to give nothing substantial. How long will such falsely gilt ware continue to deceive Indians? The Duke says he is not like Rip Van Winkle rising after many years' sleep. But we regret to have to say that he is exactly like him; for it appears that this real Rip Van Winkle Saheb who has arrived from England has as yet no inkling whatever of the fact that the Indian nation has made up its mind to secure *swardjya* for itself by non-co-operating with the British in every matter. Dukesaheb! A vast change has come over India since the time you were in this country. Where rivers of mutual confidence and love ran at that time, there now extend in every direction dry waterless deserts! How useless it is for you under these circumstances to ask the people to look up to the English for support in their political progress! In the course of his speech His Royal Highness has asked Indians not to brood over the troubles and difficulties through which they have recently passed. It is not clear to what the Duke is referring in this. If it is the Punjáb matter to which he refers, then it appears that he has not brought in his medicine bag any more healing balm for the Punjáb wound than the mere advice to forget. If His Royal Highness is going to make more speeches of the same disappointing character in India, then all the trouble which he has taken in coming out will go in vain. [The *Dnyán Prakásh*, on the other hand, considers the speech as a significant utterance, but thinks that under the present circumstances of the country the people cannot accede to His Royal Highness's appeal not to brood upon the recent troubles and difficulties. It also says that if the Duke has brought any striking gift for the people from His Majesty the King, he should announce it without delay in order to placate them and not wait till his arrival at Delhi. The *Indu Prakásh* considers the first part of the speech as somewhat disappointing while the latter part rather hopeful. It thinks that the words of His Royal Highness give an indication that he has been sent out to right the wrongs which Indians have recently suffered.]

Lokasangraha (118), 13th and 14th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 12th Jan.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 11th Jan.

8. The Duke of Connaught has himself announced that he has come on behalf of the King-Emperor. If the people wish, therefore, to make the King-Emperor acquainted with the real state of their feelings, and their views on British rule, they should behave towards his representative in such a way as to leave no room for doubt both in his mind and that of the King-Emperor about them. If we want to inform the King-Emperor that the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs, the enactment of repressive laws, the organized loot of India's resources and the plight of Indians in foreign lands—all these have combined to make us doubt the value of the British connection—the only course open to us is to take no part in the welcome to the Duke organized by the bureaucracy. This does not involve any disrespect towards the King-Emperor or the Royal family. We shall have no equals in gullibility if we allow the bugbear of loyalty to frighten us and thus miss the present opportunity of acquainting the King-Emperor with the real state of our feelings. The Nágpur Congress has already pronounced its opinion on this question in the form of a resolution. The Duke of Connaught comes here mainly to inaugurate the new councils. The nation has decided to boycott these councils and claims the immediate grant of *swarajya*. People, therefore, should have nothing to do with the Duke so long as he does not announce on behalf of the King-Emperor that India is given *swarajya* and so long as he insists upon thrusting the reforms down the throat of the nation which it does not want. [In a subsequent issue the paper accuses the Madras Corporation of adopting a cringing attitude towards the Duke as revealed in its address to His Royal Highness. It declares that the events of last year have opened the eyes of Indians and they no longer feel any pride in the British connection. It regrets the Madras Corporation missed the opportunity of being the first to let the Duke know what the millions of India think about British rule. It expresses the view that the address must have been drafted as usual by the bureaucratic officials. At another place the paper complains that Government are spending large sums of money at Delhi with a view to make the reception to the Duke imposing, although the people thereof are undergoing privations owing to bitter cold and the famine prices ruling there at present. The *Dnyán Prakásh*, on the other hand, expresses the hope that the people will not allow the recent happenings to prevent them from giving a fitting welcome to His Royal Higgness. The *Indu Prakásh* also has no doubt that the people will welcome the Duke enthusiastically.]

Reflections on the Duke of Connaught's visit.

Kesari (115), 11th Jan.

9. Commenting on the Duke of Connaught's visit, the ***Kesari*** says that the British Government are catching at a straw in sending him out to India and that they are still suffering from the illusion that they would strengthen their losing side by sending the Duke on tour. It says that if British rule in India is to disappear, it will not be so because of the Congress resolution; it will sink because of its indebtedness and of its unpopularity; it will sink because of its own weight. Government know that their popularity is declining and that India's respect for the Empire is fast disappearing. But still they do not wish to change their policy and make an honest effort. The paper condemns the official celebrations in honour of the Duke's visit and it compares them with the spontaneous ovations in honour of Tilak and Gandhi. It says that they are all stage-managed. It holds that even if there had been no Congress resolution, in many places nobody of an independent mind would have cared to come within miles of the Duke. It would be no wonder, the paper remarks, if the guest were to feel that he was a prisoner guarded by bayonets and that under the jail discipline he was not allowed to speak to others. The paper asks:—What will the Duke do now that he is in India? Will somebody tell us how this plain man known and seen by many in Poona in days of old, is going to stupefy or beguile the people? It is true that he is the son of his great mother, but we do not know what qualification he possesses that would evoke the wondering admiration of the people or strike their imagination. When His Majesty the King-Emperor could not satisfy the people of India when he was on a visit to India, what can the Duke do after all? He is but a messenger and if his visit has any importance, it is because some greedy and credulous people think that there might be something valuable hidden in the message which he brings. But people know that nothing of value will come out and, owing to past disappointing experiences, not many such simpletons have been left in India now. What will the Duke do? What will he give and what will he take? We do not think he has anything worth giving. He can but take the following disappointing message back to his nephew:—There is not a single man in India who trusts British justice. Except those who want to fill their belly, there is nobody to praise British rule. People want at any cost to place a check on the present harmful administrative system. Though the bureaucracy has bandaged his eyes, the Duke can see this much and if he goes and tells his nephew the Emperor, we will excuse the excessive expenditure of the poor Indian rayats' money on his visit.

Why the Duke of Connaught's visit should be boycotted.

Raj Hansa (89), 9th Jan.

10. Some people object to the boycott of the Duke of Connaught. Will India, they ask, which is well-known for its hospitality, remain indifferent to the arrival of the Duke of Connaught? Is it not against our culture to do so? We must say that the Duke is not coming here in his private capacity. He is not coming here merely as a representative of the King. It may be that personally he is a respectable personage. But he is coming here in a particular public capacity. We may welcome the Duke if the motive with which he is coming here is worthy of our regard. If not, we cannot and ought not to welcome him. The Duke is coming here to start the Reform scheme on its career. This means that he will strengthen the present form of Government at least for some time. He comes here to win the nation's assent for the present form of Government. The people must not forget this. But the present Reforms are absolutely worthless. Nay, they are even reactionary in some respects. We have no respect for the present Government. We have a great many complaints against it. If the people want *swarajya*, they must boycott the Duke of Connaught because he comes here as the personification of the bureaucracy which comes in the way of our winning *swarajya*. We still have respect for the personality of the King. We feel devotion for him. We have no faith in the present Government. The Duke does not personify the King. He personifies the present system of Government. We must show what we think of this system by boycotting the Duke.

Comments on the appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy of India.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 11th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 8th Jan., Eng. cols.; *New Times* (9), 7th Jan.

11. "Lord Reading's is undoubtedly the most distinguished name among those who during the last few months have from time to time been put forward as candidates for the Viceroyalty. He is beyond question one of the ablest men in British public life to-day. In sending out Lord Reading England can at least claim the credit of having honestly attempted to give her best to India in this respect. The Indian problem can only be solved by the right type of administrator. Men, rather than measures, are of greater moment in Indian politics to-day.......... What is needed in India, above everything else, is a man of brains, of insight, imagination, honesty and courage at the head of the administration......... Now there is no question as to Lord Reading's intellect and experience. As Attorney-General, Lord Chief Justice, and Ambassdaor Extraordinary to the United States of America, at a most critical stage of the War, he has proved his abilities, knowlege and tact. Courage too he is known to possess. And being a Jew, it may be assumed that he also possesses the imagination necessary for successful administration in the East. The *Morning Post*, mischievously and quite wantonly, suggested that Lord Reading would be unacceptable in India on account of his race and religion. We should think that a Jew, with his oriental sympathies, would be more acceptable in an Eastern country. In any event, Lord Reading belongs to a race which is gifted with the faculty of imagination in an abundant measure.......... It is significant, perhaps providential, that the destinies of India should, at the most critical juncture in its history, be consigned into the hands of two Jews. The Jew is a citizen of the world, and he may be trusted to have broader sympathies and a more vivid imagination than the insular Englishman. Perhaps Lord Reading's appointment as Viceroy at the present day is symbolical of that higher imperialism under which alone the British Empire can now persist.......... Lord Reading's appointment may be taken as an earnest of the final disappearance of all racial and religious distinctions under the British Commonwealth.......... Lord Reading seems to possess the qualities that enable a man to face great crises; England and India are to-day involved in a crisis as great as any in their history." [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—"From this short resumé of his lordship's career, it will be seen that Earl Reading is a man of distinguished parts and, therefore, if the *Daily Mail* report is confirmed, India will have every reason to be satisfied with the appointment. But will Anglo-India be equally satisfied? We doubt it. From the Hebrophobiavent that they have given to their spleen on behalf of Mr. Montagu, the appointment of Lord Reading, a Jew, as the Viceroy of India, will be considered as yet another jobbery on behalf of his race, on the part of the Secretary of State for India! A Jew, according to our Anglo-Indian mentors, is bad enough as Secretary of State, but that two of the highest offices in the Indian hierarchy should be in the occupancy of Jews is a thing so bad and reprehensible as scarcely to be conceived. But a Jew or a Gentile, India's concern is more with the worth of the men who will be called upon to guide her destines during the next five years. If Lord Reading comes to India he will not find the Viceregal throne a bed of roses. The post will be the real touchstone of his lordship's merit. He will find his task cut out ready for him; but if his lordship is worth his salt he will make it a point to see things for himself. His brilliant legal acumen must prove an asset of incalculable value. But above everything else, imagination and sympathy and a changed angle of vision in keeping with a changed world—and no less changed India—will pave the road to add yet one more feather to his cap and side by side will enable him to leave India more contented and happier than he found it." The *New Times* remarks:—"We cannot think Indian Musalmans have a quarrel with any man on the ground of his being a Jew; but we wonder if one like Lord Reading can handle aright the present delicate and difficult situation in India."]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th and 14th Jan.

12. "We are free to confess that Lord Reading's selection is one of the best that could have been made. He is endowed in a considerable measure with qualities that should stand him in good stead in fulfilling the responsibilities of bringing about the consummation of India's

desire—that is to say, if he, or rather the British Government, are wise in their day and yield, before it is too late, to the inevitable. If, however, Lord Reading is sent to India, ostensibly as an ambassador of reconciliation and peace, but really as the bringer of no other offer to the people of India but that contained in the new-old appeal:—'Trust us once again'—if he comes to India charged with the task of reconciling the people to Mr. Montagu's 'Reforms,' by promises and the familiar policy of 'rallying the Moderates' if possible, and, failing that device, by repression—then the fond expectations of British politicians will be doomed to bitter disappointment and British statesmanship will proclaim its own bankruptcy to the world. But we still hope for the best—for the ultimate assertion of British commonsense. We hope that Lord Reading has accepted the post with the full assurance given to him by the British Government that his advent here will mark the beginning of a new chapter in the history of India and Britain—a new chapter of honourable partnership on the basis of mutual equality and respect—a partnership begun with a definite proof on the part of Britain of remorse." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The paper (*i. e.*, *Daily Telegraph*) 'assumes' that when Lord Reading comes to India, Mr. Montagu will leave the India Office; and it 'assumes' this, because it would be a mistake to allow Mr. Montagu to act at Downing Street in conjunction with the new Viceroy.' Now we are not particularly enamoured of Mr. Montagu......... But, with all his defects, he is the only acceptable Secretary of State whom the Coalition Government can nominate. What the interests of India, what the interests of the Empire, demand is not the retirement of Mr. Montagu, but the removal of the present Cabinet from power.......... Other English newspapers adopt a conveniently vague but Liberal tone......... But there is no indication in the English Press comments of the realisation of what India really wants......... India wants a radical change of heart and policy—not merely a change in the Viceroyalty; and while she has nothing to say against the new Viceroy and much to hope from him, his acceptability to her will depend entirely on whether he has exacted the assurance from the British Government that he will be free at once to usher in this radical change of heart and policy."]

Mahrátta (8), 16th Jan.; *Kesari* (115), 11th Jan.

***13.** "We know Sir Rufus Isaacs to be a 'strong' man of originality, a great lover of adventure and self-reliance, and a past master in the legal profession. We also know, on the authority of no less a journalist than Mr. A. G. Gardiner, that Sir Rufus is another Cobden who wins not by threats and fury, but by smiles and persuasion; and yet we refrain from making any forecast regarding the future viceregal career of the Great Lord Chief Justice. Predictions are always precarious and more so when they are regarding Indian Governors or Governor-Generals. Our readers know how the hopeful prophecies about the present Governor of Bombay have been falsified. Perhaps it is to our advantage, as some say, that Lord Reading had been very little of a politician in the past, and that he will be coming with a virgin mind ready to read the Indian situation in its true perspective. Perhaps there is some sense in the humorous words of a distinguished Labour leader who said that he was very glad to see Lord Reading chosen as the Viceroy simply because 'he was a Jew and knew what it is to be damned!' We have only to say that if Lord Reading will not allow the Rufus Issacs in him to be suppressed by the Viceroy in him, his career in India will be glorious. If, however, the Viceroy dominates, and the Rufus Issacs sinks into a subconscious—but let us not grow cynic.". [The *Kesari* writes:—The British Ministry seems to think that any puppet will do as Viceroy. Otherwise we cannot sufficiently explain the appointment of a jurist, when, till yesterday, the names of military men were being suggested. Lord Reading is a Jew and he is over sixty. [The paper here gives a summary of his life.] From this it can be inferred how far he will be able to perform the difficult duties of the Viceroy. It will be known within a few days how far he will maintain his balance of mind while settling the complicated questions that will come before him and how far he will keep the bureaucracy under control.]

New Times (9), 10th and 11th Jan.

14. "Has Lord Reading the requisite 'knowledge, courage and sympathy' to respond to the Indian demand for *Swaraj*, or will he, like Lord Willingdon, damn non-co-operation as a 'disloyal movement'?......... India needs a first-rate statesman at the helm of the administration at this moment; and England sends as the Viceroy one who is a lawyer rather than a statesman!" [In its next issue, the paper adds:—"One wonders at the way the appointment of the new Viceroy for India has been made. If the position next to that of the Prime Minister within the Empire is to be filled in this manner, one cannot be very hopeful of large-hearted response to the Indian demand for *swaraj*. Lord Reading is a great lawyer; but will he act as a statesman at this, the most critical hour, in India's destiny?......... Has Lord Reading the requisite courage and wisdom to come to terms with the nationalist forces? If not, all his legal acumen and wide study will be of little avail."]

Servant of India (10), 13th Jan.

15. "Lord Reading's appointment as India's next Viceroy betokens a proper appreciation on the part of Great Britain of the need of the hour. The Indian situation is one of extreme delicacy at the present moment and the faith of the people in the sense of justice and fairplay of the British people has never stood so low.......... Oppressed by the feeling of utter helplessness, the people—we mean who are in the Congress—have declared in no uncertain voice for Non-co-operation. We make no doubt that the movement is politically unwise and suicidal; but it is equally clear that it will deal a heavy blow to the moral prestige of the Government, howsoever feebly it may be conducted. It is only a Viceroy who will command public confidence by reason of his past record and his eminent position in English public life that would be able to avert a crisis. To these qualifications Lord Reading joins a highly judicial frame of mind, which he will doubtless bring to bear on the problems that might come up for solution."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 16th Jan.

*16. "The choice of Lord Reading has given more satisfaction than that almost of any other would have done at the present juncture. This is due partly to his brilliant and varied public career, partly to the high Judicial office which he vacates to come to India, and partly to the fact that his Lordship belongs to a race and religion which, even if wished, cannot conceal its Asiatic and oriental origin......... Lord Reading, like Mr. Montagu, retains the ancient religion in which he was born. We are sure that Lord Reading, because of his race and religion, will know what it is to be a member of a race regarded as inferior. It is the irritation caused by this distinction which is the embittering element in Indian politics."

Gujarâti (17), 16th Jan., Eng. cols.

*17. "It must be candidly acknowledged that Lord Reading's appointment is the best that could have been made under the circumstances............ Having regard to his qualifications, we cannot help saying that no other Viceroy has so far possessed them to such an eminent degree. In point of intellectual qualifications he surpasses each and every one of his predecessors. As an eminent lawyer and Lord Chief Justice of England, who has maintained the traditions of his great office, he occupies a unique position. A judicial temperament, calmness and impartiality of judgment, freedom from racial and political prejudice and firmness of decision are valuable qualities in an Indian Viceroy, and one has a right to expect them in full measure in an eminent Lord Chief Justice of England. In his political creed he is a Liberal, and his financial ability is beyond any dispute whatsoever. The financial problems of India are getting more and more difficult and complicated and the presence of such a financier like Lord Reading at the head of the Government of India ought to inspire some confidence in the settlement of a sound fiscal policy for India, of financial questions affecting the Supreme Government and the Provincial Administrations, and of the currency problem which has so far proved so full of difficulties and complications and created widespread suspicion regarding the good faith of the British Government in laying down and working the currency system of India. Judged merely by Lord Reading's past career, his appointment cannot but be welcomed by all right-thinking persons. He is slightly over 60 years of age, and his mature wisdom and wide experience of Europe and America ought to stand him in good stead. It has been said that he has hardly any experience of India and her problems. But that objection could have been urged with equal force also against Lord Ripon and Lord Hardinge.......... The present appointment has been criticised even in England by some papers and Anglo-Indians on the ground that he belongs to the Jewish faith, and when his name was put forward it was dishonestly represented to the British public that Indians would not like the appointment of a Jew to the . Viceroyalty of India. But they have had experience of Viceroys belonging to nationalities hailing from England, Ireland and Scotland, and that experience has not been altogether satisfactory and there is no reason whatever why the people of India should dislike a Viceroy belonging to an oppressed race, who, it at all, may naturally be expected to sympathise with the feelings and aspirations, the griefs and sorrows of a subject people and thus win theirrespect and confidence.......... It will be admitted on all hands that Lord Reading has no easy task before him. In fact, it is more difficult and arduous than any of his predecessors had to face. We will certainly not prejudge him. But his past is decidedly in his favour, and he is one of the greatest of public men in England. We, therefore, sincerely rejoice that his services have been placed at the disposal of India.''

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 16th Jan., Eng. cols.

*18. "The Earl of Reading, who has been appointed Viceroy of India in succession to Baron Chelmsford, has been described as 'a man with a big brain.' We trust he has also a big heart and a big imagination, for these are qualifications highly necessary in a Viceroy at the present stage of India's political evolution. Judging from the brilliant and distinguished career of Lord Reading we are inclined to believe that in him His Imperial Majesty and the Prime Minister have made a wise and judicious selection. .. .. Lord Reading possesses several special qualifications which proclaim him admirably fit to be placed at the helm of the Government of India.......... He is said to possess a good practical knowledge of financial matters. This is a fact which must be noted with satisfaction, for Lord Reading's financial knowledge will be of great service in clearing the muddle that has been created in solving the intricate problems of currency and exchange with which the Government of India have been confronted. But above all the point on which we most rely in the character of our future Viceroy is his adaptability, his power to suit his actions and policy to the circumstances in which he may be placed.......... Lord Reading commands such a high position in English public life that his opinions are bound to be listened to with respect, so that we may hope that by his tact and by his personal influence he will in the course of time be able to effect a welcome change in the general tone of the administration. The first great task which Lord Reading will be called upon to perform will be to create a better atmosphere by restoring public confidence in the justice and the good intentions of the Government. This confidence, sad to say, has been somewhat rudely shaken by the attitude of the British Government towards India after the War and the sorrowful events that have happened in the Punjáb.......... From one who in his own land has been universally respected for his high ability and integrity as a judge India may well expect to receive nothing but justice. May he prove worthy of the great trust which has been placed in him."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 10th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (21), 10th Jan.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 11th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 11th Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 12th Jan.; *Akhabar-e-Islám* (58), 12th Jan.; *Bharat Seva* (16), 14th Jan.; *Praja Pokar* (75), 12th Jan.

19. Mr. Lloyd George has exercised a great deal of care, wisdom and foresight in making the appointment of Lord Reading to the Indian Viceroyalty. The future success of Lord Reading rests in the womb of time, but it can certainly be said that Mr. Lloyd George has selected a gentleman who is expected to rule India, in the present critical times, with tact, sympathy and liberality. India stands in need of a Viceroy with a judicial frame of mind. Lord Reading will surely be able to remove the discontent prevailing among the people if he adopts a judicial attitude towards them. He will be able to engrave his name on the hearts of the people if he succeeds in removing the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs. [The *Hindusthán*

writes:—Lord Reading possesses a superior intellect and a judicial frame of mind and he should be able to solve the difficult problems confronting India. We have every reason to hope that his regime will be a successful one. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—Lord Reading occupies a prominent place among the first rate politicians of England. The authorities, therefore, must be congratulated on the high statesmanship they have exercised in making the appointment. Lord Reading is a Jew, and that goes to add to his qualifications, as the history of his own race will, it is hoped, enable him to appreciate our feelings under foreign domination and to strengthen the British connection with India in a manner consistent with our self-respect and to the mutual advantage of England and India. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Let us hope that Lord Reading will adopt a liberal and sympathetic policy with a view to bridging the gulf that has been created between the rulers and the ruled. Lord Reading will have to remove the Punjáb wrong on his arrival in India and to suggest suitable changes in the Turkish treaty with a view to fulfilling the pledges given by British statesmen. The questions of the Punjáb wrong and the Khilafat afford a key to the solving of the Indian problems. The *Bombay Samáchár* hopes that Lord Reading will be able to redress the wrongs of India and to find a place in the hearts of the Indian people. The *Akhabar-e-Islám* approves of the appointment and trusts that Lord Reading's regime will prove successful. The *Bharat Seva* hopes that Lord Reading will be able to do justice to India. The *Praja Pokár* also sees every reason to hope that Lord Reading's regime will turn out successful.]

Indu Prakásh (44), 11th Jan.; *Lokasangraha* (118), 13th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 11th Jan.

20. It is usual with the British Government to send a mild Viceroy to succeed one who has been fond of repression. Lord Chelmsford's regime wholly dissatisfied the people, and we trust Lord Reading will behave in such a way as to soothe the ruffled feelings of the people. But, according to our experience, however liberal a Viceroy might be, he cannot go beyond certain limits. In the near future the non-co-operation movement will create a very difficult situation, and it is very necessary, therefore, that a really capable man should be at the helm of affairs at the time. The relations existing between the conquerors and the conquered during the past hundred and fifty years have now become complicated, and it is very difficult to readjust them. Upto this time all the advisers of the Viceroy have been white officials; but fortunately there will be some Indians now, and this fact will help to keep his mind free from prejudice. [The *Lokasangraha* writes:—India knows by experience that however just a Viceroy may be, he cannot loosen the grip of the bureaucracy over the people. Men like Lord Hardinge or Lord Reading may be very estimable gentlemen, but it is doubtful whether they can be of any real use to us. The *Dnyan Prakásh* says:—It is satisfactory to note that an experienced man like Lord Reading, who has earned the confidence of all, is appointed to the Viceroyalty. We trust that his regime will prove beneficial to India, as expected by everybody.] .

Agitation by the European members of the I.M.S. to secure immunity from outside control.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Jan.

21. "Having secured by persistent and unscrupulous agitation all the plums of the Service for themselves, the British section of the I.M.S. are again engineering an agitation for conferring on themselves that immunity from all outside control which they have long been aiming at. [Here the paper quotes from a letter of a 'senior member' in the Service in *Truth* in the course of which the writer declares that the 'I.M.S. must have a real head—a Director General—whose authority and recommendations shall be the final word for the Government of India and that the military basis of the service on a solid white foundation'.] It is common knowledge by what methods of bluff and bullying the 'white' section has succeeded in wresting from Mr. Montagu's unwilling hands concessions after concessions in the course of the last few years. We have even heard it reported that candidates were deliberately kept back with a view to make out that few were willing to enter the Service even under the improved prospects.......... They evidently imagine that once they become independent of the Government of India they will be able to induce the Secretary of State to say ditto to anything they dictate. These worthies require to be told that the awakened national consciousness of our countrymen insists on the I.M.S. being made fully amenable to the control of the popular will. If anybody imagines that the ship is really sinking he had better leave it in time and not make that an excuse for further encroachments on the public treasury."

The Talatis on strike should not yield to mere empty assurances of Government.

Kesari (115), 11th Jan.

22. The *Kesari* exhorts the talatis on strike to stick to the Kalyan resolutions and not to yield. It adds:—The Poona Collector says that the question of pay is being carefully considered. For the last two years the talatis are complaining. Were Government sleeping all these days? Who will guarantee an early and satisfactory decision? The Revenue clerks have not struck work. Is their revision settled? Eight months ago the scheme was sanctioned, but as yet there is not a word about its enforcement. The Provincial Public Works Department scheme was sanctioned and was in force for a month and then it was cancelled. It is now three months and the case is not yet decided! In these circumstances, who would trust the empty assurances of Government? The talatis on strike should not be deceived by the words 'careful consideration', because (Government) do not care for the starvation of their servants and because they treat their own words as 'a scrap of paper'. They should note that the strength of a strike lies in unity and they should not commit treachery.

Appeal to Lord Chelmsford to remove injustices done to India before his departure.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 12th Jan.

23. At present the new Reform Scheme has come into force and this memorable event will ever be associated with Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty. We heartily wish that before bidding farewell to India, for the last time, he will secure the good will of the people by removing as far as possible the various unjust and wrong acts done to them. Why should the repressive laws passed one after another without necessity not be repealed? Why should not a general liberal policy be pursued to satisfy the lacerated hearts of the people owing to the Punjáb wrong, the Khilafat question, the Rowlatt Act and other such causes? Lord Ronaldshay has been able to appreciate the intensity of the public feeling and has set a good example for the Governors of other provinces by releasing some prisoners just now before granting a general amnesty to all political prisoners. This gives rise to the question as to why the large number of political prisoners who suffer hardships for the so-called political reasons as a result of the intrigues of the C. I. D. should not be released now. The people of the Punjáb will no doubt be gratified by the present policy of Sir Edward Maclagan. Still much remains to be done for effacing the injustice done to the Punjáb. So long as a single pie from the pockets of the Indians or of the people of the Punjáb is paid to the late martial law officers of the Punjáb either in India or in England, it will be difficult to create an atmosphere of complete peace, friendliness and unity among the Indian people. Why should the Seditious Meetings Act and the Press Act which are still being enforced in some portions of the Punjáb be not withdrawn? The praiseworthy step taken by the Government of Bengal in the direction of releasing the political prisoners is one that should be copied in all parts of India. In nearly all the provinces the new Governments are composed of able Executive Councillors and Indian Ministers and thereby the heart of every true Indian is thrilled with pleasure at the time of the departure of the Viceroy, seeing that the political future of India has become a little hopeful. But it is the bounden duty of the new Government to make the British Sovereignty in India glorious and peaceful by continuing to remove the injustices done to the country which still exist. Britain's greatness and magnificence as well as India's betterment and progress are involved in doing this.

Comments on certain views of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd on the subject of education in India.

Gujaráti (17), 9th Jan.

24. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd seems to hold one very strange opinion with regard to education. He gave expression to it last year before a Moslem institution in Poona, and this year, during the current week, he repeated it at the prize-distribution at the St. Peter's High School, Bombay. His Excellency levels the accusation against the rich men of Bombay that they are not willing to spend large sums on the education of their children just as parents in England are, who often spend Rs. 300 to 400 per month in the education of each boy. Last year His Excellency bad remarked that in India only Rs. 30 to 40 are spent. If by spending large sums of money it was possible to acquire high knowledge and education, we are sure that wealthy men would not fail to hang bags of money round the necks of their boys. His Excellency advises Indians to follow the example of the people in England and spend freely. But the question is, is the money to be spent in the acquisition of knowledge or in the pursuit of pleasures? But if education is expensive in England, why should it be so also in India? This is a sample of the talk about India indulged in by those who come to carry on its administration without understanding the real conditions prevailing in India. In India, before the arrival of the English, the best education was available to the sons of the rich as well as the poor at little or no expense. It was considered a duty of the State and of rich people to see that the best possible education was made available for all free of charge, and for this purpose schools and madressas were established. To-day, under British rule, there is not a single school where the poor can receive education side by side with the rich. Another noteworthy thing said by His Excellency is that in Bombay the parents are opposed to their children taking part in games, and against this he quotes the fact that in his school playing at games was compulsory three or four days a week. This is no doubt good advice. But His Excellency seems to have no idea of the great burden that falls on students in India in having to learn other languages and in having to receive instruction in an alien language. Had he had any experience of this burden, he would have understood how little time Indian children can spare for play. If Sir George Lloyd wants to immortalise his name, he can do so by making a beginning in the direction of removing that great defect in the present system of instruction which consists in having to learn foreign languages and to waste time in receiving instruction through their medium. The time thereby saved will then be utilised towards play and recreation, and the people of this Presidency will be the gainers both intellectually and in point of bodily well-being.

Comments on the New Year Honours List.

Gujaráti (17), 9th Jan.

25. Commenting upon the New Year Honours List, the *Gujaráti* remarks that it was awaited with great eagerness by the people, because, as renunciation of titles was the first item in the non-co-operation programme, it was thought that if over and above their own servants and some sycophants and co-operators, Government were to bestow honours on others, it would lead to a lot of correspondence in connection with their renunciation. The paper then continues:—Attempts were made by the opponents of non-co-operation to prove that the movement was a failure because very few have renounced their honours. But the fact is that Government have never appreciated the services of independent publicists by conferring honours upon them. They have confined their honours to their own servants and a few sycophants and in order to escape being altogether shamed, they seem to have recognised the merits of a Pherozeshah or a Gokhale. The latest Honours List clearly proves that Government servants only are for the most part worthy of these honours. What are we to understand from the fact that the patriotic services of men like Bannerji and Parekh are rewarded at the age of seventy and seventy-five? Is it meant to be Government's appreciation of their services, or is it meant to serve as a plaything to amuse their second childhood? Is the honour given to them by the public not enough? Or, do Government want to imply that these men are their servants just like their other servants in the Police, Revenue, Public Works and other Departments? Perhaps Government's object is to increase the work of the non-co-operationists. But it is not likely that the latter will waste their time in trying to persuade those whom Government have thought fit to honour to renounce their titles. The people only wish that they will live many years to toy with the badge with the impress of India's dependence which they have received from those who are opposed to the emancipation of Indians from the chains of servitude.

Comments on Mr. N. M. Joshi's renunciation of the C.I.E.
Mahrátta (8), 16th Jan.

***26.** "We admire the courage of Mr. Joshi in refusing the honour, but we pity his timidity in disclaiming all connections with the non-co-operation principle. The letter which Mr. Joshi wrote to the Viceroy's Private Secretary would have been a glorious epistle had it not been darkened by Mr. Joshi's prayer that he should not be taken for a non-co-operator. Mr. Joshi begs to reject the title, merely because 'His work lies amongst poor Indians whose confidence would be easily given to persons, whose way of life is not far remote from theirs, and because 'the Society's ideal of poverty and renunciation is incompatible with the title'. Now, that is exactly the conviction which expresses itself in the non-co-operation movement. If Mr. Joshi's 'ideal is incompatible' with Government caresses, what difference is there between him and the man who wishes to rid himself of association with Government because that association gives a deathblow to his sense of honour and patriotism? And yet Mr. Joshi is horrified at the prospect of being called a non-co-operator!"

The Mulshi Petha Hydro-Electric Scheme and the hardships of the rayats.
Kesari (115), 11th Jan.

27. The *Kesari* says that the Mulshi Petha (District Poona) agriculturists are determined to carry on their agitation in Parliament itself, and that they saw Mr. Ben Spoor in this connecfion in Poona and informed him of the great oppression and injustice to which they are subjected. It further remarks that Mr. Ben Spoor has promised to help them. It adds:—Mr. Tata says that many of the lands affected are mortgaged; but who told him that they would not be redeemed? Even if they are mortgaged, the Mavlas look after them and they have not lost their hereditary occupation thereby. It is not only a question of the lands that will be actually submerged. The Mula river will be dried up on account of the dam, and many of the lands annually inundated by it will be adversely affected. Who is responsible for the loss? The *Times of India* talks of full compensation; but actual experience points to the contrary.

Lokasangraha (118), 9th Jan.

28. The *Lokasangraha* complains that though the Land Acquisition Act authorises, in the preliminary stages, only the measurement of the lands and such other miscellaneous things, the Tata Company's officers have already begun digging big trenches in the peoples' fields and that they are also taking away wood and other materials from the poor Mavlis' lands for constructing the company's huts. It goes on:—The company's supervisor refuses to listen to any complaints. When the owner of a survey number tried to get impounded the cattle belonging to the company's servants grazing in his number, he was severely beaten by the company's coolies. We have received several other similar complaints. How long are Government going to allow this lawlessness to continue? The Mahalkari of Mulshi Peta is in no way the company's servant, and yet he goes to the people and holds out further threats to them in the interests of the company! Where would be the wonder if these things lead the Mavlis to believe that it is not the Tata Company that is robbing them of their lands, but that it is Government which calls itself paternal that is going to drive them out of their homes, shielding itself behind the Tata Company?

Lokasangraha (118), 13th and 14th Jan.

29. Government and the Tata Company will one day be responsible for introducing Bolshevism into Maháráshtra. Bolshevism will continue to gain ground in the world so long as the capitalists' greed and their callous disregard for human sufferings do not meet with a check. We are reminded of this by the Tata Company's project to submerge under water fifty-two villages in the Mulshi Peta and thus render homeless about fifteen thousand people. It is very surprising that the *ma-bap* Government have already given their assent to this scheme. We understand this is not the only lake the Tata Company is going to construct, but that they have in view thirty more such projects. If this be true then four or five lakhs of people will be deprived of their holdings and will wander about for want of employment. These fifty-two villages are to be submerged under the Land Acquisition Act. It is not that the laws of India are more harsh than those of other countries. The difference lies in the way in which they are enforced! The avowed object and the wording of this measure are irreproachable. Its real nature is revealed only when it is put into operation. The law was originally enacted with a view to make land available for a public purpose or to satisfy the modest requirements of a company. This surely does not mean that Government should depopulate whole villages for the benefit of a company. But this is exactly what they are now doing. In our opinion it is neither wise nor safe to adopt this course. If the enterprise succeeds the Tata family and the shareholders of the company will alone benefit and not the people who are now being turned out of their villages. Again, do the people get adequate compensation for their land in such cases? We know from our own experience that a suit under the Land Acquisition Act is a mere farce. [In the next issue the paper warns Government that if they allow the Tata scheme to mature they will be sowing with their own hands the seed of Bolshevism in Maharashtra which is sure to germinate at some future date.]

How villages should be acquired under the Land Acquisition Act.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 16th Jan.

***30.** Referring to the acquisition of lands by Government under the Land Acquisition Act in Mulshi Peta (Poona) and elsewhere, *the Indian Social Reformer* writes:—" At the same time the Government do not seem to have gone about the acquisition of these villages—it is immaterial whether they are five or fifty or even one—in the most acceptable way possible......... We are not satisfied that all the cases for land acquisition are scrutinised with much care as to their urgency, necessity or the extent of the land affected. The Act, we are afraid, is used as the readiest means, instead of as it should be, the last resort, for getting the peasant to part with his land. .... If a village has to be taken up, a new village site should be selected, as near as possible to the one to be removed, well laid out, cottages built and improved provision made for all amenities of village life. If any temple, mosque, church, dharamsala or other religious or charitable edifice exists in the area, it should be provided in the new village and should be consecrated or dedicated with appropriate rites at the public expense. In fact, the occasion should be taken advantage of to found a model village, and the people must be made to feel, as far as possible, that they have lost little and gained something by the exchange. The Indian peasant will respond gladly to advances on the part of authority unmistakably intended to show that it respects his rights and feelings."

Alleged insult by a Police Sergeant to an Indian High Court Judge of Madras.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Jan.

31. Referring to the incident mentioned by *New India* which occurred during the rehearsal by the police and the military of their arrangements for the reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Madras when an Indian Judge of the Madras High Court was alleged to have been insulted by a Police Sergeant on the Beach Road, Madras, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—" Our contemporary in drawing the attention of Government to the incident and trusting that policemen of the type of the sergeant in question will be taught a severe lesson, observes pathetically that 'some of these police underlings seem to imagine that they can treat with indifference even high-placed Indians'. But are the police underlings alone to blame? They merely learn their correct attitudes from their betters. And it is not 'high-placed' Indians alone who suffer from the 'indifference' of the guardians of the peace. For one 'high-placed' Indian there are a thousand lowly ones who are made to feel the weight of this 'indifference' from day to day. We see nothing at all extraordinary in the incident narrated by our contemporary, unless it be the publicity which such incidents receive when 'high-placed' individuals are involved in it."

Government and the Exchange question.
Gujarati (17), 9th Jan.

32. Had the Government of any other country deceived its people by such false promises as those with which the Government in India deceived the Indians, it would not have been able to prolong its existence by a 'second; and especially in no other direction has the Government of India deceived the people so very grossly as in the matter of finance. [The paper then goes on to dwell on the harm and loss to the people and merchants of India caused by such acts on the part of Government as fixing the rate of Exchange and issuing Reverse Councils. It then continues:—] When the balance of trade was in India's favour, *i. e.*, when the gold value of the rupee was high, the Indian Finance Department had said that they would issue gold sovereigns at Rs. 10 and had promised that if sovereigns were returned to the Treasury within a fixed period they would be paid for at the rate of Rs. 15 each. The people were entrapped through their trust in Government and they brought piles of sovereigns to the Government treasury. In the meanwhile, Government also fixed the price of the rupee at 24 pence. And now people say that the price of the rupee has gone down, and the ten-rupee gold pound is still in the skies. They ask, where is the gold coin at the rate of 24 pence to the rupee? The Finance Minister shamelessly replies: There is no gold with Government. They had never promised to issue gold sovereigns at Rs. 10 each. Only for the sake of facilitating trade with foreign countries they had fixed the price of the shilling at 8 annas. That is to say, the Finance Department have deceived the people of India in broad daylight. In the meanwhile, trade has gone against India, and the price of the rupee which had reached 32 pence has come down to 17 pence, and the people have to export gold to pay for imports. Owing to the mess caused by the Indian Finance Department and the Secretary of State jointly, the Indian people and merchants have come to a sorry pass. Those who have to take up *hundis* to-day have to undergo a clean loss of 25 to 30 per cent. even at the rate of two shillings to the rupee. People now ask when will there be an end to India's dancing to the tune of the Indian Finance Department.

Self-Government of any sort better than the present foreign government.
Raj Hansa (89), 7th Jan.

33. It is wellknown that an indigenous rule though it takes the form of the most absolute monarchy is better than foreign rule of any kind. Was it not the late Campbell-Bannerman, England's Premier, who said that self-government however wicked is better than foreign government however good? Hence, our past glory and our present miserable condition both tell us that self-government of any kind whatsoever is preferable to the present foreign, obstinate, selfish and wicked bureaucracy.

Grant of *Swarajya* the best remedy against Bolshevism.
Swarajya (143), 13th Jan.

34. Referring to the conditions about putting a stop to the Bolshevik propaganda in England and elsewhere proposed to be inserted in the commercial treaty with Soviet Russia, the *Swarajya* remarks:—The spread of Bolshevism whether in England or in India cannot be stopped by laying down any such conditions, the true remedy being to adopt measures to remove the causes that give rise to unrest among the people. Of what use will be such a condition if the English authorities again bring about a repetition of the Punjab wrong? Had the Russian Bolsheviks come down to the Punjab when the outrages took place there in 1919? In short, the British should bear it in mind that the grant of *Swârajya* would be the best remedy against Bolshevism.

Alleged menace to India from the proposed Dominions Conference.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Jan.

35. "A question of tremendous constitutional importance—having far-reaching effects on the rights and liberties of India—is being settled in London without receiving that careful attention, in this country, which it deserves .... Whatever may be the reasons which have actuated Lord Milner to resign his post as Colonial Secretary, it is evident that the resignation has brought to a head the question of control of Dominion matters in London. According to the *Times*, the Dominions have for some time urged that, having attained an international status, they should no longer have their London affairs controlled by the Colonial Office.......... It was authoritatively stated that any new arrangement with regard to the Dominions was not likely to be made before the Dominions Conference which is to meet in the summer....... The question that we have to ask ourselves is: What of India? The Dominion representatives will meet the representives of the British Government on absolutely equal terms and discuss and settle questions of foreign policy, in reference to Japanese-American, Japanese-China situations, of the big navies, of disarmament and the like.......... It means, in effect, this that as Britain cannot do without the Dominions and *vice versa*, the vital questions of armaments, army, navy, foreign policy, mandates, militarist and economico-imperialist adventures, will be settled by the Dominions and Britain jointly—that, in short, the non-white portions of the Empire will no longer be subject to British Partiament only, but will be governed by the Dominions as well, the latter being numerically predominant. Are we, as a self-respecting nation, going to sit silent in the face of this menace? Not only on the question of Indians abroad, but also on the question of the employment of Indian troops for the purpose of imperialistic aggrandisement and of the strength, composition and control of our own army, not we but the White nations of the Empire will have the effective voice. Here then is a question of life and death for us.......... What are we going to do? Are we going to submit, as hitherto, to the position of being merely hewers of wood and drawers of water for the aggrandisement of our white brethren of the Empire? For, without a national organisation of Home Defence, without control over our military expenditure, without a navy of our own, without the final and effective voice in our foreign policy—without, in short, enjoying the new Dominion status—we are and shall continue to remain nothing less."

Comments on Government defraying the whole expenditure of the Established Church to the detriment of other religions.
Hindu (157), 27th Dec. 1920.

36. There stands a big Church on the Civil Lines Road at Hyderabad. There are large and wide recreation plots all around that church. The salary of the Chaplain, in charge of as well as the whole expenditure of the church is paid from Government funds. This is not the case in Hyderabad alone, but generally in all the chief towns wherever there are churches. For what purpose? For the purpose of promoting the Christian religion. There is Indian money, the country belongs to the Indians, and their religion is non-Christian, but Government helps the other (Christian) religion! In the Royal Proclamation by Queen Victoria, it was declared that "we do not intend to help any particular religion. We do not intend any interference in any religion, etc.". But what is meant by the above, if not interference? Is this not helping one particular religion? If the Government of India is anxious about the salvation of the souls of its subjects, it should help all religions alike and not one religion nor a sect of that one religion. What strikes one is that Government helps that sect of the Christian religion whose followers are rich all the world over. Granted that this untenable practice is as old as grandfather Adam, it does not follow that there should be no reform in it. Indians object to their money being so wasted. The Indians are kept under by their own money. It is by Indian money that other countries are enslaved. And it is with Indian money that the religion of India is destroyed. What worse can happen? This is gross injustice. It should be stopped at once. Government has already wounded the hearts of Indians; will it reform itself in this matter?

Necessity of closing all the slaughter-houses for cattle in the country.
Kesari (115), 11th Jan.

37. The *Kesari* refers to the abandonment by Government of the new Ratona (Central Provinces) slaughter-house scheme, but it wants the old slaughter-houses also to be closed; and it quotes in this connection the example of the Hubli Municipality to close down the slaughter-house which was responsible for the destruction of a lakh of cattle during the last five years. It wants the local leaders to take up the question and try to close the slaughter-houses wherever

existing. It further adds that the Muhammadan brethren have set a good example in this respect, and that it is the holy duty of every Indian to stop the destruction of cattle as far as possible.

The agrarian disturbances at Rai Bareli (U. P.)
Indu Prakásh (44), 11th Jan.

38. Commenting upon the agrarian disturbances in the United Provinces, the *Indu Prakásh* says:—It is really shameful that Government should have recourse to firing to restore quiet in a disarmed country like India. Such incidents show that Government have become either indifferent towards the lives of Indians or their desire for firing has not been satisfied during the great war.

Comments on the Ceylon Government's decision not to proceed with the Labour Ordinance at present.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Jan.

39. "A brief message, obviously officially inspired, has been communicated to the Indian press from Ceylon to the effect that it is understood that in view of the depression in the tea and rubber industries the Ceylon Government will not proceed with the Labour Ordinance at present. What the so-called depression in the market can have to do with the redress of the crying grievances of the labourers on the plantations only the Ceylon Government can tell......... The Ceylon Government have evidently surrendered to the unholy agitation of the European planters, who can maintain their present prosperity only by keeping the 'coolies' in their estates in a state of semi-slavery. It is in the interests of these few capitalistic exploiters that the hardahips of hundreds of thousands of labourers are to be left unredressed. Seeing that the vast majority of these unfortunates are our countrymen, the public of this country should not sit quiet over the shameful betrayal of the Indian workers. It is a matter of the utmost regret that the newly-awakened national consciousness of the Ceylonese should remain unconcerned about the wretched lot of Indians slaving on the Ceylon plantations."

Prospects of the success of the British Mission to Afghanistan.
Kesari (115), 11th Jan.

40. Discussing the mission to Afghanistan, the *Kesari* writes:—India pays for all the expenses of the Mission but Indians do not know anything of the terms on which the new Afghan treaty is to be negotiated. It appears that the Mission will try to obtain sanction for a Railway to Afghanistan through the Khaiber Pass. The military authorities want to run the line, to the Pass at least, before the permission is obtained. The Afridis, however, do not approve and they may object. We do not think the Amir of Afghanistan will sanction this penetration of his dominions. If the Dobbs Mission insists, the negotiations may be broken off. The policy of the Government of India is harmful. If the old frontier policy is adopted, peace will be disturbed on the frontier and India will have to bear permanently increased military expenditure. Indians should oppose this policy in all possible ways.

Appeal to the Bombay Ministers to have the Abkári laws radically revised.
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 11th Jan.

41. An anonymous correspondent, who declares himself to be the son of a respected Parsi dealer in toddy at Surat and consequently able to speak from personal experience of the subject, points out in the *Jám-e-Jamshed* that it is Government themselves who are to blame for the high price of toddy and the adulteration to which it is subjected by the toddy sellers. He complains that the license and other fees levied by Government on the toddy trade are so heavy that it is impossible for the toddy licensees to sell toddy cheap or in a pure state. Besides, he adds, it is well-known to what harassments the Abkari officers subject the licensees. In support of this allegation he refers to the facts disclosed by the inquiry which was held in Thána District as a result of which some Inspectors were dismissed. The writer continues:—The toddy dealers have appealed to the authorities till they are tired but all their petitions seem to have fallen on deaf ears. Now, as under the Reform Scheme, the whole management of the Excise Department has been entrusted to an Indian Minister, I take this opportunity to humbly appeal to this gentleman to subject the Abkari law

to very careful and detailed examination and to have it entirely recast. [The writer winds up with an appeal to the paper to press for the appointment of a Commission composed of experienced gentlemen to investigate the subject in an impartial manner.]

Comments on the appointment of the new members of the Executive Council and Ministers for Bombay.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 9th Jan. Eng. cols.; *Hindustán* (21), 9th Jan., Eng. cols.

42. "We have already referred to the highly unsatisfactory procedure by which the Government of Bombay, along with the Governments of other Presidencies, sought to usher in the 'new era' in Indian administration; but it would be unfair to refrain, on that account, from congratulating the Government of Bombay on the happy selection of the personnel of its first Executive and Ministry under the new dispensation, and we have no hesitation in saying that the selection is the best that was possible under the circumstances......... For who could deny that from among the mixed lot that has to-day entered the Bombay Legislative Council, the selection of Messrs. Pranjpye and Mehta is the best? The public does not know much about Mr. Shaikh Ghulam Hussain Hidayatalla and his selection as a minister will, in our opinion, have to be justified by results." ['Pharos' writes in the *Hindusthán*:—"In the Executive Council one more Indian is taken up, and that Indian is Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. There are very few Indians who will be glad to hear of this appointment for Setalvad has never been popular with any one. Nobody has ever relied on him since Sir Pherozshah Mehta's death for doing any good to the country. The Self is far greater in him than either principles or country. We thought he had resigned his judgeship in order to work for the country. But we have been disappointed. He was working for this post all the time that he was supposed to be working for India! Of the new ministers, we have not much to say. Mr. Pranjpye is an able mathematician and fond of education. We hope he will do all he can for improving the education of our Presidency. As for Mr. Chunilal V. Mehta we can say much less. He is not able to decide anything quickly, nor is his judgment particularly good. He is an ordinary man with good intentions. Of the third minister, Mr. Hidayatallah of Sind, the less said the better, for no one, outside his province, has ever heard of him."]

The newly appointed ministers are likely to be used by Government in suppressing the non-co-operation movement.

Rajakaran (131), 9th Jan.

43. Sir Surendra feels pride in being appointed a minister. On our side of the country Mr. Paranjpye is similarly favoured. High honours have been conferred on several worthless moderates. All this, however, does not give any satisfaction to the nation. It is struggling in the abyss of despair. High prices, poverty, injustice and oppression have been making the lives of many people miserable. How can the elevation of Mr. Paranjpye to the post of a minister give delight to the fifteen thousand people whose houses are to be submerged under Tata's scheme? Similarly, can it be said that all the wrongs of Bengal have been redressed simply because Lord Sinha is made a Governor? The Nágpur Congress has made plain to the world what the actual condition of the nation is at present. The men who have been fawning upon the Duke of Connaught may tell him anything they like. Why should a vast country like India not demand *Swardjya* as desired by it when the principle of self-determination has been made applicable to all the minor nations in the world? Suggestions are being made to suppress the non-co-operation movement. If these find favour with the rulers, they will consult the Ministers who have been drawn from among the moderates, and these men being under their obligation for the thousands they would be receiving will readily fall in with their views. We believe the rulers will transfer a good deal of the odium accruing from a policy of repression to the shoulders of their paid servants of the moderate persuasion. It was an Indian judge who sentenced the late Mr. Tilak to transportation for six years. Similarly, the authorities will now delegate the task of suppressing Mahatma Gandhi and his followers to men like Sir Surendra or Mr. Paranjpye.

Comments on the allotment of portfolios to the Bombay ministers.
***Indian Social Reformer* (7), 16th Jan.**

***44.** "Excise and forests, which is an incongruous combination in Mr. Mehta's hand, would have been peculiarly well-suited to Ghulam Hussain. A Hindu is, speaking broadly, admirable in the evolution of policy but, when it is a question of putting unflinchingly in force a policy that has been settled upon, as between a Hindu and a Muhammadan we would choose the latter, other things being more or less equal. Since we are now committed to the communal principle in administration, we may as well have regard in its application to the special bent, if any, of each community. The end of Excise policy is now settled in all civilized countries, and was long ago settled in India, to be prohibition. As for Forests, a Minister hailing from one of the most arid tracts in the world is the best man to appreciate the value of sylviculture. Mr. Ghulam Hussain has, no doubt, also been connected with Local Self-government, but the Municipalities and Local Boards of the Presidency would benefit more by the experience of a Minister who has passed the Chair of the Bombay Municipal Corporation."

Military extravagance in India must be put a stop to before allowing the ministers to place additional burdens upon the people.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Jan.

45. "We agree with the journal (*i.e.*, the *Manchester Guardian*) that there is enormous leeway to be made up in each of the departments confided to the care of the Ministers and that ambitious programmes of expansion and development cannot be carried out without large expenditure, for which new avenues of revenue may have to be explored. But, before any additional burdens on the taxpayer are imposed, the nation will demand that the military extravagance must first be put a stop to. The military budget swallows at present more than 40 per cent. of the national revenues. Unless this unjust and crushing burden is lightened, and the available resources diverted to fruitful channels, it is hopeless to expect that funds will be forthcoming to meet the requirements of the departments under ministerial control."

Comments on the appointment of Lala Harkishenlal as Minister in the Punjáb.
Servant of India (10), 13th Jan.

46. "Our heartiest congratulations to the Government and people of the Punjáb on the appointment of Lala Harkishenlal as Minister. One of the most outstanding personalities of the Punjáb, he is a gifted financier, whose schemes for the industrial development of his province would have borne excellent fruit, had not the jealousy and malice of his Anglo-Indian rivals found strong support in the arch-bureaucrat of that unfortunate province. One has only to recall that his People's Bank which was ordered to be wound up met its liabilities fully and left a little surplus. No one in the Punjáb suffered more wrongs at the hands of the O'Dwyer Government than he did; a martial law tribunal even convicted him of waging war against His Majesty! If any person may be excused for being bitter against the British Government, it is he. Yet he refused to be led away by the non-co-operation movement and risking much unpopularity sought election to the Reformed Council. With a magnanimity worthy of him he put away his personal feelings and as an old congressman recognised the scope which the new councils offered for the service of his motherland. His appointment as Minister is about the best event in Sir Edward Maclagan's programme for the restoration of peace in the Punjáb."

How the I. C. S. has benefitted by the Reforms.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Jan.

47. "In 1909, there were two civilian experts in the Executive Councils of the Presidencies. The Minto-Morley Reform added an Indian, securing the two original offices to Civilian placemen. The Montagu Reform came, but the Civilian element would suffer no reduction. With no displacement allowed in that perpetual panel, they added 'opportunities' for Indians by liberal co-option. Besides securing their old hold, they have acquired new avenues of preferment in the minor provinces which now are bedecked with councils and councillorships. In effect, the civilians have had a flourishing time.

The Commissioner of Assam gets the tawdry title and perquisites of a Governor; so that, new governorships, the old offices in the presidencies and new councillorships in the blossoming provinces are among the inheritances of the new era, not to mention odd pickings like the presidentship of the Council of State and many secretarial promotions. And further with the rise in salary, and the noble effort of Government to sustain the exchange in favour of remitters, the bureaucracy have to be profoundly grateful for the new turn of events."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas' motion before the Council of State for the establishment of a separate department of Government to watch the interests of Indians abroad.

Servant of India (10), 13th Jan.

48. "The Honourable Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas' proposal for 'the immediate establishment of a separate department of Government to watch and safeguard the rights and interests of Indians in overseas dominions and colonies' will, we hope, secure the hearty support of his colleagues in the Council of State.......... The difficulties of our countrymen overseas are being added to every day and it is essential that the Government of India should possess a first-hand knowledge of the disabilities and indignities under which they have to labour in the different colonies. .... The solution seems to be that when the new department comes into being, it must send out some of its officers to study the Indian problem on the spot and must maintain in colonies in which Indians have settled in large numbers permanent official agencies whose business should be to keep the Government in India closely in touch with the events there as they affect Indians. It is the absence of such an agency in Fiji, for instance, which is responsible for the withholding of real facts connected with the Indian riots of February last from the Indian public and also, to some extent, for the unreasonable attitude of the Government of India towards the non-official demand for an enquiry into their causes and the methods adopted to suppress them. The new department, if it sets about the business in the right spirit, can do much to relieve the anxiety of the public with regard to their fellow-countrymen in the colonies."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Jan.

49. "The necessity of establishing a separate department of Government to watch and safeguard the rights and interests of Indians abroad has been urged by the Indian Imperial Citizenship Association, and we note that the Honourable Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas intends to move in the Council of State a proposal to the same effect.......... The situation regarding Indian nationals in all parts of the Empire is becoming more and more menacing with the progress of years and it is necessary, if catastrophes, such as were witnessed in South Africa a few years ago and in Fiji last year, are to be averted, that the Government of India should devise an agency which will look exclusively after these nationals. There are hundreds of thousands of these in various parts of the Empire and in foreign countries, and the Government of India in the coming years cannot afford to devote only occasional thought to their condition. The suggested department ought to come into existence without the least delay."

Protest against a resolution on cow-killing to be brought in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 16th Jan.

***50.** Referring to the resolution on cow-killing which Mr. Sukhbir Singh proposes to move at the forthcoming meeting of the Legislative Assembly, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* says:—The Musalmans should hold a big meeting and declare that the legitimate diet of the people should not be withheld from them. The question should be left to the Musalmans to decide at their own option. It should be remembered that if ordinary slaughter of cows is prohibited to-day, cow sacrifie on Id days will become impossible later on. If cow-killing is deliberately stopped for the sake of achieving union, Musalmans would be regarded as sinners by God.

Repression cannot suppress the non-co-operation movement.
New Times (9), 5th Jan.

51. "Our contemporary the *Daily Gazette* is a whole-hearted supporter of the policy of repression......... The *Daily Gazette*, doubtless, approves the policy of coercion in Ireland. It is a policy which inevitably arises when a government refuses to reform itself and respond to the real representatives of the people. And we are not surprised to find even friendly critics taking the British Government to task...... Moderates like Mr. Griffith and Mr. MacNeil are in prison; a savage sentence has been passed upon the directors of the *Freeman's Journal* for an alleged misreport of some actions of the police! But Irish nationalism remains unbroken. Has this no lessons for the bureaucracy and official apologists like the *Gazette* in this country? The *Gazette* indeed, would have even the Khilafatist and non-co-operationist volunteers suppressed! Our contemporary sees red 'revolution' in the National Congress and 'criminal conspiracy' in the corps of national volunteers! 'Uniformed Volunteers', it says, 'were in evidence in Karáchi at the last *hartal* when the interior of the Imperial Cinema was wrecked.' Is it fair, we ask, to insinuate that these 'uniformed volunteers' were responsible for the 'wreckage' in the Imperial Cinema? The *hartal* was peaceful; the *hartal* meeting was peaceful; the 'uniformed volunteers' helped whole-heartedly in maintaining peace and order. But the *Gazette* asks Government to take 'prompt action' to suppress the volunteers! The reason is not far to seek. They do 'impress the crowd'! They are a menace—not to 'public security'—but to the forces of reaction and repression. They do help in maintaining peace and order at public meetings which would otherwise be at the tender mercies of the Indian police. The National Volunteers serve the National Cause. Suppress them if you will; arrest the nationalist workers if you will; you cannot break the spirit of the National Movement. No policy of repression, no campaign of political persecution can put to sleep again the spiritual powers of the new awakened Nation."

Sir Michael O'Dwyer's advice to the Government of India to adopt a policy of repression.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 17th Jan.

***52.** "Sir Michael O'Dwyer has written to the *Daily Telegraph* what we can only call an insolent and disloyal letter. Sir Michael O'Dwyer chooses the occasion of the arrival of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, as His Majesty's special delegate to inaugurate the reformed Councils in this country, to seek to embroil the Government with the people of India by instigating them to embark anew on a policy of repression......... His Excellency Sir Edward Maclagan's selection, as one of his first Ministers, of the Indian leader who had incurred Sir Michael O'Dwyer's special animosity by his independence and public spirit, should have admonished the late Lieutenant-Governor of the impropriety of his attempting any further meddling in the affairs of this country.......... All hesitation on the part of Government in India and in Great Britain should be set aside in dealing suitably with the insolent and disloyal conduct of this retired servant of the Crown, in attempting to embarrass the Duke of Connaught in carrying to a successful conclusion the extremely arduous and responsible duties of the great mission of peace, entrusted to His Royal Highness by His Majesty the King-Emperor."

Comments on the *Daily Telegraph's* remarks against the non-co-operation movement.
Lokasangraha (118), 9th Jan.; *Kesari* (115), 11th Jan.

53. Referring to the *Daily Telegraph's* advice to the Government of India to adopt repressive measures to put down the non-co-operation movement, the *Lokasangraha* writes:—We would inform these Imperialists that there is nothing new to fear in repression by the Nationalists. It has already been tried and has failed; and, therefore, it is useless to hold forth threats of it to them. They are fully aware that they will have to undergo sufferings in carrying out non-co-operation, and they are prepared to undergo them. What would Government do? Some would be gagged, some would be incarcerated and some would have their property forfeited. That is all. But who would care for such insignificant things in a country where the Punjáb happenings took place last year? The *Daily Telegraph* declares that, let alone of independence, India would not even have self-government. But who knows what is in the womb of the future? The British Empire is not the first Empire in the world, nor have we heard that God has granted it a perpetual lease. Who can say that the wheel of time will not to-morrow bring independence to India which is a slave to-day? If merciful Providence so wills, India will have *swarajya* without a moment's delay, even if fifty Englands and thousands of papers like the *Daily Telegraph* come in her way! [The *Kesari* writes :—Our Government is quite an expert in repression and it does not stand in need of any promptings from the *Daily Telegraph*. Its great anxiety will perhaps be soon removed. We see open signs of the heavy hand of the coming repression. But whatever happens, India is determined to do away with the bureaucracy.]

Closing of the national school at Talsána owing to the intervention of the Political Agent.
Navjivan (72), 9th Jan.

54. In its issue, dated the 9th January 1921, the *Navjivan* writes that it has been informed that the report that the National School at Talsána has been closed is false. This report formed the subject of a complaint by Mr. K. G. Mashroowalla in the previous issue of the *Navjivan* (*vide* paragraph 61 of Weekly Report No. 2 of 1921).

Exhortation to Indians to beware of being deceived by English visitors to India.
Musafir (160), 25th Dec. 1920.

55. On the one hand Indians realise that every European is getting his object served in India, and none of them is anxious about India's welfare. On the other hand whenever any European who is not a Government servant visits India whether for health for enjoyment he is praised to the skies. These European tourists speak a word or two in favour of Indians and are highly honoured. But it is easily found out that these too are as much the well-wishers of the country as their brethren officials. The only difference is that they do not lose any thing by speaking in favour of Indians because they have no power like officials to exercise. Their expressions therefore can neither elevate India nor can harm their own country and their nation. They therefore extend high hopes to our people and finish their tours very luxuriously. We should therefore be careful to see that we are not deceived by mere lip sympathy. We should depend upon ourselves. Like Europeans we should maintain our nationality and think of the well-being of our country. When we are all united we shall be in a position to impress the European countries that we are worthy of being counted as a living nation. Then only will they treat us honourably. We wish to emphasise this fact that we can gain only from those amongst us. They are in the best position to know our minds and can know our difficulties best. Our Indian leaders, only with a view to gain importance, have been ruining the country. They must know that what the officials amongst us can feel for us no outsider can feel. These travellers who extend high hopes to us can give no real help. Their empty boast will have no hearing in England, whereas those who are actually ruling over us will have some weight in England.

Can Indians benefit by the sympathy of the Labour Party in England?
Navjivan (72), 9th Jan.

56. Living has become so expensive in England as well as in Europe and the distribution of wealth there is so full of injustice that it would be no exaggeration to say that the whole social fabric of those countries is based on injustice. The statesmen of England and Europe are making vain efforts to maintain peace among the people, while at the same time retaining the injustice. The labouring class being victims of this injustice are making efforts to break down the unjust foundations of the social fabric. They can realise the injustice which they themselves suffer. As long as their own injustices are not removed, they can feel true sympathy towards others who suffer like themselves. But their main object is to effect a social revolution in their own country. If they act with wisdom and patience they might perhaps be able to bring about such a revolution peacefully. The sympathy of such people is valuable for us; but there is danger in following their methods without examining whether their object is the same as ours or not. Whether power remains with the capitalists or it passes into the hands of the labour party, still so long as Europeans have not changed their manner of living and their outlook on life and have not allowed that universal brotherhood which is always on their lips to penetrate to their hearts, these European nations will not be able to maintain themselves without committing injustice in some part of the world or other. Under such circumstances to what extent can their sympathy prove beneficial to us? 'If the horse strikes up a friendship with grass, what will he eat?'

Warning to Government to take steps betimes to ward off the evils threatened by the non-co-operation movement.

Mahrátta (8), 16th Jan.

*57. Referring to the resolutions on non-co-operation and the change in its creed passed by the Congress, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"The soldiers are not asked to lay down arms nor are the police and the Government servants asked to break their service contract and throw up the services. People are not asked to refuse to pay land tax. But it is clear on the surface that the nation is prepared even to enjoin the practice of the last three things, if the Government of the day does not mend its way in due time. It is clearly stated in the preamble that a day would be fixed by the Indian National Congress, when there would be declared a complete and wholesale National strike from school-going children, who would vacate the schools, to the police and Government servants who would give up their services, to the soldiers who would lay down their arms, and to the tax-payers who would refuse to pay taxes. The machine of the Government must come to a standstill on that day. With this picture of the future before our eyes, we feel it our duty to sound a note of warning to our Government to take stock of the situation. With a little effort towards introspection they would find that they are in the wrong and on them lies the responsibility of taking the initiative to bridge the widened gulf between the rulers and the ruled. They need not be hoodwinked by the presence of the handful of Moderates and place-hunters in their councils because that race exists in all countries and in all times. History is replete with instances when reliance upon these peoples have brought the rulers to grief. They need not make much of their military power also. No power on earth can keep in bondage, by force of arms, a nation that has determined to be free.......... As interpreters of the mind of the people, as responsible journalists, we feel it our duty to ask the Government to take note of these signs of the times and to avoid the catastrophe by some positive act which will go to assuage the wounded feelings of the people. That alone would save the situation. They are sitting tight on the mouth of a burning volcano of popular discontent and they must come down in good time before it bursts. Even Colonel Wedgwood's Round Table Conference would serve its purpose and establish communication with the leaders of the people. Of course this conference must be prefaced with some solid act of grace such as expression of regret at the Punjáb atrocities and liberal reparation to the afflicted. They must further resolve to disabuse their minds of the cant of 'the white man's burden' or 'the Imperial obligations,' and be prepared to extend a hand of true friendship based on equality of status and position. This alone would save the present situation and at the same time cover the name of the British statesmen with a glory and credit that rarely falls to the lot of any nation or person.......... Lastly, we have to say a word to our Moderate friends. Mr. Chintamani spoke of the misdeeds of the Government in terms the meaning and implication of which would not be mistaken. But what is the line of policy which they wish to follow in this matter? Do they believe that acceptance of councillorships and ministerships goes to strengthen their hands in coercing—or rather in their words—inducing the Government to do the right? They will be false to their duty to their Motherland, false to the great traditions of their faith, false to their inner voice if they do nothing positive and effective. Surely they are not satisfied with what Government have done in the Punjáb. And, therefore, we would frankly suggest one thing. Let them formulate a demand which would go to satisfy their conscience in the matter of the Punjáb and Khilafat and *Swarajya*, and give the Government clearly to understand that unless they satisfy that reasonable and moderate demand they would, to a man, give up their ministerships or councillorships.

If they do that they would at least give clear proof of their sincerity and seriousness."

The Nagpur Resolution on non-co-operation.
Lokasangraha (118) 8th Jan.

58. The Nagpur resolution on non-co-operation is of much wider scope than the Calcutta one, which applied only to students and pleaders. The new resolution is, to say the truth, something like a call for a national strike. In principle, the non-co-operation vow adopted is similar to the strikes in factories. The movement is neither unconstitutional nor unlawful, for no government is empowered by law to compel its subjects to co-operate with it. Our Government cannot compel us to send our children to their schools, or to serve them as their clerks or to shoot down anyone they please by putting on their uniforms. Our non-co-operation is the means to accomplish an end. If to-morrow Government express regret for the Punjáb happenings and the Khilafat wrong and grant complete *swarajya* to India, then there will be no reason for carrying out the non-co-operation programme. The last step in the programme is the non-payment of taxes; and the non-co-operationists firmly believe that if all people co-operate in that matter, that day will see the grant of *swarajya* to India; for taxes constitute the vitals of the modern system of administration, and if they are attacked the system must fall to pieces. It is on the strength of the taxes paid by us that Government have been able to murder our countrymen in the Jhallianwala Bagh, to destroy the Khilafat and to rob the Arabs in Mesopotamia of their liberty. It is this unnatural and slavish state of things that non-co-operation seeks to destroy. It is true that it is extremely difficult to bring all this about, specially in a country of thirty crores of people divided by race and religion, and ignorant. But the real credit lies in fighting under these unfavourable circumstances. Non-co-operation may fail in its aim. But it must be borne in mind that the movement will create such vitality in the nation that the administrators of the future will quake before it!

Kdnara Leader (37), 4th Jan.

59. Once again India seems determined to gather up the threads of her great past and weave them afresh into the web of her future. The mammoth national gathering at Nagpur during X'mas time was memorable in many ways. The unbounded enthusiasm, the new found faith in the capacity to achieve a new emancipation gave that great gathering a unique character. The resolve taken at Calcutta was reaffirmed more fully and firmly and unity of thought achieved and action indicated. What is negatively called non-co-operation is in reality self-dedication and the movement embodies the will of the people to be free and self-reliant by the employment of legitimate and peaceful means. The movement in fact initiates an endeavour of a high moral order for the achievement of self-realisation. And one is lost in the joy of seeing India once again forging her destiny as the radiant Mother of all that ennobles and emancipates man into a higher and kindlier mode of life. And shall Britain—her best elements—fail her at this juncture in a consummation that would be to the profit and glory of both? May the light which today, as in the past, guides India from the unreal to real, not fail the momentarily dimned vision of Britain!

Comments on the change in the Congress creed.
Navjivan (72), 9th Jan.

60. The creed of the Congress was changed almost unanimously. We have now to secure *swardjya* according to our own wishes. Such a *swardjya* is to be secured with the British connection if it is possible to retain it, otherwise by breaking it off if it is not satisfactory. The British connection will be kept, if it is at all to be kept, in such a manner as to allow the full realisation of the creed of the Congress. The British must, therefore, cease entertaining notions of supremacy. The British connection must be unbearable to us as long as we know that a handful of Englishmen can rule over us. The Congress has, moreover, suggested the means of securing the *swardjya* it has held before us and has resolved to reach its goal by peaceful methods and purity of heart. The Congress leaves no scope for

falsehood, trickery or hypocrisy. It teaches us to adopt the right path and to die and not to kill in pursuing it. It teaches us the principle of living by dying. The world goes on this principle. It is only when the seed dies that it gives forth a harvest. It is only when the mother continues to suffer hardships till her death that the child lives. To enjoy anything without making a sacrifice for it is the same as making use of stolen property. Sacrifice alone will secure us *swarájya.* But the sacrifice will be acceptable to God only if it is unblemished.

Gujarát Mitra (18), 9th Jan.; *Surya Prakásh* (79), 8th Jan.

61. The change effected in the creed of the Congress is likely to aggravate the political situation in the country. We do not think it practicable to give up the British connection altogether. However, now that the Congress has changed its creed, the leaders of the people will undoubtedly change their attitude towards Government. As has been recognised by many of our leaders, the new path adopted by the Congress is full of difficulties. The people in general and our leaders in particular will be able to encounter these difficulties with patience so long as they follow the guidance of Mr. Gandhi. But we are afraid that many accidents and untoward incidents will happen to the country while pursuing the path laid down by the Congress and that our fight for freedom may be thwarted and that the British Government will be placed in an awkward position owing to the change in the Congress creed. The non-co-operation movement has taken deep root in the country. If Government possess any diplomacy or foresight, they will be able to effect a change in the political atmosphere of the country. Government should forget the past and adopt a bold policy with a view to conciliating public opinion. They should, as suggested by the President of the Congress, repeal the Rowlatt Act and other repressive measures. [The *Surya Prakásh* also asks Government to respect public opinion and to conciliate it. It, however, points out the folly and presumption of the Congress in thinking of securing *swarajya* without the British connection when the people are not even able to carry out successful municipal administration and when they quarrel amongst themselves on questions of caste and creed.]

Comments on the Congress resolution for the abolition of the British Congress Committee.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Jan.

62. "One of the resolutions that were adopted by the Indian National Congress at Nagpur is open to grave objections. It is the resolution dealing with the discontinuance of the newspapear 'India,'—organ of the Indian National Congress in London—and the abolition of the British Committee......... This is the more surprising in view of the fact that the position of the British Committee itself had undergone a vast change since its reconstitution last year, and no one will doubt for a moment that even 'India' had improved considerably and was doing very useful work. About the attitude of the British Committee, enough has already been said in these columns to show that it is not one of hostility to the Congress but one of sympathetic co-ordination. It is, therefore, difficult to understand the causes that led the Subjects Committee of the Congress to adopt a proposal of a decidedly controversial character and then thrust the unpleasant duty of placing it before the Congress upon the President......... If the British Committee and 'India' did not render in the past as much service as might have been desired, the fault lay, we think, more with the All-India Congress Committee which was till recently in a comparative state of inanition. For that reason nobody ever suggested that the All-India Congress Committee should be given the go-by. With the quickening of the National consciousness, the Committee has gained in importance, and its members, through whose veins mostly runs young blood, have begun to feel a revivified interest in its work. Likewise, we have no doubt these two institutions in London would be serving India's cause with a redoubled vigour and zeal. Nor has it been suggested that Congress should cease all foreign propaganda. On the other hand, the Congress has explicitly recognized the necessity of such propaganda, and we learn that at the first meeting of the newly constituted All-India Congress Committee held at Nágpur on the 1st instant thousands of rupees

were allotted for propaganda both in England and America. In the circumstances, therefore, we should have thought that the Congress would try fully to utilise existing institutions, on the establishment and maintenance of which it had for years already spent thousands of pounds. If there were defects in their present composition they could have been remedied. It has not been said that these institutions were beyond redemption or past usefulness. The decision to put an end to their existence is, therefore, most unfortunate."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 16th Jan.

***63.** "Whatever one may think of some of the features which bulked largely in the programme of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur, such as the change of Creed and Non-co-operation, one must admit that the Congress is taking the right line in concentrating on work in India and among the people. The abolition of the British Committee of the Congress and of its journal *India*, is evidently intended to mark a new Congress standpoint that the political centre of gravity of the country is in the country itself and not six thousand miles away from it....... This, we should think, is now also the official view. The Coronation at Delhi, the Reforms Act, and the delegation of the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate the new system on behalf of His Majesty, can have no other meaning. They mean that India henceforth shall be mistress in her own house, and that India need have no backstairs parleying with the India Office in London to be allowed to conduct her own affairs in her own way. It is the business of the British Government, Parliament and the people to make themselves acquainted with the true state of things in this country and not for this country to maintain a mission in London to counteract the mischievous falsehoods disseminated by a class of retired Anglo-Indians who should never have been sent out to India. .... We are not in the least disposed to underrate the importance of making India's hopes and endeavours widely known throughout the world. Hermit nations have no place in the modern world. But this necessary work should be undertaken by Indians and have its headquarters in India. We do not think that the Congress resolution excludes this kind of work."

Comments on the Congress President's speech.
Hindu (157), 31st Dec. 1920, and 1st Jan.

64. No one can deny the concise, intelligent and deliberative character of the Nagpur Congress President Mr. V. R. Acharia's speech. He has, it must be remarked, cleverly tried to please all parties by handling controversial points skilfully. Throughout his address the one yearning of his heart stands out in bold relief that we all Indians should work jointly. But in seeking to please all he has attempted what is impossible for any human being. Mr. Acharia suggests to the Secretary of State for India to advise His Majesty to ease the situation by conceding responsible Government to India at once. He admits that for 35 years the Congress has been trying begging methods in vain. But he would still repose trust in Mr. Montagu who has failed in using the golden opportunity of satisfying India by conceding only a stingy measure of reforms which Mr. Acharia has unsparingly condemned in his speech. How can he still have hopes in him? We must bear in mind that they won't give us rights of their free will. We must force our rights out of their hands. How can they be agreeable to a course depriving them of exploiting our country at will? The president is for continuity of British suzerainty. We have no objection to the British suzerainty, but it must depend on the future attitude of the British. If the British continue to behave as lordly beings and heap indignities on us Indians as hitherto, and stick to the idea of continuing in possession of autocratic powers, the unholy connection must be agreeable and acceptable to no self-respecting Indian. As equal partners in the gifts of mother India they are quite welcome brethren. Perhaps the president by pleading for 'within the Empire' sought to avoid disappointment to the chicken-hearted over-scrupulous. [In the next issue the paper discusses the president's observations on non-co-operation and remarks:—From the words of the President the readers will see that what he is anxious about is unity.

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were allotted for propaganda both in England and America. In the circumstances, therefore, we should have thought that the Congress would try fully to utilise existing institutions, on the establishment and maintenance of which it had for years already spent thousands of pounds. If there were defects in their present composition they could have been remedied. It has not been said that these institutions were beyond redemption or past usefulness. The decision to put an end to their existence is, therefore, most unfortunate."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 16th Jan.

***63.** "Whatever one may think of some of the features which bulked largely in the programme of the Indian National Congress at Nagpur, such as the change of Creed and Non-co-operation, one must admit that the Congress is taking the right line in concentrating on work in India and among the people. The abolition of the British Committee of the Congress and of its journal *India*, is evidently intended to mark a new Congress standpoint that the political centre of gravity of the country is in the country itself and not six thousand miles away from it....... This, we should think, is now also the official view. The Coronation at Delhi, the Reforms Act, and the delegation of the Duke of Connaught to inaugurate the new system on behalf of His Majesty, can have no other meaning. They mean that India henceforth shall be mistress in her own house, and that India need have no backstairs parleying with the India Office in London to be allowed to conduct her own affairs in her own way. It is the business of the British Government, Parliament and the people to make themselves acquainted with the true state of things in this country and not for this country to maintain a mission in London to counteract the mischievous falsehoods disseminated by a class of retired Anglo-Indians who should never have been sent out to India. .... We are not in the least disposed to underrate the importance of making India's hopes and endeavours widely known throughout the world. Hermit nations have no place in the modern world. But this necessary work should be undertaken by Indians and have its headquarters in India. We do not think that the Congress resolution excludes this kind of work."

Comments on the Congress President's speech.
Hindu (157), 31st Dec. 1920, and 1st Jan.

64. No one can deny the concise, intelligent and deliberative character of the Nagpur Congress President Mr. V. R. Acharia's speech. He has, it must be remarked, cleverly tried to please all parties by handling controversial points skilfully. Throughout his address the one yearning of his heart stands out in bold relief that we all Indians should work jointly. But in seeking to please all he has attempted what is impossible for any human being. Mr. Acharia suggests to the Secretary of State for India to advise His Majesty to ease the situation by conceding responsible Government to India at once. He admits that for 35 years the Congress has been trying begging methods in vain. But he would still repose trust in Mr. Montagu who has failed in using the golden opportunity of satisfying India by conceding only a stingy measure of reforms which Mr. Acharia has unsparingly condemned in his speech. How can he still have hopes in him? We must bear in mind that they won't give us rights of their free will. We must force our rights out of their hands. How can they be agreeable to a course depriving them of exploiting our country at will? The president is for continuity of British suzerainty. We have no objection to the British suzerainty, but it must depend on the future attitude of the British. If the British continue to behave as lordly beings and heap indignities on us Indians as hitherto, and stick to the idea of continuing in possession of autocratic powers, the unholy connection must be agreeable and acceptable to no self-respecting Indian. As equal partners in the gifts of mother India they are quite welcome brethren. Perhaps the president by pleading for 'within the Empire' sought to avoid disappointment to the chicken-hearted over-scrupulous. [In the next issue the paper discusses the president's observations on non-co-operation and remarks:—From the words of the President the readers will see that what he is anxious about is unity.

Experience of the past few months on the contrary shows that if there has been disunion among some of the leaders on account of non-co-operation, unity between the Hindus and the Mussulmans has become more strong than before. If it is continued it is certain that we shall succeed. The president suggests something else instead of non-co-operation. But whatever he suggests is ante-diluvian.]

Comments on the speech of the President of the Moderate Conference.
Kesari (115), 11th Jan.

65. Mr. Chintamani wants the name of the "Congress" to be passed over to his Conference. What does it matter whether the petty meeting at Madras is called the Congress or even the International Congress. Mr. Chintamani said that the difficult work of criticising Government would now be left to the Moderate Conference as the Congress would not do it because of its non-co-operation. While the diver jumps into the stormy sea and tries to search for pearls, the frog in the well talks of its courage and determination in jumping from one end to the other!

Members of the Indian Defence Force, University Section, should not join the Indian Territorial Force.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Jan.

66. 'A non-commissioned officer' of the Indian Defence Force, University Section, writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"The Indian Defence Force, University Section, is shortly to be disbanded, and applications have been invited for admittance into the Indian Territorial Force. It is alleged that this University Corps of the Indian Territorial Force is to be practically an officer's class—for training officers for the Indian Territorial Force general section. A racial difference has been made between the Indian members of the Indian Territorial Force and the Indian Auxiliary force which is practically the same as the former, the only difference being that it is open only to Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Parsees. Yet the status of the two is different; for instance, the Indian Territorial Force members are to get one anna per mile as travelling allowance while the Indian Auxiliary Force are to get four annas per mile. Apart from this monetary aspect the distinction is grossly unfair in the new era. That the Indian Defence Force promotions and services are to carry on in the Indian Territorial Force and that British nomenclatures may be given to the non-commissoned officers are tempting offers. Yet it will be remembered that the members of the Imperial Legislative Council belonging to all the political parties had protested against the undesirable distinction between the two forces. In spite of this protest the Bill was carried and the distinction retained. I, therefore, appeal through your columns to all those who are desirous of joining the Indian Territorial force to withhold their applications by way of protest until the Government removes this distinction and places both on an equal status. I am confident that the Government will be forced to do this if no applications are sent for the Indian Territorial Force, and I hope also that the intending applicants will not be allured by the tempting descriptions given by officials but will see through their sugar-coated offers." [Referring to the above the paper writes:—"The communication, which we publish elsewhere, from a non-commissioned officer of the Indian Defence Force, raises the serious issue whether any self-respecting and patriotic Indian should enter a service in which racial distinctions of a most humiliating character are deliberately sought to be prepetuated. The hope that had at one time been raised, both through Mr. Montagu's pronouncements in the House of Commons and His Majesty's proclamation of last year, that these invidious distinctions would disappear has been cruelly falsified—thanks to the unscrupulous agitation carried on in this country and in Great Britain in the interests of the European section of the Indian Defence Force. By yielding tamely to this agitation and proving false to his own assurances, Mr. Montagu has, in this case, once again demonstrated his characteristic weakness. But the question remains whether self-respecting Indians should any longer put up with this sort of treatment. It is only because our countrymen have been patiently acquiescing in such dishonourable conditions of service that the authorities show a disinclination to remove them."

Protest against Indian soldiers being still employed in foreign countries.
Vande Mataram (163) 3rd Jan.

67. In the last war many soldiers from India had gone to Europe. The Indians were there before help arrived from other British colonies. The war being over the soldiers of other places have returned home, but the Indian solidiers are still forcibly kept away. The other day, the Government in reply to a question in Parliament said that in Irak and Persia alone there were 78 thousand Indians. Similarly thousands of Indians are in other places also. These unfortunate Indians ever since they left India for the defence of Europe have not returned to their homeland. All the colonies are eagerly expecting some distinction and a share of the victory, but the sin of depriving others of their independence and separation from homeland fall to the lot of Indians. The Indians should sacrifice their own blood in advancing the interests of the Empire and bear indignities in the bargain! Such is the reward for the Indians!

Comments on the resignation of Lord Milner as Colonial Secretary.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 11th Jan.

68. India cannot but feel glad at the resignation of Lord Milner, Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was a thorough-going advocate of the policy of pouncing upon the rights of the Indians adopted in East Africa. The Indian deputation which waited upon him to request him to get this policy altered and protect their rights as British subjects was convinced that Lord Milner, instead of sympathising with them and getting their grievances redressed, was in favour of the selfish demands of the colonists. The Government of India have strongly supported the Indian demands because they are just. They have sent an important despatch to the Secretary of State for India, who is in entire sympathy with the recommendations contained in the dispatch. The Cabinet has not yet published its decision on it; but the sudden resignation of Lord Milner and its acceptance by the Prime Minister give us reasons to believe that it may be in connection with the settlement of the important question of the position of Indians in East Africa. If our conjecture proves to be true the probabiliry is that the main and important grievances of Indians in East Africa will be redressed. We for our part are glad to hear that Lord Milner has resigned from the Ministry.

Comments on the Government of India's despatch on the subject of the position of Indians in East Africa.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 8th Jan.

69. Commenting upon the Government of India's despatch to the Secretary of State on the subject of the grievances of Indians in East Africa, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—Government have no doubt taken up a firm attitude in presenting the case of the Indians. But we must say that we miss that strength and force with which the case would have been urged had the Government of this country been made up of Indians and had it been national. The Government of India have put up a strong fight, based on sound arguments, for the removal of the grievances of the Indians in East Africa; but they have not been as forceful in their despatch as they ought to have been to show how much the feelings of the people of India are hurt owing to their grievances, how much discontent is being caused among them owing to such unworthy behaviour within the Empire, and how much fear there is of great harm being done to the Empire in future through such conduct. In conclusion, the Government of India recommend the appointment of a Royal Commission to inquire into the administration of East Africa and to fix the status and rights of the Indians. The Indians have had enough experience of such Commissions. They only cause undue delays, and ultimately their reports are such as to increase the discontent. The questions in connection with the position of the Indians in East Africa are not of such a complex character as to need the help of a Commission for their investigation. They are questions of State policy and not of administration. The principal question is, do the Indians who have settled in East Africa possess the rights and privileges of British subjects and British citizens? Such rights they undoubtedly possess, and no British people have a right to pounce upon them. The Whites want to deprive the Indians of their rights and to ruin them, and it is the duty of the Imperial Government to come to the rescue of the latter and to declare that they possess the same rights as the Europeans. The Government of India and the Secretary of State for India are fighting as hard as they can for the rights of Indians. But their greatest enemy is Lord Milner, who possesses great influence in the Cabinet. Lord Milner's policy is not in the interests of the Empire, and it tends to destroy the love felt by the Indians for the Empire. One of the causes of the great unrest prevailing in India is the racial discrimination and the disgraceful treatment to which Indians are subjected in the Colonies. Racial discrimination must be promptly put a stop to not only in East Africa but in all the British Colonies. The Cabinet are considering the Government of India's despatch, and from the manner in which the British Government decide this matter we shall be able to know what is the position of the Indians with regard to their status and rights within the Empire. If His Majesty's Government fail to protect the rights and status of Indians in East Africa, a great danger will threaten the Empire.

Kesari (115), 11th Jan.

70. The *Kesari* has nothing to say against the Government of India despatch on the East African question, but it remarks:—Suppose the African Government asks the Government of India: "You want to teach us our duty, but you yourself are quite unaffected by your own teachings. What about it? Before teaching us that it would be an injustice to drive out Indians from European quarters, just consider the many injustices committed by you!" What will be the answer of our Government to these straightforward questions? The injustice in Africa is realised by Government; then how is it that they do not notice the oppression in India?

Need of revising the Turkish Peace Treaty.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 13th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 12th Jan.; *Political Bhomiyo* (74), 7th Jan.

71. The state of feeling the ofTurkish Government and people is well reflected in the courageous opinion expressed by the Turkish Crown Prince and the demands he has made in regard to the controversial settlement. He has given out frankly that if a great change is not effected in the Turkish settlement, the Muhammadans, in spite of their dislike of Bolshevism, will go under its sway. Britain should think about this subject carefully before taking any hasty step. In addition to the bold explanation of the Crown Prince of Turkey, it is also to be remembered that in spite of the manifold attempts of the Allies, the Sultan has not yet affixed his signature to the ratification of the treaty. These two facts evidently show that the Government of the Sultan will not willingly sign this much controverted Treaty. We know that the British Prime Minister, on the strength of M. Venezelos, has advanced arguments to the effect that both Thrace and Smyrna are predominantly Christian; but now that the Crown Prince of Turkey has challenged this statement and declared that the Turks predominate in them, it is only proper that the British authorities should ascertain the opinion of the people of both these provinces by a plebiscite in order to find out the truth and undertake to settle this question in the light of the result of the plebiscite. The delay caused in this matter is very harmful. If Mustafa Kemal Pasha by reason of his military strength were to take possession of Smyrna, it would bring disgrace to the Allies and the task of improving the relations between them and the Muhammadans would be rendered more difficult. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—It is as much necessary to revise this treaty for the benefit of Turkey as it is for that of England and the Allies. A strong Turkey will prove to be a powerful friend to the Allies. A weak Turkey will be a tool in the hands of the Bolsheviks and Bolshevism will spread from Eastern Europe to Asia, and from Asia to India. The *Political Bhomiyo* remarks:—Mr. Lloyd George is trying to show that Thrace and Smyrna will remain under international control. There cannot be international control of anything, any territory or sovereignty in the world. On comparing English and French views on the Turkish question, we find this difference between them that while the aim of the French is to check the progress of the Bolsheviks the object of the English appears to be no other than to keep Turkey in an effete and degraded condition. Mr. Lloyd

George wishes that his word should be obeyed in the whole world and that nothing should be done in the world without his advice. But the great difficulty is that all his actions are characterised by disorderliness. He does not realise that he has not at his command the means to drag down all the nations of the world under the slavery of England. It is a patent fact that Mr. Lloyd George is an enemy of Islam and that he wants Islam all over the world to be destroyed. But he should show mercy towards his own Empire and should not lead it towards destruction. He connot live a life of ease by wounding the hearts of the forty crores of Muhammadans in the world. By such conduct he is himself sowing the seeds of thorns in his nation, his country and the Empire.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Jan.

72. "Will the Turkish Treaty be revised? That is the question uppermost in millions of minds throughout the length and breadth of Asia and North Africa? The revision of the Treaty would do more than anything else we can imagine to pacify the Balkans, Anatolia and Central Asia at this moment, and it would undoubtedly be welcomed in India as the first indication of a change of heart in the rulers of the British Empire.......... At present there is a pause in the Near Eastern struggle: the patriots are hoping once again that justice will at last be done to them. If England still pursues her Czarist policy, then the alliance with the Bolsheviks will be resumed in deadly earnest, and there will be a general boiling up not only in North-Western Asia and the Balkans, but in Eastern and Central Europe also. England has had two unmistakable warnings. It is possible that she may never be vouchsafed a third, but that the third crash, when it comes, will be the end. We should have thought that every patriotic Englishman —at any rate every Englishman, and there are more than one, who love the East—would be straining every nerve at this moment to get the Turkish Treaty revised."

Bombay Samáchár (61), 14th Jan.

73. The Sultan of Turkey has not, as yet, seen his way to ratify the Peace Treaty. The terms of the treaty imposed by the Allies are unduly harsh, and it is on this account that the Nationalists have quarrelled with the Sultan. The Allies have not brought pressure upon the Sultan to sign the peace treaty as they have become aware that any such action on their part will drive the Nationalists to make common cause with the Bolshevists and to imperil the peace of the world. Should the Allies revise the terms of the peace treaty, they will be able to convert the Nationalists into their friends and save Turkey from falling into the hands of the Bolshevists. France has joined Italy in pressing for the revision of the treaty, but unfortunately England stands in the way of Italy and France. However, the revolution in Greece leads us to think that God Almighty wishes to get things done in a manner that will thwart the ambitions of the Allies. The bitter experiences of the war have taught the Turkish Nationalists to appreciate the benefits of friendship with England and they seem to be anxious to re-establish amicable relations with the Allies. Indians, therefore, need not be discouraged by the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George and his Government towards the question of the revision of the peace treaty. They should at this juncture send a representation to the Allies on the question through the Government of India and suggest suitable changes in the treaty. If they succeed in their effort they will get the credit of safeguarding the peace of the world.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the order of the English Head Master of a Government school at Meerut prohibiting the wearing of the Gandhi cap.

Mahrátta (8), 16th Jan.

***74.** "One English Head Master of a Government school in Meerut has issued an order forbidding the boys from the wearing of the 'Gandhi cap' and has given a week's time to the boys to choose one of the alternatives either to leave the school or to discard the cap.......... To declare war against this cap is simply stupid, and it shows an animosity and hatred which entitles that gentleman for immediate dismissal. We are more amused when we find this European Head Master appealing to the parents and guardians of the boys to help him to maintain discipline of the school. This man goes out of his way and issues an absurd order and then turns round and asks for help to maintain discipline by enforcing obedience to that order. This love of discipline is nothing but a camouflage to conceal his hatred of Mahatma Gandhi and his propaganda. We do not know if there are many men of that ilk; but if there are any more of that species the best way for them is to leave the country by the first available steamer as they do not deserve to be here in this land where the 'cap' is an honoured symbol of purity, self-sacrifice and intense love of the motherland."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against Government not taking up the question of the improvement of the drainage of Poona.
Lokasangraha (118), 14th Jan.

75. The *Lokasangraha* declares that Government ought to be ashamed not to take up the question of the improvement of the drainage in Poona City in right earnest in spite of the complaints of the people during the last five years. It suggests that the people should refuse to pay taxes to the Municipality imposed on account of the drainage and that the Municipality in its turn should refuse to pay to Government the expenses they have incurred to construct the drainage works.

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the proceedings before the Railway Committee.
Kesari (115), 11th Jan.

76. The *Kesari* thinks that the decision of the Railway Committee will be against the rayats, judging from the trend of evidence. All the witnesses are against State management and they are opposed even to the transfer of Head Offices from England to India. They want, however, Indian capital. The paper strongly objects to Sir N. Warren's suggestion that loans raised in England should be paid a higher rate of interest than those raised in India. If the Government of India are not to manage the Railways, then the rich classes of India should not assist henceforward European companies. They should start their own companies and increase the mileage. The paper exhorts them not to repeat the old mistake.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 21st January 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Appeal to the Government of India to adopt measures to protect Indian trades and Industries 37
Comments on the attempts made in England to remove Mr. Montagu from the India Office 30
Comments on the Belgaum District Magistrate's withdrawal of the order against the flying of the Crescent flag on a Local Library . 35 & 36
Comments on the Rae Barelli firing incident . . . . . . 25—29
Comments on the sittings of the Indian Historical Records Commission in Bombay 38
Complaint about the operation of the Cantonment Act in Bhágur (Násik) 40
Government have refused to settle the Bombay Postal strike in spite of ample funds at their disposal 34
How racial arrogance in India should be dealt with 31
How unemployment in England can be decreased 41
India's position has grown worse since the war 32
Preferential treatment of European firms by Government . . . 33
Takavi advances should be remitted by Postal money orders . . 39

Congress and Conferences:

The Congress should have nothing to do with Native State subjects . 56
What the future Congress will be like if Mr. Gandhi's ideals prevail . 55
His Excellency the Governor: His Excellency the Governor and the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya 50

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught:

Alleged waste of public money in connection with the Duke of Connaught's visit . . . . 4 & 5
Comments on the proposed address of welcome to the Duke of Connaught by the Bombay Municipal Corporation . . . . 2 & 3
His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Madras . . . . 6—16
Why the Duke of Connaught's visit should be boycotted . . . 1

Indians in the Colonies:

Comments on the Government of India's despatch regarding the position of Indians in East Africa. . . . . 60 & 61
Duty of the Government of India to send an Indian delegation to Fiji to inquire into the recent disturbances there 62

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Indian Reforms :

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's motion before the Council of State to appoint a Committee to consider the repeal of the repressive laws in India 51
Indians should make the most of the new Reforms 54
Principles to be followed in appointing Ministers and distributing portfolios. 52
Question of the pay of Ministers 53
Irrigation : An — complaint from the Ahmednagar District. . . . 59
Judicial matters : The final Court of Appeal should be located in India itself. 58
Military matters : Comments on His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's alleged desire that newspaper editors should consult the Army Headquarters before commenting on — 57

Non-co-operation :

An appeal to Maháráshtra to prepare for a national strike . . . 48
Census work and the — movement 49
College students and the — movement 43
How *Swarajya* can be won in a year by spinning yarn. 42
Mr. Gandhi is playing with fire 47
Necessity of carrying out the — resolution . . . . 44 & 45
The Nágpur Congress resolution on — 46

Public Service:

Comments on the appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy . . . . 17—22
Complaint about the Parsi Community being neglected in the matter of appointments to high posts. 23
Protest against a new demand of the I. M. S. men 24

War :

Comments on a Punjáb Government publication named "A Straight Talk on the Khilafat Question" 71
Danger to India from Mr. Churchill being placed in charge of the Middle Eastern Department 70
The situation in Persia . . . . 65—69
Urgency of revising the Turkish Treaty. . . . . 63 & 64

EDUCATION.

Comments on the recommendation of the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government to consider the question of the pay and prospects of primary teachers . . . . 73 & 74

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Bill to amend the Bombay City Municipal Act . . 72

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the proceedings before the Indian Railway Committee . . 75 & 76

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the prosecution of a Kolhápur newspaper by the State . . 77 & 78

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Why the Duke of Connaught's visit should be boycotted.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Jan.

1. "Some people seem to regard the attitude assumed by the bulk of the Indian nation towards the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught as signifying disrespect for the Royal Family. We believe that this idea is altogether false, and that the decision to abstain from any sign of welcome and rejoicing in connection with the Royal visit on this occasion is evidence—nay, proof—of a respect for Royalty much greater and more delicate than is displayed by the political rulers of the Empire, who do not hesitate to put Royalty in an altogether false position whenever they imagine that to do so will advance their policy. Those rulers made the unjust Turkish treaty; they are responsible for the perpetration and the condonation of the Punjáb horrors—events which are an outrage to the soul of India; they are responsible for the unjust treatment which is being meted out to Indians in the British Dominions and Dependencies; the Crown has neither part nor lot in these iniquities; yet, when India is justly indignant and demands redress, a member of the Royal Family, entirely innocent and, as Indians believe, probably uninformed of the condition of affairs, is paraded with a cry of 'Hush!'—much, as in Russia when the moujiks' grievances became acute and threatened outbreak, some icon or regarded relic was displayed to reassure them.......... India has been made to understand quite brutally and clearly that she is allowed no voice in the foreign or internal policy of the Empire of which she forms a part. She believes that the King would do her justice if he knew the truth regarding her condition, but that the truth is being kept from him by his advisers. The injustice of which she complains is a blot on England's honour, and the emblem of England's honour is the Crown of England. The King-Emperor has thus a share in India's griefs and wrongs; and Indians feel indignant, upon his account, that a member of the Royal Family should be brought to India at this juncture, as if all were well, simply to serve the purposes of the bureaucracy. They feel that everything will be arranged and staged in such a manner as to give the Royal visitor a false impression of the state of Indian feeling; and it is as a protest against such delusion of a loved and venerated guest that a boycott of the visit has been ordered in the hope that it may call the Duke's attention to the fact that all is not as it should be in this the most important portion of the Empire....... The subject peoples of the Empire now possess no tribune, no protector in the British Realm. If, instead of being brought in as a mere confirmer of the work of the bureaucracy, the Duke of Connaught had come out to India, as the representative of the King-Emperor, to hear and to investigate the grievances of the Indian people on His Majesty's behalf, he would have had the greatest welcome in all history."

Comments on the proposed address of welcome to the Duke of Connaught by the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Mahràtta (8), 23rd Jan.

*2. "An unfortunate decision has been arrived at by the Bombay Municipal Corporation in voting an address of welcome to the Duke of Connaught, thus deliberately flouting the verdict of the majority of Indians as depicted in the resolution of the Indian National Congress.......... One could expect that a proposal for welcoming the Duke would fail in a body where Government apologists and 'jo hukums' do always form a majority. By-the-bye the arguments of Mr. Jamnadas are worth taking note of. 'Royalty was absolutely above politics; and it was their bounden duty to accord their royal guest their most hearty and cordial welcome,' vaunted forth the gallant hero of the anti-Willingdon memorial party. 'Ah! What a fall is there my countrymen!' If royalty were above politics why should it be used only to calm down the political discontent in India? And pray, whose guest is he? When did the Bombay Corporation invite him? 'They were there as representatives of the City,' repeated Mr. Jamnadas, 'and as such they were legally and morally right in expressing their views on behalf of the citizens of Bombay.' Yes; but certainly not for voting such political addresses containing transparently false statements. They are representatives of the City for municipal administration and nothing else. Mr. Jamnadas believes that the majority of the people of the City 'would be found to be in favour of giving a most hearty welcome'. Why then does he not convince himself in the matter? It now behoves the citizens of Bombay to falsify the belief of Mr. Jamnadas and declare with one voice that the welcome is on behalf of the City Fathers and not the citizens of Bombay. Let them publicly declare that the Nation's honour and self-respect is even above Royalty, and we hope they will not shrink from this, their duty."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Jan.

3. "If any proof were needed to show how completely out of touch the Corporation is with public opinion and how it represents none but itself, it was furnished by the discussion which took place at the Corporation meeting on Thursday when the draft address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was approved and adopted. We have pointed out on a former occasion that in deciding on boycotting the Duke's visit, the people of India intend no disrespect or discourtesy to His Royal Highness; the decision has been taken as a mark of protest against the refusal of redress of the country's wrongs and as a safeguard against the popular feeling for the Royal Family being wrongly exploited by the bureaucracy for their own political ends. If the members of the Corporation will not see this they are welcome to their views. But they should have the grace, in view of the public feeling in the matter, to refrain from acting in the name of the citizens of Bombay. However, the present Corporation has ere this ceased to represent the citizens of Bombay. And it does not much matter what it thinks."

Alleged waste of public money in connection with the Duke of Connaught's visit.

Mahrátta (8), 23rd Jan.

4. "The Duke stayed in Madras for about a week and thousands of rupees were squandered in unnecessary functions and merriments. He is now enjoying the luxury of camp life in the Central Provinces and soon he will be in the new capital, where not many months past the militarism of the bureaucracy played unlimited havoc with impunity. Delhi is a place where the economic conditions of the people have recently grown very frightful, and yet it is a place where the Duke will see nothing but richly decorated saloons and council rooms, and will hear nothing but gorgeous notes of military and civil bands. The picture of India that will be presented to the Duke will be a gay picture, where the half-covered huts of the poor peasants and mill-hands are not painted.......... Whether the Duke's reception by the officials is magnificent or simple, 'the Duke's a Duke for all that.' Why should he then be presented with a false picture of India's prosperity? India's cry is 'Paint me as I am!'"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Jan.

5. "The *Bengalee* enters a protest against the callous extravagance in which the authorities in Delhi are indulging while the sufferings of the poor and middle class people of the city are increasing owing to the soaring high prices. Our contemporary says several lakhs of rupees are being expended on bricks and mortar for the erection of some hundreds of unsightly pylons along the route which is to be followed by the Duke of Connaught when he arrives at the 'Imperial City.'......... Thrift and a sense of decency especially when the object in view is not a concession to some popular demand, are not the strong points of the bureaucracy, and we doubt very much whether even an appeal to the Duke himself, such as our contemporary makes, to intervene in the matter, will stay the hand of the irresponsible officials who are out to make the *tamasha* as imposing as it possibly can be made."

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Madras.

***Káthiáwár Opinion* (26), 16th Jan.**

6. "We are delighted to express our heartfelt joy for having an auspicious opportunity to welcome most sincerely the *Mubarak Kadam* of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught......... His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor has sent him with a special mission, and the very first speech he delivered at Madras in reply to the address presented by that city's corporation engenders enthusiasm in the hearts of sorely tried Indians. Had our Duke come somewhat earlier—at least six months before—his visit would have produced a very marvellous effect and subsided to a great extent the heat of non-co-operation. That movement has unhappily far advanced by this time, and any body can hardly foretell its future, in spite of the coming of the Angel of Peace to this country. Still, however, we, being optimistic, hope that the efforts of our Duke will have a very soothing effect on the hot atmosphere of India, and his precious mission will prove oil for its troubled waters."

Swarájya (143), 20th Jan.

7. Referring to the heavy fall of rain at Madras during His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's stay in the city, which spoiled some items of the programme connected with the visit, the *Swarájya* declares that it appears as if the very elements are favouring the non-co-operators in helping the boycott of the visit. It goes on:—The speech made by the Duke at the opening of the Madras Legislative Council was insipid and of a quite ordinary character. Many had hoped that the speech would contain hopeful utterances, but they were disappointed. If merely copybook maxims were to be uttered, Lord Willingdon could well have done it, and His Royal Highness need not have taken the trouble to come down all the way to India. Now it remains to be seen whether he announces any gifts at the time of the Delhi ceremony. In the course of his Madras speech he quoted a couple of lines from Pope, the poet, saying: 'For forms of government let fools contest; whatever is best administered is best'. With the help of Pope he has tried to convince the people that good administration alone is required. But to this stale utterance of Pope of two or three centuries back the present-day world refuses to subscribe. The people now want *swarájya*, however bad it may be.

Lokasangraha (118), 21st Jan.

8. The fact of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught having opened the Madras Legislative Council has been published far and wide, but who will care to listen to the sound of that little tom-tom while the country is convulsed with the sound of the great drum of non-co-operation? The Duke seems to have completely lost his courage through hearing and seeing non-co-operation in practice. He is saying that His Majesty the King-Emperor has sent him to heal the Punjáb wounds. And what is the remedy? Sweet promises! But the Duke's promise is surely not a charm that would heal up the wound immediately on utterance. There appears to be not a practicle of self-confidence in his utterance, showing that he is convinced in his mind that his hollow words will fail to have any effect in India. Instead of laying himself open to ridicule by coming out to this country, he would have shown greater wisdom by courageously resisting Mr. Montagu's pressure for the visit.

Gujarát Mitra (18), 16th Jan.; *Praja Pokár* (75), 19th Jan.; *Deshi Mitra* (65), 20th Jan.; *Gujarát Vartamán* ( ), 19th Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 18th Jan.

9. The reply given by the Duke of Connaught to the address of the Madras Municipality makes it clear that he has been able to have a clear grasp of the Indian situation and that he is convinced that all is not well with India. The Duke's words in the matter of healing old sores should be laid to heart by Government. The people are desirous of co-operating with Government; but do Government wish to co-operate with the people? Are Government prepared to repeal the Rowlatt Act and to punish the culprits responsible for the atrocities in the Punjáb? Will Government take steps to preserve the independence of Muhammadans in Mesopotamia, Arabia, Persia, Thrace and Smyrna? Grievances such as these constitute the seed of the non-co-operation movement, and they should be removed to enlist the co-operation of the people and to wean them from non-co-operation. [The *Praja Pokar* writes in a similar strain. The *Deshi Mitra* writes:—The people of India know the wishes of the Duke. Will he now listen to our complaints? We want him to give a patient hearing to our complaints in the matter of the Khilafat and

the Punjáb wrongs. His Royal Highness should, moreover, mix freely with people of all shades of opinion—Moderates and non-co-operationists—and then try to deal justly with their claims, which will be found to be almost identical. The *Gujarát Vartamán* wishes that the Indian National Congress had not passed a resolution to boycott the Duke but that they should have resolved to send him a representation enunciating the grievances of the people with a view to enable him to perform successfully his mission in India. It also asks the Duke to mix freely with the people and to know their grievances. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* asks the leaders of the Khilafat movement in Bombay to present an address of welcome to the Duke of Connaught with a view to enable His Royal Highness to use his good offices to get the Khilafat wrongs redressed. It also exhorts the people to refrain from the non-co-operation movement.]

Hindusthán (21), 16th Jan., Eng. cols.

10. "The speech made by His Royal Highness at Madras was full of good sentiments, but these sentiments must be accompanied by an announcement notifying a radical change in the constitution of the Government of India and decisions regarding the Punjáb and the Khilafat. It may be hoped that these announcements will be made at Delhi.......... It is no use asking the people of India not to brood over their troubles and difficulties unless their wrongs are righted. Lord Reading, the newly appointed Viceroy, observed that he was going to India 'to do right.' This is promising indeed, for India wants above all this 'doing right'".

New Times (9), 13th Jan.

11. "The Duke of Connaught's visit to India is, as we have observed, of a political character. His speeches at Madras are prompted by a spirit of goodwill—a spirit expected of a Prince of the Royal Family; but they are not characterised by a deep understanding of the Indian problem and that 'New Spirit' which, he admits, is 'abroad'......... It will be a matter of deep regret if the Duke is misled into the bureaucratic belief that the non-co-operation movement is a movement of 'strife' or 'bitterness' or 'sedition.' The new movement is a movement, essentially, of self-reliance and self-realisation through self-discipline. The Duke, in his speech on the occasion of the inauguration of the Madras Legislative Council, referred to the despatch in which Sir Thomas Munro urged that 'the only vindication of the British connection' would be to see that 'the people of India were taught and guided and fitted to govern themselves.' That was said nearly a hundred years ago! India is still struggling for *Swaraj*! What a commentary on the bureaucratic administration of India!......... What, we ask, is the verdict of impartial critics on the Indian Administration? Poverty of the masses, is the one impression which European and American tourists to India have carried.......... The economic policy inflicted on India by the bureaucracy has kept India poor, and the 'Reforms' do not transfer the control of the economic policy from the bureaucracy to the people."

Kolába Samáchár (117), 15th Jan.

12. It cannot be said that the artificial character of the reception accorded to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was not noticed by that sagacious member of the Royal family, and as he proceeds northwards he will not fail more and more to feel the hideousness of the position. We are afraid even His Majesty the King-Emperor himself would have failed to receive a spontaneous welcome under the present circumstances with the Khilafat and Punjáb wrongs not righted. The state of things is to be regretted; but the facts must be admitted. His Royal Highness will place India as well as England under deep obligation if on his return home he acquaints His Majesty the King and the British people of the real state of things prevailing in the country and recommends the righting of the wrongs and the grant of full *swarájya* to India.

Lokashahi (120), 17th Jan.

13. The *Lokashahi* says that it was a good thing that the King-Emperor did not send the Prince of Wales to India, firstly, because it would give him time to recoup his health and, secondly, because he has escaped from the boycott. It remarks that the Duke of Connaught has been sent in his stead and infers from an interview of his that he has brought some gifts to India with him, but it prefers to wait till they are actually announced. If the King-Emperor has acceded to all the demands of the Congress and if the Duke is to announce the fact, our aspirations will be satisfied. But the paper writes despondingly of the fulfilment of the Indian desires and has no faith in the idea that the Duke would do anything.

Lokasangraha (118), 16th and 17th Jan.

14. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught recently declared that the services rendered by India during the great war had brought about a remarkable change in the attitude of the people who had never before interested themselves in the affairs of this country. It would have been better if the Duke had been a little more explicit and told us whether as a result of the experience gained during the war these people have now become more anxious to do good to this country or whether they have become still more ambitious. The Esher Committee's recommendations are attributable to the liberal supply of troops made by India during the war. Similarly the vast quantities of raw materials supplied by this country made the mouths of the British capitalists water. Again, the Rowlatt Act and the events in the Punjáb show the real character of the change in the attitude of the English towards us. It is satisfactory to note that the Duke recognises that a great calamity recently overtook the Indians. It is doubtful, however, whether the remedy he proposes to heal the wounds of the people will have the desired effect. He asks us to forget the past on the ground that there have been similar explosions everywhere in the world. The Duke must be making a mistake if he thinks that the happenings in India do not in any way differ from those in other parts of the world. We do not think any other country can be so unfortunate as to experience happenings like those in the Punjáb. We doubt very much whether the Duke would have thought fit to pay such a visit to any other country if it had been subjected to wrongs similar to ours. [In a subsequent issue the paper says that the people have decided to withhold welcome from the Duke because he has come to thrust upon them reforms which they consider to be inadequate.]

Gujaráti (17), 10th Jan.

15. The Duke of Connaught assures us that Indian loyalty has made a deep impression on England. How is it that the alleged impression made by Indian loyalty on British minds has not made itself manifest in the matter of the settlement of the Khiláfat question? Why have not the British called Mr. Lloyd George to account for breaking the pledges given to the Muhammadans? Why is there silence in England in the matter of the Punjáb wrongs? Why is no justice done to the claims of Indians in the Colonies? It is the duty of the Indian people to welcome the Duke as their guest, but they would refuse to be consoled by his assurances. The appeal made to the people of India in the matter of the New Call to duty is presumably drafted by an official in India with a view to securing the cooperation of the Indian people in the matter of the new reforms. India expects her sons not to do what the Duke wants us to do but to save her from the disgrace and dishonour that is being openly inflicted upon her by the people of the ruling races. Indians have not merely to say 'aye' or 'nay' in meetings but they have to make up their mind to maintain their self-respect and regain their lost rights and independence. The diarchy introduced by the new reforms is devoid of life, and there is very little scope for the exercise of public opinion in it. The reforms which the Duke has come to inaugurate are sadly lacking in the spirit of freedom though they are magnificent in appearance.

Nireekshaka (47), 14th Jan., Eng. cols.

16. "We take this opportunity of welcoming the Royal visitor who is among us. Welcome to India any member of the Royal Family would at any time have been. Welcome to India is the Duke of Connaught, who is no stranger to her. Doubly welcome His Royal Highness is since his visit ushers in the New Era, the era of Reform, Liberty and Freedom! In spite of the clouds of controversy which environ us, we see no sign to show

that the popularity of the House of Queen Victoria of blessed memory is on the wane. Indeed, if we look beneath the surface we see that even the British connection is neither hated nor despised, though it has lost much in popularity.......... The Royal House of Windsor does not stand for an Imperialism of the type for which the Hohenzollerns or the Hapsburgs or the Romanoffs stood, but it stands for one Imperialism—if it at all stands for any Imperialism,—which means liberty, equality and fraternity. May the British connection also typify liberty, equality and fraternity and may it endure for aye!"

Comments on the appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy.

Political Bhomiyo (74), 14th Jan., Eng cols.; *Hindusthán* (21) 16th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Gujaráti Punch* (19), 16th Jan., Eng. cols.

17. "The appointment of the Earl of Reading to the Viceroyalty of India will be hailed with general satisfaction in this country. At a time like this when the situation is fraught with grave problems not only here in India but throughout the world, an eminently capable man was needed to be at the helm of affairs.......... The Earl is a Liberal, and he has the character, the prestige and ability to lead India safely along the course of the New Reforms. We are sure that his selection will command the confidence it deserves in this country. His Lordship will be entering upon his exalted duties at a time when a sympathetic understanding, the highest statesmanship and unflinching courage are most required. We are confident that there could not have been a man better equipped for his great charge than the Viceroy-designate, and we hope that under his Viceroyalty the country's grievances will be redressed, and we will soon see a prosperous and contented India." [The *Hindusthan* remarks:—"Lord Reading is from the point of view of Indian Nationalism a dark horse, as nothing is known of his views regarding this country.......... We can take it that his appointment is made because of his judicial bent of mind and his qualifications as an ambassador. There is a vital necessity for a man who will come here determined to mete out justice to the Indian people. At the same time England requires a man to play the part of an ambassador to the people of this country who have lost their faith not only in the British Government but we fear also in the British people. This confidence can only be restored by a Viceroy who will have the courage to confess the wrongs done by the Government and the bureaucracy, to punish the offenders and to prove by deeds the good faith of the British people. Let us hope that Lord Reading will prove such a man." The *Gujarati Punch* writes:—"He comes out to this country at a time when people have lost all faith in the *bona fides* of British professions and even practices, and if the British Empire is not to meet the fate of all other Empires, this faith must needs be rehabilitated. The task of rehabilitating that faith, however, is not a light one, and it will require a broad, imaginative mind backed by the most resolute will in the world to accomplish it. Lord Reading is an Oriental and ten to one, he must have the imaginative faculty in him. Will he bring it to bear upon the task that faces him? Or will he let it be cramped by the chilling atmosphere of bureaucratic surroundings? If the former, he will be the saviour of British Empire. If the latter, he will have lost one of those rare opportunities of earning a name in history which comes to God's select few. Lord Reading is reputed to be a brilliant lawyer. What India wants to-day is not the legal subtlety of a lawyer but his penetrating vision, his ability to go to the root of a question. Will Lord Reading bring to bear that upon the Indian problem? Let us wait and see."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 20th Jan., Eng. cols.

18. "The psychology of Lord Reading's appointment will be found in his own words in his reply to the congratulations of the members of the English Bar on his appointment to the exalted office of Viceroy of India.......... The Lord Chief Justiceship of England has been chosen as the stepping-stone to the Viceroyalty of India, that is to say, the highest representative of Justice in England will become the highest representative of the Crown in India. This is the reason why Lord Reading is able to contemplate the work before him in India calmly. He has said that he will do the right and will do all

that in him lies to hold the scales even. Therefore, although he may not prove a great success he cannot make a great failure. The Viceroy-Designate is perfectly aware that his duties in India will be far more exacting than that of a Judge, but he is coming out with the determination to do the right. India is suffering from the evils of outraged justice, and it will be the high endeavour of the new Viceroy to rehabilitate her. May he succeed in his mission, may his term of office be crowned with peace, will be the prayer of every true-hearted son of India!"

Gujaráti (17), 10th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 15th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 19th Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 18th Jan.; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 16th Jan.; *Navsári Patrika* (73), 16th Jan.; *Insáf* (69), 14th Jan.

19. Lord Reading is a self-made man. Though aged sixty his enthusiasm and sense of duty would put many a young man to shame. He is a Liberal; but he has not pronounced any opinion about India. In reply to the congratulations received from the English Bar on his appointment, Lord Reading expressed confidence that he would be able to discharge his duty towards India. It seems the Prime Minister has made the appointment of Lord Reading to the Viceroyalty with the hope that he would re-establish the lost confidence of the Indian people in the justice of Britain. Lord Reading means to be just to India. Let us hope that he will be just to us by allowing us to frame our own administrative policy. We cannot at this stage prognosticate the success or otherwise of Lord Reading's administration, but everything will be made quite clear by the beginning of the year 1926. [*Sánj Vartamán* writes:—Lord Reading will be able to allay the present discontent if he succeeds in giving practical shape to the views expressed by him in replying to the congratulations received from the English Bar. It must be borne in mind that the injustice done to India is so great that no one will be able to remove it unless he is armed with an extraordinary amount of courage and firmness. However, India will do all it possibly can to help Lord Reading in his task of doing justice if he is sincere and earnest in his efforts. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—What more does the heart of an Indian desire than justice? Lord Reading will be able to fulfil his hope if he escapes being made a tool in the hands of the bureaucracy. Indians want their rights as British citizens at the of hands Lord Reading. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—It is a fortunate coincidence that the Viceroy-designate of India should express his intention of doing justice to India when that country is ardently clamouring for it. We would like to tell Lord Reading that India wants justice not only in the matter of framing her future policy but also in the matter of the wrongs done to her in the past. The *Praja Bandhu* writes:—Lord Reading is a Jew, and as he is conscious of the wrongs his race has suffered at the hands of other nations, he is likely to be anxious to remove the wrongs India has sufferad in the past. Lord Reading is a great judge and financier, and we can fairly hope that he will exert his influence to get justice done to India in the matter of her political wrongs and the loss that has been inflicted upon her by the currency policy of Britain. The *Navsári Patrika* writes:—The reputation of Britain has become so much tarnished by the grave outrages in the Punjáb that many eminent men refused the Viceroyalty offered to them before it was accepted by Lord Reading. Lord Reading has earned fame as a judge in England, and we hope that he will adopt a policy that will remove past bitterness and fulfil Indian aspirations, so that India will shine forth as an integral part of the British Empire. The *Insáf* writes:—Lord Reading is an eminent lawyer and judge, and we hope that he will not fail in the task of removing the past wrongs of India and doing justice to her claims.]

Dnyánodaya (40), 13th Jan., Eng. colms.

20. "Lord Reading's appointment as Viceroy is a compliment to India, and if any living man can lead India out of her present *impasse* he can. With the political aspect of India's recent Congresses and Conferences missionaries are not concerned, nor can they ally themselves with any one party. But they are deeply concerned with the moral aspect of India's *impasse*, whether it be due to the extremism of Indian Nationalists or to the prolonged (now happily ended) inaction of Indian Liberals, or to the reactionary spirit of too many Europeans, or to unsympathetic inefficiency on the part of Government—some might be disposed to add, or to a guilty silence on the part of missionaries themselves. The one essential is a reconciliation that will ensure a fair opportunity to the new Reform Government all over India. For this we believe the Punjáb sore should be healed up, and before any remedy can be prescribed the terribly grave charges in the Congress Committee's Punjáb Enquiry Report should be fully and impartially investigated."

Young India (14), 19th Jan.

21. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Two years ago, the name of the Lord Chief Justice as the Viceroy-Designate would have excited wonder and even admiration. To-day the public is rightly indifferent. A military dictator might have answered just as well if not better. At the same time the appointment of Lord Reading probably is a silent recognition of the fact that ours is a non-violent battle and that therefore a diplomat with a judicial training is the best representative of the Sovereign. Lord Reading has declared his intention to do the right. I have no doubt that he means it. But the system which he is coming to administer will not permit him to do what is right. That is India's experience. If he succeeds in doing the right, I promise that he will also succeed in destroying the system or radically reforming it. Either he will swallow the system or the system will swallow him."

Kesari (115), 25th Jan.

22. Referring to Lord Reading's remark that he will do justice to India, the *Kesari* makes a distinction between moral and legal justice and asks:—What justice will Lord Reading do to India, holding in his hands perfectly correct scales? What can he do if by law a difference has been made between Englishmen and Indians? Will he have the ambition of removing the distinction between blacks and whites in the Criminal Procedure Code? Will he maintain that equal pay should be given to blacks and whites? How does he propose to deal with the question of commissions, Indians not getting 1/1,000th of what Europeans get? Will he throw open the Artillery section to Indians? [The paper proceeds to ask similar other questions and says:—] We do not know what miracle will be performed by Lord Reading to show that British justice is a living factor. At the most he will not behave very insolently, and he will speak sweetly and sympathetically like Lord Hardinge. But that would be more diplomatic than just. The days of capturing the heart of India by sweet words are gone. We give more importance to the fact that he is a Jew. On the whole it appears that Lord Reading would be a better administrator than any Englishman, and it would be welcome if it turns out to be so. If he has been appointed to support Mr. Montagu who has shown more practical sympathy towards India than any previous Secretary of State, it is not a bad sign. At the same time it should be borne in mind that all Jews are not the same. Taking into consideration what Lord Beaconsfield did in respect of India forty years ago, we cannot expect much even from a Jew. It would thus be better to wait to see how Lord Reading actually behaves. India has no confidence even in the King-Emperor that he would give to *swarájya* to her; what then of his representative? India has left the case to be proved by the bureaucrats now, and if the Empire is to be saved they should of their own accord take the first step. India has been altogether destroyed; what more evil can happen to her? Nobody cares now for the departure and arrival of old and new Governors-General. India is slowly slipping away from the Empire; it entirely depends on British statesmanship to keep her within it or not. If the Governors-General to come would feel that they are Indians, then only can they help England really in this connection.

Complaint about the Parsi community being neglected in the matter of appointments to high posts.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 23rd Jan., Eng. cols.

*23. "In the appointment of Executive Councillors and also of Ministers we notice that Government have still adhered to the principle of communal representation, the Parsi community being entirely set aside. We do not object to the appointments that have been made, but at the same time we would like to know why an enlightened and progressive community, with its conspicuous talent, is being consistently excluded from high public posts; whether it is the result of a policy of studied neglect or whether it is owing to some other causes?......... Fortunately for this Presidency we have in Sir George Lloyd a Governor of such liberal views and impartial policy that we have no fear about the claims or privileges of any minority being overlooked or persistently neglected. The Royal Instructions to Governors recently issued particularly advice all heads of provincial Governments to see that the just rights and privileges of any class or community that may be in a minority are not forgotten or sacrificed. This leads us to hope that the principle of giving preference to numerically strong communities alone will in the future be given up, and that the Parsi community will have the good fortune, during His Excellency's benign *régime*, to see its claims duly and justly recognised."

Protest against a new demand of the I. M. S. men.

Lokasangraha (118). 17th Jan.

24. People have not forgotten Sir Michael O'Dwyer's threat that members of the I. C. S. contemplate giving up their posts and returning to England. This gave satisfaction to Indians because they thought that the object to attain which they had decided to resort to non-co-operation would be easily attained if the I. C. S. men did so. But not a single Civil Servant was found to give up his post; and this is quite natural. Where will these men go to beg after giving up their posts? At the bottom of these threats lay the dishonest motive of frightening a weak man like Mr. Montagu and obtaining from him as many concessions as possible; and this was attained. Now the I. M. S. men seem to have decided to adopt the same dishonest course. A writer in *Truth* says that the condition of the I. M. S. officers has become so very desperate that they are anxious to abandon "this sinking ship". These people demand that the Government of India should not exercise any sort of control over them. Their object is to flout Indian public opinion by having direct relations with the Secretary of State. After all, these people are all alike. They think it a great misfortune that a black man should have a voice in their affairs. If these men are unable even to brook the presence of the black man, why do they not leave his country?

Comments on the Rai Bareilly firing incident.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Jan.

25. The *Bombay Chronicle* gives an account of the Rai Barelly shooting incident and writes:—"It is plain from the account given above that the trouble was precipitated by the unwarranted action of the authorities in clapping into jail so many as 650 men, on the mere supposition that they were bent on releasing the prisoners. .... There is another sinister feature of the firing at this place. It has not yet been ascertained who ordered the firing and who first fired.......... The mystery should be cleared at once by the Government. Government also would do well to prevent the maltreatment of the Kisans by police underlings, of which reports are appearing in the United Provinces press. .... The *Leader* states that it has received reports that in Rai Bareilli the police are not acting in an exemplary manner. Since even the official communique admits that 'the tenantry in some of the worse managed estates have legitimate grievances,' it is incumbent on the authorities to see that these illiterate and unfortunate peasants are not in any way maltreated by overzealous police underlings."

Kesari (115), 18th Jan.

26. The *Kesari* says that the Rai Bareilly riots had nothing to do with non-co-operation and that they were due to the long-neglected grievances of the ryots and that the underlying causes were *rasai* and *begar* and the discontent caused by the high price of cloth. Of the two shootings, one at Munshiganj and another at Fursatganj, one was invited by the officials themselves by imprisoning 660 persons without any charge or evidence. At last they were released by the back-door and sent home quietly. If the demand of the people had been acceded to openly at least one firing could have been avoided. Another case of bureaucratic oppression in this connection was the order given to Pandit Javahirlal Nehru to leave the place immediately. Pandit Javahirlal went to the place immediately he heard of the riots and he was advising the *Kisans* not to commit excesses. But as the bureaucracy wants to show that mere advice is useless in putting a stop to disturbances and that it requires firing and as it does not want to give the credit to the Nationalist leaders for stopping the disturbances, Javahirlal was asked to leave the place by the first train. He refused and asked for a written notice. The Magistrate then resorted to section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, ever useful to officials of the bludgeon-rule, and stopped meetings and prohibited more than four persons gathering together and asked Javahirlal to leave. It is a mystery to us how the section applies to Javahirlal personally. Now Pandit Motilal Nehru has gone there and his inquiry will expose the dodges of the bureaucrats and other matters. But the hitherto published account will show how the bureaucracy neglects to redress the grievances of the rayats, how it tries to throw the blame on non-co-operation, when the rayats finding the oppression unbearable resist somewhat, and how it prolongs the persecution of the rayats by protecting the Talukdars though it styles itself as the friend of the rayats.

**Mahrátta* (8), 23rd Jan.; *Lokasangraha* (118), 18th Jan.

27. "The agrarian disturbance in Rai Bareily and the events which followed them have once more illustrated how the bureaucrats are ever ready to indulge in wanton shooting and vilification of the public leaders. That hundreds of Kisans should be allowed to enter the prison and detained there against their will, that fire should be opened on the huge mob of thousands who had no unlawful intention and had done nothing except refusing to disperse at the dictates of the Magistrate, and that Pandit Jawahirlal should be prevented from meeting the Kisans who would have easily dispersed at his request and should be ordered to leave the district by the first available train—these are events which will rouse the wrath of every lover of justice and humanity, and should shatter all hopes of the bureaucrats being ever cured of their disease of lawlessness. The Governor of the United Provinces has added an unbearable insult to the injury by telegraphing his congratulations to the District Magistrate and the Police Commissioner on the presence of mind and tact with which they restored order in Rai Bareily. In spite of all frantic attempts on the part of Government to whitewash the affair by issuing press communiques, truth is gradually oozing out......... The case of an old man who received more than a dozen shots in his back, is in itself sufficient to prove how firing was not used as a means of defence. The inhuman treatment meted out to the helpless Kisans reminds us of the Jallianwala Bagh. It is now known that the trouble originally arose out of the indifference of the District Magistrate to redress certain grievances inflicted by the Talukdars upon the Kisans. It is certainly a curious and cruel world where the Magistrate originates the discontent and then shoots down the discontented with impunity, nay, with the reward of congratulations from his superior. The days of the Punjáb atrocities are not gone!" [The *Lokasangraha* writes that the firing incident shows that life at present is as insecure as before in India, and that there is still a possibility of another General Dyer springing up and of a repetition of the Punjáb incidents. It questions the necessity of firing, and wants to know what crime the rayats had committed and how the British Government was endangered. It also wants to know what punishment has been inflicted on the talukdars oppressing the rayats. Government accuse the rayats of rioting, and the paper says that the rayats' answer is that the riots were committed by the underlings of Government. It observes further that the bureaucracy tolerates Sirdar Virpalsingh whose very sight inflames the rayats and possibly provokes them to commit outrages, but that it does not want for a moment Pandit Javahirlal

Nehru, whose word is honoured by the rayats as that of Government and who was working for maintaining peace and order.]

Hindusthán (22), 18th Jan.

28. While the wounds caused by the wicked Punjáb wrongs have not yet healed and the Viceroy is asking us to forget them, there has occurred an event of the same type. It is not at all surprising that shooting should be a matter of common occurrence in a country where martial law is declared on the least pretext with the avowed object of preserving the peace, where shooting is continued till the ammunition is exhausted, where the question of respecting women's modesty is so far overlooked that they are punished by being made to sit on thorns naked and where men are compelled to crawl. It is sad that the bureaucracy should scent revolt, mischief or unrest in the new spirit in India, with which, as the Royal representative, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, says the people of England fully sympathise. Is there any wonder that Dyerism should exercise its full force in order to bolster up its waning influence and suppress the voice of the people? What do the happenings at Rae Bareili indicate? What greater proof can there be of our weakness than this? That an occasion to fire should arise in a squabble between agriculturists and zamindars and that Indians should obey (the order of their superiors to fire), like blind people devoid of reason, is a miracle worked by the bureaucracy. It appears from the (official) report that the agriculturists who had assembled at Rae Bareili were not guilty of very insolent conduct, and hence this can hardly be considered to be an occasion which should have necessitated firing. Pandit Jawahrilal Nehru had arrived at Munsigunj and the Magistrate wrote to him to the effect that his presence was undesirable. It is needless to write more about the facts placed before the public by the report. But it is necessary for the bureaucracy to change its attitude and to maintain the British sense of justice. Such events unfortunately widen the gulf between the people and the Government, and it is in every way desirable that they should not happen.

New Times (9), 17th Jan.

29. "The news of the tragedy of the peasants—the *Kisans*—in the district of Rae Bareily, United Provinces, has drawn attention of the British press; and there are English papers which make the news a peg on which to hang non-co-operation!......... The Indian peasant is proverbially patient; and no one will believe that the peasants in Rae Bareily were in a militant mood. It is true there is to-day a new awakening among Indian peasants and labour; but no one need regret this; it only indicates that the consciousness of human rights is growing among the masses of the Indian population. The *Kisans* have long suffered from the evils of *rasai* and *begar*; and they held meetings to protest against the evils. Was it a sin to hold such meetings? It is a gross misrepresentation to insinuate that non-co-operators instigated the peasants to commit violence...... The *Kisans* challenge an inquiry; they say that some *badmashes*, seeing the situation, mixed themselves with the peasants; but must the sins of the *badmashas* be visited upon the peasants? And where was the necessity of opening fire upon them? The crowd, we are told, could not be managed! What means, we ask, were used to manage the crowd?......... It is foolish to say the agrarian unrest is due to the 'agitator' or that the non-co-operators are like 'Russian revolutionaries' using the 'agricultural millions as pawns in the great political game.'......... It is a gross misrepresentation of the non-co-operation movement, its motives and methods in which the British press has been indulging. Misrepresentation, evidently, is necessary to justify a policy of coercion and repression.......... It is a shocking story this—of the firing upon a crowd of peasants at Rae Bareily. And it is used by reactionaries to create the false impression that non-co-operation is a 'campaign of violence' and to justify repression in this country! But, as Mr. Fraser said recently at the World Conference of Christian Students, Glasgow:—'You cannot hold India by machine-guns.' The way to deal with agrarian unrest is not to launch a campaign of repression against the National movement, but to enact better land and rent laws, to guard the *Kisans'* human rights and improve their position. The causes of the peasants' unrest are economic and it is foolish to make the 'agitator' responsible for the situation."

Comments on the attempts made in England to remove Mr. Montagu from the India Office.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Jan.

30. "Now that the Indian Viceroyalty has gone to a Jew, the campaign against Mr. Montagu is being revived with greater zeal than ever before.......... The unscrupulousness of the attempt to make out that Moslem opinion would be conciliated by the removal of Mr. Montagu from the India Office is too patent not to be seen through. If the Prime Minister sacrifices Mr. Montagu to the anti-Jew wolves, in order to placate his Unionist colleagues, it will be a political blunder which will effectually undo whatever good might have been achieved by the appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy. India will certainly look upon such a surrender to her enemies as an insult and humiliation offered to herself."

How racial arrogance in India should be dealt with.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Jan.

31. "Atropos" writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* (Sunday Edition):—"The disease of racial arrogance has become so chronic in character and so disastrous in its consequences that a little critical analysis will not upset the nerves of my readers......... Take one instance—Sergeant Davis was fined Rs. 15 for horse-whipping two Indian students by the District Magistrate of Meerut.......... Now by a stretch of imagination suppose that two Indian students had horse-whipped a European sergeant for a paltry offence or no offence at all—what would have happened to those students in the sanctimonious name of prestige? They would have been sent to jail with hard labour, may be, even after preliminary public flogging.......... The immediate duty of the Government is to change the whole spirit of administration and deal with men and matters on their intrinsic merit irrespective of colour. That requires the heart of a lion; but the British lion in India has been heavily doped with the opium of power."

India's position has grown worse since the war.

Vijaya (92), 26th Jan.

32. In the time of war India gave Britain substantial and hearty support. India's soldiers were the first to die on the battlefields of Europe. What has she got in return? If somebody says we got the new councils, we might point to Jallianwalla Bagh. Of course, we did not help England with any ulterior motives of self-interest. We supported her because it was our duty. But are we getting our deserts? What is our position in the British Empire to-day? Are not our countrymen insulted and treated as slaves in Britain's own colonies? Lord Sinha has been made the Governor of Behar. But what is that? Are not our governors autocratic rulers? Can we choose our own governors? If the colonists demand the right of choosing their own governors, Lord Milner says he would not object. Was India consulted when the appointment of Lord Reading was made? From whatever point of view we consider her position, India lags behind.

Preferential treatment of European firms by Government.

Kesari (115), 18th Jan.

33. Referring to the instances of preferential treatment accorded to European coal-mining firms by Railway companies, given by Mr. Ghosh in his evidence before the Railway Committee, the *Kesari* writes:—A similar complaint was made by the Manager of Messrs. Adamjee Peerbhoy before the Industrial Commission regarding the purchase of military tents and boots. The same is the case with regard to stores required for Government offices and the requirements of schools. Longmans' copy books are preferred to Bandu Nana Ranade's and Macmillan and Company are given contracts for Marathi Readers in preference to the Nirnayasagar and Chitrashala presses. The sense of justice and impartiality of British officials has become well-known by these examples. But the blind admirers of the bureaucracy are still singing of the equable temper of the British! They should feel wiser, after reading the evidence of Mr. Ghosh.

Government have refused to settle the Bombay Postal strike in spite of ample funds at their disposal.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Jan.

34. "The report of the Postal and Telegraph Departments of the Government of India for 1919-20 shows that the net surplus of the year amounted to over seventy-three and a half lakhs of rupees as compared with 38 lakhs for the previous year. And yet, in spite of the extraordinary prosperity, the Departments are chary of conceding to their employees in Bombay a small increase in their wages which would not have cost the Departments more than a few lakhs. They have by their obstinacy and false sense of prestige not only endangered the careers of nearly two thousand hardworking employees, but have inconvenienced and put to loss the public of Bombay and the mofussil to an extent which no responsible administration in any civilised country would have dared to do......... By the way, would any member of the Council of Assembly try to ascertain how many lakhs have been squandered by the Departments in breaking the strike?"

Comments on the Belgaum District Magistrates' withdrawal of the order against the flying of the Crescent flag on a Local Library.

Lokasangraha (118), 18th Jan.

35. Referring to the withdrawal of the order against flying the Crescent flag on the Habibiya Library (Belgaum), the *Lokasangraha* writes:—The order has been withdrawn, and the District Magistrate says that some people had objected to it and that they would be supplied with the explanation of the secretary of the library. Are there such informers, or is it that the bureaucracy itself saw 'hatred of Empire' in the Turkish flag?

Mahrátta (8), 23rd Jan.

***36.** "The Magistrate would have passed for a wise and honest official, had he withdrawn his previous notice without any ridiculous attempt at defence. He who errs is only ignorant, but he who errs and defends is a hypocrite. The Magistrate writes to the Secretary that 'The Secretary's explanation that the flag is intended as a religious emblem, and not as a Turkish one, has been conveyed to the persons who objected to its exhibition.'......... We hope that the Secretary of the Habibiya Library will not rest satisfied with this victory. The interest of a fictitious section of the people is ever used by the bureaucrats as a convenient hiding place. Let the Secretary press the case still further and ask the Magistrate to publish the names of those who, in the first instance objected to the exhibition of the flag. To-day, however, it is sufficient satisfaction for us to see that the Belgaum Magistrate has sued for peace with the Secretary, and the banner of Islam waves in the air in its glory."

Appeal to the Government of India to adopt measures to protect Indian trades and industries.

Gujaráti (17), 23rd Jan., Eng. cols.

***37.** "The Dye-stuff (Import Regulation) Bill, which has just been enacted into law in England, once more clearly proves that Great Britain has refused to make any fetish of the time-honoured free trade principle, when her industrial interests are at stake......... This bill seems only to be a prelude to more comprehensive legislation extending protection to other British industries as well......... Yet while Britain and other countries are pursuing such a safe policy, how has our Indian Government acquitted itself of its responsibility, as regards Indian trade and industry? It is but too true that the present Government in this country has hopelessly bungled as regards our trade and finance. We had a strong credit position at the end of the war; where are we now? That position has been threatened by the short-sighted policy which Government has hitherto selfishly followed in India in the interests of England; and the result is that India finds once again that the balance of trade is unfavourable to her. The slackening of the embargo on wheat and the free exportation of the Burmese food-crop further bear testimony to the mismanaged policy of the Government of India. It is high time now for the Government to put a period to the hopscotch policy hitherto followed with regard to Indian industries.......... May we suggest that on the assembling of the new imperial legislatures a committee be appointed to thresh out completely the whole question of protection of Indian industries and to recommend which of them should receive their over-due share of protection? Then it will remain for the Government and the ministers of Industries in the various provinces to follow courageously the example of Great Britain, in protecting nascent and deserving industries."

Comments on the sittings of the Indian Historical Records Commission in Bombay.
Kesari (115), 18th Jan.

38. Our Government has, as is well-known, a penchant for appointing formal committees and commissions. The Indian Historical Records Commission met in Bombay recently. The essays read were poorer in quality than those presented at the fortnightly meetings of the Bharat Itihas Sansodhak Mandal (Poona). More interest was displayed in private meetings about European cemeteries and the inscriptions on tombstones. There are hundreds of historical inscriptions rotting in Nagam and Pandharpur and other places, and what an activity is displayed in publishing the inscriptions on European tombstones! Professor Jadunath Sarkar, however, made a useful suggestion about Portuguese records and got a grant of Rs. 600 sanctioned for getting copies made of Marathi records therein, and we understand that he got a favourable resolution passed about the famous Peishwa Daftar. The latter is so important a matter that the members of the Commission should have personally seen it and made useful suggestions. They should certainly have considered the suggestion of local research students and the concessions they want. This Commission should have issued, like others, interrogataries and called for information, suggestions and opinions. The entire proceedings of the Commission appear to be characterised by torpidity and insipidity.

Takavi advances should be remitted by Postal money orders.
Indu Prakásh (44), 20th Jan.

39. Mr. Bhau Savlaram Kotasthane of Vamori, District Ahmednagar, writing in the *Indu Prakásh*, suggests that explicit orders should be passed by Government that the takavi advances made to agriculturists for sinking wells and other purposes should be remitted to them by Postal money orders, as otherwise a large portion of the money goes into the pockets of the karkuns, peons, kulkarnis, etc., and the agriculturists get very little.

Complaint about the operation of the Cantonment Act in Bhagur (Násik).
Kesari (115), 18th Jan.

40. 'An agriculturist' of Bhagur, Camp Deolali (Násik), writes in the *Kesari*:—The Cantonment Act has been applied to and is being enforced in the village of Bhagur in defiance of public opinion, and oppression has been on the increase in every matter. Petitions have been submitted to the authorities, but without avail. His Excellency the Governor has not replied even to the petition submitted by Mr. Pradhan, the pleader. New heavy taxes are being imposed. How are the people to secure redress?

How Unemployment in England can be decreased.
Bombay Chronicle (1), (Sunday Edition), 15th Jan.

41. "Atropos" writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* (Sunday Edition):—"Unemployment is daily increasing in England—a question which, if not early grappled and solved by the Obsoletes in the Lloyd Georgian Coalition, will prove a menace to society. There is, however, one solution which I would propose, and that is to bring back the poor Indian soldiers to their home from Persia, Mesopotamia, East Africa, Turkey and other places and garrison the forts abroad with Britishers, so that unemployment may decrease at once. Besides it is not fair to make Indians the cannon-fodder of British imperialism for which they cannot have any patriotic feeling, but act as hired mercenaries; while in the case of Britishers they may be persuaded to believe, though British Democracy is already sufficiently wide awake, that Britishers are required to sacrifice themselves at the altar of British Imperialism for the growth and expansion of the British Empire: provided the Radicals and Labourites keep quiet while the sermon is preached for killing 'some other mother's darling boy' in the name of King and Country!"

How *swaráj* can be won in a year by spinning yarn.
Young India (14), 19th Jan.

42. Under the heading "The Secret of *Swarájya*", Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"The Congress resolution has rightly emphasised the importance of Swadeshi and thereanent of greater sacrifice by merchants. India cannot be free so long as India voluntarily encourages or tolerates the economic drain which has been going on for the past century and a half. Boycott of foreign goods means no more and no less than boycott of foreign cloth. Foreign cloth constitutes the largest drain voluntarily permitted by us. It means sixty crores of rupees annually paid by us for piecegoods. If India could make a successful effort to stop that drain, she can gain *Swaráj* by that one act. India was enslaved for satisfying the greed of the foreign cloth manufacturer.......... By processes that need not be described here, India has become practically wholly dependent upon foreign manufacture for her clothing. But we ought not to be dependent. India has the ability to manufacture all her cloth if her children will work for it.......... The way to carry out a successful boycott of foreign cloth is to increase the output of yarn. And this can only be done by hand-spinning. To bring about such a boycott, it is necessary for our merchants to stop all foreign importation, and to sell out, even at a loss, all foreign cloth already stocked in India, preferably to foreign buyers.......... The mill-owners should work their mills not for their profits but as a national trust, and, therefore, cease to spin finer counts, and weave only for the home market. The householder has to revise his or her ideas of fashion and, at least for the time being, suspend the use of fine garments which are not always worn to cover the body.......... And even when the householders have revised their tastes about dress, somebody will have to spin yarn for the weavers. This can only be done by every one spinning during spare hours either for love or money. We are engaged in a spiritual war. We are not living in normal times. Normal activities are always suspended in normal times. And if we are out to gain *Swaráj* in a year's time, it means that we must concentrate upon our goal to the exclusion of every thing else. I, therefore, venture to suggest to the students all over India to suspend their normal studies for one year and devote their time to the manufacture of yarn by hand-spinning. It will be their greatest act of service to the motherland, and their most natural contribution to the attainment of *Swaráj*. During the late war our rulers attempted to turn every factory into an arsenal for turning out bullets of lead. During this war of ours, I suggest every national school and college being turned into a factory for preparing cones of yarns for the nation.......... Do I want to put back the hand of the clock of progress? Do I want to replace the mills by hand-spinning and hand-weaving? Do I want to replace the railway by the country cart? Do I want to destroy machinery altogether? These questions have been asked by some journalists and public men. My answer is: I would not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. But I have no design upon machinery as such. What I want to do at the present moment is to supplement the production of yarn and cloth through our mills, save the millions we send out of India, and distribute them in our cottages."

College students and the non-co-operation movement.
Mahrátta (8), 23rd Jan.

***43.** In the course of an article in which it complains about the poor response made by college students to the call of non-co-operation, the *Mahrátta* writes :—"Unless the students allow an incision to be made and rid their mental frame of the impure blood of 'consideration of consequences', there is no hope for them and for the Nation! The Congress asks them to obey their 'conscience' and not the 'consequences'. At a time when the country stands pitched in battle against a rotten system of Government, thrice cursed is he who tarries on his way to 'consider consequences'. When the whole Nation is struggling, every one must do his duty, and the fulfilment of duty is never consistent with a consideration of consequences. Hence the Congress exhorts the students to boycott colleges for the sake of boycott alone. The intellectual conviction of the desirability of a boycott must now be quite coincident with an immediate action. And why should there now be any student who

lacks this intellectual conviction? Does not the Congress distinctly say, in the very resolution about the students, that the 'Nation has solemnly resolved to end that system of government which dominates the educational institutions in the country'? Does it not mean that students who linger in Government or aided colleges are false to their country's cause, inasmuch as they lend a support to what the Nation 'has solemnly resolved to end'? Let then the students courageously step forward, present a bold front to the dark difficulties that may be staring them in their face, bury all considerations of consequences deep into the grave, and respond to the call of the Congress."

Necessity of carrying out the non-co-operation resolution.

Rájakáran (131), 16th Jan.

44. Many people were in ecstacies on hearing Mr. Gandhi say in the Congress that India would have *swardjya* in nine months if they only did as he desired. But nobody appears to give any thought to the difficult condition that he has laid down. To what extent has the non-co-operation vow been carried out since the Nágpur Congress dissolved? How many schools have been emptied? How many foreign cloth merchants have stopped giving orders to foreigners? Announcements of gifts of lakhs and thousands of rupees evoked cheers in the Congress Mandap. But what would mere announcements achieve? The nation must show actual work. Everybody must bear it in mind that no sooner does the Duke depart and Lord Reading, the new Viceroy, takes up office, heartless repression is sure to begin and then the fight between the people and the authorities will be of absorbing interest. Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the high priest of repression, is already advising laying hands on the big leaders, leaving the small fry aside. It is to be seen how the non-co-operation movement will go on when this open bludgeon-rule begins. It will be an interesting spectacle to see. National work is not child's play. It means hardships and suffering. Indians have become great experts in tall talk. They should see what the world is saying about them. Ravan had imprisoned thirty-three crores of gods and the incident has been repeated in the case of India with its thirty-three crores of people. The carrying out of the non-co-operation vow would bring about the re-incarnation of god Ramchandra. Maháráshtra must take the lead in this great work instead of jeering at the views and utterances of Mahatma Gandhi as some of us have been doing.

Kánara News (39), 13th Jan.

45. This year's Congress has ushered in an age in which we must work out our own salvation. At such a time what the nation required was not a message but a mandate. And such a mandate this session of the Indian National Congress has issued. This session was a unique one, with the New Creed and the non-co-operation programme as its most important features. We shall say this about the non-co-operation resolution: that it is consistent, constructive and very wholesome. Therefore, it is the divine weapon which the Congress has offered us to fight with for the elevation of our country, for the establishment of self-government and for the removal of all our grievances. The Nagpur Congress has given us the ideal and also the means with which to fight for it. It is now the duty of the people to attain the ideal by using the weapon peacefully, steadily, firmly and with skill.

The Nágpur Congress resolution on non-co-operation.

Servant of India (10), 20th Jan.

46. "The resolution on non-co-operation passed at the Nágpur Congress is described as the result of a compromise between the two sections of Nationalists who were unable to agree at the special session at Calcutta on the programme, while they both adopted the principle and policy of non-co-operation......... Now, as this resolution reaffirms the Calcutta resolution, we must suppose that the policy adopted and the steps recommended therein remain in force and there is no weakening......... But then we are also told *that the entire or any part or parts of the scheme should be put into force at a time to be determined* later by the Congress or its Committee. This means obviously that no part of the scheme is now in force......... This view is further supported by the words *in the meanwhile, to prepare the country for it*, so that even the steps recommended further are not part of the scheme, but only preparatory. Those who claim for the Nágpur resolution an advance over that of Calcutta take their stand on the words 'reaffirm' and 'should continue' while the others rely on the words italicised above......... The net result is a ridiculous confusion caused by two contradictory or inconsistent sets of expressions being included in one resolution in the name of compromise."

Mr. Gandhi is playing with fire.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 19th Jan., Eng. cols.

47. "If Mr. Gandhi loses his influence with an impatient and infuriated crowd, as he well might, if he persist in preaching 'peace, peace, when there is no peace, or retires in disgust to the Himalayas, a type of men will step into the breach created by his absence who would lead the masses to red ruin. We agree with the *Pall Mall Gazette* that, if the Government is shaken without anything adequate to take its place, it would spell failure of our hopes of a self-governing India. In our present condition, if the Government which is the guarantee for peace and order goes, then the responsible and reliable leaders of the people, even Mr. Gandhi himself, would also go, and India would become like Russia a helpless and hopeless prey to fools, knaves and fanatics. In the light of history and commonsense, this can be the only result of forcing a revolution in India in the present circumstances. Mr. Gandhi does not mean a bloody revolution. He might not be meaning any revolution at all. But the means and methods he is adopting, preaching disrespect to law and order, training a whole generation of young boys to defy authority and turn rebels and vagabonds, are akin to playing with fire, and must, in the end, lead to a conflagration which none can quench and must consume all."

An appeal to Mahárashtra to prepare for a national strike.
Lokasangraha (118), 21st Jan.

48. The *Lokasangraha* vehemently appeals to the Mahárashtra to prepare itself for the day on which the All-India Congress Committee is to bring into force the Nágpur Congress Non-co-operation Resolution. It writes:—This is not the time for engaging in internal quarrels, but for fighting with the bureaucracy and wresting *swarájya* from its hands! No sooner the nation issues its order, every one must break all bonds and join in the national strike. It would not matter if the students received their education in Government and aided institutions till that day and the pleaders practised in the law courts and the foreign goods merchants carried on their businss in those goods, but they should all bear this in mind that no sooner did that day dawn than the schools and the law courts should be emptied and national schools and arbitration courts become crowded and piles of *swadeshi* goods take the place of the foreign manufactures in the shops! That same day the nation is to order the stoppage of the payment of taxes, and no sooner is the order given than no man should be available to collect the taxes and none should be found to carry the unsold property to the Government *kucheri*. There should thus be a national strike through the length and breadth of India and if that happens, *swarájya* will be an accomplished fact in no time. Whatever other parts of the country do, the Mahárashtra must show the highest self-sacrifice if any of the spirit of Shivaji, Ramdas and Tilak really remains with her. May she seize the opportunity afforded to her by God and gladden the hearts of the forefathers, whose spirits are looking hopefully down from heaven, by at once joining the non-co-operation movement! No doubt many a calamity will overtake her, but she should face them gladly in the name of our forefathers. Then God will not fail to grant her desires!

Census work and the non-co-operation movement.
Kesari (115), 18th Jan.

49. In answer to a query whether people should do the Census work, the *Kesari* writes:—There are some Government rules regarding the utilisation of private individuals for Census work. Everyone should decide for himself whether he can escape from this hired work, taking advantage of the rules. No general statement can be made regarding such an escape. Others who cannot escape under rules or by some stratagen also can evade such an impressment, but that would be by force of *satyagraha*; in which case they should be prepared to pay a fine. There is no clear mention of Census work in the non-co-operation resolution of the Congress. But every agitation has to be begun by some persons first. If instances can be recorded this year of some persons who will resolutely adopt non-co-operation regarding census work, it would be setting a new example in the non-co-operation movement.

His Excellency the Governor and the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya.
Indu Prakash (44), 17th Jan.

50. Commenting upon the prize-distribution recently held at the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, at which His Excellency the Governor was present, the *Indu-Prakash* says the time is come when Government should extend pecuniary help to this institution. The paper asks His Excellency not to be satisfied with merely bestowing praise on the conductors of the institution but to do something more substantial for them.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's motion before the Council of State to appoint a Committee to consider the repeal of the repressive laws in India.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 23rd Jan.

51. Referring to the Honourable Mr. Sastri's motion in the Council of State for the appointment of a committee to consider the repeal of the repressive laws in force in India, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"Mr. Sastri is likely to be acquainted with official intentions, which we are not, but we certainly have somehow obtained the impression that Government will be prepared to take immediate action to enable the Reform system as far as possible to begin with a clean slate. Whether this be so or not, some Moderate leaders, to our knowledge, have advised the prompt repeal of the Rowlatt and other immediately obnoxious Acts as the first step towards reviving public confidence in the order of things. We agree with this view and, therefore, consider that Mr. Sastri's proposed motion, so far as it relates to the Rowlatt, Press and some other Acts, is embarrassing and not helpful as it is, no doubt, intended to be by its distinguished sponsor. It will be an irony to the political fate if Government should respond to Mr. Sastri's motion by saying: Many thanks for your considerateness in proposing to help us with a committee to cover our retreat. But, for once, we propose to do without any cover, and since retreat is obviously unavoidable we shall say plainly that we mean to repeal these Acts without any Committee or Conference."

Principles to be followed in appointing Ministers and distributing portfolios.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 23rd Jan.

*52. "One of the members of the Bengal Legislative Council has proposed to move the following resolution at an early meeting:—'That this Council desires to place on record the fact that the procedure adopted by His Excellency the Governor in appointing the Ministers without consulting the elected members of the Council is not in accordance with the spirit of the Joint Select Committee's Report.' The Governor is, of course, expected to appoint as ministers only such persons as enjoy the confidence of the Council and, in the absence of organised political parties, he can only be guided by his own general view of probabilities based on his knowledge or impressions of the previous career and character of the members whom he chooses as his ministers. He cannot obviously call and consult the elected members individually or collectively as to whom they would like to be appointed Ministers. They would be in no better position than the Governor as they, too, in the absence of organised parties, can only go by personal impressions. They may recommend a number of persons or each of them may recommend himself as the best man for the job. In either case the Governor will have to make his choice unaided. .... The proposal of the Bengalee Councillor, which is, in fact, a vote of censure on the Governor, leads, therefore, to the very thing that it condemns. If the Council has no confidence in any particular Minister it may say so, but the responsibility for making the nomination must, and can, only rest with the Governor. These observations apply to the distribution of departments among Ministers as well as to the selection of them. Of course, if the

Governor, in either of these matters, chooses to adopt a line which is sharply distinguished from what to the general judgment seems to be obviously the right line, he will be well within his rights, but he will not be doing his best to advance the successful working of the Reform scheme; which must, in the first instance, depend largely on a thorough mutual understanding between the head of the Government and the Legislative Council......... We are constrained to observe that there is some difficulty in understanding on what principle the portfolio of Industry in the new Bombay Government has been withheld from a Minister who knows a good deal about the subject and given to another who knows next to nothing about it.......... The English system is capable of standing a good deal of such pitchforking, because it is not a dyarchy, because the permanent officials in England are trained in co-operation with political chiefs, because they are entirely under the control of the Ministry, and because there are in Parliament itself men who have occupied the various offices of State and will not, therefore, pass any serious mistakes of commission or omission uncorrected in debate. In India, it need hardly be said, none of these conditions obtain at present. They may grow up in the future, but, for the present, we cannot afford to overlook whatever experience a Minister may have gained in non-official life and give in charge to him by preference some subject in regard to which he has had no such experience. This is deliberately to tempt fate in the shape of the old order of things to nullify the purpose of the Reforms."

Question of the pay of Ministers.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 19th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 19th Jan.

53. A majority of the people who have been chosen as Ministers belong to the class of patriotic citizens and it can scarcely be an exaggeration to say that some of them have had to make enormous sacrifices in the matter of their income in accepting the posts offered to them. The salaries to be paid to the Ministers are to be fixed by the various Legislative Councils and notices have been given in some of them for moving resolutions in the matter. Members of the Executive Council draw a monthly salary of over Rs. 5,000 while the resolutions that are to be moved suggest a salary of Rs. 2,000 for the Ministers. Some of the Ministers are reported to have expressed their willingness to accept only Rs. 1,000. Such a request on their part is certainly very patriotic. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is of the opinion that the Minister's salary should be fixed in such a manner as would befit the dignity of their position and suggests that it should not be fixed at a sum less than Rs. 1,000 per month which is the salary of a Cabinet Minister in Japan.]

Indians should make the most of the new Reforms.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 18th Jan.

54. We are glad to note that, with very rare exceptions, capable Liberals have been elected to the Legislative Councils and appointed as Executive Councillors and Ministers. The nominations made by Government to the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly deserve public approbation. Government have shown their appreciation of the knowledge and experience possessed by Sir Dinshaw Wacha by nominating him to the Council of State. We also welcome the appointment of Messrs. Samarth and Joshi to the Legislative Assembly. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms have inaugurated a new era for India and have given India an opportunity of securing *Swardjya* by gradual stages. The more vividly we recognise the need of making the fullest use of these reforms the better for us. The reforms cannot be said to be all that we want, but it must be recognised that they give to the people of India a substantial share in the administration of their own country. The reforms will put Indians to the test. It is, therefore, to be regretted that the non-co-operation movement has been started at this juncture. The movement is a suicidal one and it has evoked protests from experienced Indians who have devoted their lives to the uplift of India. [The paper then refers to the poor success of the non-co-operation movement up to now and gives quotations from the message of warning to the Indian people published by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu of the India Council.]

be made regarding such an escape. Others who cannot escape under rules or by some stratagen also can evade such an impressment, but that would be by force of *satyagraha*; in which case they should be prepared to pay a fine. There is no clear mention of Census work in the non-co-operation resolution of the Congress. But every agitation has to be begun by some persons first. If instances can be recorded this year of some persons who will resolutely adopt non-co-operation regarding census work, it would be setting a new example in the non-co-operation movement.

His Excellency the Governor and the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya.
Indu Prakásh (44), 17th Jan.

50. Commenting upon the prize-distribution recently held at the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya, at which His Excellency the Governor was present, the *Indu-Prakash* says the time is come when Government should extend pecuniary help to this institution. The paper asks His Excellency not to be satisfied with merely bestowing praise on the conductors of the institution but to do something more substantial for them.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's motion before the Council of State to appoint a Committee to consider the repeal of the repressive laws in India.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 23rd Jan.

51. Referring to the Honourable Mr. Sastri's motion in the Council of State for the appointment of a committee to consider the repeal of the repressive laws in force in India, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"Mr. Sastri is likely to be acquainted with official intentions, which we are not, but we certainly have somehow obtained the impression that Government will be prepared to take immediate action to enable the Reform system as far as possible to begin with a clean slate. Whether this be so or not, some Moderate leaders, to our knowledge, have advised the prompt repeal of the Rowlatt and other immediately obnoxious Acts as the first step towards reviving public confidence in the order of things. We agree with this view and, therefore, consider that Mr. Sastri's proposed motion, so far as it relates to the Rowlatt, Press and some other Acts, is embarrassing and not helpful as it is, no doubt, intended to be by its distinguished sponsor. It will be an irony to the political fate if Government should respond to Mr. Sastri's motion by saying: Many thanks for your considerateness in proposing to help us with a committee to cover our retreat. But, for once, we propose to do without any cover, and since retreat is obviously unavoidable we shall say plainly that we mean to repeal these Acts without any Committee or Conference."

Principles to be followed in appointing Ministers and distributing portfolios.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 23rd Jan.

***52.** "One of the members of the Bengal Legislative Council has proposed to move the following resolution at an early meeting:—'That this Council desires to place on record the fact that the procedure adopted by His Excellency the Governor in appointing the Ministers without consulting the elected members of the Council is not in accordance with the spirit of the Joint Select Committee's Report.' The Governor is, of course, expected to appoint as ministers only such persons as enjoy the confidence of the Council and, in the absence of organised political parties, he can only be guided by his own general view of probabilities based on his knowledge or impressions of the previous career and character of the members whom he chooses as his ministers. He cannot obviously call and consult the elected members individually or collectively as to whom they would like to be appointed Ministers. They would be in no better position than the Governor as they, too, in the absence of organised parties, can only go by personal impressions. They may recommend a number of persons or each of them may recommend himself as the best man for the job. In either case the Governor will have to make his choice unaided. .... The proposal of the Bengalee Councillor, which is, in fact, a vote of censure on the Governor, leads, therefore, to the very thing that it condemns. If the Council has no confidence in any particular Minister it may say so, but the responsibility for making the nomination must, and can, only rest with the Governor. These observations apply to the distribution of departments among Ministers as well as to the selection of them. Of course, if the

Governor, in either of these matters, chooses to adopt a line which is sharply distinguished from what to the general judgment seems to be obviously the right line, he will be well within his rights, but he will not be doing his best to advance the successful working of the Reform scheme ; which must, in the first instance, depend largely on a thorough mutual understanding between the head of the Government and the Legislative Council.......... We are constrained to observe that there is some difficulty in understanding on what principle the portfolio of Industry in the new Bombay Government has been withheld from a Minister who knows a good deal about the subject and given to another who knows next to nothing about it.......... The English system is capable of standing a good deal of such pitchforking, because it is not a dyarchy, because the permanent officials in England are trained in co-operation with political chiefs, because they are entirely under the control of the Ministry, and because there are in Parliament itself men who have occupied the various offices of State and will not, therefore, pass any serious mistakes of commission or omission uncorrected in debate. In India, it need hardly be said, none of these conditions obtain at present. They may grow up in the future, but, for the present, we cannot afford to overlook whatever experience a Minister may have gained in non-official life and give in charge to him by preference some subject in regard to which he has had no such experience. This is deliberately to tempt fate in the shape of the old order of things to nullify the purpose of the Reforms."

Question of the pay of Ministers.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 19th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 19th Jan.

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What the future Congress will be like if Mr. Gandhi's ideals prevail.

Gujaráti (17), 16th Jan.

55. The creed of the Congress has been changed with the avowed intention of keeping the doors of the Congress open to people of all shades of opinion; but in practice all those who have not acted up to the non-co-operation resolution will be disqualified from entering it. So the Congress in future will be composed of non-co-operationists and can no more be said to be a national institution except in the matter of claiming contributions from the public. All pleaders who do not give up their practice and all parents and guardians who do not withdraw their boys from Government and aided schools will *ipso facto* be disqualified from joining the Congress. Anyone can become a member of any organisation of the Congress by paying a subscription of four annas. But the poor fellow who joins such an organisation will know precious little whether he is thereby advocating *Swarájya* with or without the British connection! Mr. Gandhi in the *Navjivan* says that the new creed teaches us the principle of living by dying, etc., etc. [*Vide* paragraph 60 of the Weekly Report No. 3 of 1921.] We plead our inability to understand the philosophy of Mr. Gandhi embodied in the paragraph above referred to. Mr. Gandhi has laid down eleven rules for the non-co-operationists and thus effected an improvement upon the Ten Commandments! Those who infringe any of these eleven commandments will be deemed unfit to enter the Congress! Mr. Gandhi wants all Congressmen to be clad in swadeshi cloth. All the delegates to the next Congress to be held at Ahmedabad must not put on any garment that has any semblance to Western dress and must be clad in hand-woven *khadi* cloth. Perhaps chairs will be given the go-bye at the next Congress and all will be made to squat down on *khadi* cloth in an Indian fashion! An innovation of such a nature would be a welcome one.

(60)

The Congress should have nothing to do with Native State subjects.

Indu Prakásh (44), 20th Jan.

56. The Nagpur Congres having passed a resolution to bring Native State subjects under its operations, a *firman* has recently been issued by the Congress Committee announcing the inclusion of the Marathi districts of His Highness the Nizam in Maharashtra. It is difficult to understand what has happened to induce the Congress to feel such concern for the well-being of Native State subjects; but it appears from what some of the newspapers have been stating that these kindly attentions of the Congress are likely to prove harmful to them. We are at a loss to understand why the people in British territory should concern themselves with Native State subjects. So long as the Congress had retained the British connection in its creed the Native Chiefs had taken no objection to their subjects taking part in its activities, but as that connection has now been done away with there is no doubt that the loyalty of the Chiefs will come in the way of the Congress activities. If the Congress really feels any sympathy for the Native State subjects it should take care not to have anything to do with them as their connection with that body is likely to involve them in calamities.

Comments on His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's alleged desire that newspaper editors should consult the Army Headquarters before commenting on Military matter.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Jan.

57. "Atropos" writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* (Sunday Edition):—"A little bird whispers in my ear that His Excellency General Lord Rawlinson, Commander-in-Chief in India, has expressed his desire that editors of newspapers in India should consult the Army Headquarters first before ventilating any news and views on matters military.......... I quite appreciate His Excellency's solicitude for giving out true information to the public, but His Excellency must understand that in the process of officialisation of news real information would get so worn out and twisted—such is the corrosive effect of the acid test of Departmental heads—that neither the editor nor the public would get at the truth—with the result that suspicion will arise to make matters worse. Hence reliable first-hand information should be made use of and commented upon as freely as will be of public interest and no more. There should be no attempt direct or indirect to influence the Press on any pretext whatsoever, as it is bound to be interpreted as an attempt to tamper with its liberty."

The final Court of Appeal should be located in India itself.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Jan.

58. Commenting on the judgment of the Privy Council rejecting the appeal of Mr. Kali Nath Roy, Editor of the *Tribune*, against his conviction and sentence under Martial Law in the Punjáb, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—"All this readiness to accept the findings of Indian Courts, especially in political cases, comes from the fact that the Privy Council, being situated far away from the scene and being completely out of touch with the facts of the situation, is unable to appreciate the defence point of view as much as a court sitting in this country itself would be able to do. Since the Committee repeatedly tells us that it declines to assume the position of a Court of Appeal in criminal proceedings and since in cases like those of Messrs. Roy and Bugga and Ratanchand, there is every necessity of such a Court, which will review the judgments of our High Courts and Courts-Martial, it is time that a movement is set on foot to secure the establishment of the final Court of Appeal in this country itself."

An irrigation complaint from the Ahmednagar District.

Kesari (115), 18th Jan.

59. A correspondent writes in the *Kesari*:—The two Pravara Canals are intended to serve the Ahmednagar District as it is liable to repeated famines. And yet the authorities, though there is plenty of water, have been refusing to open the Bhandadara reservoir and are thus causing immense loss to the agriculturists. The latter have held meetings to protest against this and it is hoped that the authorities will no longer commit the sin of ruining the people for no valid reason.

Comments on the Government of India's despatch regarding the position of Indians in East Africa.

Gujaráti (17), 23rd Jan., Eng. cols.

*60. "The Government of India's Despatch to the Secretary of State on the Indian position in the Kenya Colony is a healthy vindication of the just rights of our fellow countrymen in East Africa, now for the first time interfered with, by the Kenya Government, with the support of the Colonial Office.......... We congratulate the Government on their statesmanlike despatch. For once they have risen to the occasion and vindicated their position as the trustees and custodians of the rights of Indians. Though it lacks the confident and authoritative tone of the famous pronouncement of Lord Hardinge on South African politics, it has presented the Indian case in East Africa in unmistakable terms and with unanswerable arguments.......... Indians in East Africa and India as a whole protest against this unwarranted and unwarrantable confiscation of India's predominant position in the territories. They have been predominant there for centuries. They are predominant to-day. They control the trade and manufactures of the country, such as they are, to a large extent.......... The position is perfectly clear. The Government of India have repudiated the European claim with emphasis. They could have made that repudiation much stronger; but they have undoubtedly placed sufficient materials before His Majesty's Government to expose the high handedness of the 'even-handed justice' that the policy of European domination in the Colony seeks to establish.......... We are indeed thankful to the Government of India for having said what they have, but we feel constrained to say that the postulate of paramountcy of European interests should have been more strongly and more clearly challenged. While we would certainly endorse the view that the franchise should be equal and on the same register, we hope that the Government of India will see the necessity of drawing the attention of the Colonial Office to this fundamental objection to the whole conception of Kenya Policy. Even-handed justice to all races residing in the territories is the only true and the only right policy for the Government, and equal franchise is only a mode for securing that even-handed justice."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Jan.

61. The *Bombay Chronicle* gives an extract from a European's speech at the convention of the European Association recently held at Nairobi, East Africa, in which he suggested that the Europeans should forcibly prevent Indians from landing at Mombasa, and says:—"While such is the intolerable attitude of the white settlers, our countrymen, as our readers are aware, have given a definite warning to the Local authorities as well as the Imperial Government that they will not sit with folded hands while they are being dispoiled of their rights and privileges.......... The despatch of the Government of India and the Secretary of State's reply thereto on the subject of our countrymen's grievances was not before the Congress which met at Mombasa last month, but this fact does not alter the situation. His Majesty's Government have not yet declared their acceptance of the Government of India's suggestion about the appointment of a Royal Commission. If under the pretext of referring the question to such a commission, surreptitious attempts are made in the meanwhile by the Kenya Government to confront Indians with settled facts by enforcing the segregation and other laws which are detrimental to Indian interests, Indians will not feel bound to postpone their decision to act till the report of the Commission is published. Whether Indians will bide by the suggested compromise rests largely with the Kenya Government. It should scrupulously refrain from enforcing any of the laws or measures objected to by Indians. His Majesty's Government also should exhibit no undue delay in appointing the Commission, if they at all accept the suggestion."

Duty of the Government of India to send an Indian delegation to Fiji to inquire into the recent disturbances there.

Servant of India (10), 20th Jan.

62. The *Servant of India* gives a short history of the causes that led to the disturbances and remarks:—"There is thus a clear case for an enquiry into the causes of the disturbances and the methods adopted to suppress them, and we earnestly urge the Government of India to lose no time in arranging for the despatch of an Indian deputation composed of persons who by their eminent position and character would command public confidence. Such a demand is being constantly made ever since those regrettable occurrences became known here.......... It is to be hoped that the Government of India will bring this strength of feeling to the notice of the Fijian Government and urge them through the proper channel to afford all possible facilities to the delegation which they may send from here. The Indian community in Fiji being at present leaderless will find itself at a serious disadvantage without the presence among them of a genuine advocate of their cause. Mr. Andrews, a more fair-minded and trustworthy friend than whom it would be difficult to find, is peculiarly fitted for this task by reason of his close study of the Indian situation as it exists in Fiji."

Urgency of revising the Turkish Treaty.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Jan.

63. "That we were not wrong in surmising that the opening of the Greek offensive against the Turkish Nationalists probably indicated the breakdown of the negotiations between the Constantinople and the Kemalist Governments is seen from the reports appearing in the British press that the Turkish Mission headed by Izzet Pasha, ex-Vizier and Minister of the Interior, which had proceeded to Angora to conduct the negotiations, has gone over to the Kemalists.......... Public opinion in France and Italy is clamouring for a revision of the Treaty of Sevres and is not at all anxious to see the Greeks benefited at the cost of the Turks. It is only in Cabinet circles in Great Britain that we find a determination to enforce the treaty—a fact which no doubt gladdens the hearts of 'Tino' and his advisers..........Does Greek gratitude outweigh the humiliation of seven crores of Indian Muslim subjects of the Empire—apart, of course from consideration of justice and righteousness? Apparently it does."

Political Bhomiyo (74), 14th Jan., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 16th Jan.

64. "We appeal to the British Government most solemnly to take immediate steps to revise the Turkish Treaty. The Muhammadans have served the Empire most loyally and devotedly during the war amongst circumstances which were exceedingly trying. Their loyalty to the British Crown remained unswerving during times of unparalleled stress and the sacrifices they have made have been enormous. The treatment meted out to Turkey, the curtailment of the wide powers of its Sovereign whom all Moslems pay homage as their spiritual head, has lacerated the hearts of Muhammadans throughout the world. We ask for justice for Turkey, and we hope that England will take the foremost part in obtaining it. Muhammadans have been the friends of the British and loyal bulwarks of the Empire, and they demand the redress of their grievances from the Government." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—It is a pity that the British Prime Minister does not show as much eagerness as he ought to to take advantage of the new conditions in Greece to revise the Turkish settlement. The Crown Prince of Turkey declares that the British policy in regard to Turkey is mistaken, because it means punishing the whole of Turkey for the fault of a few individuals, for really speaking the Turkish feeling is in favour of England. If the British Government continues her present policy towards Turkey, the danger indicated by the Crown Prince of Turkey going over to the Bolsheviks is imaginary, and if that happens, peace will be impossible in Europe for a long time. It will be well if the British ministry still show a sympathetic attitude towards Turkey.]

The situation in Persia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Jan.

65. "The hope of seeing a 'strong Cabinet' to carry the Anglo-Persian Agreement through the Meijliss appears to be lost, at least, for the present. For this egregious failure of British diplomacy we are apt to blame the Bolsheviks, but one may ask, in all sincerity, have the British diplomats, the Lloyd Georges, the Curzons and the Churchills done anything to win the confidence and loyalty of the Persians since the latter came to be drawn into the whirlpool of the last war? For all the loyal services of the last Persian Government during the troublous times, not only was its delegation refused a hearing at the Peace Table at Versailles, but even the mission headed by Prince Hussain, Foreign Minister, was obstructed at every step from obtaining justice from the League of Nations. The bungling of British diplomacy did not stop there. The persistent refusal to withdraw British troops from Persia, not only alienated the sympathies of Persian Nationalists, but also gave an excuse to the Bolsheviks to invade Persian territory. Finally, the attempt to force the Anglo-Persian Agreement on the Teheran Government over the head of the nation has had the effect of rallying all anti-British elements into solid national opposition against British interference of every kind, whether disinterested or otherwise. Nay, it has had the effect of throwing all Persian classes into the arms of the Bolsheviks, for we now hear that the Bolsheviks are about to come to agreement with the Persian Government on lines similar to those which the British had hoped would be adopted in their own case. If the report of the resignation of the Persian Cabinet proves to be well founded, then it means the end of all British hopes in Persia, at least for the present. For such a diplomatic debacle British statesmen must blame themselves more than they do any of their enemies."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 20th Jan.

66. The Persian *Majlis* has not ratified the agreement entered into between Persia and England. Attempts have also been made to form such ministries as would be willing to ratify the agreement, but they have proved a failure and instead of ratifying them, they have entered into a new agreement with the Bolsheviks. This is the result of the British policy in Persia. The British claim to have interests in South Persia and assert that none else has any authority to come in the way of these interests. Whatever might be the case, it is absolutely undesirable for Great Britain that Bolshevism should have ever entered Persia. The avowed object of the Bolsheviks is to make the British administration difficult in the East. The only remedy to check the spread of Bolshevism is to enter into friendly relations with Turkey and its big Muhammedan population. The settlement with Turkey is so unjust, highhanded and so calculated to deprive it of its independence that the Muhammadans of Turkey regard Great Britain and the British nation not only as their own enemies but also those of the whole of Islam. The Muhammadans under the British Sovereignity entertain the same belief. Unfortunately Mr. Lloyd George and his conservative colleagues cannot realize the possibilities of the future harm to the British Empire owing to this belief. In a few days the ministers of the Allied countries are to meet at Paris. France is to bring forward the question of the settlement of Turkey. We hope that Great Britain will make a proper use of this opportunity presented to it.

Lokasangraha (118), 22nd Jan.

67. Whatever happens, there are clear signs of Persia freeing herself from Britain's close grip. England has planted herself firmly in Mesopotamia under the guise of a mandatory and she had an idea of establishing her dominance in Persia also. Afghanistan is a petty state and she has been won over by a tribute. In this confusion, Britain wanted to swallow Persia also and thus establish undisputed supremacy over the whole of Western Asia; but it is now clear that the attempt has been a total failure. Bolsheviks have occupied Persia and it proves that the policy of the Young Turks in Asia is day by day becoming successful and there is no doubt that the agitation for recovering the jewel of the Turkish Empire swallowed by the Allies will gain in strength.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 23rd Jan.

68. Referring to the negotiations proceeding between the Persians and the Russian Soviet Government, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* declares that the reason why the Russians refused to ratify the Anglo-Persian Agreement is that it is selfish, one-sided, and calculated to throw the Persians into a position of utter dependance. It adds that Persia suffered a great deal during the war, and she cannot improve as much as she likes. It holds that the terms of the agreement offered by the Soviet are free from selfishness, and that the spread of Bolshevism in Persia cannot now be stopped. It also maintains that the best weapon to combat Bolshevism is the cultivation of Moslem friendship by making a just peace with Turkey for which there is still time, and concludes by declaring that the Turks hold the British to be their enemy. [Elsewhere it publishes a poem in which prayers are offered for victory to Islam over the nations who believe in the Trinity.]

Lokasangraha (118), 17th Jan.

69. The establishment of closer relations between Persia and the Soviet Government and the consequent withdrawal of the English from that country has greatly perturbed these land-grabbing people. The British capitalists had confidently expected that Persia would swallow the bait of a loan and would then pass down their throat like India. But that foolish country ran into the arms of the Soviet Government and will not have anything to do with the English. Persistent attempts were made to convince the people here that the Bolsheviks were consummate villains; but the whole world now knows that even Bolshevism contains some very lofty principles. It was the Bolsheviks who lent their support to the Muhammadans in Asia and Europe in their hour of need. There is nothing unnatural, therefore, in Persia making common cause with the same people.

Danger to India from Mr. Churchill being placed in charge of the Middle Eastern Department.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Jan.

70. "Few greater calamities can befall the world than the appointment of Mr. Churchill not only as Colonial Secretary but also as the minister in charge of the new Middle Eastern Department.......... No single individual has done greater harm to the world during the years since the Armistice was signed than has Mr. Churchill.......... While there are British soldiers and British money, Indian soldiers and Indian money, to squander in 'rescuing Poles from Bolsheviks, Greeks from

Turks, and Arabs from each other,' militarist Churchill will always be there to do it. Having 'Balkanised Europe,' he will now be freer than before to spread anarchy and ruin in Asia.......... However, Mr. Churchill's domination of the Middle Eastern policies is not a matter of concern merely to the British tax-payer. It is a peril to India the magnitude of which it is not difficult to realise. On Saturday we drew attention to the new menace to our rights and liberties, as a nation, involved in the new orientation of Dominion status.......... The advent of Mr. Churchill—whose love of militarist adventures is well-known and between whose mind and that of the old German Empire there are great affinities—as Colonial Secretary and as the director of the Middle East policy brings the menace into prominent relief. It is time, therefore, that India bestirred herself.......... If we are not up betimes and do not demand and secure complete equality of status with the Dominions in respect of our foreign as well as internal affairs we shall soon find our resources and the resources of the generations to come mortgaged for the carrying out of 'imperial' undertakings—a process of emasculation and exploitation that will continue to mock our helplessness despite a hundred doses of Montagu reforms."

Comments on a Punjáb Government publication named "A Straight Talk on the Khilafat Question".
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Jan.

71. Referring to a pamphlet entitled "A Straight Talk on the Khilafat Question" published by the Government Printing Press, Lahore, the *Bombay Chronicle* traverses certain statements made in it in connection with Turkey, and says:—"We should like to ask who in the world is able to vouch so confidently for the high ideals and intentions of the Allies on grounds so manifestly insecure as does this writer? Who in the world can talk with such abysmal ignorance in such a patronising tone to Indian Muslims, who are generally well-informed upon the subject of his lecture? What good or useful purpose can be served by such a publication at this juncture, when every honest Englishman in India, no less than every Indian, is hoping that the great injustice done to Islam, and the dishonour done to England in that great injustice, may be now redressed? 'We' have injured all the Muslims in the world; why add insult to the injury? We should like to ask whether the publication of such works as this is paid for out of English or Indian revenue. We should like to know what the rulers of India—who, we have reason to believe, worked hard to prevent the present uujust Turkish treaty—really think of such a publication. In the interests of peace in India, it should be suppressed."

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Bill to amend the Bombay City Municipal Act.
Bombay Samáchár (61), 17th Jan.

72. Out of the three Bills that have been prepared by the Government of Bombay for being placed before the Legislative Council, the Bill to amend the Bombay Municipal Act draws our special attention. The Bill introduces quite new sections in place of those that relate to the use of weights and measures in Bombay. The proposed change is an opportune and welcome one and we must congratulate Sir Ibrahim Rahimtula on the able manner in which he has drafted the Bill. Those who have any experience of the undue advantage taken by unscrupulous merchants of the absence of standardised weights and measures will not fail to accept the proposed amendments. The present Municipal Act, in respect of weights and measures, is quite inadequate to meet our requirements as will be seen from the use the grain merchants are making of the *Mapli*, which is an unstandardised measure, and the inability of the Municipality to bring to book dishonest milkmen and oil merchants. The amendments proposed in the new Bill will place a check on the evil practices that could not be curbed under the existing legislation. The Council should not rest content with merely passing a measure for standardising weights and measures in the city and island of Bombay, but they should proceed further and take steps to standardise weights and measures in the whole of the Presidency, before moving the Government of India to introduce uniform weights and measures in the whole of India.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the recommendations of the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government to consider the question of the pay and prospects of primary teachers.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 21st Jan.

73. The Committee appointed by the Bombay Legislative Council to consider the question of improving the pay and prospects of the primary teachers in the Presidency have made certain recommentations for giving temporary allowances to these teachers to enable them to tide over the present difficulties. We would like to endorse the suggestions made by the Committee. Mr. Paranjpye, our Education Minister, is an educationist and has much personal experience as a teacher and it is, therefore, expected that he will take up the question of improving the lot of primary teachers without any delay. No doubt the improvement of the pay and prospects of primary teachers and making primary education free and compulsory will require large sums of money and if the required amount cannot be spared from the funds placed at the disposal of the Ministers the money should be raised by taxation. We hope the public will support the Minister in the matter of levying a new tax with a view to removing illiteracy and ignorance from the Presidency.

Lokasangraha (118), 22nd Jan.

74. The *Lokasangraha* condemns the decision of the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government to inquire into the question of primary teachers' pay and says that the Committee should not have left the question of revising the salaries to the minister and that the temporary relief given by the Committee will not solve the question of their pay. It also objects to the view of the Committee that the question of pay should be decided on its own merits uninfluenced by the problem of the spread of education. The paper further remarks :—The Committee does not want to curtail schools and increase the pay of teachers, but the Committee including Mr. Paranjpye has suggested that it is not desirable to increase the number of schools ; and Mr. Paranjpye is now the Minister for Education !

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the proceedings before the Indian Railway Committee.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 22nd Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 21st Jan.; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 16th Jan.

75. The evidence recorded before the Railway Committee at Calcutta, Madras and other places throws a deal of light on the present railway administration in the country. It is high time that some heed is paid to the complaints made in this country about racial discrimination observed on the Railways. It is to be regretted that the evidence recorded by the European and Indian merchants before the Committee is of a contradictory nature. We need not be surprised that the European Chambers of Commerce support the present railway policy which gives them undue advantage over the Indian merchants. The evidence given by the representative of the Bengal Coal Mines Federation goes to show that injustice of the worst kind was done to Indians. Who will say that Government should not put an end to such a policy ? Such a policy naturally aggravates the existing discontent in India. Let us hope the Railway Committee will make such recommendations as will take due notice of the grievances brought to their knowledge. India requires a progressive railway policy with a view to advance the interests of Indian trade and industries. It is hoped that Lord Reading will recognise the need of revising the railway policy and doing justice to India. [The *Bombay Samáchár* endorses the complaint about preferential treatment given to European merchants made by Mr. Ghose before the Railway Committee at Calcutta, and while pointing out the defects of the management of the Indian Railways by European Companies expresses the hope that the Railway Committee will recommend the transference of these Railways to Goverument which in the opinion of the paper will be better able to manage the Railways. The *Praja Bandhu* deprecates the suggestion made before the Railway Committee for raising a loan

in England at a higher rate of interest than in India and for allowing the Indian Railways to be managed by Directors in England. It is of the opinion that if the Railway Committee helps to perpetuate the wrongs the Indians have had to suffer in the past, the latter should not subscribe to any loans raised for extending the railways and should form companies of their own for railway extension in the country.]

Raja Hansa (89), 15th Jan.

76. It is notorious how meanly the Railway companies treat the third class passengers. Now who is responsible for this state of affairs? Obviously the Railway management. But Government also must take its share of blame. Government supports the Railway companies financially and it can influence the Railway management, if only it will. This question was widely agitated in the country recently with the result that a Railway Committee was appointed. One of the questions for the Committee to decide is whether Government should take over the management of the Railways. The Indian public is for Government management. But the Committee has only three Indians on it and the majority of the members are for company management. So it is a foregone conclusion that the companies will retain the management. On the whole, the condition of the people, from whatever point of view you consider it, is hopeless under this system of Government. Therefore, we must give up this policy of mendicancy and, knowing that *Swarâj* is the only means of removing all our grievances, must fight for it by means of non-violent non-co-operation.

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the prosecution of a Kolhápur newspaper by the State.
Kesari (115), 18th Jan.

77. Commenting on the prosecution of the *Vidyavilas*, a Kolhápur paper, under section 153-A of the Indian Penal Code, by the State, for publishing letters against the doings of the Satyashodhak Samajists, the *Kesari* writes:—It is in one way very difficult and in another very easy to know why the Durbar was kind enough to notice the *Vidyavilas* when in many newspapers in Kolhápur itself and conducted under the direct and indirect inspiration of the Maharaja of Kolhápur, a hundred times more objectionable articles than the one under prosecution are printed. We know how difficult it is to check the injustices committed by the law courts of Kolhápur. But if the Durbar desires a statement to be presented showing whether the above section is violated more by the Satyashodhaks or by other persons, it can be prepared. But the Maharaja of Kolhápur should show the sense of fairplay displayed even by hunters and have the case openly tried outside the limits of the Kolhápur State by an outside Magistrate. The hunt-loving Maharaja will surely recognise that there is not much manliness in hunting down tigers confined in the cage of one's own authority.

Lokasangraha (44), 16th Jan.

78. At the time of the Kulkarni Conference Mr. Belvi gave a brief description of the conditions obtaining at Kolhápur. We are not at all surprised, therefore, at the prosecution of a man of independent spirit like the editor of the *Vidyavilas*. At the same time we cannot but pity the dull-headedness of the Durbar in not being able to notice the activities of the Satya Samajists in openly fostering anti-Brahmin feeling in the State.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 28th January 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 29th January 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian matters:
- An agrarian complaint from the Ahmednagar District 62
- Protest against the revised assessment of the Village of Ghoda (Poona) . 63

British Rule:
- Alleged assault by Mr. P. R. Cadell, I. C. S., on certain inhabitants of Sirsi, District Kánara . . . . 20 & 21
- Appeal to the authorities to right the Punjáb and other wrongs to prevent a fervent in the country 31
- Approval of the proposed independent enquiry into the Rai Bareili disturbances by Congress leaders 26
- Comments on His Highness the Aga Khan's views on the political situation . . . . 27 & 28
- Comments on the Rai Bareili disturbances . . . . 22—25
- Complaint about certain mosques being in the possession of Hindus . 35
- Defence of Government officials 33
- How the bureaucracy deals with its mischievous members . . . 32
- Protest against the acquirement of lands under the Land Acquisition Act for private companies 36
- Protest against the efforts made by Hindus to put a stop to cow-slaughter through Municipalities 37
- Sir Baden Powell should apologise for the remarks insulting to Indians he has made in a book written by him 29
- The pigeon shooting incident at Mandvi Bunder, Bombay . . . 30
- The question of recovering the fine imposed on the people of Nadiád should be left to the discretion of the New Bombay Legislative Council 34

Congress and Conferences:
- Criticism of the changes in the creed and constitution of the Congress . 45 & 46
- Protest against the abolition of the British Congress Committee and the paper *India* 47

Excise: Appeal to Government to abandon the auction system for the sale of liquor licenses 61

Forest Department: The forest grievances of Kánara 60

His Excellency the Viceroy:
- Lord and Lady Chelmsford's collection of curios and trophies . . 44
- The Bombay Corporation should not vote a farewell address to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford 43

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught:

Comments on His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to Madras . . . . 1—6
Comments on the Bombay Corporations' draft address of welcome to— 7 & 8
Protest against the resolve of the Moslems of Bombay to boycott the Duke of Connaught. 9
Why the Duke of Connaughts' visit is being boycotted 10

Indian Reforms:

Question of fixing the salaries of ministers . . . . 438—0
The reason why there are two Europeans and one Indian in the Behar Executive Council 42
Will the Ministers support the popular demand for the stoppage of the Governments' exodus to the hills? 41

Judicial matters:

Comments on the acquittal of Sergeant Cartwright by the Allahabad High Court on the charge of causing the death of an Indian . . 49—51
Comments on the conviction and sentence of the editor of the *Al-Wahid* of Karáchi 52
Military matters: Comments on the reported intention of Government to reduce the number of British troops in India . . . . 58 & 59

Non-co-operation:

Adverse criticism of the — movement 18
Appeal to students in Maharashtra to give up schools and colleges . 16
Closing of the National School at Talsana owing to the intervention of the officials 17
Comments on Mr. B. N. Basu's article on the — movement in the London *Times*. 19
Mr. Gandhi's views as to the *Swarajya* he is aiming at 11
The — propaganda among college students in Bombay . . . 12—15
Police: Alleged lawlessness in the Kaira District 48

Public Service:

Comments on the appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy . . . 53 & 54
Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding revised salaries for primary teachers 56
Necessity of cutting down the high salaries of the services to provide money to meet the need of the Ministers. 55
Vaccinators' pay too low to maintain them 57

War:

Mr. Lloyd George and the revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty . . 64
Persia and the Bolsheviks 65

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against the passing by the Hyderabad (Sind) Municipality of a resolution congratulating Mr. Gulamhusein Hidayatullah on his appointment as Minister 66

RAILWAYS.

The Indian Railway Committee 67
The President of the All-India Conference of Railwaymen should be a railwayman and not a politician 68

NATIVE STATES.

Protest against the Maharaja of Kolhápur's interference in British Indian politics 69

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to Madras.

Sind Observer (12), 17th Jan.

1. "His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's reply to the Madras Municipality's address is couched in a spirit of utmost friendliness for India, for her aspirations and for the high destiny that is in store for her........ Here is an open invitation to all leaders of Indian political opinion, moderate or extremist, to assist in the pacification of the country by having all their genuine grievances redressed, and by beginning that New Era with the goodwill of all sections of the people. Mr. Gandhi and his friends must grasp the proferred hand for the good of India. Mr. Gandhi declared at Nagpur that he would have no objection to attend a round table conference convened by the authorities......... We trust His Royal Highness will, on the advice of the Viceroy, inaugurate a round table conference of Indian leaders and officials as early as possible. The Duke's visit will be fruitful of results if it could bring about mutual understanding where there has been nothing but gross misunderstanding on all sides."

Muslim Herald (165), 25th Jan.

2. Referring to the speeches delivered by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Madras, one Mr. Kudri writing to the *Muslim Herald* remarks that it is a mistake not to observe any rejoicings on the occasion of His Royal Highness' visit inasmuch as he has come here to heal our wounds, and it behoves us to approach him through deputations of the notables of all leading cities for the purpose of putting our grievances before him rather than boycott his visit. He also adversely criticises the non-co-operation movement, declaring that the resignation of official posts, giving up of legal practice, non-payment of taxes, etc., are all calculated to injure the non-co-operators rather than anybody else, least of all the Government. [Elsewhere the newspaper refers to the resolution about boycotting His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to Bombay, which was passed at a recent meeting of Mussalmans, and casts doubt upon its sincere observance by referring to the rejoicings held last year after Mr. Chhotani's younger brother was appointed a J. P. although the non-co-operation movement was then in full swing. It also condemns Messrs. Chhotani and Khatri for their insincere adhesion to non-co-operation because they have not followed Mr. Motilal Nehru's example who gave up a lucrative practice and burnt furniture, apparel and other things ministering to luxury worth thousands of rupees.]

Hindu (157), 15th Jan.

3. The visit of the Duke of Connaught has caused us disappointment. In the speech which he made at his reception at Madras, there is not a word of sympathy for those who have suffered. He, too, has asked us to forget the past. We would remind His Royal Highness that it is very difficult for us to follow his advice. If we were to forget the indignities to which we have been subjected, and the dishonour which has been inflicted upon the religion of our Muslim brethren, we should be obliterating our name from the history of the world. We think that His Royal Highness' advice, if followed, can only lead to our extinction. We would respectfully ask His Royal Highness whether, if wrongs such as we have suffered from were committed in his own country, he would condone them? We think he would not. We think that every one with some self-respect would in similar circumstances adopt the course which Indians have adopted, and that every right-minded man would approve of his action......... His Royal Highness' sweet words may lull some of us to sleep but they can never mislead those who are smarting under a sense of national dishonour.

Swarájya (143), 27th Jan.

4. The object of the Duke of Connaught's visit, as declared by him in Madras, is very commendable and if it is accomplished it will be a very good thing. But the question is not about the goodness of the object but about its fulfilment. No Indian now has any faith in the mere statement of high objects. What has the Duke done in furtherance of his object? He

has received addresses, visited the races and attended garden parties. Possibly he was present and might have taken part in balls. How does all this tend to the fulfilment of his object? How are old sores healed and bitter memories removed by these things? One of the objects of the Duke is to strengthen the old ties. If there is a bitter suggestion in these apparently sweet words that the close grip of slavery should be still more strengthened, people would not wecome it. They want to loosen the bonds of slavery maintained by England. Races, garden parties, balls, hunting expeditions and waste of poor people's money do not heal old sores; they start fresh bleeding of even wounds about to heal. There is no wonder if the inclination is towards the boycott of the Duke's visit. If the Duke announces, while opening the Legislative Assembly, the grant of full *swarájya* or of at least full provincial autonomy, the excited public opinion may to some extent be appeased; otherwise, the boycott movement will be carried on with double vigour. It would have been a different thing if the Duke had not come. But if he goes without giving anything, it would be adding insult to injury. There is still a long interval before the Duke's visit to Bombay; but the 'boycott the Duke' movement is already in progress there.

Kesari (115), 25th Jan.

5. Who can describe the scene of separation when the Duke Saheb left Madras! The Duke Saheb's eyes were full of tears, his throat became choked with emotion and he could not utter a single word! The plight of those who for four days were engaged in looking after the Duke's comforts was most pitiable and they too broke into tears! Some of the Madras Moderates were at a loss to decide what to do and what not to do in welcoming the Duke. They would have fallen on his neck if permitted! Preparations for the reception of the Duke at Delhi are progressing apace at the hands of the bureaucracy, which has constructed a beautiful dancing-hall for him. The hall was originally meant for the Prince of Wales. But will the old Duke dance there? If he does, then the allegation that the bureaucracy has been making the Duke dance to its own tune will turn out to be literally true.

Arya Vaibhav (95), 20th Jan.

6. Referring to the Duke of Connaught's appeal to Indians not to brood over past difficulties but to feel thankful that matters had not been worse, the *Arya Vaibhav* says:—Really, what could we have done if greater calamities had befallen us? What more dreadful excesses could the bureaucracy have inflicted than those in the Punjáb? Should they have burned down houses and laid waste district after district? [The paper next says that it is thankful to His Royal Highness for admitting that the minds of Indians have been seriously wounded, but it ridicules the idea that his mere presence will be able to heal the wounds. It wants to know if he has practised any austerities to acquire the power of a *yogi* to heal wounds by mere association. It also declares that so long as the Duke, or even His Majesty the King, is under the wings of the bureaucracy, neither of them would be able to do anything for India.]

Comments on the Bombay Corporation's draft address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 24th Jan.; *Hindusthán* (22), 24th Jan.; *Gujaráti* (17), 23rd Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 24th Jan.

7. Has the Bombay Municipality the right to present an address to the Duke of Connaught in the name of the citizens of Bombay? The public in general, though they respect the Duke of Connaught, are opposed to giving him an address of welcome. The Bombay Municipality has shown complete disregard for public opinion and has made it clear that it represents only a few landlords and not the Bombay public. If the Municipal Corporation was bent on presenting an address of welcome to the Duke, it should have at any rate presented to him a true picture of the political situation of the country. It should have informed the Duke about the extent to which the people have lost confidence in British justice owing to the atrocities in the Punjáb and the rude shock that has been felt by the Indian Moslems through the unjust treatment of Turkey in the matter of the

Khilafat. Would it not have been an act of loyalty on the part of the Corporation to voice the grievances of the people? The Corporation would have done better had they referred only to local matters and not made any mention of the new Reforms which, in the address as drafted, are said to herald 'a new era of freedom', if it found itself lacking in moral courage to voice public opinion. [The *Hindusthán* blames the Corporation for posing as the representative of the people and at the same time failing to voice the grievances of the people of India. The *Gujaráti* also expresses the opinion that the address should have made some reference to the grievances of the people of India and that such a reference would have been quite consistent with the Corporation's loyalty. The *Bombay Samáchár*, on the other hand, writes:—The Municipal Corporation of Bombay has maintained its dignity and prestige by getting the draft of the address of welcome to the Duke of Connaught passed almost unanimously. A large section of the public is opposed to the non-co-operation resolution passed by the Congress, and there is no reason why it should be considered as binding upon the Corporation. The Corporation correctly represents the views of the Bombay public in this matter and it has the full support of the citizens of Bombay in the address voted to the Duke.]

Lokashahi (120), 24th Jan.

8. If the Duke of Connaught comes here as the representative of the British Government, then those who admire the existing state of affairs have every right to honour the guest. And we must take it that the Bombay Corporation looked at the question from this point of view when it voted the address to the Duke. It is a pity that when the question came up for discussion there was no strong opposition to it. This attitude of the Corporation simply flouts public opinion. Do they think that the public will hesitate to prove to the Duke and tell him that the Corporation does not represent the public and that the presentation of the address is not on their behalf? What will the position of the Duke be when he comes to know that there has been an overwhelming opposition to the presentation of the address? A point raised during the discussion in the Corporation was that the Duke came here as a representative of the King-Emperor. But if the King claims a welcome from the people, must he not also take care to remove their grievances? And since he has no power either for good or evil, is not his representative in the same position? Therefore the people must not take any part in this welcome affair. Let the Duke go back to England and remind the King and his Cabinet of the proverb, "As you sow, so shall you reap".

Protest against the resolve of the Moslems of Bombay to boycott the Duke of Connaught.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 26th Jan.

9. The Muhammadans of Bombay recently held a public meeting at which they have resolved not to honour the Duke of Connaught on his visit to Bombay. Spirited speeches were made at this meeting by Hindu and Muhammadan speakers to boybott the Duke. Why was all this fuss made? Is the Duke in any way connected with the Khilafat question or the Punjáb atrocities? He has not done harm to any one. Why should be then he treated in such a shabby manner? He is no enemy of the Hindus or Moslems. He feels nothing but love and sympathy for India and is actuated by the motive of getting justice done to her. He is one of the most harmless, kind-hearted, sympathetic and innocent noblemen of the world. Is it either humane or just on any one's part to hold such an innocent person as the Duke responsible for the wrongs the people are suffering?

Why the Duke of Connaught's visit is being boycotted.

Satya Shodhak (136), 23rd Jan.

10. What is the meaning of the boycott of the Duke of Connaught's visit? It is this. His Majesty the King of England had handed us over to the bureaucracy here for being made fit for *swarájya*, but the bureaucracy forgetting its duty resorted more and more to repression against us and even prevented our prayers from reaching the ears of the Sovereign. If, under these circumstances, the King sends out the Duke here and we refrain from taking steps that would acquaint him with the real state of things, and on the contrary show that we are in the enjoyment of perfect happiness, will it not be deceiving the King and will it not eventually prove fatal to the safety of the Empire? Our loyal duty at such a time is, therefore, to make plain our discontent by remaining silent. There is no intention to insult the Royal family in doing this, but the step is meant to secure a hearing for the people's complaints and grievances by His Majesty the King-Emperor.

Mr. Gandhi's views as to the *Swarájya* he is aiming at.

Young India (14), 26th Jan.

11. Writing about his own book, "Hind Swarajya or Indian Home Rule", Mr. M. K. Gandhi remarks.—"The booklet is a severe condemnation of 'modern civilization'. It was written in 1908. My conviction is deeper to-day than ever. I feel that if India would discard 'modern civilization,' she can only gain by doing so. But I would warn the reader against thinking that I am today aiming at the *Swarádj* described therein. I know that India is not ripe for it. It may seem an impertinence to say so. But such is my conviction. I am individually working for the self-rule pictured therein. But today my corporate activity is undoubtedly devoted to the attainment of Parliamentary *Swarádj* in accordance with the wishes of the people of India. I am not aiming at destroying railways or hospitals, though I would certainly welcome their natural destruction. Neither railways nor hospitals are a test of a high and pure civilization. At best they are a necessary evil. Neither adds one inch to the moral stature of a nation. Nor am I am aiming at a permanent destruction of law courts, much as I regard it as a 'consummation devoutly to be wished for'. Still less am I trying to destroy all machinery and mills. It requires a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are today prepared for. The only part of the programme which is now being carried out in its entirety is that of non-violence. But I regret to have to confess that even that is not being carried out in the spirit of the book. If it were, India would establish *Swarádj* in a day. If India adopted the doctrine of love as an active part of her religion and introduced it in her politics, *Swarádj* would descend upon India from heaven. But I am painfully aware that that event is far off as yet. I offer these comments because I observe that much is being quoted from the booklet to discredit the present movement. I have even seen writings suggesting that I am playing a deep game, that I am using the present turmoil to foist my fads on India, and am making religious experiments at India's expense. I can only answer that *Satyagraha* is made of sterner stuff. There is nothing reserved and nothing secret in it. A portion of the whole theory of life described in 'Hind Swaráj' is undoubtedly being carried into practice. There is no danger attendant upon the whole of it being practised. But it is not right to scare away people by reproducing from my writings passages that are irrelevant to the issue before the country."

The non-co-operation propaganda among college students in Bombay.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 30th Jan.

*12. Referring to the non-co-operation propaganda among college students in Bombay the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"The fundamental weakness of the Non-co-operation propaganda is that mass meetings must be held every day lest the enthusiasm of its adherents wane and disappear. All the students who have withdrawn from school are called together morning and evening and addressed by orators whose stock-in-trade consists of such arguments as these: 'Will you shake hands with those who outraged your sisters?' 'Will you be slaves or give up your schools?' 'Are you patriots or are you traitors?' These questions inevitably tell in mass meetings, but in the privacy of one's own room they lose much of their potency. Much of the present-day propaganda of non-co-operation seems to be designed solely with the object of preventing those who have been drawn into the movement from having an opportunity of reflecting in the privacy of their own souls on the nature and consequences of the several parts of the non-co-operation programme. The stock objections raised against the non-co-operation movement, as a whole, leave us unmoved. One of the most common of them is that it is subversive of the authority of parents. We are able to say that, so far as our limited experience goes, the movement has not subverted the authority of a single parent who had not forfeited it, apart from non-co-operation, by his own unbalanced and inconsistent example. That the authority of every parent, however ignorant or brutal, must be unquestioningly obeyed, is not a proposition to which social reformers who had helped to prevent child marriages, shaving of child widows' heads, ill-assorted marriages and other customary outrages on childhood, can subscribe....... There can be no better and sadder proof of the unstable equilibrium of our social and political life than that young men and women of some education should assemble day after day to listen to and applaud the silly, sentimental twaddle of some of the non-co-operationist orators. Instead of these orators exhorting students to leave their schools, we think they would themselves be much benefitted by seeking admission into these institutions. The non-co-operation movement has done its work and should now give place to a constructive movement directed to raising the general average of health and happiness in the country."

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 27th Jan.

13. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the evil effects that are likely to be produced if the non-co-operationists are freely allowed to inflame the hearts of young students in Bombay and to induce them to give up their studies in Government or aided institutions. It adds:— It is now high time to warn the public in general, and the young inexperienced students in particular, against the dangers to which the non-co-operators are leading them. It is the duty of our leaders who are the well-wishers of the people and Government alike to take prompt and effective steps to counteract the evil effects of the non-co-operation movement that is playing havoc with education and doing incalculable harm to our rising generation. Let us hope that our leaders will not remain silent any more. The various communities and their leaders should take concerted action to save their youth from the pitfalls of non-co-operation.

Servant of India (10), 27th Jan.

14. "On the whole we feel warranted in taking an optimistic view of the situation on account of the inherent weakness of the non-co-operation cause, particularly in its application to students. Very soon they will begin to see that their generosity of nature and immaturity of mind are exploited to support a cause which grown up men either reject or shrink from supporting; that while direct appeals are made to them for sacrifice, the parents of children under sixteen and persons in the legal and other professions are let off easily. They will also see how their leaders are shifting their grounds and changing the hopes held out by them. At first it was given out that paralyzing a wicked Government was the main object of the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Gandhi, whose ideas frequently change, now tells us that it is only a secondary object, the primary one being self-purification. Purification for what sins and when committed ?........ At one time the starting of taint-free institutions for the benefit of the non-co-operating students used to receive prominence. Mr. Muhammad Ali found it necessary to declare himself the principal of a new 'university' at Aligarh, and his generous brother to promise a munificent grant of a crore of rupees. Now the starting of national colleges and schools is made a secondary matter, service of the country being emphasised. It is short-time service, just for a year, we are told. But what kind of service is it to be ? If Mr. Gandhi's idea should prevail the students who come out of their schools and colleges should take the spinning wheel, spin for the nation and remove India's chronic poverty. We submit that the longest yarns which our non-co-operating students could spin over a whole year will not in the least affect the poverty of our country. We are sure that after a few days' spinning they will recognise it themselves. They will also see that the millennium promised to come at the end of the year or in nine months will be elusive, like all millenniums in the history of the world. Though the students and some of their elders are under a sort of hypnotic spell at present and unable to think for themselves, we are sure that their normal faculties will soon assert themselves and they will see the futility and absurdity of non-co-operation. It is this faith that makes us take an optimistic view of what is indeed a serious situation."

Kesari (115), 25th Jan.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 26th Jan.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 26th Jan.

15. Discussing the question of students and non-co-operation, the *Kesari* says that whenever a reference is made to students in connection with non-co-operation, it is to College students and no other. It remarks that as parents are not coming forward, the non-co-operators have to move. It holds that arrangements can be made for those who want to continue their studies and that those who have not so much interest in studies and those who do not feel the necessity for it can take up the work of carrying the message of the Congress to the people. Whether the boycott declared by students will or will have no effect on Government does not matter. The paper says the nation stands to gain if it is proved that the word of the Congress is respected and that people enforce what it calls upon them to do and that leaders and the led trust one another. If the students feel indignant at the betrayal of the nation by the parents and if students have a conscience as assumed by the Congress, the paper continues, this is the time to give proof of it and respond to the call of the Congress. [The *Indu Prakásh* wants to know why the leaders, instead of taking the work of educating the nation upon themselves, are after the students. It accuses them of inconstancy and says that those who want to leave schools should bear in mind that they will get no education. It remarks that those who depend upon their education for maintenance will not be benefited by national schools. The *Dnyán Prakásh* holds that students are not at the bottom of the present movement but that they are being instigated by leaders like Das and Pal. It ridicules the idea of *Swarájya* within a year and says that the year will never end. It is of opinion that the parents, having already burnt their fingers once before, will not yield.]

Appeal to students in the Maharashtra to give up schools and colleges.
Sandesh (134), 21st Jan.

16. In the matter of the students' non-co-operation Calcutta takes the lead, Nágpur is following, and Benares is not far behind. Is Bombay alone to fail the country in its hour of need? Was it not Bombay that carried the non-co-operation resolution both at Calcutta and Nágpur? Then why is it that Bombay is sleeping now? Is it because she is overwhelmed with her own success? What are the students of Bombay doing at present? Has not the country's call reached their ears? Can that call have thrilled the youths of other provinces and left Bombay untouched? Is it possible that that call which makes the weak strong, the lazy active, the spiritless spirited, has produced absolutely no effect upon the youth of Bombay? Have the young men of Bombay become callous to all noble emotions? Have they no imagination, no ambition? Can they not see the tears in the eyes of mother India? And our appeal is not to the students of Bombay alone but to all those who are in the same position. It is to Poona, to Sátára, to Ratnágiri, to the Karnatak, to the whole of the Maharashtra. Will the youth of the Maharashtra fail their country in this hour of its trial?

Closing of the National School at Talsana owing to the intervention of the officials.
Navjiván (72), 16th Jan.

17. The *Navjiván* publishes the following explanation in regard to the national school at Talsana (*vide* paragraph 61 of Weekly Report No. 2 of 1921 and paragraph 54 of Weekly Report No. 3 of 1921):—In the beginning the officials brought indirect pressure to bear upon the parents with the intention of getting the school closed and thus prevented an increasing number of students from joining it. Within one week after the starting of the school there was only one student left out of the twelve who had joined in the beginning. As, in spite of the displeasure of the officials, the village people feel sympathy for the school, the number of students is again slowly increasing. The parents of the boys who join now are thoroughly resolute, and hence they will not be afraid of any kind of pressure. The fear of the villagers about the school being closed by the pressure of the officials is gradually diminishing. There is no doubt that the school will continue to work owing to the resoluteness of its organisers. The officials have also realised that it is not wise to come in the way of this school.

Adverse criticism of the non-co-operation movement.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 30th Jan.

***18.** The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* publishes a long letter by His Holiness Hazrat Qudsi in which the writer adversely criticises the non-co-operation programme. He declares it to be against the tenets of Islam and refers to the fatwa of Maulvi Ashraf Ali Thanwi in support of his statement. He urges that before launching the non-co-operation programme into practice the Musalmans should give up Western ways of living and dressing. He says that giving up of Government appointments will have a disastrous effect for the Musalmans, and adds that even if they give them up Government will, in no way, be intimidated. The writer disapproves of the non-payment of taxes and says that if Musalmans refuse to pay their dues to Government their property will be sold by auction and that members of other communities will buy it with the result that the present-day unity among the various communities of India will disappear in no time. As regards the Khilafat agitation the writer thinks that it should be vigorously continued until the just claims of the Musalmans are satisfied. But, he adds, it should be constitutional and within the bounds of law. He calls the Turkish Treaty as unjust and cruel, and asks the Musalmans to help the Khilafat Committee. He urges that Musalmans should be prepared for greatest sacrifices provided they prove to be conducive to beneficial results. He disapproves of the idea of boycotting His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught especially when he has come to India to heal wounds and obliterate the old bitterness. He advises the people to accord him a hearty welcome and send deputations to him with a view to getting their grievances redressed.

Comments on Mr. B. N. Basu's article on the non-co-operation movement in the London *Times*.

Mahrátta (8), 30th Jan.

***19.** Commenting on Mr. B. N. Basu's article in the London *Times* on the non-co-operation movement, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"We cannot even for courtesy assume that Englishmen are in India on a philanthropic mission and have no other ulterior motive but the good of the people in India. We can point out thousand and one authorities both British and Indian, and marshall before Mr. Basu the innumerable advantages that are derived from India by England. What can Mr. Basu say to the intensive and extensive exploitation of the resources of India and the consequent enrichment of England? We can prove to the hilt that England's political and financial greatness solely rests on her Indian Empire. And but for India England could not have been the power that she is at present in the comity of nations. It is sheer flattery that bespeaks of court decorum to say that the British are here in India only in order to see India prosperous. The facts speak volumes against this assumption and knock the bottom out of this argument. As to the power of the present reforms to prevent the tragedy like that of the Punjáb, we have our own doubts. Mr. Basu had a hand in dishing the New Reforms Act; but we challenge Mr. Basu and other co-operators to prove to us and demonstrate how the present reforms can prevent such tragedies in future. If the bureaucracy intend to act the whole drama again we believe there is nothing in the new Act which would prevent them from that action. To have faith in it is to be overcredulous. As to India's helplessness, there are no two opinions. But this admission does not prevent us from trying to make the nation self-reliant and trying to strengthen her own resources. And if we look towards non-co-operation from this standpoint, we can at once realise the magnitude of its powers to make India more and more self-reliant. We can at once see the great vitalising forces that are set in motion by this agitation of non-co-operation. Mr. Basu himself entertains grave doubts as to how the Englishmen in India and England would betake to the new situation. He raises a serious note of warning when he says: 'I would also say to the Englishmen here and in India that they must make up their minds that the days of domination are gone, and that if they still persist in their attitude of lofty superiority and aloofness there is great trouble ahead for all of us.' We agree wtth Mr. Basu and say that the days of domination by Englishmen are gone, never to return again. The arguments of co-operators are sure to fall flat upon the people. India has chosen the path of freedom, and she will regain it by all peaceful and legitimate means. Non-co-operation will not lead to National suicide but will lead the country to freedom."

Alleged assault by Mr. P. R. Cadell, I. C. S., on certain inhabitants of Sirsi, district Kánara.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 24th Jan.; *Kánara Leader* (37), 18th Jan., Eng. cols.

20. The methods adopted by Government officials in securing forced labour, carts and provisions for themselves while they are on tour have caused not a little discontent in the village population of this Presidency. Government have issued certain orders to their officials to allay the discontent, but they have not afforded any relief to the people. The question of forced labour and impressment of carts should be considered anew on broad principles in view of the awakening among the villagers and the ideas of liberty they have begun to imbibe. The people have begun to look down upon the institution of *veth* as an encroachment upon their rights and expect Government to put an end to it and to ask their officials to take steps to meet their own requirements on tours in some better manner. People feel very strongly on the question of *veth* and the incident in connection with the alleged assault made by Mr. Cadell on certain citizens of Sirsi has added to the general feeling of unrest in the villages. The incident must be considered as a regrettable one if there is any truth in the facts as they are reported. A searching enquiry should be made into the matter and punishment should be meted out to those who deserve it. If those who have complained against Mr. Cadell are reluctant to go to court Mr. Cadell should be given an opportunity of hauling them up and clearing his own character. The people, in the meanwhile, should keep an open and unbiassed mind and await further developments in the matter. [The *Kánara Leader* writes:—"We can only hope that there is some explanation for this high-handed action as also for the official attempt now made to magnify the incident as a serious breach of the peace. Breach by whom? Truly this is a topsy-turvy world! The local District officials seem inclined to treat the incident as due to unrest caused by non-co-operation and not to the action of the Commissioner himself. If there was unrest previously in Sirsi it is unbelievable that the Mamlatdar of the place could find time to be engaged in attending nautch-parties."]

Kesari (115), 25th Jan.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 27th Jan.; *Lokasangraha* (118), 25th Jan.; *Chaitanya* (102), 24th Jan.

21. Referring to the alleged assault on certain gentlemen of Sirsi by Mr. Cadell, Commissioner, S. D., the *Kesari* writes:—When the people heard of the bureaucrat's heroism in kicking, all were greatly indignant. Next day Sirsi (district Kánara) observed *hartal* as a protest against the outrage committed by a fanatic who kicked responsible gentlemen. A meeting of the citizens was held and the negligence of the Mamlatdar and the insolent and brutal conduct of Mr. Cadell were condemned and resolutions were passed about the unfitness of such a 'kick-bahadur' to be entrusted with authority and His Excellency was wired to to hold an inquiry and do justice. [The paper here quotes the official version.] All this appears to be an afterthought. The fact is that the people approached him only after the Commissioner asked them about their complaint. If he had stood elsewhere and not near the beds of the ladies, people would have not gone to that place. Thus if anybody is to blame, it is the Commissioner and it is necessary that Mr. Cadell should meet with condign punishment in this case. [The *Indu Prakásh* says:—We need not write now as Government are inquiring into the matter. But if Mrs. Cadell's bed was near the people, the Commissioner should have gone a little aside and inquired into the complaint. It cannot be called a just thing, if, instead, the Commissioner assaulted the people who came to seek redress. In an article headed 'Meet a rogue with roguery', the *Lokasangraha* insists on the necessity of self-defence and dwells on it at length and blames the Sirsi people vehemently for not exercising the right in the case of Mr. Cadell. It adds:—We feel more indignant at the weakness of the Sirsi people than resentful of Mr. Cadell's overbearing manner. **Is the glory of Maháráshtra so much on the wane that Mr. Cadell should feel no misgivings while kicking the buttocks of Marathas and that the latter should not even exercise the right of self-defence given to them by law? Ye forefathers of the Marathas, weep to your hearts' content for your unworthy descendants who put up kicks! Just about a hundred**

years ago Maháráshtra was roaring like a lion. In the very same place, while Marathas, the descendants of Baji and Shivaji, are actually being kicked on the buttocks we, your sons, have not the courage to retaliate! Baji and Shivaji, should we your sons be so incapable, shameless and foolish as to forget completely your principles? As soon as Mr. Cadell lifted up his foot, why did not the Sirsi people raise their hands? As soon as Mr. Cadell's foot touched the body of the people, why did not their hands smack the face of Mr. Cadell? What calamity would have befallen if the people had met the insolence of Mr. Cadell with insolence? At the most they would have gone to jail for four or six months. But they would have protected the glory and honour of Maháráshtra. The *Chaitanya* agrees with the resolution of the Sirsi people that Mr. Cadell is unfit to hold a responsible post, judging from the published account. The paper goes on:—The Commissioner's version is not yet published, but the rumour is that he says that he resisted as mildly as possible the crowd that came to him at midnight. Whatever it be, the officials should take more care and they should be more cautious even than necessary, in these days of discontent. The people of Kárwár are inflamed by the unbearable trouble given by the Forest Department. The Commissioner should have behaved coolly. The Bombay Government should remove the Forest grievances and deal with the Cadell case properly if they want to establish peace and contentment in the Kánara District.]

Comments on the Rai Bareili disturbances.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 23rd Jan.; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* (85), 21st Jan.

22. We are unable to get an accurate idea of the Kisan disturbances in the Rai Bareili District last week from the stray details published up to now. The explanation published in the press note issued by the United Provinces Government is as startling as it is calculated to cause anxiety. It is notified that some agitators moving about from village to village had stirred up the cultivators by saying that Mr. Gandhi's golden rule would begin shortly and cloth would be sold at four annas per yard and other necessaries of life would also be equally cheap under his rule. The cultivators had been led away to plunder bazars, and especially cloth shops, owing to this excitement. In the absence of any positive proof we cannot believe that the non-co-operators had any direct hand in exciting these people; but this instance will show how, in the name of Mr. Gandhi and non-co-operation, *budmashes* and scoundrels can have the opportunity of committing thefts, robberies and other dangerous crimes. The same had happened in Ahmedabad at the time of the Satyagraha disturbances. *Budmashes* will never lose an opportunity to achieve their ends in Mr. Gandhi's name. They will shout out "Gandhi-ji-ki-jay" and bring down ruin upon their fellow countrymen. The note of warning sounded by the *Pall Mall Gazette* at a distance of thousands of miles is quite correct. If once the ignorant cultivators get out of hand, India, like Russia, will fall a helpless prey to rogues, rascals and fools. [The *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* expresses the opinion that it was not proper to open fire on the crowd for the fault of a few hooligans, and hopes that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught will inaugurate a new era in this country wherein the opinions of the people will be respected and no scope left for the recurrence of such incidents.]

Servant of India (10), 27th Jan.

23. "But a sad feature noticeable in all such regrettable incidents—whether they are the Kisans of the U. P., the Kallars of Madura or the mill-hands of Bombay or Madras—is that the police seem to resort to firing somewhat too readily, creating the impression on one's mind that human life was held here very cheap. Would the British Police—we don't mean Irish—have used bullets under such circumstances? It is time that our Government enjoined a higher standard of humanity and a greater degree of forebearance on our police. At any rate we should be justified in expecting our ministers to do what lies in their powers."

Bharatwasi (156), 13th Jan.

24. The disturbance at Rai Barelli in which the Police fired on haris arose from a dispute between haris and zamindars there. It indicates what will be the state of the country in the coming times. India is an agricultural country like Russia where the haris have created such a great trouble. Our zamindars had better open their eyes in order to keep out Bolshevism from the country. They must understand that the haris who work on the land have a right to a decent living from it. It must also be borne in mind that no one, neither Government nor an individual, has any exclusive right to land. Land must be the property of all. The times have changed and the haris will no longer quietly submit to what has been their lot in the past. We would request the haris to use no violence but to agitate on constitutional lines in order to secure a better state of things for themselves. To our non-co-operator friends our request is not to tamper with haris and other labourers. They must remember that their quarrel is with Government, whereas the quarrel of haris and other labourers is with zamindars and capitalists. Any interference on the part of non-co-operators in a matter with which labour is concerned will injure the interests of the latter.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 25th Jan.

25. The attempt of some of our papers to magnify the recent disturbances in the district of Rai Bareilly into a second Jhallianwalla Bagh is, to say the least, mischievous. The facts as published both by official and non-official agencies clearly indicate that the disturbance was at the bottom an economic one and had no political genesis. If Sir Michael O'Dwyer had been at the head of affairs in the United Provinces instead of Sir Harcourt Butler, then perhaps the disturbances might have been magnified as political and as a rebellion and the history of Jhallianwalla might have been repeated. But as matters stand at present, nothing is to be gained by raising the cry of Jhallianwalla Bagh. And if this cry continues, the position may become difficult, and it will have have to be said that some of our prominent leaders wish that the disturbances that took place in the Punjáb should be repeated in the United Provinces. Besides, if every time some disturbance takes place, and firing is resorted to to check it, we raise a cry of Jhallianwalla, are we not in danger of belittling the hideousness of the Punjáb trajedy? Our leaders must not yield to the temptation of making political capital of every disturbance that takes place. The Government of the United Provinces have not attempted to trace the Rae Bareilly disturbances to political causes and have promised to remove the grievances of the Kisans. If our non-co-operationist friends cannot do anything else, they should at least not make matters more difficult by raising causeless alarms.

Approval of the proposed independent inquiry into the Rai Barelli disturbances by Congress leaders.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Jan.

26. "Sir Harcourt Butler has promised an enquiry into the Rai Barelli disturbances, but he has already anticipated at least a part of the findings by hastening to justify the firing on the Kisans and to congratulate all concerned in a manner truly O'Dwyerian. Seeing that even now it is not clear who ordered the firing, would it not have been more decent and statesmanlike if he had waited till he was in possession of facts justifying such extreme resort to force? After Sir Harcourt's open condonation of the firing how shall we expect any commission of enquiry initiated by his own Government to declare unhesitatingly, if they found the facts to be so, that the firing was unauthorised and that it was premature and injudicious.......... It is, therefore, satisfactory to hear that Congress leaders in the United Provinces are arranging to hold an independent enquiry into the agrarian disturbances simultaneously with the Government enquiry."

Comments on His Highness the Aga Khan's views on the political situation.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 24th Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 25th Jan.

27. So long as the Turkish treaty is not revised and the Muhammadans are not conciliated, it is vain to hope that the Khilafat agitation which is rapidly spreading will come to an end. In the course of his interview with the representative of the *Times of India* His Highness the Aga Khan declares that France and Italy are ready to make liberal modifications in the Turkish Peace terms, and the matter now rests only with England; and hence the British Government should take the lead in making these changes. If England chooses to be careless and apathetic in doing so any longer, dissatisfaction will go on increasing among the Hindus and Muhammadans of India and the task of allaying it will become either too late or impossible afterwards. Apart

from the question of the Khilafat, the Punjáb tragedy, the Martial Law regime, the Rowlatt Act and such other repressive Acts and measures, the highhandedness of the whites in dealing with Indians in the Colonies, and many other reasons have created much unrest in India. The Government of the new Viceroy Lord Reading should immediately adopt the methods suggesteted by the Aga Khan in order to remove the injustice done to the Punjáb and to console the wounded hearts of the people. Pensions or any other payments made from the pockets of the Indian tax-payer to the officials concerned in this painful episode tend to deepen the wounds in the hearts of the Indians; therefore, the latter demand that all such payments should be stopped and immediate steps taken to inflict proper punishment on the guilty officials. Of course in justice to him, we must admit that His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's Government has taken up the case of the Indians in East Africa in right earnest; but at the same time the political leaders in this country should immediately act upon the suggestion made by His Highness, who enjoys the high position of president of the British Overseas Association, which guards the interests of the Indian settlers in British Dominions overseas, to the effect that Indians should take up the question of the treatment of their fellow countrymen in other parts of the Empire in right earnest and educate public opinion in this matter with a view to making it very keen and sensitive. [The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the warning given by His Highness the Aga Khan should not fall on deaf ears. It points out that the question of the Turkish Treaty has gained in importance owing to the change made by the Congress in its creed and constitution, for it is admitted on all hands that the change in the creed, with the omission of all mention about the British connection, is meant to be a warning to Britain; and that if it is not taken to heart in time, this change will leave the hands of the Indians free to resort to such other course as may seem suitable.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 26th Jan.

28. Commenting on His Highness the Aga Khan's interview with a representative of the *Times of India*, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—"This interview affords food for deep reflection, and we sincerely trust that not only Indians but the Government as well—Indian as well as Imperial—will read and inwardly digest all that His Highness has to say about the present situation as it exists in India, Asia and Europe.......... In the above mentioned interview with the Aga Khan several subjects were touched, but again and again His Highness brought the Treaty of Sevres on the tapis for discussion. Again and again he gave the impression that the Turkish Treaty was preying upon his mind and that not only for the sake of Turkey but for the sake of the world its revision was imperatively demanded. To us the mule-like obstinacy of the Coalition Ministry in respect to the Turkish Treaty is quite inexplicable, unless we are prepared to believe that there is far more serious and cunning game hidden in the background, about which the world has no knowledge.......... Nominally, Turkey retains Constantinople, but in reality, as all the world knows, the Turk is an alien in his own capital. Nominally, in this respect, the Indian-Moslem sentiment was said to be respected, but in reality, this same sentiment is grossly flouted by the imposition of almost killing terms in the Turkish Treaty. Nominally, it is declared that Turkey gets no harsher treatment than Germany, Austria and Bulgaria. In reality Turkey is destroyed root and branch and ceases any longer to exist as a great Empire. Thus taken all round the 'punishment' of Turkey is complete, and therefore it is a matter of little surprise that such a shrewd statesman like the Aga Khan should pronounce so severely against the Treaty of Sevres, the root cause of Turkish downfall."

Sir Baden-Powell should apologise for the remarks insulting to Indians he has made in a book written by him.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Jan.

29. Referring to Sir Baden-Powell's visit to India to reorganize the European and Indian Boy Scouts, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"The object is doubtless a laudable one and we would wish it every success. At the same time, we hope Sir Robert has discarded the pernicious ideas which he has been entertaining—and also inculcating—about Indians and 'natives' in general. We are indebted to the *Leader* for the following extract from Sir Robert Baden-Powell's 'Yarns for Boy Scouts Library No. 2'. 'But you must remember that

some of these natives are not possessed of the same ideas and minds as white men, they have no idea of chivalry themselves, and are full of conceit and self-importance, and if this is allowed to grow without check they are apt to become insolent and mutinous, which is a very dangerous thing in a country like India or Africa, where millions of natives are ruled by a very small handful of whites. It is, therefore, necessary to remind them now and then to respect their British rulers, and nothing commands their respect more than a show of bodily strength and pluck when their conduct deserves it. But it should never by any chance be carried to the extent of bullying'. There is no mistaking the drift of this gospel of violence and 'white race supremacy'. Has the Chief Scout changed his views on the subject and will he be prepared to repudiate the above gospel when he comes to India? We sincerely hope he will, and publicly apologise to our countrymen whom he has thus insulted. The publication ought to be withdrawn from circulation. If Sir Robert Baden-Powell shows no signs of repentance and does not revise his view, we may assure him that his mission will be an utter failure and no self-respecting Indian youth will have anything to do with an organisation which is inspired by such teaching as is indicated above." [Mr. P. V. Dhareshwar, an Indian Boy Scout, writing in the paper, suggests boycott of Sir Baden-Powell by the Indian Boy Scouts Association.]

The pigeon shooting incident at Mandvi Bunder, Bombay.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (80), 25th Jan.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 25th Jan.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 26th Jan.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 26th Jan.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 27th Jan.

30. Commenting upon the incidents in connection with the shooting of pigeons by two European boys at Mandvi Bunder, Bombay, on Sunday, the 23rd January, the *Praja Mitra and Parsi* congratulates the Police Commissioner on the foresight ultimately shown by him in withdrawing the charges against those members of the public who had been arrested in this connection. It, however, thinks that he should not have allowed the case to go into Court at all but should have used his discretion to discharge the accused on his own authority outside it. It dwells on the great respect felt by the Jains for these birds, and thinks it quite natural that their feelings should be roused to such a great pitch at seeing them shot down. The paper praises the tact shown by the Police Commissioner in recognising the naturalness of this feeling and promising to listen to and redress any complaints that the public might have to make against the officers and men of the police. It also appeals to the public to show a magnanimous spirit and not to allow the matter to proceed any further. It is confident that after what has happened such an incident is not likely to recur. It concludes by suggesting that the cautionary notification which the Police Commissioner has decided to publish should be read out and explained to the boys of all the schools. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—It is complained that the men of the Police Department and the Fire Brigade entered the shops of respectable merchants and beat them. Had the people not exercised self-control and refrained from taking vengeance on them, there would have been a great riot resulting in much loss of life and property. The Police Commissioner has really shown great wisdom in withdrawing the charges against the people arrested. No doubt the relations between the people of Bombay and the local police are very amicable, and, therefore, such an incident is all the more deplorable, and severe notice should be taken of those responsible for it in order that there may not be a repetition of it. We are very glad to note that the Police Commissioner has recognised the necessity of inquiring into the complaints of the people. But it is very difficult to ascertain the true facts in such cases, and it is, therefore, necessary that in this case the investigation should be carried out by means of an independent Committee. The spectacle of European and Eurasian boys shooting down innocent pigeons in the public streets of Bombay is one calculated to pain the feelings of anyone, still more so those of the Jains and Hindus, whose religion enjoins abstention from injury to living creatures as the highest duty. The authorities should, therefore, take the strongest measures to put a stop to such cruel and disgraceful sport. A law, on the lines of the game laws in force in the forests, is necessary in a city like Bombay with its large Hindu population, so that the shooting of pigeons and crows may be put a stop to in the public streets. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also praises the good sense and tact shown by the Police Commissioner in withdrawing the prosecutions. It, however, appeals to him to take strong measures to prevent

the recurrence of such incidents in future, and declares that unless this is done the feeling of discontent will continue to smoulder among the law-abiding and peace-loving population of Bombay. It also asks the Municipal Commissioner, in the interests of discipline, to investigate into the conduct of the men of the Fire Brigade who are accused of assaulting the crowd and to take severe notice of those who are proved to be guilty. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* sympathises with the injured feelings of its Hindu brethren in this connection. At the same time it praises the action of the Police Commissioner in withdrawing the cases against the persons arrested as calculated to preserve the good relations between the Police and the public and to soothe the injured feelings of the Hindus. It concludes by congratulating Bombay on possessing a far-sighted officer like Mr. Griffiths. The *Bombay Samáchár* dwells on the necessity of prohibiting the shooting of pigeons everywhere in Bombay. It strongly condemns the force used by the Police and the Fire Brigade to disperse the crowd, and declares that it is a great blot on the fair fame of the Bombay Police. It also praises the great tact and far-sightedness shown by the Police Commissioner in withdrawing the cases and in promising to take severe notice of those policemen who on inquiry are found guilty of violence towards the crowd. It hopes that the Municipal Commissioner will take similar action with regard to the men of the Fire Brigade.]

Appeal to the authorities to right the Punjáb and other wrongs to prevent a ferment in the country.

Sind Vási (162), 9th Jan.

31. We are at a loss to understand why the authorities do not straightforwardly admit the injustices committed in the Punjáb and give an assurance that they will never be repeated in future. Their proceedings point to the conclusion that they realize their mistake, but that they want to keep up their prestige. Most of the men punished under the Martial Law have been released. A few of the officials concerned have been punished, even though inadequately. What is more, a gentleman who was sentenced to transportation for life under the Martial Law has now been appointed a Minister of the Punjáb Council. Do not those proceedings indicate that the authorities are inwardly sorry for what occurred in the Punjáb, but that they regard it as derogatory to their pride to make a straightforward admission? The interests both of England and India require that they must express their regret for the occurrences in the Punjáb in view of the present critical situation, if from no higher consideration. We are sure that if things are allowed to drift there will be great disorder in the country. On the other hand, the authorities should find no consolation in the fact that some of the politicians of the country, *viz.*, Moderates, are in favour of the British connection. It will be short-sightedness to attach much value to their assurance. These men have very little influence in the country and the persistent obstinacy on the part of Government simply lowers them in the public estimation. There is no denying that the country is in a state of ferment, and we would beseech the Government to admit its mistake in connection with the Punjáb and one or two other matters. This admission will go a great way in soothing the excited hearts of the people. May God give a good understanding to the statesmen of England.

How the bureaucracy deals with its mischievous members.

Kesari (115), 25th Jan.

32. The conduct of the bureaucracy is like that of the cat. Just as the cat moves her kittens from place to place for protection, so also the bureaucracy transfers its mischievous members from one place to another for the same purpose. No sooner reports of Mr. Cadell's misdoings in Bombay got abroad, he was removed to England and thence he was quietly enthroned on the *gadi* of the Commissioner, Southern Division. There also complaints about his misdoings at Sirsi having been made, he will now be again sent away to Gujarát or Sind, without doing him the least injury! Mr. Thompson of the Punjáb has been similarly treated. No sooner were there reports of his having got entirely out of hand, than he was installed as the chairman of the Railway Police Committee. Some of our milksop editors have been gratefully thanking the bureaucracy even for this!

Defence of Government officials.
Musáfir (160), 8th Jan.

33. The officers of the Indian Civil Service have for the most part acquitted themselves well in administering this country. It certainly reflects great credit on them that they have succeeded in maintaining order and the prestige of Government in a country where people of different races reside. It is, therefore, a pity that the Government who are not in direct touch with the people have through short-sightedness from time to time interfered in the duties of these responsible officers, thereby weakening not only the position of the officers but their own prestige. There are, no doubt, some defects in the administration of the country which have caused the present unrest. For these defects, however, are responsible not the officers of the Indian Civil Service but the Government. The people blame the officials of Government because it is these who carry out the orders, whether right or wrong, of the Government. The three causes which have made the people distrustful of the Government, are, the trade policy of the country, the distinction of colour in the distribution of Government appointments, and the attitude of indifference towards the progress of indigenous industries. And these are matters in which the officials of Government have no hand, and are not, therefore, liable to blame. The trade policy of the country and the question of the promotion of indigenous industries are matters in which all directions comes from British Parliament in which there is no Indian and which is guided by the opinion of British merchants. We often blame the Government of India without considering the limitations of that Government. If we are real well-wishers of our country we should try our utmost to get a separate Cabinet (of whom half the number of members should be Indians) installed in England to look after India and to secure all possible powers to the Viceroy's Council in India. If these measures are adopted our trade and industries will improve. The question of the distinction of colour in the distribution of appointments would not trouble us much if our trade and industries were in a better position than they now are. We must at the same time realise that we have no cause for complaint if Englishmen are given higher rates of pay in Government appointments in this country. They come from a great distance and their mode of living is more expensive than ours; and in a country like India, where there are diverse races and communities, they are indispensable, in spite of the recent protestations of good will for and another in which the people of this country have indulged.

The question of recovering the fine imposed on the people of Nadiad should be left to the discretion of the new Bombay Legislation Council.
Gujaráti Punch (19), 23rd Jan.

34. The Government of the Punjáb imposed a fine on the people of Amritsar in connection with the disturbances that occurred there in the month of April 1919. The Municipality of the place did not exact the fine from the people, and now the Governor of the Punjáb has decided to entrust the question to the discretion of the Council. The Government of the Punjáb has shown their wisdom in the step they have taken in the matter. Let us hope that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will take a similar step in the matter of the fine imposed on the city of Nadiad. Government of Bombay are feeling a little uneasy over the refusal of the Nadiad Municipality to exact the fine. But His Excellency the Governor can get over the difficulty by following the good example of the Governor of the Punjáb.

Complaint about certain mosques being in the possession of Hindus.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 30th Jan.

***35.** The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* in a leading article asserts that if the feelings of the Hindus are offended by cow-sacrifice, the sentiments of the Musalmans are as well injured by certain acts of theirs. It mentions, for example, the case of a mosque in Lahore which is in possession of the Hindus. It also states that the Maharaja of Kolhápur is reported to be in possession of a mosque for a long time and whenever the Musalmans claim that it should be made over to them the English law is cited and it is argued that it cannot be given back as it has been in the possession of the Hindus for more than a hundred years. The paper invites the attention of the Punjáb Press and the

Khilafat Committee to these matters, and urges that these mosques should be got back from the Hindus.

Protest against the acquisition of lands under the Land Acquisition Act for private companies.

Kesari (115), 25th Jan.

36. The acquisition of the lands of the people under the Land Acquisition Act has become quite a pastime with Government. Some daring engineer getting thousands as pay prepares a scheme, and as soon as he applies, lands are acquired for a 'public purpose'. Two weeks ago, a notification was published in the *Government Gazette* about the proposed acquisition of some lands near the railway line between Neral and Kalyán. On inquiring we learn that the lands are to be acquired for a mill. If this is to be a 'public purpose', we may say that the misuse of the Act has reached its zenith. Why should not land be acquired by private negotiations just as other things required for the factory are? We do not know why Government should intervene. The pranks of land acquisition are getting too many and they cannot be passed over any longer. We suggest to the landlords concerned to adopt from now systematic opposition.

Protest against the efforts made by Hindus to put a stop to cowslaughter through Municipalities.

Al-Wáhid (155), 9th Jan.

37. Of late our Hindu brethren have tried to put a stop to cow-slaughter through Municipalities. This move is fraught with many dangers; it may not only lead to wilful and more extensive cow-slaughter but may endanger the new unity between Hindus and Moslems. Our Hindu brethren are well aware that it is lawful for Mussalmans to take beef, and that if they give up its use of their own accord their religion does not come in the way of their doing so. But if non-Moslems try to prevent them from using beef, or to get a law passed, compelling them to give up its use, it is an interference with their religion which they can never tolerate, and our Hindu brethren will be responsible for any evil consequences which may result from it. We think that it is impossible to stop cow-slaughter by the force of rules and regulations. We are well aware that cow-slaughter offends Hindu susceptibilities, and it is because of this that we are persuading Mussalmans to cease to slaughter cows. Any interference on the part of Hindus will only frustrate our efforts and give a serious blow to Hindu-Moslem unity. We, therefore, protest strongly against the efforts that are being made to stop cow-slaughter through municipalites and request Hindu leaders to pull up their over zealous co-religionists.

Question of fixing the salaries of ministers.

Hindusthán (21), 23rd Jan, Eng cols.

38. "We cannot help expressing our great regret at the proposals which are sent to the different Provincial Councils recommending that the salaries of Ministers should be fixed at something much less than that given to members of the Executive Council. It must be remembered that it was after a hard fight that liberty was given to Legislative Councils to fix the salaries of Ministers. There was also a great fight carried on with regard to the amount of the salary which, it was rightly contended, should in no way be less than that given to members of the Executive Council. That was a sound principle which is being forgotten now by those who are rushing in with proposals to fix salaries at a small figure. We can appreciate the feeling of economy which inspires these gentlemen, but economy can sometimes be obtained at too high a cost. Here it will be at the cost of self-respect of the Ministers who will be, by the vote of their own countrymen, relegated to an inferior position as compared with members of the Executive Council. The bureaucracy does not desire anything so much as having the prestige of the Ministers lower than that of the permanent officials in the eyes of the public and the Indian staff. Fixing lower salaries for Ministers will be the easiest way to achieve this end. We would not object if salaries of members of the Executive Councils were also to be reduced in the same proportion. As this is not going to be the case, however we wish very much that the short-sighted agitation will cease.".

Mahrátta (8), 30th Jan.

***39.** "It is really the Ministers who ought to stand up and say their salaries are superfluous. And if they feel as if the reduction of their salaries would impair their dignity which ought to be equal to that of the Executive Councillors, their duty is to demand a reduction of the latter's salaries too. There is profuse talk of the need of economy in Government and the Ministers themselves, at the dinners to which they are frequently treated by their friends and admirers, complain of the gravity of their task in view of the legacy of empty treasury which they have inherited. People, therefore, rightly expect the Ministers to compel Government to observe economy in the pays of all officials and also in the minor details of the future system of government. The Ministers, however, are as silent as statues. It is a humorous state of affairs that in every province a member of the Legislative Council intends to move a proposition about the reduction of the ministerial salaries, and the Ministers themselves are busy over furnishing their office-rooms."

Servant of India (10), 27th Jan; *Indian Social Reformer* (7), 30th Jan.

40. Mr. K. G. Limaye writes in the *Servant of India*:—"How strongly public opinion is in favour of fixing a lower salary for ministers than that of executive councillors is apparent from the fact that notices of resolutions recommending the fixing of something between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 3,500 have been given so far in all the provinces except the Punjáb.......... The demand is based purely on financial and moral grounds. This aspect, it is hoped, will be remembered by the members of the various legislative councils, when the question comes up before them for disposal.......... It appears that in some provinces ministers do not favour the proposed lowering of their salaries which they seem to think is bound to lower their status.......... But a little reflexion will show that the status of a public servant is not so intimately connected with the amount of his salary as it is supposed to be. His status depends entirely on the rank which he occupies in the official hierarchy and the powers with which he is invested.......... We want strong ministers who can teach the Civil Service and other sister services how to respect them and obey them. This cannot be done by merely maintaining a highly paid domestic establishment or by living in costly surroundings. It requires independence of character, self-respect and real patriotism. We trust none of our present ministers is lacking in any of these qualities.......... The opponents of reduction of ministers' salaries evince great solicitude for securing the services of the best men in the land as ministers. They say that if remuneration for ministerships were to be made less attractive than that of executive councillorships, you will not get capable men to accept this responsibility. The salaries of British cabinet ministers are fixed without taking into consideration the sacrifice which they would be required to make in accepting office. Is it right to adopt a different principle in a country which is admittedly amongst the poorest and the people of which are supposed to be spiritual in a special degree?" [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"As a measure of economy, the spending or saving of a half or three-quarters of a lakh a year on Ministers' salaries, is not likely to plunge any province into bankruptcy or float it on the high tide of prosperity......... The Ministers' work, as we have said more than once, is more difficult than that of a Member; their position possesses less certainty of tenure; their qualifications in most cases are not less, and in some cases, are strikingly in excess of those of Members. It is absurd to say that Ministers do not deserve the same salary as Members. In fact, the proposed reductions will in some cases make the Ministers' remuneration less than that of their Secretaries. It is a shabby beginning for responsible Government to start by penalising its own instruments merely for the sake of showing that they are subject to it while Members are not. There will, of course, be more substance in the proposals, if the salaries of the rest of the Government were regulated in proportion to Ministers' salaries."]

41. "It is to be seen how officialdom will view, in the new regime, the popular demand that the annual exodus to the hills should be put an end to.......... It would be idle to expect that the prospect of having to work with the common herd in the plains during the trying months of the year, will be viewed with anything but dismay by those accustomed to pass their days on the Olympian heights, full of gaiety and sweet forgetfulness of the worries of administration below. But, will the Surendranaths, Paranjpyes and Harkisson Lals of our new Governments, who in their Congress days had been amongst the most active in denouncing these annual exoduses, acquiesce in the official view and follow in the footsteps of the lotus-eaters to the giddy heights of frivolity beckoning to them so seductively? Now is the opportunity for them to show by their actions that their criticism of the exodus was sincere and not prompted by desire of cheap applause. Let us wait and see."

Will the Ministers support the popular demand for the stoppage of the Government's exodus to the hills.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Jan.

42. Mr. Sethna wants to ask in the Council of State a question as to why in Bihar there are two Europeans and one Indian in the Executive Council; which goes against the recommendations of the Joint Committee. We do not know why Mr. Sethna ran to the Council of State for an answer to such a simple question. 'Why one Indian and two Europeans'? Because the Governor of Bihar happens to be an Indian. Should not Mr. Sethna understand such a simple thing after association with Europeans for so many years? Moderates consider Lord Sinha to be a big man; but however much he may try to put on the saheb's skin, he is but a black man to the bureaucracy! If two Indians are appointed, the bureaucracy is afraid that three Indians would outweigh two Europeans; and though the Moderates consider that the new era has begun and that the whites have become black, the bureaucracy looks upon black as black. How is it that the Moderate simpletons do not understand this?

The reason why there are two Europeans and one Indian in the Bihar Executive Council.

Lokasangraha (118), 25th Jan.

43. Who is that wiseacre who is thinking of bringing forward a proposal in the Bombay Municipal Corporation to vote a farewell address to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford? The Corporation is not bound to give a farewell address to every departing Viceroy. If any proposal is brought forward in the Bombay Corporation the sleeping lion of public opinion will be roused and even men of Moderate views will be driven to join the camp of the non-co-operationists. We hope the proposal will be dropped in the interests of Lord Chelmsford and the peace of mind of the inhabitants. We trust that leading men in the Corporation will use their influence to smother such a proposal and thus save unnecessary anonyance being inflicted upon the people.

The Bombay Corporation should not vote a farewell address to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 27th Jan.

***44.** "Some 'Society' papers in England are engaged in publishing vivid descriptions of Lord and Lady Chelmsford's Indian curios and trophies which have arrived in England and which would adorn their town house after Lord Chelmsford relinquishes his Viceroyalty in India. The curios contain, it is said, some of the finest skins of tigers that fell to Lord Chelmsford's gun. We wonder whether Lord Chelmsford would like to take with him among his curios and trophies some earth besmeared with blood from the open grounds of the Jallianwalla Bagh, as that would alone stand witness to his masterly exploits in India. He can afford to take many other trophies of his 'successful administration' as they are countless, but we would recommend the above as the most glorious."

Lord and Lady Chelmsford's collection of curios and trophies.

Mahrátta (8), 30th Jan.

Criticism of the changes in the creed and constitution of the Congress.

Gujaráti (17), 23rd Jan.

45. The goal of the Congress under its old constitution was well defined and was such as could be easily understood by the people in general. The people, on the other hand, will not be able to understand easily the goal that has now been placed before the Congress by the new constitution. The change in the creed of the Congress is likely to convert it into a revolutionary body. Speeches are being made in various quarters as if the Congress is going to break up the British connection forthwith. How is it, then, some would ask, that Government have kept quiet though speeches have been made which advocate a revolution? Government have not yet touched the non-co-operationists because they rely on the proverb, "Barking dogs do not bite". They have not given them an opportunity of becoming martyrs and have thus scored a success over the non-co-operationists. The non-co-operationists are playing the game of inducing Government to resort to high-handedness and to commit blunders. Unfortunately the Congress has become a tool in the hands of such men. The Congress has advocated complete *Swardjya*; but it has not defined the term *Swardjya*, and has left every one to interpret it in any way he likes. Pleaders have been asked to make greater efforts towards suspension of practice! People are asked to resort to a gradual boycott of foreign goods. If foreign goods are boycotted will India be able to sell her raw produce to foreign countries? The results that will follow the boycott of foreign goods of every description should engage our serious attention. Will India be able to overcome her dependence on the foreign market by increasing the output of *khadi* cloth? A great deal of uncertainty characterises the Congress resolution in respect of non-co-operation in general and of the boycott of Government and aided schools and Colleges in particnlar. Boys have been asked to join National Schools and Colleges. But no one has taken care to define National education. We do not think that our education can be turned into National education by a mere substitution of the Vernacular in place of English as a medium of instruction. No good purpose will be served by asking the boys to leave their present schools and then getting them admitted into other schools with the same teachers. Mr. Gandhi asks boys to take to the spinning wheel in order to secure *Swayajya*; while Mr. Pal exhorts us to create a situation that will compel the Parliament to give a promise of giving us *Swarajya* in ten years! This goes to show the inconsistency of the non-co-operationists. The propaganda for boycotting Government schools and colleges has proved a failure in Poona and Bombay. We notice considerable apathy towards the non-co-operation movement so far as it refers to the giving up of titles and the boycotting of the Councils. Non-co-operation is not being pursued in directions other than that of education.

Bharatvási (156), 10th Jan.

46. Commenting on the change in the Congress creed Mr. Jethmal Parsram writes:—We cannot subscribe to the new creed of the Congress. We are of opinion that the British connection is essential to the welfare of India. At the same time we think that the attainment by peaceful methods of a *Swaraj* which does not recognise the British connection is an impossibility. It is certainly not possible that the British will quit the country when the people have adopted peaceful methods with a view to attaining *Swaraj*. We admit that the new declaration of creed by the Congress is capable of more interpretations than one, giving satisfaction to those who are for the British connection as well as to those who are not for it. We however prefer the old creed under which *Swaraj* was to be obtained under the British connection.

Protest against the abolition of the British Congress Committee and the paper *India*.

Servant of India (10), 27th Jan.

47. "As a ruthless, if logical, outcome of the spirit that has brought about the change in the Congress creed and engendered the policy of non-co-operation, the British Congress Committee has been abolished and with it the paper *India*, the last number of which was published on January 14. A few days' midwinter madness has been sufficient to wipe out of existence an institution to build up which it took the devoted labours of over a quarter of a century of some of the noblest souls that have ever served India.......... Not very long ago the late Mr. Tilak valued the work of the British Congress Committee and its organ *India* so highly as to direct all his influence to get them under the control of his party. And to-day his followers have become a party to their destruction under the hypnotic influence of a virtual dictator."

Alleged lawlessness in the Kaira District.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Jan.

48. "The plight of the people of Kaira District through the depredations of outlaws and dacoits is pathetically described in a letter which we publish to-day. While the authorities have failed to take adequate steps to protect the people from the lawlessness of these miscreants, they have, by means of the Arms Act, at the same time deprived them of the means of self-defence. In these circumstances the lot of the people in the villages is unenviable, indeed! How is the situation to be remedied? We have no consolation to offer to the distressed people of Kaira and those similarly situated in other parts of the country, beyond suggesting to them that they should learn to be more self-reliant and organise village committees for self-defence against the dacoits and at the same time throw themselves whole-heartedly into the movement to win *swarâj* for their country, by means of which alone can they hope to secure an adequate measure of protection against the ills from which they are at present suffering."

Comments on the acquittal of Sergeant Cartright by the Allahabad High Court on the charge of causing the death of an Indian.
Mahrátta (8), 30th Jan.

***49.** "The Allahabad High Court seems to be peculiarly deserted by the Goddess of Justice. Scarcely a month back we drew the attention of our readers to a curious decision of this High Court when Lieutenant Reynold was given a disproportionately diluted punishment for the grave offence of having misappropriated 20 bales of khaki. Now, once more have the Judge and the jury of the same court decided a case in a way which is bound to make people suspect that considerations of race rather than of justice prevailed upon them. During the last week at the Allahabad High Court before Justice Walsh and a jury Sergeant Cartwright was charged with having caused the death of one Shamlal, a pork seller, by beating him...... Sergeant Cartright said in defence that he acted under grave and sudden provocation and never intended to cause death, and the Judge and the jury immediately and unanimously found the accused not guilty and decided that Shamlal had died owing to severe internal hæmorrhage from liver and spleen and shock. One is disgusted at the way in which the brutal assaults of white men are always allowed to pass unpunished under the plea of 'liver and spleen.' If Indians have weak liver as a rule, why should not a white man be prevented by law from making even the mildest attack on the native? Incidents like these and the partiality with which law is brought to bear on them makes one utterly hopeless of British justice, and the conviction grows that race distinctions, instead of the sacred principles of equity, dominate over the High Courts in this land."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Jan.

50. "The case has just been reported from Allahabad, in which a sergeant, accused of causing the death of a pork dealer by grievous hurt, has been acquitted by the jury. Even accepting the version of the defence that the deceased was guilty of insult to the accused's wife, the suggestion that the accused acted under 'sudden provocation' cannot be accepted. The accused was not present when the insult was offered and he had, obviously, sufficient time to reflect on the consequences of his action. The fact appears to be that the accused, fully aware of the immunity which his race generally enjoys and of the cheapness of Indian life, deliberately took the law into his own hands to avenge the insult, imaginary or real.......... It is impossible to imagine that any other jury except that of his own race would have taken the same view of the sergeant's deed. So long as the unjust inequalities, based on race bias, are allowed to remain so long will tragedies of this type continue to be perpetrated and not adequately punished. 'Responsible Government', 'Imperial Citizenship', and such like terms remain mere shibboleths as long as there is one standard of justice, one form of procedure at trial for one class and another for another class."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 26th Jan.

51. Commenting upon the acquittal of Sergeant Cartright by the Allahabad High Court, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—Proper justice has not been done in the case. Sergeant Cartright had sufficient cause for provocation, but it does not mean that he is not guilty of homicide. Crime will be given an impetus if accused persons guilty of homicide under provocation are thus let off. The case proves the truth of the allegation made in various quarters that proper justice is not administered when an Indian meets his death at the hands of a European in India. Is it a wonder that the acquittal of Sergeant Cartright will tend to shake the confidence of the Indians in British justice? Had Cartright met his death at the hands of Shamlal under similar conditions, the latter would either have been hanged or transported for life. Such reversion of justice is possible owing to Europeans having the privilege of being tried by a European jury.

Comments on the conviction and sentence of the editor of the *Al-Wahid* of Karáchi.

New Times (7), 21st and 22nd Jan.

52. Commenting on the *Al-Wahid* case, the *New Times* remarks:—"The judgment in a political case in this country need not be discussed from a legal point of view; such a judgment is considered an executive order rather than a judicial pronouncement. The Kazi is sentenced to a year's rigorous imprisonment not because he did anything to upset the government but because some of the articles in the *Al-Wahid* did not fit in with the views of the Sind bureaucracy.......... How long can Government carry on the fight against popular judgment and popular opinion? Kazi Abdul Rahman has set an example to the younger generation of his countrymen. The people of Sind will regard his conviction as wrong, as cruel; it is one of the anomalies of the present bureaucratic rule that a man regarded innocent by a whole people is condemned as 'seditious' and sent to jail. But it is not for us to complain; and it is significant the citizens of Karáchi met in no complaining mood last night. They felt that the Kazi's confinement would bring the day of *swaraj* yet nearer. The great truth is deeply impressed upon India's masses that by self-suffering and self-sacrifice alone can we achieve something worthy of India and Islám. Last night's meeting showed that there was a complete change in the mentality of the people. New spirit is abroad; and that spirit, God willing, will secure us *swaraj* at no distant date." [In the subsequent issue the paper publishes an article on the case by Professor Waswani in the course of which the writer observes:—"Kazi Abdul Rahman, editor, *Al-Wahid*, has been sentenced to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment. Nothing uncommon has happened! Many sins may be forgiven in this country, but not the crime of patriotism. Love for India and Service of Freedom are unforgiven sins! And my young Muslim friend has been jailed, and his youth touched with suffering because he tried to serve, according to his lights, the Country and the Khilafat cause.......... At a time when they talk of the 'Reforms' as having opened a 'new era' in India, when the Viceroy-elect emphasizes the need of justice in India and when there is a proposal to appoint a Committee to examine the repressive laws now on the Statute Book, the Sind bureaucracy sends a young man of 22 to jail for having published some articles in which the executive scent 'sedition'. What is sedition? Some years ago, swadeshism was damned as 'seditious'; Sir Andrew Fraser regarded even the cry 'Bande Matram' as seditious; the Home Rule agitation was condemned as sedition by some Anglo-Indian papers; some, indeed, regard the whole National Movement in India as 'seditious', and many to-day look upon non-co-operation as 'sedition'! That representatives of Western civilization in this country should be so anxious to repress movements of self-reliance and freedom is a fact unintelligible to my mind except on two possible theories. One is the theory of race-superiority. What is good for Englishmen is bad for Indians! 'Orientals do not understand!' The other is the theory supported by history that power has a

corrupting influence on those who wield it. In any case, the judgment in the Kazi's case does not reflect the mind of a free people. Here is a young man fresh from College and filled with enthusiasm for the ideas of freedom and nationality which the College text-books, written by England's great thinkers and teachers, promulgate ; he is a Muslim and is profoundly stirred by the Khilafat wrong ; he is an ardent nationalist and preaches non-co-operation ; he is sincere and interprets Muslim feelings with frankness ; he is not connected wiih any illegal organisation ; he is regarded by his countrymen as innocent. Yet Government sends him to jail ! But we must not complain.......... Imperialism cannot join hands with democracy ; and the bureaucracy which guards imperialism in India is bound to fight with the forces of freedom. It is not for us to be in a complaining mood. It is for us to stand strong so that the policy of repression may fall upon us as a wave upon the rock.......... My young patriotic friend, Kazi Abdul Rahiman, has nobly met the situation with moral strength ; he has given an heroic answer to the challenge of repression ; he has proved to be a 'faithful servant' ; his statement is a judgment upon his judges. Is his sacrifice poured in vain ? Will his sufferings bear no message to pure young hearts in Sind ? Young men ! there has been in my heart the dream of that Greater Time when, gathering strength, you, you will vindicate the Mother. That Greater Time comes in the crisis of these days. And 'tis my faith that your struggle, your sufferings, your patriotism, your sacrifice will win India's Freedom."

Comments on the appointment of Lord Reading as Viceroy.
Sind Observer (12), 11th and 12th Jan.

53. "We congratulate India on obtaining such a Viceroy and we congratulate Mr. Lloyd George on inducing a gentleman of such brilliant parts to succeed to a very uncomfortable throne. He will be the right man in the right place. It is for the people of India, European and Indian, to make His Lordship's path smooth by working hand in hand to make the new era successful and glorious. We do take note of the lions in the path ; but given goodwill on the part of officials and the European and Indian communities, Lord Reading will be able to overcome all the obstacles and launch India firmly on to the road to self-government. This appointment is also an earnest on the part of the Home Government to settle the Indian question most amicably to the good of India and the glory of the Empire. We trust that Lord Reading's Viceroyalty may be the most prosperous of our time." [In the next issue the paper remarks :—" A keen lawyer, a great Judge, a Parliamentarian, a man of affairs engaged in high politics, an ambassador to one of the greatest countries of the world, a financier of no ordinary talents, a member of the Jewish race possessing the imagination of the East, Earl Reading may prove one of the ablest and most sympathetic Viceroys ever sent to India."]

Hindu (157), 14th Jan.

54. However able and high-minded the new Viceroy may be, we cannot expect any improvement in the Government of the country. The present system of government is so bad that any man may go astray, however good and able he may be. So long, therefore, as the present system continues, so long things must remain as they are. We should be on the alert and be firm in our resolve. *Swaraj* is our goal and non-co-operation our means. We have no quarrel with any individual officer ; our quarrel is with the present system of government. If there were a responsible government in the country any erring officer, however high he may be, could be set right. Under the present system even a good officer will annoy us.

Necessity of cutting down the high salaries of the services to provide money to meet the needs of the ministers.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Jan.

55. "What is the solution of the difficulty facing Indian Ministers entrusted with depleted coffers ?.......... It is essential to consider, before resort to fresh taxation is made, whether economics are possible in the administrative machinery itself and in the outlays that we are already making in several directions. In this connection, there is the welcome proposal for fixing the salaries of the Indian Ministers at a low level.......... It is rather significant to note that this proposal is arousing some alarm in quarters which are protagonists of a costly administration. The *Pioneer*, for example, is betraying ill-concealed hostility towards the suggestion, because, as it knows, the acceptance of low salaries by Ministers will bring into unfavourable relief, the exorbitant salaries paid to Executive Council members and may eventually bring about a reduction of the latter salaries also.......... But it is obvious that until the cost of the ministerial establishment is rigorously cut down and the various Public services, the higher ranks of which have been pampered beyond all limits of decency, cheapened to a reasonable extent, it is vain to hope that this country will be able to make both ends meet in the coming years. The facts that these Public services have succeeded in entrenching themselves beyond the range of any control exercised from this country should not make us despair.......... One of the first tasks of the awakened national spirit of the country will be to undo the mischief done in this respect."

Comments on the Bombay Government's press note regarding revised salaries for primary teachers.
Gujarát Mitra (18), 23rd Jan.; *Surya Prakásh* (79), 22nd Jan.

56. The recommendations made by the Committee appointed by Government to consider the pay and prospects of primary teachers fall short of the demand made by the teachers concerned and are, therefore, not likely to give them any satisfaction. However, these recommendations are suggested as a temporary measure, and it is hoped that the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye will take the question in hand and will sanction such a scale of pay for these teachers as will meet their requirements in such hard times as the present. The temporary allowance suggested by the Committee should be given to the teachers without any undue delay. [The *Surya Prakásh* considers the recommendations of the Committee as unsatisfactory, and expresses hope that the Minister in charge of education will get such a scale sanctioned for the primary teachers as will make their lot tolerable to them.]

Vaccinators' pay too low to maintain them.
Kesari (115), 25th Jan.

57. A correspondent writes to the *Kesari*:—When the Vaccination Department was started in 1873, the vaccinator's pay was fixed at Rs. 14; which was higher than the karkun's pay, as the former had to do more laborious work. But now, after revision, the karkun's pay has been fixed at Rs. 35, and the vaccinator's at only Rs. 18. Why so? Not only is the vaccinators' work of a responsible nature, but they have to pay penalty if they do not turn out a certain fixed amount. Even the prisoners in jails cost Government Rs. 17 to 18 per head. How can the vaccinators then maintain themselves on Rs. 18?

Comments on the reported intention to reduce the number of British troops in India.
Mahrátta (8), 30th Jan.

*58. "The *Daily Telegraph* has recently written an alarmist article on the proposed reduction of British Troops in India. The paper says, 'Indians have used their new powers to aim a deadly stroke at the indispensable mechanism on which British authority rests'. One cannot understand what new powers on earth were ever given to Indians by the Government of India. But even assuming that they were given, one cannot see how a proposal to reduce British Troops in India is a 'deadly stroke at the indespensable mechanism on which British authority rests'. Is the British Army in India 'the indispensable machinery on which the British authority rests'? If so, why should the purses of poor Indians be emptied to strut out the members of the Royal Family and to screw out from their lips assurances to the Indians of the noble principles on which the British *Raj* in India rests? The hysteric cries of the *Daily Telegraph* and its woeful exclamation 'Are we giving up India?' make it clear that the bureaucracy in India is founded on militarism of the worst type, and that it is the first duty of every Indian never to show by word or deed any kind of sympathy with a Government which allows the utterances of the *Daily Telegraph* to go on uncontradicted."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 24th Jan.

59. If the information conveyed in the telegraphic summary of an hysterical article of the *Daily Telegraph* which is the organ of the extreme conservatives and the Anglo-Indians in India is correct, we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that a welcome change has now really been effected in the angle of vision of His Majesty's Government. If this information is correct, it shows that His Majesty's Government has recognised the need of setting aside the recommendations of the Esher Committee which were made on the strength of the advice of that bully O'Dwyer and witnesses selected on his suggestion and which are calculated to impose such a crushing burden of military expenditure on India. If this report is true, would it be too hasty to conclude that His Majesty's Government has recognised the need of satisfying the Muhammadans and the Hindus in the matter of the Khilafat and that it is ready to give up the large territories belonging to Turkey which England has secured and to allow the people of those territories to exercise the right of self-determination? It is an open secret that the Government of India has also made recommendations to the same effect. Taking into consideration all these circumstances, it is not unnatural and improbable that His Majesty's Government may have decided to fulfil its promises with regard to the Khilafat and thereby placate the Muhammadan world and the Indian people, and as a result of that, ignoring the recommendations of the Esher Committee, it may have come to the decision of reducing the British army in India. We will anxiously wait for definite information on this point; but, in the meanwhile, we would point out, with reference to the hysterical outburst of the *Daily Telegraph* that such action, instead of severing the British connection with India, would make it all the stronger. If any other action is taken, in accordance with the advice of the *Daily Telegraph*, which represents the views of foolish bullies, the connection between Britain and India will be jeopardised and the civilized world will cease to believe that Britain's aim is to preserve peace and tranquillity.

The forest grievances of Kánara.
Kánara Leader (37), 18th Jan., Eng. cols.

60. "The grievances of the ryots of Kánara in relation to the Administration of the Forest Department have been the most potent factor in the creation of unrest in this District. The people tried petition after petition without avail, and then protests and surrenders of titles passed by without heed. The people then got more sullen and more estranged from Government day by day and threatened non-co-operation with the Forest Settlement Officer. Poor Mr. Collins went from place to place offering his magnanimous 20,000 acres, but the people refused to catch his bait and awaited events sullenly. The difference in the treament meted out to him by the people formerly and now must have been an eye-opener to this officer.......... With the Settlement Officer kept at arm's length, with the bitter realisation by the people that nothing good can come to them by petitioning and prayers and with their sullen determination to help themselves to their rightful customary privileges, whatever the Forest Department might say or do, the situation in Kánara is gloomy indeed.... ..... But the Leviathan has been slow in moving, and Government does not realise the awkward situation into which it has been placed by the self-willed Forest Department. Meanwhile our Moderate friends headed by Sir N. G. Chandavarkar are still hoping against hope; they still believe that the fallen fruit will jump up and stick to the tree as a result of their prayers! They are preparing a welcome to His Excellency and his Minister with the Forest portfolio, in the hope that the ruler of the Province may see the forest devastations with his own eyes and give redress! But who knows that His Excellency will not himself be charmed with the forest and get disgusted with the ryots' sqalid huts and ultimately decide to expand the charming, delightful and aesthetic forests to the total exclusion of man and beast from Kánara!"

Appeal to Government to abandon the auction system for the sale of liquor licenses.
Broach Samáchár (63), 27th Jan.

61. The old practice of giving licenses for country liquor shops on the fixed-fee system has been given up for the last three years in favour of the open auction system. It would be a mistake on the part of Government to suppose that the owners of liquor shops who get the licenses under the new system are more honest or harass the people any less than the license-holders under the old system. The auction system

inflicts hardships on the people at the hands of the license-holders. The people of Broach have suffered not a little by the auction system. The fixed fee system was far better. Undue competition resulting from the new system has ruined some liquor shop keepers and driven many of the old professional liquor sellers out of the trade owing to the formation of syndicates that have secured a practical monopoly for themselves. The temperance movement in the country has also considerably affected the profits of the license-holders. The question of putting liquor shop lincenses to auction will soon come before Government and it is hoped that some better arrangement, that will be a compromise between the old and the new system, will be arrived at. The license-holders who have come to grief by the auction system would request the Honourable Mr. Mehta, our Abkari Minister, to have pity on them. [The paper then suggests to the Collector of Broach to place some salutary restrictions upon open bidding at the ensuing auction of the liquor shops.]

An agrarian complaint from the Ahmednagar District.
Lokasangraha (118), 28th Jan.

62. A correspondent writes:—Ill-luck hounds the Ahmednagar District! Not a year passes without famine. Even Government do not care for it. Villages after villages are being depopulated, and thousands of cattle are falling into the hands of butchers owing to lack of fodder, and yet Government do nothing. A few famine works have been opened, but the wages of the workers are extremely meagre. It is impossible to raise *bagait* crops as the wells have run dry, and the authorities refuse to grant sufficient *tagai* to deepen them and the savkars refuse to advance money. The Sangamner and Rahuri Talukas are traversed by the Pravara canal, but its water, instead of being supplied to the poor agriculturists, is given to the Belapur (European) Syndicate!

Protest against the revised assessment of the village of Ghoda (Poona).
Kesari (115), 25th Jan.

63. The *Kesari* complains that the assessment of Ghoda village (Poona District) has been raised 56 per cent., *i.e.*, from Rs. 2 to Rs. 3 and annas two per acre, and says that this high and sudden increase has been brought about spitefully. It objects to the reasons advanced for the increase, and specially to the reason that hitherto the agriculturists had been paying the old rate ungrudgingly. Government, it continues, confiscate lands if assessment is not paid in time, and if paid, they see no objection to raising the rate by 50 per cent. It impresses on the agriculturists the futility of prayers and applications and wants them to adopt *satyagraha*.

Mr. Lloyd George and the revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty.
Maulana Punch ( ), 26th Jan.

64. The *Maulana Punch*, a humourous weekly published by the *Mufid-e-Rozgdr* press, criticises a speech of Mr. Lloyd George in which he is alleged to have said that Thrace cannot be given back to the Turks on the ground that Turkey always ill-treated her Christian subjects. The paper wants to know why the British Prime Minister is so hostile to the Turks and refuses to hand over to them the regions which before the war were predominantly Muslim in population. It refers to another speech by Mr. Lloyd George about Smyrna and says that the Prime Minister, fearful of incurring the hatred of the Greeks, is trampling justice under his foot. It adds that a mild policy towards the Turks can appease the whole Muslim World.

Persia and the Bolsheviks.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Jan.

65. "There appears to be little reason to doubt the truth of the report of the Bolshevik preprarations for withdrawal from Resht and Enzeli. In this respect at least the Russian Soviet Government have been true to their word. They have been repeatedly declaring that they have no unfriendly designs on Persia and that if the British withdraw their troops the Russian troops also will be withdrawn simultaneously. Now that the British troops are, at last, evacuating the country, the Soviet troops are following suit. What are the exact terms of the Russo-Persian agreement, which is being negotiated, is not known, but we do not suppose that the Russians have any desire to rule in Persia. In all probability they are aiming at keeping an open door for all

nations in that country. If the British also had pursued some such policy, their statesmen would have been spared the present humiliation and the British tax-payer the millions which have been gambled away in the Churchill-Curzon adventure."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against the passing by the Hyderabad (Sind) Municipality of a Resolution congratulating Mr. Ghulam Hussein Hidayatullah on his appointment as Minister.
Hindu (157), 12th Jan.

66. The people of Hyderabad are aware how the resolution of offering congratulations to Mr. Ghulam Hussein on his appointment as a Minister was moved at a meeting of the local Municipality without previous notice and passed in haste. If the resolution in question had previously been sent to the members for consideration, we are certain that it would not have been passed because the members would have come to know that the feeling of the people was against the passing of such a resolution. The voters have now taken the matter into their own hands. They held a public meeting on Monday last. At this meeting the voters raised their protest against the passing of the resolution, several councillors admitting that the resolution had been passed in hot haste. The Municipal councillors present at the meeting assured the audience that they would move within the next three months a resolution cancelling the original resolution and thus wipe out the stain on the town. It is hoped that the town of Hyderabad which made itself famous throughout India on the occasion of the peace rejoicings will not lag behind in this matter. The voters should at once wake up and earnestly try to secure their rights. Public meetings should be held in every ward and block and the voters should ask their respresentatives either to act according to their wishes or to resign. If this is done it is hoped that public opinion will triumph.

RAILWAYS.

The Indian Railway Committee.
Gujaráti Punch (19), 23rd Jan.

67. The Railway Committee has not attracted the attention it deserves mainly because it has not sent any special invitations to public bodies and individuals to give their evidence before it and has contented itself by issuing a general invitation through the press. The most important question before the Committee is as to whether the Indian Railways should be administered by the State or through the Railway Companies. Indian public opinion is in favour of the State management of Railways, because it hopes to influence Government to work the Railways in the interests of our trade and industries if Government take over the management of the Railways into their own hands. The president of the Committee is opposed to State management of Railways. Is it possible for the Railway Committee with such a president to make any recommendations favourable to us?

The President of the All-India Conference of Railwaymen should be a railwayman and not a politician.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Jan.

68. "Some preliminary announcements had been made of an All-India Conference of Railwaymen to be held in Bombay at the beginning of February under the presidency of Lala Lajpt Rai; but we are now informed that the date is likely to be postponed for a few weeks and that the character of the Conference is likely to be somewhat modified in accordance with the wish of the majority of railway workers, who do not wish their efforts after economic progress to be complicated and side-tracked by any political alliance or association at this stage in the evolution of the Indian Labour movement.......... The tenor of Indian political feeling at this moment is very largely racial, owing to the attitude adopted by the Europeans towards the just demand of Indians for full human rights. But the Labour movement, particularly the movement of the Railway workers, is not racial. It is a fight of combined Indian and European Labour against combined Indian and European capital; and the attitude of every European, who is not consciously a capitalist, is friendly to it. Therefore, to give it, even though only in appearance, the colour of non-Labour

politics, at this or any other stage of its development, would, in our opinion, be a grave tactical blunder.......... At this purely economic stage the voice of current politics is absolutely foreign to the Labour movement; and it is desirable that the leaders of the workers should be men, who, if not themselves workers, are at any rate economic experts conversant with the life and efforts of the workers, and identified with them. In a land like India such men cannot be found in many trades and industries in which the wage-earners are all illiterate. But that is not the case with the Railwaymen's unions, in which Europeans and Indians stand together in the ranks as comrades. To the Railwaymen we look in future to provide the guidance and the leaders for all Indian Labour. We wish their first All-India Conference, which marks a great step forward in their organisation, to be an unqualified success. And for that reason we are anxious that their President should be a railwayman."

NATIVE STATES.

Protest against the Maharaja of Kolhápur's interference in British Indian politics.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Jan. *

9. "The Maharaja of Kolhápur has committed an indiscretion. Political parties are still unformed in this country; the very advantages of the party system are debatable. And yet this descendant of the illustrious Shivaji has thought fit to take the lead in intensifying the unfortunate divisions of our country. Lord Willingdon's choice of his Ministers is even now a matter of controversy. The Maharaja's venture in the circumstance is as ill-timed as it is injudicious. He is a stranger to Madras and to its conditions. He owed it to the hospitality he receives, he owed it to the unwriiten convention of international relations in India to observe silence in the domestic politics of the British provinces. This is not only an interference; it is an impertinence. We join our contemporary, the *Indian Social Reformer*, in the hope that Government will convey a polite reminder to him of the desirability of His Highness confining his political propaganda to his own territory.'

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:

P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 4th February 1921.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 5th February 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian matters: Complaint that uniformity has not been observed in granting suspensions of land revenue in East Khándesh . . . 59

British Rule:

Alleged assault by Mr. P. R. Cadell, Commissioner, S.D., on certain people of Sirsi, District Kánara . . . . 29—31
Alleged harassment of non-Brahmin Talatis appointed in place of the Talatis on strike 38
Alleged ill-treatment of convicts in the Andamans 28
Boy Scout movement in India 41
Comments on General Dyer's intention to give the proceeds of his lectures to the relatives of those who fell at Jallianwalla Baugh . 35—36
Comments on the appointment of a Committee to investigate into conveniences for deck passengers on Indian passengerships . 40
Comments on the incidents in connection with the shooting of pigeons by European boys at Mandvi Bunder, Bombay 33
Comments on the work of the Director of Information, Bombay . , 32
Land acquisition in Mulshi Peta (District Poona) for the Tata Hydro-Electric Works 39
Reflections suggested by the shooting incident at Rai Bareilly . . 34
True genesis of Hindu-Muslim unity 42
What Government should do to assuage the feelings of the people hurt by the Punjáb wrongs 37
Forest Department: Alleged sufferings of rayats from the depredations of tigers and boars in Kánara 58

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught:

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Calcutta . . . 1 & 2
His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to India. . . 3 & 4

Indian Reforms:

Comments on questions and resolutions at the forthcoming Sessions of the Imperial Legislative Assembly 48
Comments on the proposed resolution to curtail the Government of India's period of exodus to Simla 49
Protest against the Government of Bengal's rule that questions should not be published before they are included in the agenda. . . 50
The question of the pay of Ministers . . . . 44—46
The Reforms will not change the old order of things 51
The work before the new Bombay Legislative Council and the Ministers 47

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PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Judicial matters: Comments on the acquittal of Sergeant Cartwright by the Allahabad High Court of the charge of causing the death of an Indian . 55—57

Non-co-operation :

Appeal to the Indian people not to enlist in the Army 19
Appeal to the people of Kánara to join the — movement . . . 22
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's manifesto to students . 16
Condemnation of the rowdy behaviour of students at Mr. Shastri's lectures at Bombay 17
Exhortation to Indians to respond to the call of the motherland and be political *Sanyasis* 20
Exhortation to the Anavils to adopt the — movement 23
Hoped-for results of 6
How some of Mr Gandhi's followers misinterpret his doctrine of — . 24
How the study of English would retard the progress of Indians towards *Swarajya* 5
Liquor shop-keepers should refuse to bid for liquor-shops in the Mahá-ráshtra 21
Reasons for — with Government . . . . 7—8
Students and — . . . . 10—15
Students should give up their schools and colleges and go out to preach the religion of — 18
Swarajya cannot be won through the spinning wheel 25
The dangers of Mr. Gandhi's — movement . . . . 26 & 27
Why the non-co-operationists have selected — in education as the first item in their programme 9

Police : Complaint about terrorization by thieves, robbers and dacoits in the Kaira District 43

Public Service :

Alleged favouritism of the Director of Public Instruction in making certain appointments 53
Complaint about the injustice done to the Parsis in the matter of appointments to high posts in public services 52
Necessity of abolishing the posts of the Divisional Commissioners . . 54
War : Bolsheviks and Persia. 60

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Sir Chimanlal H. Setalwad's speech at the prize-distribution of the Elphinstone High School, Bombay 61
Complaint about an objectionable passage in a historical text-book prescribed for use in schools by the Educational Department . . . 62

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the proposed election of Sir Sassoon David as the next President of the Municipal Corporation, Bombay 63
Comments on the resolution passed by the Sukkur municipality forbidding Musalmans to slaughter cows within Municipal limits 64

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the proceedings of the Railway Inquiry Committee . . 65 & 66
India's demand for state management of her Railways 67
Railway Administration in India 68

NATIVE STATES.

Protest against orders prohibiting meetings, etc., in the Sángli State . . 69

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at Calcutta.

Mahrátta (8), 6th Feb.

*1. " Commenting upon His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's speech in opening the Bengal Legislative Council, the *Mahrátta* remarks :—" If good Government of the people is a test all the world over it has surely never been recognised by the bureaucrats in India. Their one aim has been the exploitation of the country and the manufacture of repressive measures.......... When it is as clear as day-light that under the British rule there has been continuous degeneration of India's agriculture, commerce, education and every other thing, how could the Duke applaud the British and congratulate them ? The Duke, however, seems to be subconsciously aware that 'there is something wrong in the kingdom of Denmark,' for he presently goes on to speak of the auguries that raise a hope that dark times are gone. And what is the happiest augury in his opinion ? It is this : 'Associated in Council with the leaders of Bengal will be the European fellow citizens, official and non-official, to whose peculiar genius the India of to-day owes both its system of orderly administration and its great commercial and industrial connection with the world at large.' If the Duke intends to say that the mere physical juxtaposition of white men with the natives is the happiest augury it is only a comment on the professed sense of equality between the rulers and the ruled. We for ourselves cannot understand how the simple grouping together of the 'wild' animals with the 'tame' ones can have any effect on India's prosperity. And we have to definitely repudiate the claim that the India of to-day owes much to the 'genius' of the European fellow citizens. The latter have never shown anything which can be described as 'genius', and if India owes anything to them it is those pages of history which drip with the innocent blood of its inhabitants."

**Indian Social Reformer* (7), 6th Feb.; *Nireekshaka* (47), 4th Feb., Eng. cols.

2. "His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught in declaring the Bengal Legislative Council started, spoke of 'a Jury of the British Parliament ten years hence enlarging the scope of your administration and activities.' Some quidnuncs of the Press profess to have detected an emphasis of the voice when the Duke pronounced 'ten years' and they infer that it was meant as an answer to Mr. Gandhi who has been promising *Swardj* in twelve months. We hope this is not the case. When the country is expecting some acceleration of the rate of progress as the result of His Royal Highness' visit, it is hardly likely that the Duke, even if he wished to deprecate such hopes, will go out of his way to rub in the provision about a British Jury adjudicating about India's fitness for promotion at the end of ten years. His Royal Highness doubtless knows that this provision has been the cause of considerable irritation in Indian minds, and the Duke has come here to allay irritation, not to aggravate it. We cannot think that His Royal Highness intended to place an embargo on the hope that a revision will take place much sooner than ten years." [The *Nireekshaka* remarks :—" We think that His Royal Highness' advisers, whoever they are, must be strangely ignorant of the present situation in the country when they deemed it necessary to make the Duke contradict rumours which have gained currency that an extension of popular power may be expected within the next three or four years. The platitudes which we have learnt to expect from the lips of Royalty in British regime may perhaps be a little tedious at their worst. But we are constrained to say that this departure from platitudes hardly constitutes a happy or an opportune essay."]

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to India.

Lokashahi (120), 31st Jan.

3. The Duke of Connaught who is the King's uncle seems to be a jolly fellow. After his landing at Madras a farce on non-co-operation was performed in his honour and he enjoyed it. We have not the shamelessness to describe how hideous the farce was. The jollity of this aged scion of the Royal House was of course of the ripe sort. We, however, congratulate His

Royal Highness on this jollity of his as he is going to lighten the sorrows of India through this jollity. We would also request the Satya Samajists to show their jolly *tamashas* to this jolly uncle of our King-Emperor and ask His Royal Highness to witness them as he seems to think that the magic for the lightening of India's sorrows requires the colouring of such things. His Royal Highness is also enjoying himself by engaging in hunting parties. This is as it should be. Indeed, these things are a necessity for such old people in these times. His Royal Highness is too old to take any genuine interest in the intricacies of politics. At this time of his life he should, really speaking perform pilgrimages. Instead of all this His Royal Highness came down to India on the pressure—perhaps the irresistible pressure—of the King-Emperor. Of course his function here is not at all difficult. But is it honourable? We do not think so. His Royal Highness does not come here as a great official but simply to do the bidding of His Majesty the King Emperor. That such an aged personage should have to come here on such trifling business must indeed have been felt as derogatory to his honour. And it is perhaps to smother this sense of humiliation that His Royal Highness in passing his time in such amusements as witnessing hideous farces and participating in hunting parties. His visit to India has not yet come to an end. He has long days before him still. And it is more than probable that His Royal Highness will be inclined to continue enjoying these pastimes, for ever since he landed at Madras His Royal Highness has nowhere been welcomed by the people. It is true that our Corporation has decided on presenting an address to the Duke. The address will be presented really on behalf of the members of the Corporation though nominally on behalf of the people of Bombay. Meetings are already taking place to prove that the people of Bombay have nothing to do with the presentation of the address. And this opposition comes from the non-co-operating people. We have to make one request to the Duke on behalf of them. It is that he should not allow himself to be misled into believing that we welcome him. We do not wish to welcome him.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 6th Feb.

*4. Commenting upon His Holiness Shahzada Qudsi's suggestion as regards sending a deputation to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* remarks that the proposal is quite appropriate. But, reminds the paper, the deputation sent to England, France and Italy under the direction of Mr. Mahomed Ali was an utter failure, in spite of the fact that the just demands of the Musalmans were laid before the responsible persons and the public of these countries in a most lucid manner. The paper calls upon Shahzada Qudsi himself to lead a deputation to the uncle of His Majesty the Emperor of India with a view to getting the Turkish Treaty revised. It hopes that His Holiness will be prepared to accept the proposal and try his best to have the Khilafat problem settled to the satisfaction of the Musalmans of the world.

How the study of English would retard the progress of Indians towards *Swarajya*,

Young India (14), 2nd Feb.

5. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Alongside of my suggestion about Hindustani has been the advice that the students should, during the transition period from inferiority to equality, from foreign domination to Swaraj, from helplessness to self-help suspend their study of English. If we wish to attain Swaraj before the next Congress, we must believe in the possibility, we must do all that we are capable of doing for its advancement, and one must do nothing that would not advance it or would actually retard it. Now, adding to our knowledge of English cannot accelerate our progress towards our goal and it can conceivably retard it. The latter calamity is a reality in many cases for there are many who believe that we cannot acquire the spirit of freedom without the music of the English words ringing in our ears and sounding through our lips. This is an infatuation. If it were the truth, Swaraj would be as distant as the Greek Kalends. English is a language of international commerce, it is the language of diplomacy, and it contains many a rich literary treasure, it gives us an introduction to western thought and culture. For a few of us, therefore, a

knowledge of English is necessary. They can carry on the departments of national commerce and international diplomacy, and for giving to the nation the best of western literature, thought and science. That would be the legitimate use of English. Whereas today English has usurped the dearest place in our hearts and dethroned our mother-tongues. It is an unnatural place due to our unequal relations with Englishmen. The highest development of the Indian mind must be possible without a knowledge of English. It is doing violence to the manhood and specially the womanhood of India to encourage our boys and girls to think that an entry into the best society is impossible without a knowledge of English. It is too humiliating a thought to be bearable. To get rid of the infatution for English is one of the essentials of Swaraj."

Hoped-for results of non-co-operation.

Navjivan (72), 30th Jan.

6. In a supplement to the *Navjivan* Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—The Indian National Congress has adopted the non-co-operation resolution as a means for the self-purification of the people. We shall be able to prove by non-co-operation that the wickedest of governments cannot stand if the people do not co-operate with it. We submit to the orders of wicked officials, and so such officials still continue to exercise authority in the Punjáb. We drink liquor and Government make a revenue of crores of rupees out of it. We resort to litigation and so the Courts of law continue to exist. It will thus be seen that we share no small proportion of the sins committed by Government. The moment public opinion is purified and the people make a determination to free themselves from sin, Government will. be dethroned. It is we who are propping up Government. A lakh of Europeans are not ruling over thirty crores of Indians merely by their own strength. Several lakhs of our own people are *nolens volens* helping the one lakh of Europeans to rule over India; and several crores of us are tolerating this state of affairs. Government consists of those who exercise authority and those who help them. No trace of Government will be left when we withdraw our help from Government. We consider the Government to be sinful and satanic. Government will either have to repent and become righteous or to drop down like dead leaves if we purify ourselves from sin. The non-co-operation movement cannot succeed if people resort to drink, gambling, theft, adultery and hatred, because Government rule over us by taking advantage of the aforesaid evils in us. I am of the opinion that the cruelty that marks the British administration in India would be absent if the British people abstained from drink. Those of us, therefore, who want to secure justice should make an attempt to free the people from the evil of drink. If every worker confines his energies to his own town or village we shall, in a short time be able to rid the whole of India of the evil of drink. The evils of tobacco and opium should be similarly dealt with. What about sexual vice? Has anyone obtained figures about the various evils that result from this vice? Who can reform a whore? Who can dissuade a whore monger? Is it possible to form associations to meet the evil of prostitution? I trust that those who take part in the national movement will be able to free themselves from such a sin. The more there is of political awakening in the country the more the people will be able to extricate themselves from this sin. There is no small amount of prostitution in the West. The question naturally arises as to why the people of the West have not become effeminate. I have often shown in the past that manliness does not consist merely in the power to strike. The West has developed the power to strike owing to the evils of drink and prostitution that exist among its people. It would be an exaggeration to consider the people of the West to be manly or brave. The people of the West are less afraid of death than ourselves. But such a quality is to be met with even in robbers. We might, therefore, credit the people of the West with the kind of bravery shared by robbers. All of us must clearly understand that India cannot enter the Kingdom of Heaven by imitating the West. We must get rid of the glamour of the West and try to understand the principles of self-purification if we want to work out the salvation of India by non-co-operation. We shall get *swarajya* by renouncing the methods of the West and not by imitating them.

Reasons for non-co-operating with Government.

Chitramaya Jagat (104), (Marathi), Oct. and Nov.

7. In a series of articles entitled "The struggle for *swarajya*—The era of non-co-operation," Mr. Damodar Vishwanath Gokhale writes :—No self-respecting Indian can have rest until the British officials who committed excesses in the Punjáb are suitably punished. How can Indians ever forget the indignities heaped upon them and their women in the Punjáb? Is it possible to co-operate with the fiends who were guilty of these atrocities? How can we inhale in the Councils the air that has been tainted with the breath of the men at whose bidding these atrocities were committed? How can we assist to make firm the rule of these people? How can we take the hand that has been smeared with the blood of our brethren? The origin of non-co-operation is to be found in such a mentality. It is owing to their present wretched condition that the Indians have adopted non-co-operation with the firm resolve either to win or to go under. [In a subsequent issue the writer says :—To co-operate with these men is to extend moral support to their misdeeds. The proper course would be to exact an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. But peace-loving India has rejected this barbarous method and decided on non-co-operation. Indians have firmly resolved not to give moral support to the rule of the bureaucracy. To accept its titles, to go to its Councils, to make use of its courts, to take advantage of its schools and colleges and to help it to carry on the government of the country is to acquiesce in its misdeeds. The British Government derives its moral title to rule over us from our association with it. If we boycott its service, its educational institutions and its courts, shall we not show to the world that although we are physically held in subjection, our minds are free and that it is immoral for one nation to rule over another merely by brute force.]

Lokasangraha (118), 29th Jan.

8. Though Shivaji in the seventeenth century succeeded in winning over the heart of Maharashtra, India outside it was tied down to the throne of Delhi and the people's idea was that to turn traitors to that throne was to go to Hell. The object of the Marathas in undertaking plundering expeditions in Bengal and elsewhere was not simply loot but the undermining of the above-mentioned fatal idea of the prestige of the Delhi throne. Sadashivrao Bhau did not actually break into pieces the peacock throne of Delhi, but he destroyed the invisible idea underlying the prestige of that throne and the unnatural system of government represented by that throne. Indians have to-day to deal a similar blow against the present throne at Delhi. If, in the eighteenth century, Sadashivrao Bhau with the help of vast armies almost destroyed the Moghal power, the Indian National Congress has now destroyed British power with the help of countless non-co-operators. If Bhausaheb struck the sledge-hammer of the Maratha power on the Delhi throne, the National Congress has to strike it with the sledge hammer of non-co-operation. The Congress is unconcerned as to who sits on that throne to-day or who will occupy it to-morrow. Lord Chelmsford is there to-day and some day perhaps Lord Sinha might come there. But so long as the throne represents autocratism and irresponsibility, it is the same to the Congress whether a white man or a black man occupies it. It is the present system of Government that is to be destroyed. The non-co-operation movement is meant to inspire the people of India from top to bottom with the idea that the country belongs to them, that they are slaves of no one and that no one has the right to interfere in their affairs.

Why the non-co-operationists have selected non-co-operation in education as the first item in their programme.

Mahratta (8), 6th Feb.

***9.** "Those who are frightened at the present students' agitation as if something untoward is going to happen, will come to see eye to eye with us if they only clear their minds of prejudices. We often hear the cry raised against Gandhi and his followers that he is selecting the students as the first prey for no other reason than that they are easily 'impressionable.' In a sense it is true; but let us put it in slightly different words. The students have been chosen as the first potential non-co-operators, not because they are 'impressionable,' but because they are less 'sophisticated' than any other class or section of society. Pleaders have generally spent years of their lives in the poisonous atmosphere of the Courts of Law and their sense of duty to the Motherland is considerably lost under the influence of the jingling silver which the vicious litigation pours into their purses. The merchants, again, are people who have lost all the edge of their conscience owing to the scandalous thirst of profit-making which easily and quickly catches them in the market or the share bazaar. The young students, on the contrary, are fresh and open to conviction. They do not run into definite grooves of thought and action. They are always ready to adjust their ideas and ideals to new circumstances. It is in this sense that we call the students 'unsophisticated' and it is in this sense that they are fit to be the first apostles of the new doctrine of non-co-operation. If it is true that the young men of to-day are the future citizens of India it needs no justification if the seeds of non-co-operation are being sown in the soil of their minds. Another fact must not escape our attention. The students are not active economic assets to their families. The non-co-operating pleader or merchant may have to face the gloomy prospect of the immediate starvation of his dependents....... The students are not burdened with the cares of household, and they can easily step forward for National service. Grown up men have to drag a pitiful life of conflict between the desire to do their duty to the country and the inevitable responsibility of maintaining those who cling to them for support....... India's case does not differ from that of Egypt. Indian colleges and Universities are not purely educational institutions. They are handmaids to bureaucracy. The ideal of a University that was dear to the hearts of the ancient Aryans or is cherished by the free European countries of to day is nowhere realised in India. All the colleges here are factories for the production of youths completely immersed in slave psychology and utterly unable to move to the right or the left away from the trodden track. The very departments of Imperial or Provincial education in India are but evergreen pastures where incapable Englishmen may graze. The scandals of these educational departments in India are too well known to need any detailed reference here. Let the reader only realise how we are thoroughly justified in thinking that the British political power in India derives its life-blood from the young men of the country who bend their necks under the yoke of the English University education. It was in this sense that a Bengali leader recently called the Calcutta colleges 'gulamkhanas.' The universities that rear their heads in Bombay and other places may seem to be innocent and sacred sanctuaries; but they are the garrisoned forts where the British power lies undetected and undisturbed......... The Universities are the soil where the crops of government servants are grown and our attempt is to leave this soil untilled and ultimately make it sterile and barren. The attempt to empty colleges is virtually an attempt to stop the lubrication of the machinery of Government. The withdrawal of today's students from colleges is really a withdrawal of the future Government servants."

Students and non-co-operation.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 6th Feb.

***10.** Mr. K. Natrajan, Editor, *Indian Social Reformer*, in the course of a lengthy article headed "A talk with our students" writes:—The two features of our national life which impressed me, when I began to think of it, as the main cause of our depression, were the position of our women and the division of castes.......... I have since gradually found that I much overrated British Rule as a help in giving effect to social reforms.......... Even when, exploitation aspect of British Rule began unmistakably to assert itself I, under the influence of my prepossession, attributed it to the immobility of our own ignorance and superstition. When, however, I found that the united opposition of orthodox and progressive alike, did not induce Government to give up a single measure on which they have set their hearts, my delusion about the people's opposition influencing Government vanished.......... That is one side of the matter. On the other side, I did not sufficiently realise that the irritation caused by alien exploitation might so engross the body politic as to leave little energy to social and national construction. When a speck of coal dust gets into my eye, my body seems to concentrate all its functions in getting rid of it. True when my eye is inflamed, I on the doctor's advice deliberately introduce into it a drop or two charged with some soothing or irritating foreign body with the object of allaying it or further irritating it so that the increased secretion may wash out the inflamation and with it the foreign body. British Rule comes to such a remedy but it has steadily tended to become a permanent source of irritation. So much so that thoughtful people say that the occasional raides and robberies of the old days were not productive of half so much loss and distress as the systematised, scientific exploitation under British rule. I am no longer sure that they are wholly wrong. I feel and declare that we cannot be saved by another nation. Our own failures and mistakes and sins and sufferings are our only true teachers. The infallible wisdom of the foreigner—if any foreigner has it—will not help us a jot. Holding these views I am heart and soul with those who feel that nothing short of a root-and-branch reform of Government can save the country. The present reform falls far short of our bare minimum requirements. In fact, so far as the executive side is concerned, it is largely illusory. This view I have expressed more than once, and, in pursuance of it, I declined to stand as a candidate for the Legislative Council from my district, Thána, though I was pressed to do so by several friends.......... As for methods, I fully share Mahatma Gandhi's firm conviction that violent methods are sure to fail. Violence does not mean physical violence only. Verbal violence often leaves deeper scars than physical. There is also silent violence when men sitting at a safe distance egg on immature youth to verbal and physical violence. The only epithets that seem to suit their conduct are 'wicked' and 'contemptible.' I trust that the students who have withdrawn from the recognised institutions at the call, as they honestly believe, of national duty, will show themselves by their self-control and self-reverence that they are worthy to serve their mother-land.......... While I heartily wish success to all those who are engaged in starting National institutions to absorb the withdrawals from recognised institutions, I appeal to the students themselves in the interests of the vast millions of our brothers and sisters who have no schools to go to, not to withdraw from these instutions, at any rate in any considerable numbers.......... Thirty million children are absolutely without a school to go to. Now supposing—a big supposition—Nationalists are able to provide schools for the whole 8 millions of you, by not withdrawing from the schools which you are now attending, you will enable 8 millions more of your brothers and sisters who are growing up in absolute illiteracy, to get some education in the new institutions.......... I do not agree with those who say that Government will not suffer by students leaving their educational institutions in a mass. Not in pocket, certainly, because Government has no pocket of its own. Whenever it wants money it put its hands in the pockets of the people. But it will and must suffer morally and politically. The injury to Government, however, will be not so great as the injury to the country."

New Times (9), 31st Jan.

11. The *New Times* thus concludes an article in which it notes the great success of the non-co-operation movement among students in Bengal and the Punjáb:—"While the heart of the student-world has been so profoundly touched, the response in Sind has been poor so far as College students are concerned. Hardly a dozen patriotic students have left the College, but all honour to them for their taking to national work so enthusiastically. All honour to these youngmen who are organising national education in Sukkur, Lárkána and Shikárpur. Would their hesitant friends in the D. J. Sind College follow their example? Let our young friends remember that there are times in the history of a people when all energies, all resources and all manhood is concentrated for the winning of a great national struggle. This is one time for India, and should we allow it to be said of Sind in the history of India that when all India stood united with an unparalleled singleness of purpose and determination, Sind lagged behind and her youngmen looked at the national struggle with hearts unmoved?"

Rajakaran (131), 30th Jan.; *Lokasangraha* (118), 1st Feb.

12. In the course of an article deploring the poor response of the students to the call of the leaders to come out of their colleges, the *Rajakaran* writes :—Students, resist the temptation of going to the colleges and compel the authorities to close the doors. If you do not do so, then you will be guilty of the sin of going to the institution of a Government which has been daily accomplishing the ruin of your brethren; and remember also that you will no longer have the right to shout 'Vande Mataram' or to take part in other patriotic demonstrations. Either come out of your colleges or cease to shout 'Vande Mataram'. [The *Lokasangraha* tells the students that it is not manly on their part to ignore the call of their country and to continue their studies in colleges in the hope of ultimately getting Government service, since 95 per cent. of the population are able to maintain themselves without it.]

Gujaráti Punch (19), 30th Jan.; *Political Bhomiyo* (74), 4th Feb.; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 30th Jan.

13. So far our students were asked to leave Government schools and to join the national schools instead. But now they are exhorted to suspend education for a year, without giving any thought to the future and to busy themselves with spinning yarn with a view to clothing the naked of the land and removing the tyranny of machinery. This means that the students should not continue their studies and work on the spinning wheel. Will the spinning wheel absorb the attention of the students for a year? Will they work on it with enthusiasm? The interest of the students will flag after working at spinning for a few months and they will become lazy and so they will be neither good students nor good workmen on the spinning wheel! It is to be regretted that the Lion of the Punjáb who formerly exhorted students not to give up their schools all of a sudden has changed his views and is giving quite a different kind of advice during the last two weeks. Boys are being asked to leave Government and aided schools and no promise is given of providing national education to them and they are being asked to work on the spinning wheel. This is tantamount to abandoning enlightenment and a fixed goal in favour of chaos and darkness. [The *Political Bhomiyo* dwells upon the evils of Moslem boys leaving their schools and warns Moslem parents against the pitfalls of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation in education. The *Praja Bandhu* on the other hand writes :—Students are being asked to suspend their studies for a year. There is a class of well-to-do students who can well afford to lose one year of study and devote the time in furthering the interests of the nation. Those students who are not willing to suspend their studies might join the national schools while others who have not the courage of joining them may take to private service or help in doing the propaganda work of the Congress, while others may take to the spinning wheel, if they are willing to do so, and help the national cause.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 6th Feb., Eng cols..

***14.** "Frantic efforts are being made in this city to persuade students to leave their schools and colleges and join the ranks of the non-co-operationists. 'Come out, whatever happens!' is the cry of those desperate men who are slowly but surely leading students to their ruin, and it is a pity that a number of misguided youths, in the first warm gush of patriotic fervour, have left their studies, regardless of the future, regardless of the advice of parents, guardians and teachers, regardless of the warning voices raised on all sides. Their feelings have been wrought upon, their emotions have been excited and their minds and hearts inflamed by all sorts of passionate and burning speeches. But when the first warm glow of enthusiasm cools down we are sure many of them will see their mistake and repent for their folly, perhaps when it is too late. Meanwhile it is worth noting that not a single educationist or publicist of note in this Presidency has expressed approval of this movement; on the contrary several of them have shown their disapproval in unmistakable terms. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, presiding at the annual prize-distribution of the Elphinstone High School, rightly remarked that no country in the world has achieved or can achieve self-government by refusing education. As much as 95 per cent. of the total population of this country is illiterate, and would it be wise to add two or three per cent. more to the total?......... In the absence of education imparted on modern scientific lines how can India expect to keep abreast with the keen competition of other nations? It is all very well to talk about the education given in the olden times; but we are now living in the twentieth century, and we cannot expect to survive in the struggle for existence if we cast away the methods of this century in order to use the methods of bygone ages."

Gujarâti (17), 30th Jan.

15. The non-co-operationists asked the boys to leave Government and aided schools and promised to provide National schools for their education. But they now find that they are not in a position to provide education for all the boys that might leave Government institutions. So they now ask them to be scavengers! Our boys are asked to give up their schools as these institutions 'are sinful and turn them into slaves'. It is surprising that no one talks of changing the present system of education or of substituting vernaculars for English as a medium of education or of making education cheap. The portfolio of Education has now been entrusted to an Indian Minister. We should, therefore, direct our energies towards making the Education Department work according to the wishes of the people and get such an arrangement effected that that Department should be financed by the taxes paid by the people and that it should not have to spend any tainted money. The success of the non-co-operation movement does not depend upon getting the present schools closed and making the boys work on the spinning-wheel but it rests upon effecting changes in the present system of education and establishing and conducting model educational institutions. The people of England, France and Japan have not supported the attempts made by the Russians to change their form of Government because of the provision made by the Russians to introduce in their country universal education under the new form of Government. The Russians have not thought of sacrificing education for political purposes; they mean to make education popular and have not, like the Congress, advocated the boycott of schools.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's manifesto to students.

Jâm-e-Jamshed (23), 4th Feb.; *Akhbâr-e-Islâm* (58), 5th Feb.

16. Our students should give careful consideration to the manifesto issued by the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye. The movement undertaken by students to leave schools and colleges is an improper one and will harm none but themselves. Boycott of schools and colleges will not secure *swarajya* for India, neither will it remove the injustice done to India. This can be secured by unity among men belonging to all shades of opinion. It is the united voice of the country that can compel Government to listen to the popular voice. The students are passing through a critical stage. They should, therefore, listen to what Mr. Paranjpye says and follow the advice of their revered teachers. [The *Akhbâr-e-Islâm* endorses Mr. Paranjpye's views and is of the opinion that the non-co-operation movement will soon degenerate into violence if it is not put a stop to at an early date.]

Condemnation of the rowdy behaviour of students at Mr. Shastri's lectures at Bombay.

Hindusthân (21), 4th Feb.; *Sânj Vartamân* (32), 3rd Feb.; *Jâm-e-Jamshed* (23), 4th Feb.; *Akhbar-e-Islâm* (58), 4th Feb.

17. The *Hindusthân* deplores the rowdy conduct of the students of Bombay at Mr. Shastri's lectures and remarks:—Mr. Shastri may hold views different from our own, but it does not redound to the credit of the students to restrict his liberty of speech and to refuse to listen to him. The students may not follow his advice, but it is not desirable that they should make an exhibition of rowdyism at his lectures. [The *Sânj Vartamân* writes:—Every Indian, be he a co-operationist or a non-co-operationist, will be grieved at the rowdy conduct of the students at Mr. Shastri's lecture. The non-co-operation movement is meant to be non-violent. Violence does not merely consist in the use of physical force.

There can be violence in speech as well as in deeds. It is a kind of violence to cause pain to any one's mind. It is also violence to stop any one's lecture by force. Physical force might injure the body, but words of abuse and encroachment on the liberty of speech inflict wounds upon the heart. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* strongly deplores the conduct of the students and writes:—After witnessing the excesses resorted to by the non-co-operationists we can make bold to say that Mr. Gandhi's movement of non-co-operation has assumed a militant attitude and that Mr. Gandhi has lost all control over his followers. It is high time that Mr. Gandhi should put a stop to his movement or else he will be held responsible for doing harm to the interests of this country. The *Akhbar-e-Islám* also condemns the conduct of the students.]

Students should give up their schools and colleges and go out to preach the religion of non-co-operation.

Vijaya (92), 28th Jan.

18. Mahatma Gandhi has advised the students to give up all idea of study for one year and set out to do propaganda work among the villagers. And this is what the students should do. They must know that it is their duty to give up their careers and set out like Ramdas-panthis to preach non-co-operation to the village population of India. Our students must organize themselves like the Bengali students, into bands with leaders and a regular hierarchy of officers. They must put aside their Mills and Macaulays and go about the country wearing yellow robes to preach, as already indicated, the religion of non-co-operation.

Appeal to the Indian people not to enlist in the Army.

Hindu (157), 19th Jan.

19. What will happen? Slaves will be slaves. Why? Because they are slaves. What else can they be? They will be the means of enslaving others. Why? Because slaves can never think of other peoples' freedom. They are bondsmen themselves and they must therefore reduce others also to servitude. They cannot bear to see others free. Do you know what our country has been doing? Do you know what sin several of our brethren are committing from ignorance or from want? Do you know that we also are taking part in that sin? What is that sin? It is the sin of enlisting in the Army. In this sinful country of ours materials for handcuffing and fettering the free nations of Asia are being forged. We have been stimulating our officers' taste for blood. Nay, we have been wearing these handcuffs and fetters and feeling happy. Shall we not abstain from this sin? Is it not the duty of us Indians to get ourselves and others free from this servitude? Do you not know that there is no sin greater than that of enslaving others? Would, you knowing all this, still continue to participate in the sin? If you want to remain away from sin, say to your friends, tom-tom in every village, that no one should enlist, nor allow anybody else to enlist, in the army. Imprint in thick type on the tablet of your heart that 'it is a sin to enlist in the army.' If you wish that non-co-operation should succeed, if you want to earn the blessings of the world, if you want to follow the injunction of Mahatma Gandhi, vow from to-day that 'you will neither commit nor allow anyone else to commit that sin.'

Exhortation to Indians to respond to the call of the motherland and be political *sanyasis*.

Hindu (157), 21st Jan.

20. The hour for renunciation has struck in the history of India. Every son of the soil must now adopt renunciation for the sake of freedom of his Motherland. All those countries which have so far broken their chains of servitude at the outset adopted renunciation generally. The people thereof sacrificed everything and were ready even to give their lives. In this way alone could they achieve freedom. Such an hour has now struck for India. If Indians want to be free they must become sanyasis and fakirs and pass through ordeals of various descriptions to see the Motherland emancipated. Without work, without renunciation, nothing can be achieved. Swaraj is a great purpose. For its sake troubles will have to be borne, privations endured and displeasure of old parents and other kinsfolk incurred. For its sake separations from dear ones must be put up with, and incarcerations undergone. For the sake of Swaraj everything must be endured. The

Motherland must be set free at all costs. Ireland is now in grief and tears. But the people of that country are not prepared to abandon the object for which they have courted all sufferings. They have adopted the formula that they must either live as free men or die and leave the world. He who must have a sight of the goddess of freedom, he who must taste of freedom, must be a perfect devotee. He must like a mad lover go about in persuit of his cherished object and think of nothing else till death supervenes. Ireland is being throttled, yet its cry for Swaraj has not ceased. Indians! if you want Swaraj, and that before long, renounce everything and become political sanyasis for the Motherland. The time is ripe and the Mother is crying for her sons to come to her rescue. If Indians do not respond to the Mother's call, they will be further fastened with chains of servitude and appear undutiful in the eyes of the world. But it is needless to dilate on this. The younger generations have heard the call and will, we hope, arise, become sanyasis and work for the Mother.

Liquor-shop keepers should refuse to bid for liquor-shops in the Maharashtra.
Kesari (115), 1st Feb.

21. The *Kesari* remarks that the present time is favourable for the revival of the temperance agitation, and says that Abkári income is one of the vital points that could be attacked by the non-co-operators. It refers to the resolution passed by liquor shop-keepers in Amraoti that no bids should be made for shops, and quotes Mahatma Gandhi's letter to Dr. Munje in support. It recommends similar steps in the Maharashtra.

Appeal to the people of Kanara to join the non-co-operation movement.
Kánara Leader (37), 25th Jan., Eng. cols.

22. "You Kanarites show yourself to be in no way behind-hand and march on with brother Indian nationalists not with hesitating steps but with steps bold and true.......... Lend your ear to the cry of your groaning Mother and act like dutiful children.......... Your position now is in no way worse than that of Arjuna who threw down his weapons and hung down his head, when he saw his own preceptor, his own revered grandfather Bhishma and his own cousins and brothers arrayed against him. Did he not take up his weapons and fight out the battle to the last at a single word from Sri Krishna? Did not Babruváhana challenge his own father when he saw his dear mother insulted by his father? Did not Hansadhwaja forget his own parental affection and order his son Sudhanva to be thrown into a boiling cauldron as he failed to obey his order and give a ready response to the national call of defence of the country? With these pauranic personages as ancestors why tarry in the noble path of duty, dwelling on the sweet illusions of the past which are as dead as dead can be. Work and work with a zeal for the national goal of *Swardj* now and now alone."

Exhortation to the Anavils to adopt the non-co-operation movement.
Anavil Sevak (59), for Sept. and Oct. 1920.

23. India is at present under the sway of England. Even if this sway be a source of some happiness to the people of India, they should detest it as poison because it is happiness that comes out of a state of dependence upon others. But if the present administration is a source of trouble to the people they should not tolerate it even for a moment. Still there are some wiseacres in this country who consider the British connection essential for India for some years to come. We do not think that those who are contented with dependence upon others or consider it necessary can ever hope to be independent. The man who is impatient of the state of dependence upon others cannot wait for a moment to begin his endeavours to be free nor can the dangers that threaten him on the path of freedom induce him to give up his goal. The lives of Pratap and Shivaji show us how these great men accomplished the tasks they set before themselves under adverse circumstances. It is sheer folly to suppose that the present times will not give rise to equally great men. Mr. Tilak and Mr. Gandhi can be considered as the great men of India of the present generation. The strength of Mr. Tilak lay in the help he received from the common people. Ramchandra had to depend upon the army of monkeys, *i.e.*, the masses, in laying Ravana low. Shivaji brought about the end of the Moslem rule by the help of the Mavalas.

Mr. Gandhi places his trust upon the masses just like Mr. Tilak. We would like the members of the Anavil community to take to the non-co-operation movement and thus keep themselves alive as to the times. We should not resort to the Courts of law for securing justice but should establish arbitration courts and thus save our pleaders from the sinful profession they have adopted. We should, moreover, withdraw our boys from schools that are under the control of Government and provide for their education by establishing National schools for them so that they may turn out to be patriots. We should observe the *swadeshi* vow and resist the glamour of Government service. We should prevent new recruits from joining the army by impressing upon their minds the fact that they are being enlisted with a view to reducing free countries to bondage. We should, thus, do all in our power to put the Congress resolution about non-co-operation into practice.

How some of Mr. Gandhi's followers misinterpret his doctrine of non-co-operation.

Servant of India (10), 3rd Feb.

24. "A leading light of non-co-operation in Poona, a gentleman who has obtained much credit for having recently published his intention to withdraw from a lucrative practice at the bar, who is carrying on a vigorous propaganda by means of a daily paper of which he is editor and by public meetings made a confession of faith the other day before a large audience of students. He said that he was a non-co-operator but his non-co-operation was based on hate and not on love. Love was human but hate was divine. The methods adopted were non-violent, not by choice but by circumstances. If a General Dyer created one Jallianwalla Bagh for an attack on a Miss Sherwood, he would have created several Jallianwallas for the wrongs that Englishmen hed perpetrated on Indian women and so on. And he claimed to speak on behalf of the Maharashtra nationalists. We have taken these opinions of his from the report contained in his own paper. Not that we are disposed to exaggerate the influence of his words or example. We are referring to it only to let Mr. Gandhi know what sort of faith impels a considerable section, if not the generality, of his followers. To enrol under the banner of love and peace the forces of hatred and violence, to believe that a simple doctrine can convert every heart into the purest gold, to persist in smoking a peaceful pipe on a stack of hay and in apparent innocence to disclaim all responsibility for the consequences—is amazing conduct even in a prophet."

Swarájya cannot be won through the spinning wheel.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 3rd Feb.

25. Commenting upon the manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi advising students to work on the spinning wheel, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—It seems Mr. Gandhi means to bring economic pressure to bear upon the British mill-owners and their employees to open their eyes to the state of affairs in India with a view to inducing them to discharge their duties towards India and thus help Indian people to secure their independence. We are in full sympathy with Mr. Gandhi's object. But we would like to point out that the means he recommends will not succeed in securing what he wants, but on the contrary do incalculable harm to India. If production of *khadi* cloth in large quantities brings economic pressure on the British labourer we would have no objection to our student population being employed on the spinning wheel. But we do not think that the spinning wheel can bring any economic pressure on the British labourer. The British labour party should be plainly informed that Indians will not use British goods as long as their grievances remain unredressed and that they will use goods of foreign make other than British if need be. The methods suggested by Mr. Gandhi are such as would more fitly come from an old widow and they are besides such as would tend to retard the educational progress of the country.

The dangers of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 3rd Feb., Eng. cols.

26. "Whatever Mr. Gandhi's calculations, we are unable to see that nine months will make any perceptible difference in the situation, except in the direction of a few hundred students turning vagabonds. There will also be perhaps more discontent, more restlessness, more race-hatred. Forces of disorder will have been more emboldened. All that would make Government difficult. If lawless elements in society are let loose, is it expected that they would cause less trouble to any other Government than to the present? The whole game is, to be frank, to embarrass the present Government and destroy its prestige. Assuming that the non-co-operationists succeed in that, the result would be to make not only the present but all Government impossible. In substance, therefore, the promised Swaraja in nine months can only mean practical anarchy. Has Mr. Gandhi paused to consider what a fearful calamity anarchy would be in a country like India? It is good to have faith in one's self and one's countrymen.......... But it is courting disaster to shut one's eyes to facts, probabilities and certainties. The moral effect of the present tactics is simply to loosen the bonds of law and discipline. It is a destructive and negative programme. It cannot succeed except to a negligible extent. It would be a disaster if it succeeds in a larger degree.......... Non-violence is the basis of his programme.......... But every body, except an idealist who refuses resolutely to look at facts, must see that non-violence is a counsel of perfection impossible in practice.......... If the non-patriots are determined to ignore history, let them at least pay heed to the sign before them. Non-violence is the theoretical essential of non-co-operation. Yet the followers of Mr. Gandhi do not hesitate to show as much violence as can safely be shown. The tone of the speeches is violent and blustering. Mr. Shaukatali and his brother are rattling the sword at the very elbow of Mr. Gandhi. Others too are constantly assuming the bellicose pose. Violence in words and gesture is sure to be translated into violence in action, as soon as convenient. Whatever the vision of patriotic dreamers, a Swaraja hurried forward in nine months by the present tactics would, in practice, be nothing short of rampant anarchy. And it will last nine months too!"

Gujaráti (17), 6th Feb., Eng. cols.

*27. "It is now perfectly clear that the organisers of the non-co-operation movement have so far hopelessly failed to induce title-holders to renounce their distinctions and badges of honour. All the honours and distinctions recently conferred on the New Year's Day have been gratefully accepted by the recipients with one exception; but Mr. Joshi's refusal was founded not upon the ground of non-co-operation, but upon special reasons peculiar to himself. Lawyers, as a class, have disregarded the appeal addressed to them to boycott courts and cease practising. The Government Law College has so far remained unaffected by the way of non-co-operation. The importers of and dealers in foreign goods who number thousands have been making huge profits and have not responded to the call of the non-co-operators to boycott foreign goods. So far, the idea of establishing arbitration courts has not been carried out......... Having failed in these directions, as they were bound to do, the non-co-operators have deemed it honest and patriotic to take advantage of the immaturity of understanding and lack of experience of the world on the part of students and seduced them from schools and colleges behind the back of their parents or elders......... When a gentleman like Mr. Gandhi believes that his panacea of non-co-operation would achieve self-government for India within eight months, it is no wonder that ignorant students are easily misled into believing that they should undergo the self-sacrifice demanded of them for the sake of their country.......... It is a pity that the latter should take unfair advantage of the generous enthusiasm of impressionable youths who have not the slightest idea of what is involved in self-government and of the physical, moral and intellectual equipment that is indispensable for the progress of a country aiming at the attainment of swarajya. It is pathetic to find that young students are being victimised by means of gross misrepresentations, coercion and a variety of other questionable methods. It is most deplorable that any leader, worth the name, should venture to ask students to disobey their parents and guardians and throw themselves adrift upon the world on the bare strength of reckless assertions, wild exaggerations, and even amazing falsehoods. It is difficult to understand how the withdrawal of a certain percentage of students from schools and colleges or even the complete closure of the existing institutions would paralyse the administration. But it is no longer a question of sound reasoning. Emotion, passion, and prejudice have taken possession of the mind of a large section of the Indian public, and the voice of wisdom and experience stands no chance of being listened to at this juncture. No greater proof of the failure of the non-co-operation programme is needed than this desperate resort to the plan of weaning inexperienced students from educational institutions, and of entrusting to them the propagandist work in the mofussil, which should, properly speaking have been taken up by their elders. We see ahead serious dangers attending this kind of work, and we almost shudder at the manner in which students are being allured into paths of irresponsibility and mischief. Mr. Gandhi is at liberty to delude himself with the belief that his present campaign is a process of moral purification. But the methods, that are being pursued for spiriting away youths from their normal course of life are certainly not calculated to purify the country, but demoralize public life in India, and give a wrong lead to the present generation of students who are expected to be the future citizens and politicians of a self-governing country. His movement threatens to destroy the solidarity of Hindu and Muhammadan families, set up youths against their elders and drive them to behave in the way they have done at public meetings where they have not shrunk from shouting down men like the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye and the Honourable Mr. Shrinivas Shastri and prevented them from speaking by resorting to tactics that even Mr. Gandhi is sure to characterise as disgraceful. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement must be held responsible for this lamentable demoralization of students, and time will come when they will have to face impeachment at the bar of their dispassionate countrymen."

Alleged ill-treatment of convicts in the Andamans.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Jan.

28. "Colonel Wedgwood's indictment of the treatment meted out to convicts in the Andamans and of the whole life they are compelled to lead in those islands will, we hope, serve as an eye-opener not only to the authorities, but also to the public, which has been displaying a wilful apathy towards the existence of this 'hell on earth.'......... The authorities in this country have shrouded the convict settlement in a veil of secrecy which the public have found it impossible to penetrate as yet. Now that the attention of the world has been drawn to the horrors, and Col. Wedgwood and his informant have openly made charges which cannot be allowed to pass by without a straightforward refutation from the authorities, if they are in the least concerned with their reputation abroad, the Government of India owe it to themselves, if not to the people of this country, who seldom count in their eyes, to meet forthwith the charges and waste no further time in the publication of the report and the evidence of the Committee which lately visited the Andamans. The withholding of the report from the light of day cannot, by any means, be construed to be in any 'public interest' that one can think of; on the other hand, as we have said, the question is one of the moral prestige of the Government of India.......... The authorities should not be afraid of letting in wholesome light on the life which the convicts are leading in the Andamans. The allegations of deliberate brutality and moral corruption are too serious to be lightly brushed aside by those responsible for the administration of the settlement. More than one competent authority, who has visited the settlement, has declared, ere this, that its like, in point of the hardships to which the prisoners are unnecessarily subjected, does not exist on the face of the earth and that it should be abolished altogether. The awakened consciousness of this country should see to it that this plague spot of India is obliterated at the earliest possible moment."

Alleged assault by Mr. P. R. Cadell, Commissioner, S. D., on certain people of Sirsi, District Kanara.
Mahratta (8), 6th Feb.

***29.** Referring to the communique issued by Government on the subject of Mr. Cadell's alleged assault on certain people at Sirsi, District Kánara, and its contradiction by the citizens of the place, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"We do not intend to express our feelings over this affair until the enquiries of the Governor in Council are over and a final communique is issued. But if what the three gentlemen of Sirsi tell us be true, it shows how Government is always in haste to extend a protecting hand to their officers. If His Excellency the Governor of Bombay had not completed his investigations, why should a half-cooked communique be issued at all? We know how Sir Harcourt Butler was far too previous in congratulating the District Magistrate and the Police Commissioner in the matter of the Rai Bareilly disturbances. We feel that Sir George Lloyd's Govern-

ment has also been far too previous in issuing a communique on the Sirsi affair and has hurt public feelings by offering a sort of defence of Mr. Cadell's offence."

30. Writing about the alleged assault by the Commissioner, S. D., "Atropos" writes :—"Now let us consider what the position would have been if the assaulted persons had retaliated, as they could easily have done. I should like to put this question to His Excellency the Governor. The result would have been this, as every one knows from past experience. There would have been a *melee*, there would have been firing, many lives would have been lost, punitive police imposed on the people, the supposed guilty would have been either transported or imprisoned and the incident would have been exaggerated by the reptile press in England and India with a cry for vengeance and undying vengeance declaring it to be an open rebellion. Without going into the question at greater length I may say that it is such stupid official pranks which create anarchists and all the trouble that comes in their train. The best thing to do in the case of such men is to pack them off bag and baggage by the first available boat, thus making an example which will make recurrence of such disgraceful episodes in the future impossible."

Bombay Chronicle (2), (Sunday Edition), 30th Jan.

31. We regret that the Sirsi incident should have been given such undue importance by the newspapers. We are still more sorry that our contemporaries have created such a great fuss about Mr. Cadell by passing remarks upon his actions. What shall we say of the conscience of our contemporaries who so rashly rushed into print against such a high officer as Mr. Cadell? Looking into the affair minutely, we do not deny that the bullock was injured during the conflict between the Patil and the cartman. But certainly there was no occasion to go to the Commissioner and Collector at midnight for such a trifling affair. The Commissioner may have spoken some words which stung the people to the quick. But why all this fuss about it? The King-Emperor, while giving assent to the new Reforms, had asked for co-operation on both sides. It was the duty of both the officer and the people to remember and act up to that advice; and we hope that they will not forget it at least in the future.

Vichari (145), 1st Feb.

32. The British Government being the unrestricted masters of the entire Indian Treasury, it is no wonder that the authorities in power should fill their own pockets. But they do not stop at that. They create new posts for their kith and kin and allow them to graze at large. The Director of Information is one of such officers; the total expense on account of him and his establishment comes to over Rs. 90,000 a year, and all this expense is being incurred for nothing. He has practically no work, and so he has to justify his existence by publishing some leaflets or reprinting extracts from Anglo-Indian papers. He has recently published an advertisement regarding Mr. Rothfeld's book on the co-operative movement in France and Italy, and notified to the public in advance that Mr. Enthoven is writing a book, entitled the Tribes and Castes of India. Is this big official appointed to publish advertisements of Government publications?

Comments on the work of the Director of Information, Bombay.
Kesari (115), 1st Feb.

33. The *Gujaráti*, in the course of its comments on the incidents in connection with the shooting of two pigeons by two European boys at Mandvi Bunder, Bombay, remarks :—But at last the Police Commissioner, exercising his common sense, withdrew the complaints and set free the tradesmen and shop-keepers arrested. The incident is really a sad one. Sport has been responsible for very unfortunate results in the populated parts of this country. The officials say that they understand the sentiments and religion of the people; but in spite of this, it is most deplorable that they do not seem to be anxious to prevent such occurrences as are calculated to wound the hearts of the people under their control. **The first lesson that the officials should teach the Europeans is to acquaint themselves with the feelings of the people and to respect them. Europeans in India should take to heart this maxim that to go out shooting animals and birds in localities in which people are residing is to invite a**

Comments on the incidents in connection with the shooting of pigeons by European boys at Mandvi Bunder, Bombay.
Gujaráti (17), 30th Jan.

disturbance. People are very much displeased at such exhibition of cruelty. Therefore it is necessary that the rulers themselves should pass a prohibitory order against such sport. Another question that arises is the conduct shown by the police on this occasion. It was no doubt the duty of the police to prevent a disturbance and protect the European boys. But their conduct was most objectionable on account of the reasoning that underlay it *viz.*, that the boys are Europeans, that they have a white skin, that it was through them that the public feeling was excited and that, therefore, they should rush upon the people indiscriminately and make arrests in a high-handed manner. It is, therefore, necessary to investigate into this matter carefully and to remove from the minds of the Police Sepoys, Jamadars and Inspectors all prejudices based on the colour of the skin. If the Police Commissioner does not bring about the reformation of the police in this direction in an independent and impartial spirit, there is no knowing what untoward results may ensue in future.

Reflections suggested by the shooting incident at Rai Bareilly.
Hindu (157), 16th Jan.

34. We are not at all surprised at the way shots were fired on unarmed innocent men and murders committed at Rai Bareilly, because such things are common in our hapless country. A human life in this land has little value. It is in this country where lakhs of men die of want of food. It is in this country where peoples' spleens get so enlarged that they die with a single stroke from white gods. It is in this country where 60 lakhs of people succumbed to influenza in a short space of time. Such things occur in India only, and India alone is for such things. In this country alone people are shot on slight pretexts, and those engaged in the shooting are thus enabled to maintain order in the land. In this country alone the people are always at fault in everything, the people, who—simple-minded and unsophisticated as they are, always manifest their weakness and loyalty and bear everything. Whenever poor people, subjected to long oppression and repression, are harassed beyond measure they, unfortunately for them, make a common cause, hold meetings and respectfully pray for redress of their grievances. But the gods of our rulers regard this as an impertinence and offence and one which they must put down with firing. This policy has gone on long. Brethren! Remember what occurred in the Punjáb. Think of what has occurred in other places and of how shots were fired on the workmen of the Buckingham factory in Madras. The moment the oppressed ones raise their voice of complaint the bureaucracy at once suppress it by O'Dwyerism. The same has now occurred at Rai Bareilly where shots were fired to consolidate the power of the oppressors, as was done in the Punjáb.......... Can you not imagine which party must be at fault in a dispute between a workman and a sowcar or between a hari and a zamindar? Surely not the workman or hari. .... It is for the poor to toil, to put up with oppression, to slave and to work all their lives for others. The poor have no right even to voice their grievances. If the poor dare ventilate their grievances the sowcars, the zamindars and the bureaucracy must at once resort to repression. The troops of our Government, over-fond of peace, quiet and justice, must appear and start firing to a finish. Such are the conditions and such is the policy in vogue in our hapless country. Might is right. It is the duty of the mighty and the selfish to resort to repression. Therefore, bloodshed and devastation are no unusual things here. A state of things such as this must continue until Government is made responsible to the people.

Comments on General Dyer's intention to give the proceeds of his lectures to the relatives of those who fell at Jallianwalla Baug.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 5th Feb.

35. Commenting upon the news that General Dyer is going to deliver a series of lectures on his expedition to Persia in 1916, and that the proceeds thereof will go to the relatives of the victims at Amritsar, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—"Perhaps General Dyer might not be aware that self-respecting Indians would prefer death by starvation to touching even a pie coming from the hands of this sinner. This will not heal the wounds of the women made widows and the children made orphans by him. The more

becoming course for him would be to expend the proceeds of these lectures on a memorial to his patron Sir Michael O'Dwyer instead of bestowing them on the Indians. In view of the feelings of contempt and indignation felt by the Indians towards both of them, their true self-respect and honour lies in forgetting India. If General Dyer is truly repentant and has a particle of self-respect in him it behoves him to refuse a pension out of the taxes paid by the people who look down upon him with contempt and hatred. If he has leisure and has no work in England, and if he has been found unfit for any work, instead of lecturing upon his Persian expedition, he had better take up the task of warning Englishmen coming to India to refrain from committing such grave errors as he himself has committed and to avoid the disgrace brought about by such deeds. His giving the proceeds of his lectures on the Persian Expedition to the people of Amritsar will not make any difference in the opinion formed of him by the Indian people. Indians will never forget the devilish disposition displayed by him even if he were to give them heaps of money.

Gujarâti (17), 6th Feb., Eng. cols.

*36. "As we read this announcement, we rubbed our eyes and asked ourselves whether this sympathy and tenderness from quarters where nothing was expected are the product of a belated repentance on the part of the Amritsar hero who exacted a heavy butcher's bill at the Jallianwalla Bagh, or is it but another dodge to humiliate the Indians and to hoodwink the British public and win their sympathy? Is Dyer who bragged of improving the morale of the people of the Punjáb and of teaching them a 'lesson' merely shedding crocodile tears or is he really penitent about his brutal deed which constitutes the blackest page in the annals of British India? For all that we know, handsomely pensioned as he is by our magnanimous government, he may only be idling his leisure hours to make money to be doled out to the relatives of those whom he regarded as rebels and did to death in a ruthless manner; he may be thinking of easing his conscience a little, and setting himself right with the public in England.......... But if General Dyer really wishes to assume the role of a flagellant, let him honestly say so and confess his blood-curdling crime—not that it needs a confession; nor is it that such a confession will be an atonement for it—it is better to be late than never. The duty of the sufferers in the Punjáb and others, on the other hand, is clear; they will undoubtedly refuse even to touch such tainted doles, proposed to be distributed to them, which can only mean their further mortification. India can forgive, but never forget that which, for Great Britain will always remain, to apply Tennyson's words, 'a matter to be wept with tears of blood.'"

What Government should do to assuage the feelings of the people hurt by the Punjáb wrongs.

Servant of India (10), 3rd Feb.

37. "Several members of the Indian Legislative Assembly have given notice of resolutions recommending the adoption of various measures that will assuage the lacerated heart of the nation. When on a former occasion the Honourable Mr. Sastri wanted to move a similiar resolution before the old Legislative Council, His Excellency the Viceroy disallowed it as President of the Council. It was a most ill-advised step on his part. What he feared the discussion of the resolution would do, his disallowances of it certainly did, creating the additional sense of wrong that he had acted arbitrarily. We hope the new President, who has been chosen in order to create a parliamentry atmosphere in the Assembly, will not follow bureaucratic precedents in respect of these resolutions, and that His Excellency on the eve of his retirement will not insist on exercising the unusual reserve power of veto which is still vested in him. But their mere discussion will not suffice. Just as any gentleman in such circumstances would do, the Government should express genuine regret for the inhuman actions of its servants, should mete out adequate punishment to such of them as are still in service and give suitable compensation to the Indian victims of the martial law fury as it did to the European victims of the mob fury. Lord Hardinge who had a fine imagination undid the Cawnpore Mosque wrong by a graceful apology withou

standing on the false pedestal of prestige. If Lord Chelmsford had done similarly long ago when it was suggested to him there would have been no non-co-opertion movement. Late as it is it is not too late yet. Indians of all shades of opinion and men with experience of political conditions of many centuries like the Special Correspondent of the *Times*, urge it. A very appropriate occasion also is at hand. Good Queen Victoria's son has come all the way from England to inaugurate a new era. This is the time to remove all painful memories and associations."

Alleged harrassment of non-Brahmin Talatis appointed in place of the Talatis on strike.

Mukánayak (122), 29th Jan.

38. Mr. Anant Kondaji Ghogare writes in the *Mukandyak*:—Recently there has been a move among the Talatis of almost all places to go on strike and obstruct the work of the Government. We hope the young men of the non-Brahmin and backward classes who are without work will accept these posts and willingly help the Government in their work. Recently three Mahárs have been appointed to the posts of Talatis at Chakan in the Khed Taluka, District Poona. The Brahmins of the place are giving great trouble to them. The former Talatis who are Brahmins go about the village and ask the people to make things impossible for these Mahár Talatis. The Brahmin Circle Inspector and other Brahmin officers do not give them the information and instructions necessary for their work. They are trying to throw every possible obstacle in their way. Therefore, we want to draw the attention of Government to these facts. We would also ask the non-Brahmins to beware of their Brahmin brethren and help the young Talatis of the backward classes.

Land acquisition in Mulshi Peta (District Poona) for the Tata Hydro-electric Works.

Mahrátta (8), 6th Feb.

*39. "We are glad that the Collector of Poona, accompanied by the District Superintendent of Police, visited Mulshi with a view to inquire into the grievances of the people there, whose lands are threatened with deluge by the hydro-electric scheme of the Tata Power Company......... It seems that his speech had no effect in reconciling the villagers to their dire fate as one and all of them gave the Collector to understand that they were determined not to leave their lands and homes. The Collector asked them to reconsider the situation and promised to visit the villages again after ten days. We do not know what kind of compensation except under the Land Acquisition Act, the Collector promises to give, and we are sure that the compensation that is usually granted under that Act would not satisfy the people in Mulshi. If the Government really means to remedy the grievances of the people there, the responsibls officers must be clear and explicit in their declarations. We wonder, whether the Land Acquisition Act will entitle the agriculturists to be reinstated in similar lands and homes unless the Government goes to their rescue by extra concession. The whole question bristles with difficulties because we cannot say that even this compensation would satisfy the people for the loss of their lands to which they are bound by sentiments that admit of no compensation. We await further developments with great anxiety as the Collector did not forget to remind the people of the might of the law which, he said, would also be brought into requistion."

Comments on the appointment of a Committee to investigate into conveniences for deck passengers on Indian passengerships.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Feb.

40. "In deciding to appoint a Committee to investigate the question of sufficiency of the scale of accommodation and sanitary conveniences at present provided for deck passengers on Indian passenger ships, the Government of India have not moved too soon in the matter. The evils of habitual overcrowding and insanitation on board the majority of these ships are too well-known and have continued to obtain for too long a time to require any excuse for their removal. The Government of India are well aware, as their communique shows, that an attempt was made so far back as 1890 to remedy the evils. Indeed the Native Passenger Ships' Commission appointed by them in the year, after very careful and exhaustive inquiry, made some definite recommendations. These recommendations, it may be further pointed out were actully accepted by the Government of India (*vide*

paragraph 8 of their Resolution No. 3870—S. R. of the 22nd September 1892), but why they did not give effect to them later on is known only to Government—and perhaps also to the European mercantile interests, which would have been affected by the carrying out of these recommendations. It is not too much to say from our experience of the past attempts of the passenger public and the authorities, to secure the removal of the prevailing abuses, that it is mainly these interests which have successfully stood in the way of the reform.......... The official press communique conveniently glosses over this past lapse on the part of Government. However, since they are at last moving in the matter, the suffering passenger public may hope for some redress in the not distant future. The composition of the Committee, as announced, it must be stated, is very disappointing. There is to be only one Indian on the Committee of five—or six, we include the Secretary. Why this disproportionate representation of Indian interests, when the grievances to be inquired into pertain almost wholly to Indians? The European mercantile and shipping interests are represented by two members, while the Indian passenger public and the mercantile interests are left to be represented by a single member only. Both the Indian Passengers Traffic and Relief Association and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, which have been taking the liveliest interest in the subject, ought to be represented on the Committee if anybody."

Boy Scout movement in India.
Kesari (115), 1st Feb.; *Lokasangraha* (118), 31st Jan.

41. The *Kesari* says that India appreciates the advantages of the Boy Scout system, but it wants to know how many of the twenty-six nations that have adopted it, and with whom Sir R. Baden-Powell wants India to co-operate, treat Indians with a brotherly feeling. It remarks that Sir R. Baden-Powell will understand the position if he studies the question why Indian youths are unwilling to join. In East Africa and South Africa Indians are segregated and in Australia, New Zealand, and of late in Canada, Indians are not even admitted. Where are then the brotherly relations? If Sir R. Baden-Powell convinces Indian youths of the real existence of brotherly feeling in all these countries, Indians will soon leave other countries behind them in the matter of recruitment and skill as Scouts. But so long as there is no real feeling of love, concludes the paper, Sir Robert should not expect more than what he gets now. [The *Lokasangraha* quotes the old remarks of Sir R. Baden-Powell for which he expressed regret in Bombay, and says:—Still some of us believe that the British have come to India with a good motive and that we shall get *swardjya* only through co-operation with them. Their wisdom is indeed unfathomable. It will be an auspicious day in the history of the blacks when these people will realise that the whites will never give up the idea that black is black and white is white.]

The genesis of Hindu-Muslim unity.
Khairkhah (158), 22nd Jan.

42. Strange scenes are now being enacted on the world's stage. One among these is the spectacle of Hindu-Moslem unity. Spectators are exceedingly pleased at this show and utter cries of approbation over scenes testifying to unity among the two communities. It is certainly a strange spectacle that Muslims, in order to please their Hindu brethren, put on Hindu garb, declare beef-eating, sanctioned by the Quran, as unlawful, and even seek to prevent cow-slaughter by law. Moslem leaders assume the titles of Lala and Pandit, eschewing their own hallowed appellations, visit Hindu temples, and eat the sacred sweetmeat distributed there. Similarly Hindus visit Masjids and deliver sermons from the pulpits. But in order to please Muslims, Hindus do not compromise their religion to the same extent as the former do. None of them has so far called himself a Moulana or Moulvi. Nor have Hindus stopped taking interest which is unlawful under the Muhammadan law. Moslems lose their heads over Mahatma Gandhi's decrees and destroy their schools and colleges. Hindus, however, think twice before they allow themselves to be led away by such decrees. While Aligarh, the monument of Muslim sacrifice, was pulled to the ground in no time, the Hindu University at Benares still remains. Muslims, simple-minded as they are, are easily duped by their more cunning and clever Hindu friends. Would that these hard-hearted and clever men were true and faithful to their well-wishers. As a matter of fact, even in these times of unity, when a Muslim gets a title from Government, there is a chorus of disapproval. Again, in Municipalities, which are called self-governing institutions, distinction is observed between Hindus and Muhammadans in several matters. How then can seekers of *Swaraj* be impartial when the country has been given *Swaraj*? Our friends make many professions of love; but saying is one thing and doing another.

Complaint about terrorization by thieves, robbers and dacoits in the Kaira District.

Gujarat Vartmán ( ) 2nd Feb.; *Kaira Vartmán* (70), 2nd Feb.

43. For the past several months there has been an increase in the number of thieves, dacoits and robbers in the Kaira District. Owing to this there is unrest in every village. The Borsad Taluka has been so much flooded with dacoits that it is considered dangerous to go about in any part of it even in day time. It is strange that although these criminals have increased to such an extent yet no steps are taken either to apprehend them or to afford ordinary protection to the people. It is said that the robbers are being instigated by some patidars and that the police knowingly connive at this. Immediate inquiries should be made to ascertain how far this is true. Owing to the non-co-operation movement, some of the village *badmashes* believe that there is no one now to call them to account, and it is probable that owing to this impression they have begun to carry on their depredations more freely. It is necessary to root out such a false belief on their part as soon as possible. It does not behove Government officials to be careless about this matter. What opinion will those people who live quiet, peaceful lives and follow lawful pursuits have about the nature of the protection afforded to them if they have to pass their days in anxiety? There has been additional police in the Kaira District for a long time past and there was an addition made to it last year. What is the use of creating this additional burden if in spite of it it takes months to overpower the dacoits and the desired result is not attained? Hence we humbly pray the Government to take strong measures for the protection of the people of Kaira with the least possible delay. Of course we must admit that such undesirable results have very likely come about owing to undesirable political agitation, the spread of false rumours among the people and misrepresentations of the English constitution. But does the responsibility of the Government become less owing to this? [The *Kaira Vartamán* writes:—It seems these dacoits possess guns of excellent make and the unprotected people cannot do anything against them. Many villages have been plundered within the last six months and many men have been wounded, the modesty of many women has been outraged and two murders have also been committed. In spite of such a state of affairs, the Police officers cannot do any thing. Hence the people have lost all confidence in the British administration. Has the Arms Act been framed for being enforced against the poor and quiet people? This law can do nothing to these dacoits. Although Government possess full military strength, yet they are unable to catch hold of these robbers.]

The question of the pay of ministers.

Gujarati Punch (19), 30th Jan., Eng. cols.

44. "The case for the reduction of ministerial emoluments is being urged pretty strongly in the popular press and resolutions to that effect are notified to be moved in almost all the provincial councils. A curious argument, however, is advanced from a certain unexpected quarter against pressing that demand, as the acceptance of less pay by the Minister, it is alleged, would affect prejudicially his status in the Council. Now it would be well to make it clear from the very beginning that it is a mistaken conception. All those acquainted with the history of the Reforms know the pay has nothing now to do with status as the Minister has been assigned an equal status with the Executive Councillor. At an earlier stage when attempts were made by the Government of India to assign popular Ministers a status inferior to that of the Executive Councillors, the country opposed the proposal tooth and nail and even insisted upon fixing the same amount of pay both for the Ministers and the Executive Councillors. But now that the Minister has been assigned an equal status with the Executive Councillor, and the question of pay is left to be decided by the elected Legistures, the whole question assumes a different aspect, and there is no conceivable reason to confound the two. Today a passage of the motion for the reduction of ministerial emoluments will reflect the desire for a reduction in the high administrative cost with which the irresponsible British bureaucracy has saddled the country, and it would inspire more confidence among the people and raise those who are pledged to work the reforms in the eyes of the people if our Ministers would consent to serve on less pay than the Executive Councillors whose pay is beyond the control of the Legislature. The age-old question, whether the services are for the country or the country for the services was raised by the Congress at a time when its destinies were guided by some of the very persons who have to-day gone to share in the executive administration of the provinces as Ministers, and Mr. Chintamani himself repeated it at the last session of the Liberal Federation. Now that an opportunity has offered itself to them to prove that they were not mere irresponsible critics but that they said what they honestly felt and were prepared to carry out in practice if the matter were left to their option, would they go back on their utterances? On the contrary, a more honourable line of action would be to notify on their own behalf that they would not accept more than a certain amount as pay. Such an action would immensely raise them in their own and their countrymen's estimation and bring into sad relief official extravagance in the other half of the Government. Will our Ministers adopt it?"

Swarájya (143), 3rd Feb.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 1st Feb.

45. The *Swarájya* says that it is the duty of the Moderate Ministers to be satisfied with moderate pay. It would be derogatory, remarks the paper, even to their moderate patriotism if they were to insist upon being paid equally with those who come to rule here from a foreign country. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* also is of opinion that the Ministers should be paid a modest remuneration. It accuses the Government of wasting public money in paying the Members of the Executive Council the large salaries they now draw.]

**Kaiser-i-Hind* (24) 6th Feb., Eng. col.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 31st Jan.

46. "A resolution is to be brought into different provincial Legislative Councils recommending that the pay of Ministers should be fixed at rupees three thousand per month. If this recommendation is made on the score of economy we are afraid it will not be prudent economy, for if the services of good men are required it is necessary that they should be fairly well remunerated. Then it must be remembered that if the salaries of Ministers are reduced there will be an invidious distinction created between them and the Executive Councillors, who are at present put in the same grade with regard to salary. One of the recommendations made to the Parliamentary Joint Committee by the Moderate Conference of 1916 was that the salary of the Ministers should be the same as that of the Executive Councillors. It is strange therefore to see moderates now urging for a reduction in ministerial salaries." [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* is of the opinion that reduction in the salary of the Minister would result in the lowering of their status and this will not conduce to the interests of the Indian people.]

The work before the new Bombay Legislative Council and the Ministers.

Gujaráti (17), 30th Jan.

47. The men who have gone to the new Councils have to work the new reforms about which they have no experience. They have gone to the Councils at a time when the people are at loggerheads with Government on the questions of the Punjáb and the Khilafat. The present situation, therefore, adds to the responsibilities of the members of the Councils and the Ministers. If they cannot show any substantial results people will call them worthless and if they do some good work people will say that the good work has been effected because Government wanted to show some record of good work to the non-co-operationists. Apart from these considerations, the Ministers and the members of the Legislative Councils should make up their minds to take broad views of all questions presented before them. The bureaucrats insisted upon not taking the people into confidence in the matter of the working of the various departments. The Ministers should not work on similar lines. They should, on the other hand, invite suggestions from the people and obtain the support of the public in the working of the departments placed under them. Popular leaders and the Ministers should join together and lay down a programme of their work. The work of the Educational Department is such as can easily be noticed by the people and it has been entrusted to a man of the type of Mr. Paranjpe. Our difficulty consists in this that all our resources have been exhausted after being fully tapped. The old form of bureaucratic Government encouraged the use of foreign liquor and used the revenue derived from the auctioning of licenses for foreign liquor shops towards the promotion of education. But the people have to stop the consumption of liquor and to promote education at the same time. The Council should, therefore, think of reducing expenditure by curtailing the number of highly paid officials or reducing their salaries and utilising the funds thus obtained towards raising the pay and prospects of low paid Government servants. Roads in Gujarat require to be developed. Popular representatives in the Council and Ministers should lay out a programme of reforms in education, sanitation, agriculture and various other matters of public interest.

Comments on questions and resolutions at the forthcoming sessions of the Imperial Legislative Assembly.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Feb.

48. "As a matter of fact, the power of interrogatories to elicit truth from an adroit defender, is limited in effect. In our councils questioners have been treated as constituting an hour's nuisance in the morning, and except in so far as officials choose voluntarily to disclose facts in the public interest, the weapon has been disappointing.......... After the Punjáb outrages, we did not succeed in getting a grain of the truth from the official benches where Sir George Lowndes and his colleagues sat like jesting school boys indulging in pranks and diversion at the expense of Indian members.......... Having said so much on the comparative inability of putting questions where the people's representatives are treated as intruders, it is necessary to remark that desultory and inexact questions are worse than useless.......... What earthly use is there in enquiring if the sterling operations 'had anything to do' with the non-payment in time by the British Treasury of its dues to India? The issue is one of opinion and inference and a question exhibiting the incongruity of the operations would be infinitely more intelligent than this bald invitation to shout 'No'.......... The facts speak for themselves, and this bald enquiry, guileless in intent, will not enlighten Mr. Raju in the slightest extent.......... Among the coming resolutions in the Assembly, many of which are crude and babyish, is the appeal that the export duty on tea should be cancelled. Tea has now to pay Re. 1-8 per hundred lbs. before export, that is, less than 3 pies a lb.......... Nine-tenths of the tea produced in India is from foreign-owned plantations and the present agitation is, therefore, for the benefit of foreign exploiters who are naturally averse to local taxation.......... Government must not allow themselves to be stampeded into the gift of an undeserved favour at the cost of Rs. 36 lakhs to the Indian treasury."

Comments on the proposed resolution to curtail the Government of India's period of exodus to Simla.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Feb.

49. "Rai Jadunath Muzumdar's resolutions on the subject of the exodus to Simla, though satisfactory in some respects, do not go far enough.......... The Viceroys, Governors and the immediate official entourage, if they so desire, may indulge in occasional and even lengthy trips to the hills whenever it is necessary for them to do so but that for their sake the administrative machinery should be periodically dislocated and charges incurred which the Provincial and Imperial treasuries can ill-afford, passes one's understanding......... Rai Jadunath's resolutions while satisfactory as regards the confinement of legislative sessions of both the Chambers to Delhi, unnecessarily permit the Government of India to make a move to Simla for a period of five months. In our opinion there is

no necessity for the Government of India as such to drag itself to Simla. If the upper rungs of the official hierarchy cannot do without a flight to the hills, they are welcome to do so individually, but they should not put the whole administration to unnecessary trouble and expense on that account. Rai Bahadur Jadunath's first resolution, therefore, should be modified so as to do away altogether with the annual exodus of Government while permitting certain individual officials to take trips to the hills."

Protest against the Government of Bengal's rule that questions should not be published before they are included in the agenda.

Lokasangraha (118), 1st Feb.

50. Commenting upon the rule issued by the Government of Bengal that the members of their Legislative Council must not make public any resolutions which they wish to bring forward before they are put on the agenda, the *Lokasangraha* writes:—If the rule means that members should never make public any resolution that has not been included in the agenda, then, in, our opinion, it constitutes an unjustifiable attack on their rights. People have a right to know which of the resolutions of their elected representatives are disallowed by Government. Without this right representative institutions will become a mere farce. Besides, when a Government is alien, the resolutions which are disallowed by them serve as a better index to their policy than those which they allow. The present rule may be of advantage to the bureaucracy; but since it amounts to the virtual gagging of the representatives of the people, we trust they will not fail to protest strongly against it.

The Reforms will not change the old order of things.

Lokasangraha (118), 1st Feb.

51. Many people are under the impression that the reforms have changed the old order of things and that neither the Government of India nor the Provincial Governments will take any important step without consulting the Indian members whose number has now been increased. These people forget that the bureaucracy has accepted the reforms with reluctance and that its policy towards the people has not in any way changed. A recent incident in the Punjab serves to show how the Provincial Governments will treat their Ministers while dealing with questions of vital importance to the people. In spite of the clamour for the repeal of oppressive laws, the Seditious Meetings Act is being applied to fresh districts in the Punjáb. As this Act is in force at Lahore Lala Lajpatrai and hundreds of students had to proceed to another town to hold a meeting! Although the Act thus entails many hardships upon the people, the Government of the Punjáb have recently applied it to one more district. People were naturally anxious to know what share the Ministers had in this affair; and it has now been ascertained that they were not at all consulted. Of what use are the Ministers to the people if they are not to be consulted on an important qustion such as this? The Joint Parliamentary Committee has expressly recommended that the members of the Executive Council and the Ministers should hold joint deliberations before arriving at a decision on important questions. But then it is an established principle with the bureaucracy to forget pledges given at the time of introducing, a measure, after passing it. If the Ministers who will draw fat salaries from the people are unable to protect them from oppression, or if they are to be denied that opportunity, then why enact all this farce of reforms?

Complaint about the injustice done to the Parsis in the matter of appointments to high posts in the public services.

Rast Goftar and Praja Mitra (31), 30th Jan.

52. "Pravasi", writing in the *Rast Goftar and Praja Mitra*, complains of the great injustice done to the Parsis in the matter of Government patronage and appointments to high posts in the public services, an injustice which the community has been putting up with patiently for the past seventeen years. The writer points out that at a time when both Government and the Indian people are enthusiastic in their praises of the Reforms as inaugurating a New Age in which rights of *swaraj* would be bestowed on the Indians, **a community like that of the Parsis, which has always from the beginning taken a leading part in the fields of commerce and education and Government**

service and won the good opinion and respect of both Government and the sister communities, is being treated with contempt and held to be of no account by Government. Thinking, continues the writer, that the days of securing power and high posts through flattery and personal influence had now gone, the Parsis did not think it becoming on their part to press their claims upon the notice of the authorities as had been done by other communities; they believed that now only fitness and loyalty to Government were taken into consideration and that sooner or later Government would not fail to recognise their merits; but, at the very dawn of the New Era, they have realised that Government have recognised neither their merits nor the past glorious achievements of their small community. The writer then points out how under the system of competitive examinations for the Provincial Service, only Parsis and Deccani Brahmins used to be the successful candidates, how the other communities raised an uproar at this state of things, which compelled Government to abandon the competitive system and adopt the method of selection. The result was that while Sindhis, Muhammadans, Native Christians and members of other communities were selected one after the other, not a single of the 16 posts filled up after the system of selection was adopted fell to the share of the Parsis. What is the reason for this? Have the Parsis become so ignorant, indolent and devoid of abilities as to appear unfit in the eyes of Government to hold high posts and exercise authority? On the one hand Mr. Patel and others blame the Parsis for not joining the non-co-operation movement and for co-operating with Government, and on the other hand Government is not dealing with them in a spirit of co-operation and is treating them as badly as if they were four times as bad non-co-operationists as Mr. Gandhi. The writer continues:—What is the reason for this, we would again ask. Has a community which has furnished competent Divans for about a dozen Native States seemed to the Government of India and the Bombay Government more backward than even backward communities like the Sindhis.? As we have pointed out before in these columns, the Parsis have not done a wise thing in resting content with pinning thin faith on Government. The fruits of their folly they now taste in their boycott by Government. The present Governments in India are by no means altogether stupid or unjust; but, at the same time, we fail to understand why not a single Parsi has been selected for the post of Executive Councillor or Minister. Who is responsible for this, from whom should an explanation be demanded? This is an important question at present for the country, Government and the Parsi community. Mr. Dumasia has taken it up and drawn the attention of our popular, independent-minded and just Governor to it. We have, therefore, reason to believe that His Excellency will take prompt measures to remove the injustice being done for the past seventeen years to a community famed for its long and historic record of useful and valuable public services.

Alleged favouritism of the Director of Public Instruction in making certain appointments.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 1st Feb.

53. A correspondent, writing in the *Dnyan Prakash*, draws the attention of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye, Minister of Education, to the alleged favouritism shown by the Director of Public Instruction while filling up vacancies. He quotes instances to show that the Director recently appointed men of his choice to certain posts, overlooking the just claims of many persons. He exhorts the Minister of Education to carefully scrutinize all the appointments made by the Director and to cancel those which are obviously unjust. The writer accepts the principle of giving some encouragement to non-Brahmin subordinates of the department, but contends that it must have only a limited application.

Necessity of abolishing the posts of the Divisional Commissioners.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Jan.

54. "One of the members of the new Bengal Legislative Council has given notice of his intention to move at the inaugural session of the Council a resolution to the effect that the time has come when the posts and offices of the Divisional Commissioners should be abolished.......... The abolition of the posts of these Commissioners is called for, not only in the interest of economy, but also because they serve no real or useful purpose in the machinery of administration. They constitute, in fact, merely a white elephant; which is maintained in the interests of the 'Service' greedy of power and pelf.......... If the truth is to be told the distribution of patronage in respect of these Commissionerships by the Governor has very often caused heart-burnings among the rank and file of Collectors and departmental Secretaries, which, if they could be exposed to the light of day, would make the world stand aghast at the frailty of human nature. The Commissionerships are a costly anachronism which should be done away with in the interests of the administration as well as the service."

Comments on the acquittal of Sergeant Cartwright by the Allahabad High Court of the charge of causing the death of an Indian.

Hindusthán (21),

55. Adverting to the acquittal of Sergeant Cartwright by the Allahabad High Court, the *Hindusthán* writes:—When Colonel Bell was questioning Shamlal, Sergeant Cartwright, without waiting for a reply, struck out. Had Shamlal been given an opportunity to explain, it is possible he would have had quite a different story to tell from what Sergeant Cartwright has stated. Anyhow, the High Court decided that Shamlal had a weak spleen and that he died of shock. Whenever an affray takes place between a European and an Indian, the usual plea is that the liver or spleen of the victim was weak. If, as a rule, the spleen of the Indians is either weak or enlarged, it is necessary to enact a law prohibiting Europeans from assaulting that part of their bodies. Racial discrimination in the administration of justice and the failure to give equal treatment gives rise to an impression that in some of our High Courts greater importance is attached to colour and race rather than to justice. Such incidents destroy the faith of the Indians in the proverbial impartiality of British Justice and causes irritation among them. It is necessary for Europeans to take care that such things should not occur.

Kesari (115), 1st Feb.

56. A few days ago, a big Civil Servant killed a woman while hunting and he paid Rs. 500 as compensation to the relatives of the deceased and freed himself from trouble. The white boys have not to pay even so much fine for taking the life of a black man, and the practice of acquitting the accused altogether still goes on. Last week Sergeant Cartwright was acquitted by the Allahabad High Court on the plea of enlarged spleen. Shamlal, a butcher, had been to Mr. Cartwright to sell something. Next morning Cartwright was informed that Shamlal assaulted his wife. Shamlal was sent for and Cartwright began to whip him till Shamlal fell down dead. Cartwright put in the plea that he had no intention of killing Shamlal but that he whippad him in a fit of anger. The Judge and Jury nodded; there was the opinion that Shamlal's spleen was a weak one and Cartwright was acquitted and he remained free to whip more *Kala Admis*. Shamlal was after all a butcher by caste. But what caste do the following belong, *viz.*, the white Sergeant who whipped him to death, the Jury who held him not guilty, and the persons who try to co-operate with the bureaucracy in spite of these provocative things being done every day?

Raj Hansa (89), 30th Jan.

57. In a recent murder case which came up before the Allahabad High Court the accused was a European and the jury which gave the verdict was also composed of Europeans. The verdict was quite the usual and expected one. It was that the accused was not guilty. Whenever any European happens to kill an Indian, it is always a case of self-defence or temporary insanity. Yet the talk of British fair-play and justice does not cease. It is no wonder that such things happened in the past. But this judgment involving flagrant injustice coming, as it does, in the midst of the prevailing bitterness between the people and the Government, must make the people feel strongly that the goddess of justice is being murdered. The shamelessness of the jury is without a parallel. Evidently the life of an Indian is in their opinion more worthless than a blade of grass.

Alleged sufferings of rayats from the depredations of tigers and boars in Kánara.

Kesari (115), 1st Feb.

58. " Karwari rayat " writes in the *Kesari*:—As the Government forests are co-terminous with the village boundaries in the Kánara District, the villagers have to suffer much from tigers and wild boars. The people are now allowed to hunt the boars, but the permission given is practically useless as they have to take the forest guard with them and not to hunt in his absence. As to tigers, the saheb-bahadurs alone must come out to hunt them. While tigers and boars are thus allowed to secret themselves in Government forests by day and to commit depredations at night in the villages, a hundred obstructions are placed in the path of the villagers in the matter of hunting them! Does Government attach more importance to the forests and the wild beasts infesting them than to the lives and the means of subsistence of the rayats?

Complaint that uniformity has not been observed in granting suspensions of land revenue in East Khándesh.

Pragatik (129), 31st Jan.

59. As the rains this year were very unfavourable, the condition of the poor agriculturists has become pitiable. We understand that in some places in this district (East Khándesh) the revenue collections have been suspended. But this concession has not been given on any uniform principle. Taking any two neighbouring villages, we find that while one of them has been given this concession the other goes without it. At the bottom of this uneven treatment is to be found the abnormal zeal of the Government officials in the collection of land revenue. As a matter of justice the suspensions should have been calculated on some uniform basis. But so long as the bureaucracy is determined not to take public opinion into consideration, the people are helpless in these matters. A correspondent of ours gives us to understand that in Erandol Taluka some villages which deserved to get the concession of suspension have had to go without it. The Khándesh ryot has always willingly paid his land tax even though he had to go without sufficient food on that account. Since he complains of the burden of payment this year, is it not obvious that he is incapable of making any payment? Would it not have been wise on the part of Government to have suspended all collections? Would it not have made for the popularity of Government among the people? And we do not think Government would have lost anything in the transaction as the revenue would surely be recovered next year. There is still time for Government to show real statesmanship. Will Government listen to this appeal?

The Bolsheviks and Persia.

Hindustán (22), 2nd Feb., Eng. cols.

60. " It was being thought at one time that the Bolsheviks were playing with Persian 'independence', as a cat plays with a mouse. It was thought that after making the British clear out of Persia, they were going to take possession of the country themselves. But their latest actions go to prove that such fears were unfounded. It is reported that they have already left Resht and are preparing to evacuate Enzeli. The Persian Government has been requested from Moscow to send a governor to the latter town. What is more, the Bolsheviks are willing to pay compensation to the Persians for the damage done in that town! What do these facts show? Do they not show a brotherly feeling for the Persians? Do they not show a desire on the part of Russians to be fair and friendly towards them? This step is sure to attract all Moslems towards Russia!"

EDUCATION.

Comments on Sir Chimanlal H. Setalwad's speech at the prize distribution of the Elphintone High School, Bombay.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 4th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pári* (30), 2nd Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 3rd Feb.; *Akhbar-e-Islam* (58), 2nd Feb.

61. Commenting upon the address delivered by Sir Chimanlal Setalwad at the prize-distribution of the Elphinstone High School, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—We have great respect for Sir Chimanlal's learning, but we cannot help smiling at the hollow contention advanced by him that *swarajya* can only be obtained after years of education. Has not India secured knowledge during the last century and a half? Has not the Congress made attempts at national progress? What fruits have we obtained other than Dyerism, O'Dwyerism, the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act? Sir Chimanlal takes pride

in the achievements of the Educational Department of Government. But who is to be blamed for the fact that only five per cent. of the population is literate? Who is to be blamed for placing obstacles in the path of Educational institutions carried on on new lines? At the rate India is advancing at present it will take two-thousand eight hundred and fifty years for it to be fully educated. But the non-co-operation movement promises to give literacy to the whole country in a few years. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* on the other hand draws the attention of the people to the low percentage of literacy in India emphasised by Sir Chimanlal, and declares that the non-co-operation movement will tend to drag India backwards in education and make it more dependent upon the mill-owners of Manchester. The *Bombay Samáchár* commends Sir Chimanlal's speech to the notice of students, and asks them to follow his advice and not to fall victims to the non-co-operationists who are trying to mislead them. The *Akhbár-e-Islam* endorses Sir Chimanlal's views and asks parents and students to study the address and to act up to it. It also warns the students against the dangers of non-co-operation.]

Complaint about an objectionable passage in a historical text-book prescribed for use in schools by the Educational Department.

Hindusthán (21), 31st Jan.

62. In the course of an article in which it points out how facts are distorted in text-books which are prescribed for use in schools in this country, the *Hindusthán* complains that the following sentence, *viz.*, 'They (Europeans) wished to free Jerusalem, the holy city, from the power of the Saracens, a people of Turkish race who did not believe in Christ, but in the false Prophet Mahomet', occurring in the 'Story of England' by the Reverend Edgar Sanderson, which is introduced as a text-book in several schools, is calculated to injure the religious susceptibilities of the Muhammadans. The paper adds:—It is really deplorable that this Reverend gentleman should have expressed such unbecoming and improper views about the great Prophet in a book which is placed in the hands of Hindu and Moslem boys. It is needless to remark what a strange sample of narrow-mindedness and Christian illiberality and racial animosity has been given by the author in this sentence. We wonder why the Educational Department should have sanctioned for study in schools a book containing such an insulting passage. It is not proper that books should be placed in the hands of the Hindu and Muhammadan students of India in such a blind fashion, for there is no doubt that this will tend to produce a bad effect on the tender minds of students studying in schools. Serious mis-statements, which have been proved to be false according to the latest researches, have been allowed to remain in historical text-books. The above passage is also objectionable from another standpoint, for it is contrary to the spirit of neutrality observed by Government in matters of religion. For these reasons the Educational Department ought to get this passage removed from the book in question.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the proposed election of Sir Sassoon David as the next President of the Municipal Corporation.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Feb.

63. "There can be no objection, of course, to a Jew being accorded the privilege of reading the address of welcome, on behalf of the citizens of Bombay, to the other Jew who is coming over to preside over the destinies of India, but our local morning contemporary need not have worked itself into an ecstatic condition to recommend the qualifications of Sir Sassoon David for the presidential chair of the Municipal Corporation. Sir Sassoon has, no doubt, had a long career as a corporator and that the honour, if it comes, will come late to him, but our contemporary is indulging in mere hyperbole when it declares that 'his personality permeates all the multifarious activities of municipal administration.'......... If the honour comes late to Sir Sassoon, it is not the Corporation's fault. Barring regular attendance at the Standing Committee meetings and tendering advice on financial matters, his presence in the Corporation has been more ornamental than prompted by any genuine interest in civic affairs and problems. Moreover, whatever 'influence,' he has wielded in the Corporation, he has wielded it in the blind support of officialdom. It is no wonder Sir Sassoon failed to win the confidence of the Corporation as a whole. However, looking to the mediocrities who compose

the assembly just at present, no harm will result if this representative of the Jewish community is really accorded the honour, which his friends, we are told, are anxious to bestow on him."

Comments on the resolution passed by the Sukkur Municipality forbidding Musalmans to slaughter cows within municipal limits.
Al-Haq (154), 25th Jan.

64. Commenting on the resolution passed by the Municipality of Sukkur forbidding Musalmans to slaughter cows within the Municipal limits of that town, the *Al-Haq* writes:—Our Hindu brethren will excuse our telling them that they have been very rash. Had they not taken such a rash step, cow-slaughter would have ceased of its own accord, and Musalmans would not have been given the occasion to say that their Hindu brethren got a return—a very valuable return—from them for their sympathy in the matter of the Khilafat, and got it very rashly and impatiently. We do not think we should state how the passing of the resolution has affected Muslim hearts. We would only request our Hindu brethren to give up eating goat's meat so as to bring it within the reach of poorer Muhammadans. We doubt if the religion of the Hindu permits him to eat meat. If our friends make this sacrifice they will give proof of their real interest in the protection of the cow. On the other hand, we would say to our Musalman brethren that the Almighty is testing them in different ways, that through God's grace they have hitherto stood the test nobly, and that time is at hand when they will get the fruit of their sacrifices. One of their sacrifices is that they have resorted to patience; and patience has great rewards. At this time Muslims are helpless and can only resort to patience. At the same time, a little effort is also necessary and should be made in the direction of persuading Hindus, when buying or eating meat, to abstain from it. For this purpose regular volunteers should be employed. Further, tracts and pamphlets should be published preaching abstinence from meat to Hindus. We are sure that this propaganda will succeed so that mutton will be cheaper. When this is done, poorer Muslims will not mind the injury caused to them by the passing of the resolution referred to above.

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the proceedings of the Railway Inquiry Committee.
Bombay Samáchár (61), 3rd and 5th Feb.

65. Many witnesses have given evidence before the Railway Committee to prove the indifference shown by our Railways to the development of our trade and industries and the preferential treatment given to foreign trade. Evidence of a similar nature was given by Mr. Lloyd Jones, Agent of the Nizam's State Railway at Bombay. His evidence shows that the extension of the Railway line to Marmagoa had to be given up by the Nizam's State owing to the intervention of the Railway Board to safeguard the interests of the G. I. P. Railway. Mr. Jones' evidence moreover goes to prove that the Railway Board exercises practically no control over the Railways. The people of India should, therefore, direct their energies towards getting the Railways under State control, which will mean the indirect control of the public over them. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—The Railway Companies go on as they like as the public have no control over them. But the Railway administration can be turned to good advantage if it is placed under the State. Will the Railways be able to show indifference to the third class passengers if they are under State control? The third class carriages are always overcrowded under Company management; but if the Railways are conducted by the State, the people would be able to get their grievances redressed. Let us hope that the Railway Committee will make a recommendation to Government to take over the administration of the Railways and that Government will accede to the popular wishes by accepting such a recommendation.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Feb.

66. "The Deputy Chairman of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce objects to State management of Railways, because, in the opinion of himself and his Chamber, such management tends to become inefficient by the introduction into the service of inefficient people. One of the commonest excuses given for debarring Indians from the higher ranks of the railway service and management has been that they are 'inefficient.' Mr. Macnaughten, however tells us he harbours no such prejudice against Indians. 'There are quite as many inefficient Europeans,' he says, 'as inefficient Indians.' .... If such is the fact, Indians may wonder why such Company managed concerns as the G. I. P. and B. B. and C. I. Railways are chary of admitting Indians into the higher ranks of their service even more than the State managed ones; The fact is as patent as daylight, and if Mr. Macnaughten and his Chamber are ignorant of it, they can very easily ascertain the fact by securing a list of 'highly paid' Indians in the employ of the principal Company and State managed railways in India. It is no use camouflaging the truth behind euphemistic term. The objection to State management as against Company management in this country at least arises, to a great extent, from 'political' apprehensions, in which the possibility of the control of the service passing into the hands of Indians looms largely."

India's demand for state management of her railways.
Mahrátta (8), 6th Feb.

***67.** An anonymous correspondent writes in the *Mahrátta* :—"If it was found absolutely necessary to have State managment of railways in Germany, though her railways were managed by German capitalists themselves, how much more necessary is it to have State management of railways in India whose railways are managed by alien capitalists? The case for State management in India is much more stronger on another ground also. She actually owns the railways. So far as India is concerned, the fight between State management and Company management is a fight between Indian Nationalism and Imperial Economic Exploitation. India's fight for State management of her railways is the most righteous that could be thought of. The British Imperial capitalist exploiters' fight for Company management of Indian railways is the most fiendish that could ever be imagined. Yet there is no hope for poor, oppressed India. She will never have State management till she secures Swarajya. She will never secure Swarajya except by non-co-operation. I, therefore, appeal most strongly to every Indian merchant and manufacturer to throw himself heart and soul into Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation campaign."

Railway Administration in India.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 6th Feb.

***68.** "In railway management many minor points often arise which are trivial from the Company's point of view but are of vital interest to the public. Such points are often let drop by aggrieved individuals because they cannot incur the heavy expense of proceedings in a court of law. Moreover, the Indian Railway Act is, unfortunately for the public, very elastic and cases taken to court being mostly decided in favour of the Company, the results are disappointing. All this points to the necessity of a responsible controlling body before which appeals and complaints could be lodged. One of the cardinal reasons of the unpopularity of Company management is the constitution of its Directorate and its location in London. Questions relating to railway matters require local knowledge, and without casting any reflection on the personnel of the London boards one would like to know how they could be expected to settle Indian questions sitting six thousand miles away? The delay in transmitting mere sanction in any matter is often harmful. Further their lack of touch with the subordinate executives is a serious drawback. This would be removed by the creation of an Indian board, that is to say a board domiciled in India. Whether it is Company management or State management that is finally decided upon, the point that we wish to emphasize is that neither of them can do good unless there is an efficient system of supervision. In any case Government should appoint a controlling body to watch and look into matters affecting the public. The public earnestly desires the creation of an enquiry department in the present Railway Board for investigating and redressing public grievances in minor matters which in the ordinary course of events the present Railway Board would dismiss on the score of triviality. It is no use denouncing the present Company management and setting up a cry for wholesale State management which would be as worse as the former so long as the staff remains as uncontrolled. What we want rather is an efficient forceful, active and independent Board of Directors domiciled in India, representing all shades of Indian opinion and interests, having an insight in local matters readily accessible to all, and interesting itself on behalf of the public. Such a Board will be able to justify its existence by checking and effectively supervising the policy of the railway executive and setting it right when it is not in consonance with public interests."

NATIVE STATES.

Protest against orders prohibiting meetings, etc., in the Sangli State.

Kesari (115), 1st Feb.; *Lokasangraha* (118), 30th Jan.

69. The *Kesari* complains of the prohibition of a meeting in Belgaum District to discuss Kolhápur grievances and of a meeting in Ratnágiri of the Savantvadi Ryot Sabha. It characterises the orders as needless and unjust. It says that the Chief of Sangli has excelled all by prohibiting meetings, *Kirtans*, and even singing parties without having written permission. It remarks that it did not expect Sangli to take such a step, and it requests the cancellation of the orders which are a stain on the name of Sangli and which are perhaps not to the liking of the Chief. [The *Lokasangraha* remarks:—Although the bureaucracy hesitates to resort to repression in British territory, it does not scruple to take advantage of its position in the Native States to induce the rulers thereof to adopt that course. Despotism is bad, but dual control is worse. We have now experience of this in Sangli. The subjects of Native States will continue to have this bitter experience so long as they do not secure for their rulers real freedom.]

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 11th February 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 12th February 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agricultural Department: Suggestions to Minister in charge of the — as to how to improve the fertility of the land 67

Bombay Legislative Council: Approval of non-official nominations to the — and the appointment of its President . . . . 56 & 57

British Rule:

- Appeal to Indians to profit by the recent actions of Government officials at Rai Bareilly and to follow the Congress edict . . 42
- Appeal to the authorities to assuage public feeling by meeting the legitimate aspirations of the people 44
- Comments on Colonel Wedgwood's article on the convict settlement in the Andamans 39
- Comments on General Dyer's intention to give the proceeds of his lectures to the relatives of those who fell at Jallianwalla Baug . 41
- Comments on Government's reply to Mr. Baptista on the subject of Government's attitude towards industrial strikes 48
- Comments on His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' speech at the unveiling of the Brighton Memorial to Indian Soldiers . . . 38
- Comments on the United Provinces Government Resolution on the firing on Kisans at Munshiganj 43
- Land acquisition in Mulshi Peta (Poona) in connection with the Tata Hydro-Electric Works . . . . 46 & 47
- Protest against the Ministers in the Punjáb not being consulted when the Seditious Meetings Act was extended to Jullunder . . . 45
- Savarkar Brothers should be released from the Andamans . . . 40
- The boy-scout movement 49

Chamber of Princes: Comments on the opening of the Indian Princes' Chamber . . . . 58—61

Co-operative Credit Societies: Co-operative Credit Societies should refuse to pay the fees of Government auditors. 68

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught:

- Alleged hoodwinking of — in connection with his reception in Indian cities 9
- Boycott of the Duke of Connaught's visit . . . . 11—13
- Comments on Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Duke of Connaught . 14—17
- Comments on the Duke of Connaught's reply to the address of the Delhi Municipality 8
- Comments on the King's message and Duke's speech in opening the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly . . . 1—7
- The Duke of Connaught is being kept in ignorance of the famine conditions prevailing in parts of the country 10
- The Duke's visit to India 18

Indian Legislative Assembly: The first session of the — 65

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Indian Reforms :

- Need of re-adjusting the financial arrangements between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments 63
- The new Reforms a great change for the better 62

Indians in the Colonies: Apology for strong language of articles on Government of India's Despatch on the position of Indians in East Africa 66

Judicial matters : Comments on the judgment in the *Al-Wahid* prosecution case 69

Non-co-operation :

- Appeal to the Sindhi youths to boycott schools and colleges in response to the call of the motherland 26
- Approval of Mr. Gandhi's advice to students to take to spinning cotton yarn 28
- Can — be non-violent? 23
- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's manifesto to students . 24 & 25
- Comments on the resolution of the Nadiád Municipality to refuse the Government grant for education 36
- Condemnation of the Ahmedabad Municipality's resolution to give up the Government grant for education . . . . 34 & 35
- Condemnation of the violent methods of non-co-operationists . . 22
- Government's neglect to pay adequately clerks and other subordinates tends to swell the ranks of Mr. Gandhi's followers 33
- India cannot win her freedom by violence 19
- Mr. Gandhi's condemnation of untouchability 37
- Parents should not send their children to schools on the day on which victory medals are to be distributed 32
- Protest against the attacks in the Anglo-Indian press on the — movement 20
- Risk involved in using students for propaganda purposes . . . . 30 & 31
- Spinning will not win *Swarajya* 29
- The Parsis should not be blamed for holding aloof from the — movement 21
- Why students should give up Government Schools and Colleges . . 27

Police :

- Alleged tyranny of the — in the Nawabsháh District, Sind . . . 52
- Comments on the — Administration Report for the Presidency for the year 1919 50
- Complaint about terrorization by thieves, robbers and dacoits in the Kaira District 51
- How Government should reward the heroism of the Bombay policeman who was stabbed to death while grappling with a Pathan who had run amok 54
- Real reason why the — are not punished for their misdoings . . 53

Public Service :

- Grievances of primary school-teachers 65
- The salaries of primary teachers must be raised at any cost . . . 64

War : Reflections on the intentions of the Allies to revise the Turkish Peace Treaty 70

RAILWAYS.

The Railwaymen's Conference 71

NATIVE STATES.

Evil of forced labour in Káthiáwár 72

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the King's message and the Duke's speech in opening the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 10th Feb.; *Hindusthán* (22), 11th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 11th Feb.; *Akhbár-e-Islam* (58), 11th Feb.

1. The people of India entertained hopes that the Duke's visit would be fruitful in good results, but they will now be disappointed on reading the speech he delivered at the time of inaugurating the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly at Delhi. We are grateful to His Majesty the King-Emperor for the message he sent with the Duke, but it seems His Majesty has not been made aware of the advanced views the people of this country hold in respect of the Reforms and the evil effects produced on their minds by the recent untoward occurrences. His Majesty wishes success to the new Council and has reminded the members of the duties and responsibilities that devolve upon them. Besides this, there is nothing new in the Royal Message. His Majesty considers the Reforms as the beginning of *Swaraj*. But will they be able to improve the condition of the people? Will they remove the ignorance and poverty of the people? Will they effect any change in the military policy of Government? The Duke on his landing at Madras promised to heal the wounds caused by the atrocities in the Punjáb. But the Royal Message contains no reference to the wrongs suffered by us in the past, and so it must also be considered as disappointing. However, the Duke has expressed personal regret for the Punjáb affairs and appealed to the people of India in a stirring manner to forgive and forget the past. The Duke possesses a pure and sympathetic heart and he seems to be sorry for the sufferings that were inflicted upon the people. But we do not think that his appeal will produce any effect upon the people. The people will not forget the Punjáb affairs till those who are responsible for them are duly punished. The Rowlatt Act and other repressive measures must also be repealed and the Khilafat wrongs must be redressed. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—The Duke's speech can scarcely be considered as encouraging. The Duke rightly claims to be a friend of India and he cherishes solicitude for its welfare. He has given advice to Indians as a friend, but there is nothing notable beside this in his speech. It was hoped that the King's message would contain some boon that would win the hearts of the people, but the people's hopes have been disappointed. We have grave doubts as to whether the Duke's repudiation of the idea that the administration in India is based on force or terrorism will appeal to the people. On such an historic occasion the King-Emperor should have given a charter to the people assuring them that the Punjáb atrocities that have cast a slur on the British administration in India will never be repeated in future. The King's message is disappointing and the Moderates who built high hopes on it will be utterly discomfited now. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—We look forward to good results from the personal appeal made by the Duke to the officials and people of this country. We have high hopes in the new Reforms; they will give opportunities to the people to effect their regeneration. But it must be borne in mind that the object with which these Reforms have been instituted will not be achieved unless there is mutual confidence and trust between the Indians, the officials, and the Europeans in this country. It was hoped that the King's message would go to heal the lacerated hearts of the people and that Indians would have cause to heave a sigh of relief on securing an assurance of justice. But we are grieved to say that the Royal Message has not produced the effect it was expected to do, and has, on the contrary, given people cause for disappointment. The speech made by the Duke of Connaught is a mere echo of the speeches made by the Viceroy in the past and it will not give any satisfaction either to the Nationalists or the Moderates. The Royal message should have been able to soothe the hearts of the people and re-establish their confidence in British justice. We are sorry to see that the advisers of the King-Emperor have lost a good opportunity of winning the hearts of the people. The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, on the other hand, expresses entire satisfaction with the Duke's speech and commends it to the notice of its readers].

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

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Need of re-adjusting the financial arrangements between the Government of India and the Provincial Governments 63
The new Reforms a great change for the better 62
Indians in the Colonies: Apology for strong language of articles on Government of India's Despatch on the position of Indians in East Africa 66
Judicial matters : Comments on the judgment in the *Al-Wahid* prosecution case 69

Non-co-operation :

Appeal to the Sindhi youths to boycott schools and colleges in response to the call of the motherland 26
Approval of Mr. Gandhi's advice to students to take to spinning cotton yarn 28
Can — be non-violent? 23
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's manifesto to students 24 & 25
Comments on the resolution of the Nadiád Municipality to refuse the Government grant for education 36
Condemnation of the Ahmedabad Municipality's resolution to give up the Government grant for education 34 & 35
Condemnation of the violent methods of non-co-operationists 22
Government's neglect to pay adequately clerks and other subordinates tends to swell the ranks of Mr. Gandhi's followers 33
India cannot win her freedom by violence 19
Mr. Gandhi's condemnation of untouchability 37
Parents should not send their children to schools on the day on which victory medals are to be distributed 32
Protest against the attacks in the Anglo-Indian press on the — movement 20
Risk involved in using students for propaganda purposes 30 & 31
Spinning will not win *Swarajya* 29
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Real reason why the — are not punished for their misdoings 53

Public Service :

Grievances of primary school-teachers 65
The salaries of primary teachers must be raised at any cost 64
War : Reflections on the intentions of the Allies to revise the Turkish Peace Treaty 70

RAILWAYS.

The Railwaymen's Conference 71

NATIVE STATES.

Evil of forced labour in Káthiáwár 72

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Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Feb.

2. "The entire futility of the 'mission' of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was brought into relief by the happenings in Delhi on Wednesday. The whole City had observed a complete *hartal* what time the Royal visitor, amidst artificially created splendour and enthusiasm and platitudinous flow of words, performed the opening ceremony of the Indian Legislature created under the Government of India Act of 1919. It was an unparalleled event—unparalleled in its pathetic futility and tragic failure. An element of pathos was lent to it because the representative of the Crown was humiliated—as the Crown has never been humiliated in the history of man—by its agents who made him a pawn in their game of hoodwinking the world in regard to the grim reality of the situation in India and thus deprived him of that spontaneous and enthusiastic welcome of a whole nation which would, otherwise, have been his. There was tragic failure in that the event finally dashed to the ground the last flickering hope of all well-wishers of an honourable connection between India and Britain, that British statesmanship would evince an eleventh-hour repentance and, through the agency of the Duke, repair the wrongs of India and satisfy her demands.......... A great opportunity of reconciliation has been lost. Not only this. The wounds of India have been deepened by a callous attitude of studied neglect and indifference and by a gesture of patronising proprietorship. Throughout the history of the British connection with India, a Royal message has always brought some cheer to the people. There is, however, an air of fatuity about the message from His Majesty the King which the Duke of Connaught delivered to the Indian Legislature, which will bring home to the disillusioned people of India that if 'the King can do no wrong', he cannot also undo a wrong. The message will fall flat on the minds of the people.......... The fact is that though, in name, India has been mentioned in the Royal message along with 'other Dominions', she remains, to all intents and purposes, a Dependency as before. And that there is no radical change in the attitude of British Government is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that political freedom is still regarded as 'a gift' to be given by the British people to the Indian. The Indian people, being human beings, however, prefer to regard political freedom as their right and they are determined to gain it in their own way, and the sooner Britain realises this the better for her and her Empire. That Britain is still far from realising this is pathetically revealed in the speech of the Duke of Connaught. For instance, while he says that 'the shadow of Amritsar has lengthened over the fair face of India', and tells the people of India 'how deep is the concern felt by His Majesty the King-Emperor at the terrible chapter of events in the Punjáb', all the practical manifestation of this concern which he gives to the sorrowing and afflicted people is to make a pious repudiation, on behalf of His Majesty and with the assent of his Government, of the idea that the administration of India has been, or ever can be, based on principles of force or terrorism'. And what is the practical proof of this repudiation made as it is 'in the most emphatic manner'? None whatsoever—and, worse, a certificate to Lord Chelmsford, which only adds insult to injury! We have, of course, the personal appeal of the Duke to forgive and forget, an appeal which loses its force, even as a personal appeal, when he sums up the present situation as being the outcome of misunderstanding,—'misunderstandings usually meaning mistakes on either (!) side'. The Duke, we have no doubt, is sincerely desirous of healing the wounds of the people. But by being made the mouthpiece of those who have wronged India and Islam, he is only adding salt to the wounds. Therein lies the tragic futility of the Duke's visit; and the people of India, because they are not dead to all sense of self-respect, will remain firm in their determination to boycott his visit."

Gujaráti (17), 13th Feb., Eng. cols.

*3. "We wish His Royal Highness had refrained from extolling the qualities and services of His Excellency the Viceroy in the way he has done. There cannot be the least doubt that if a Viceroy like Lord Hardinge had been at the head of the Indian Government many of the misfortunes that have overtaken India during the last five years would have been avoided and that British moral prestige would not have been ruined to such an appalling extent. In fact, His Royal Highness has unwittingly marred the moral effect of his gracious speech by the eulogies he needlessly showered on Lord Chelmsford. The concluding observations which His Royal Highness made by way of personal appeal will no doubt attract the attention of the Indian public. But the situation has become so serious that his appeal is not likely to produce the moral effect it would have under more tranquil conditions. Though it is true that 'misunderstandings usually mean mistakes on either side,' we do not think the same charitable view can be taken of the dreadful occurrences in the Punjáb and of the brutal policy that was adopted by Sir Michael O'Dwyer for destroying all political life in the Punjáb. At the same time the appeal that His Royal Highness has made in such terms of sincere sympathy and good-will deserves to be considered by all."

Mahrátta (8), 13th Feb.

***4.** "The sight of heaps of public money being squandered over a week's stay of the Duke at Delhi, while scores of the city's inhabitants are dying of starvation, is pathetic; and the story of thousands of people marching away from the city to Ghaziabad to express their indignant feelings, just when His Royal Highness was engaged in declaring the 'New Parliaments,' as the *New India* is fond of calling them, open, is tragic indeed. But the tragedy certainly reached its climax when the Duke delivered the Emperor's message to those who were pining for it, and supplemented it by appealing to all 'to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, and to forgive where you have to forgive'. To those who were expecting bread at the Royal hands a stone has been served; to those who never expected anything Royal words have never mattered more than mere 'sound and fury.' The Duke asks us to 'bury past misunderstandings.' Will the co-operationists obey the son of Queen Victoria and dig a grave for their 'misunderstandings' about the British justice and generosity? We have uptil now made a 'mistake' in expecting the British to redress our grievances. On the Duke's advice, let us bury it as deep as we could."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 13th Feb.

***5.** "The Duke read a message from His Majesty the King-Emperor before delivering his own address. The message is more remarkable for what it omits to say than for what it says. There was a general expectation even among non-co-operationists that some unmistakable expression of the Royal and Imperial sorrow for the Punjáb troubles, accompanied by censure of the authors of the Martial Law excesses, will find a prominent place in His Majesty's message. Liberal hopes rose higher, and Mr. Sastry voiced at one of his meetings in Bombay the hope of his party that some great concession might be announced at Delhi. His Majesty's message contained neither regret nor concession. 'To-day,' said His Majesty, 'you have the beginnings of *Swarâj* within my widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.' That was the warmest sentence in the message to which His Majesty's Indian subjects had looked forward all these months. Disappointment, wide and deep, has been felt at the purely formal message and it will continue to be felt. His Royal Highness' own speech was couched in the friendliest terms, and his concluding observations conveyed his personal appeal for reconciliation and co-operation. India can only respond in the words of the President of the Nagpur Congress, that she will forgive but to forget is impossible so long as England forgets she has a duty to perform in connection with 'the lengthening shadow' of Amritsar. We may add that, even as a conventional compliment, His Royal Highness' appreciation of the Viceroy's work in India will strike impartial readers as more than a little far-fetched."

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 13th Feb., Eng. cols.

***6.** "The opening of the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly at Delhi by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was a great and historic event, and the announcement and speeches that were made on the occasion will remain ever memorable in the annals of British Rule in India. In the gracious message sent by His Majesty the King-Emperor we have a clear assurance that India's dream of Swaráj is at length to be realised; that she has now the beginnings of Swaráj with the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which is enjoyed by the other Dominions of the British Empire. In other words, it is definitely stated that India is to have Home Rule or Self-Government on the lines of the Dominions. Her feet are now set firmly on the path, and she must tread it resolutely, prudently and patiently if she wishes in the fulness of time to reach the desired goal. It was expected by many people that on the occasion of the opening of the new Legislatures His Royal Highness would make some important announcement declaring the repeal of the Rowlatt Act and other repressive Acts for the abolition of which the peoples of India have been crying with a united voice. It was also expected by some that His Royal Highness would give a definite assurance that steps would be taken to remove the grievances of the Punjáb in the matter of the punishment of those officials who were considered guilty of misdemeanours. Had such an announcement been made we are sure the whole country would have welcomed it with universal joy, and the name of His Royal Highness would have for ever remained associated in the minds of the people with an act of justice and wisdom worthy of the son of Victoria the Good. But this expectation has not been fulfilled, and that will no doubt create much disappointment.......... The most impressive portion of the Duke's speech is that where he makes a touching personal appeal to all to forget and forgive the past and unite for the common good. Coming from the lips of a venerable, respected and experienced personage who is an old friend and well-wisher of India, this appeal cannot fail to make a deep impression on all. We earnestly request and sincerely hope that the advice given by His Royal Highness will be taken in the spirit that it is given. It is only by forgiveness and charity that concord can be brought about. But here again we must repeat that the way to concord cannot be opened except by an act of justice......... For the good of India, for the good of Britain and her Empire, for the good of humanity and the world at large, such an act of justice is necessary—we may say almost unavoidable—if peace and good-will are to be restored. Will Britain fail at this momentous juncture?"

Indu Prakásh (44), 11th Feb.

7. His Royal Highness expressed his desire to remove the bitterness in the minds of the people. But the feeling has become so very firmly fixed in the popular mind by the actions of the bureaucracy, that it lies with the latter to take the initiative in the matter. If the Duke thinks of getting the Rowlatt, the Press and the Arms Acts repealed, then indeed it is a matter for congratulation. The mistakes committed in the Punjáb were not certainly the result of any misunderstanding. Mere lip sympathy will be of no avail in causing Indians to forget the past. It is for the Government to begin by showing practical sympathy. We Moderates have indeed decided to co-operate with Government, but we have done so only relying on future hopes. And it is for the Duke to prove by action that the hopes are not futile.

Comments on the Duke of Connaught's reply to the address of the Delhi Municipality.

Mahrátta (8), 13th Feb.

*8. Commenting upon His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's reply to the address of the Delhi Municipality, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"His Royal Highness said:—'It is an arresting thought that Delhi, once the central setting of the old order, world famous for its relics of despotic rule, should now, after a brief twilight, shine forth as the central stage of a new order of things.' A quiet and unofficial visit to the Chandani Chowk and other places of Delhi would have easily convinced the Royal mind that the Imperial city contained, not only the relics of ancient despotic rule, but also blood-stained evidence of the most modern and refined British tyranny: and Delhi is more world-famous as the central stage where scenes of butchery and massacre were ruthlessly enacted a couple of years back, than as 'the central stage of a new order of things.' The Duke promised the Delhi people: 'When I narrate to His Majesty my impression on my visit to Delhi, I shall at the same time convey to him your message of loyalty.' It would be far

more to the people's satisfaction if the Duke conveyed their message of utter dissatisfaction and discontent with the bureaucrats who ruled India. And if at all the Duke is going to carry with him an impression of his visit to India, let him find some room on his mental plate for the *hartals* that are being observed wherever he goes and the meetings that are held to resolve to boycott his visit."

Alleged hoodwinking of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught in connection with his reception in Indian cities.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Jan.

9. "A London cable informed us the other day that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught had telegraphed to His Majesty informing the latter of his joy at the 'wonderful welcome' which the citizens of Calcutta had given him. We do not wish to question the *bona fides* of the Duke or to insult His Royal Highness' intelligence by suggesting that either he has wilfully misrepresented the facts or that he is unable to judge aright the 'warmth' of the welcome which he is receiving wherever he goes. The Calcutta correspondent of the Associated Press, who could be trusted not to damage the prestige of local officialdom with undue severity, had told the world that there 'all shops and markets were closed and vehicular traffic of all description was suspended.' .... The citizens of Delhi also have presented the Duke the same spectacle of aloofness and indignation. Yet, in the face of all these manifestations of popular disapprobation of the Ducal tour, the world will, no doubt, be told again that Delhi accorded a magnificent welcome to the royal guest. What is the plain significance of this enigmatical phenomenon? It is, if the truth must be told, that the Indian bureaucracy is determined by hook or crook to hoodwink both the Duke and the outside world regarding the real state of public feeling in this country. Otherwise, what was the meaning of obliging the Duke to avoid the historic thoroughfare—the Chandni Chowk—and other Indian quarters of Delhi? The same trick was played in Calcutta and the Duke was not permitted to view the Indian portions of the city. In our own city, also, the same device is to be followed and instead of the Ducal procession passing through any one of the main arteries of the city, through which the real life of Bombay surges, such as Sheik Memon Street, Kalbadevi, Girgaum Road, Bhendi Bazar or Sandhurst Road, His Royal Highness is to be driven to Government House through the bye-lanes, as it were......... Nine-tenths of Bombay, which will be observing *hartal* and mourning on that day, will be thus effectively screened from the Duke's sight. But the bureaucracy and their mouth-pieces in the press will, doubtless, declare next morning, with brazen-faced impudence, that the Duke was given any unprecedentedly warm welcome by the entire city...... .. We note that the public of Delhi have utterly repudiated the welcome stage-managed on their behalf and have shown how hollow is the claim, put in the mouth of the Duke, that the hold of the bureucracy is not based on terrorism. We have no doubt the public of this city too will also entirely repudiate the artificial welcome which is being got up for the Duke and demonstrate to the world the utter immorality of the whole camouflage. It is, indeed, a pity; nay, it is nothing less than an Imperial tragedy, that a royal messeger, who, as he says, has come to heal the wounds of the lacerated hearts of the people of this country, should appear instead as if mocking at their sorrows!"

The Duke of Connaught is being kept in ignorance of the famine conditions prevailing in parts of the country.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Feb.

10. "While the bureaucracy, which is stage-managing the 'welcome' of India to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, is presenting to him spectacles indicative of brightness and happiness, which it would like the Duke and the world, along with him, to believe are evidence of the blessings which the country is reaping from its 'rule', the canker of famine which is eating into the vitals of the nation is being carefully hidden from the gaze of the Royal visitor.......... In our own Presidency the Duke will, doubtless, be shown 'smiling fields' and a 'rich and contented peasantry' while the 30,000 and odd wretches who are receiving famine doles and the scores of thousands more who are receiving none, will be effectively screened away from his sight......... We shall be

told that every thing possible is being done to mitigate the sufferings of the famine stricken, but the question goes deeper than that. Why is it that year after year at the slightest breath of drought thousands upon thousands in our villages are thrown on the brink of starvation? A month ago there were about 50,000 in British India and 27,000 in the Nizam's Dominions on famine relief. In British India their number has more than doubled now and in the Nizam's territories their number has gone up to 33,000. The number everywhere appears to be steadily on the increase. Such is the plight of India to-day, though there had been no widespread failure of the monsoon last year as in the two previous years. But this unpleasant aspect of British rule will not be brought to the notice of the Duke, who will, no doubt, carry away with him the happiest impressions of India's prosperity, contentedness and loyal devotion to the bureaucracy. Such is the tragedy of India to-day."

Boycott of the Duke of Connaught's visit.
Navjivan (72), 6th Feb.

11. Discussing His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to India and the propriety of presenting Municipal addresses to him, the *Navjivan* remarks:—His Majesty the King's uncle who has come to India has not done so either to mix with us to make kindly inquiries as to our well-being or to participate in our miseries. We have certainly not invited him. He comes here to see what self-respect India possesses. Like Shakuni he has come to tell Draupadi, *i. e.*, India, that her good lies in giving up her Dharma, *i.e.*, *swarájya*, and taking up her abode in the house of Duryodhan, that is, the bureaucracy. The simple Indian public, having enjoyed dependence for a long time, does not easily understand the inner meaning of such occasions. The simple, hospitable people of India are ever ready to show hospitality to those that come. It is nowhere laid down in the Shastras one should be hospitable at the cost of one's own religion to him who robs one of his honour. Sitaji, in giving alms to Ravana, has shown us what danger lies in stepping beyond the boundary line of one's own religion and it is important that the Indian public should not forget the costly lesson taught by Sitaji. If anybody can claim to have an idea of national honour to-day, it is the Indian National Congress, the Moslem League and the Swarajya Sabha. These bodies have suggested to the public to boycott the Duke of Connaught's visit. The Duke is not to be accorded a national reception. No Nationalist should show hospitality to the Duke so long as he is an Ambassador of the Empire and a patron of the bureaucracy. His Royal Highness the Duke is to-day an individual connected with the Government. He has come on a Mission on behalf of the Empire and he may be accorded a welcome by Government. So long as people have no confidence in Government, they have nothing to do with this official welcome. The question naturally arises as to the attitude of the Municipalities and Corporations. These institutions are both popular as well as not popular. In these institutions there are men elected by the people, but for the last two generations people dependent on Government have been in the majority. The Indian National Congress has given the Municipalities and Corporations an opportunity to prove themselves to be popular bodies; non-co-operation has not been declared against them. The advent of the Duke is the fittest opportunity for testing such institutions, and through it it will decided whether our Corporations are popular bodies or not, and it will be easily ascertained by those who have the good of national honour at their heart what relations they should have with such institutions.

***Sánj Vartamán* (32), 9th Feb.; *Insáf* (69), 4th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 8th and 9th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 7th and 13th Feb.; *Hindusthán* (21), 6th Feb., Eng. cols.**

12. The rate-payers and residents of the Fort, Mandvi and Bhuleshwar localities assembled at a public meeting held on Monday last to express their disapproval of the action taken by the Bombay Municipal Corporation in voting an address of welcome to the Duke of Connaught. Various important resolutions were passed at the meeting and we hope residents of other localities in Bombay will have the courage to pass similar resolutions. The citizens of Bombay as a whole are opposed to the idea of presenting an address to the Duke, but unfortunately the

Corporation which consists mainly of men holding conservative views have acted against their wishes. The claim put forward by the Corporation to represent the views of the citizens of Bombay must not be allowed to go unchallenged. It has been resolved to observe an *hartal* during the Duke's stay in Bombay. We mean to show to the Duke thereby that in spite of our good feelings and respect for him we cannot take part in the festivities organised in his honour owing to our hearts having been lacerated by bureaucratic officials in this country and that we do not want any help from Government and that we do not want to co-operate with them. [The *Insáf* writes:—One cannot forgive the highhandedness shown by the Bombay Municipal Corporation in disrespecting the feelings of the people. Where is the wonder if foreigners exercise high-handedness towards us when our own people treat us thus! Do the Corporators represent themselves or the citizens of Bombay? Do the citizens approve of the address of welcome drafted by the Corporation? Elsewhere the paper writes:—About fifteen thousand rupees will be wasted in erecting arches for the Duke's visit to Delhi! Were the people consulted before launching into such extravagance? Is the money ill-gotten that it should be wasted thus? Do only a few tin-goods possess the sole authority over public funds? A day will come when they will have to answer for their high-handedness to the Indian public. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* and the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, dwell at length on the good results that are likely to ensue from the Duke's visit to this country and strongly deprecate the movement for boycotting him and observing a *hartal* during his stay in Bombay. "Pharos" writes in the *Hindusthán*:—"We must again protest against boycotting the Duke's visit to our city. He has done nothing to hurt India or Indians in any way. Nor has his family! Why make him suffer for the sins of Dyers and O'Dwyer's! He has come to India with the best of motives and, therefore, we must be cordial to him."]

Swarajya (143), 10th Feb.; *Rájákaran* (131), 6th Feb.

13. The futility of the Duke's visit to India is being hourly demonstrated. Indians want immediately full responsible government and they will not be satisfied until they get it. A few concessions might be announced but these will not satisfy anyone. At Madras and Calcutta all public functions in connection with the Duke's visit were boycotted and a similar reception awaits him here in Bombay. [The *Rájákaran* writes:—Indians are quite tired of the bureaucratic rule which the Duke has come here to bolster up. How can they be expected to welcome one who has only come to make their fetters more tight?]

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Duke of Connaught.

Hindusthán (21), 6th Feb., Eng. cols.

14. "Mahatma Gandhi has addressed a letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught couched in his usual manly and independent language and in that beautiful purity of diction which has put scholars of Gujarati and English languages to shame.......... Unfortunately the bureaucracy which arranged the visit of a member of the Royal family to give cudos to the Reform scheme is in no mood (when was the bureaucracy in the mood of giving at any time) to consider the ways and methods of meeting the Indian people half way and so securing them as friends of the Empire instead of allowing the cancerous growth within the Empire to foster as it will. His Royal Highness in his speech inagurating the Bengal Legislative Council referred to the decennial revision by the Parliament. These words were apparently put in by His Royal Highness' advisers under instructions from the local Government to point out that the Government were not going to budge an inch from the position they have taken up. This partially destroys the hopes of the Government's realising the force of popular opinion and not repeating the mistakes committed by them in Ireland for instance. The last sentence is the most pregnant with thought and statesmanship. 'We desire to live on terms of friendship with Englishmen but that friendship must be a friendship of equals both in theory and in practice, and we must continue to non-co-operate, *i. e.*, to purify ourselves till the goal is achieved'. Will His Royal Highness bear the message of the country to the British people

and the Government assuring them that the aim of the movement is not to take the life of a single Englishman, but simply to secure self-respect for the Indian people by having full self-government ?"

Sanj Vártamán (32), 8th Feb., Eng. cols.

15. "A historic and epoch-making document was issued by Mr. Gandhi on February 2nd, 1921, when he wrote his Open Letter to the Duke of Connaught. In days to come it will be looked upon as a priceless trophy, reflecting in a most transparent manner the pure mentality of a great and a saintly man. Friends and foes, co-operationists and non-co-operationists, Moderates and Extremists, Englishmen and Indians, all, every one of them, should read this letter, chew it and inwardly digest its contents. We can assure them that it will give indigestion to none. On the contrary, it will do good to many, for the letter is not an empty document. It reveals the heart and conscience of a man who has dedicated his pure and spotless life to the service of his country, and at the same time it supplies us with the basic motive, the real *raison d'etre*, for his present activity throughout the length and breadth of the country.......... As long as non-co-operation is clothed in its pure garment of non-violence, it is bound to exercise a great power in the political life of the country. We are perfectly certain that if Englishmen looked at the non-co-operation creed without prejudice and examined it with discrimination, they too would come to the conclusion that in the hands of the helpless it is a powerful but a pure instrument. To the helpless it gives help, to the weak strength, to the timid boldness. In fact, non-co-operation makes a man of an individual. Let this cardinal point be thoroughly understood. 'One hundred thousand Englishmen by virtually non-co-operating with nearly forty crores of their fellow-creatures have kept them under subjection for a century and a half. Suppose, the tables were now turned, and if not the whole of the forty crores but a large majority of them were to adopt non-co-operation as a creed, why, this large number would bring to its knees the rest of the world'. But for this consummation the essential essence of non-violence ought to be strictly kept intact. This in its very truth is the Gandhian creed, and, we think, he has rendered further national service by drawing the Duke's attention to the guiding principle of his creed and the reason why he has been forced to put it into practice."

Gujaráti (17), 6th Feb.

16. Mr. Gandhi has been asking the people to boycott the Duke. Why then does he address an open letter to him? We fail to understand his motive in doing so. Does he merely want to inform the Duke as to what the non-co-operation movement is or does he mean to suggest, as seems from the concluding portion of the letter, the basis of a compromise? There is no reference to *swarájya* in the letter. We wonder what Mr. Gandhi means by telling the Duke what the people would like to have and what they object to when he has advocated *swarájya* with or without British connection. Mr. Gandhi has stigmatised the British Government as Satanic and has openly declared that he had no hopes of any improvement taking place in the British administration or in British justice. But now he tells the Duke that the people would put an end to British rule in India if the British administration did not improve and that they would like to learn lessons in self-help by severing their connection with Government schools and courts of law. We fail to understand what Mr. Gandhi means by telling the Duke that what he preaches is non-violent non-co-operation. Mr. Gandhi, in his letter, has expressed his intention of putting an end to the admininistrative policy of Government which he alleges has emasculated the people. The question naturally arises as to which administrative policy of Government Mr. Gandhi means to put an end to. Is it the policy begun in the year 1921 or the one that was in operation before that? The old administrative policy of Government was, no doubt, autocratic. But is the new policy also an autocratic one and will the officials act in an high-handed manner under it? Is it, therefore, not necessary to put the new policy to the test? Why should time and energy be wasted in attempting to put an end to the policy of Government without making a distinction between the old and the new? The new reforms should, therefore, be carefully studied. The reforms give us a non-official majority in the Councils. We do not think that the Duke has come to uphold the prestige of the old administrative policy of Government. We are of the opinion that bureaucracy and the policy of treating public opinion with contempt is now at an end. Mr. Gandhi claims that the non-co operation movement has produced marvellous results. No doubt the movemont has produced marvellous results in turning the heads of young men and driving some of them to acts of hooliganism at the lectures delivered by men of moderate opinions, and in harrassing students who do not hold opinions similar to their own. Mr. Gandhi desires the Indian people to revert to the simplicity of the good old days. But he has not made it clear what he means by simplicity nor has he told us what age in the past he considers as an ideal of simplicity.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 8th Feb.

17. We welcome the open letter addressed by Mr. Gandhi to the Duke of Connaught inasmuch as it goes to show that he has come to his senses to some extent and recognises the necessity of giving a response to the appeal for co-operation made by the Duke to the people of this country. While congratulating Mr. Gandhi on the good sense he has shown in writing the letter we must say that no good purpose will be served by it. We all wish to secure justice and so we must go where it can be had. The Duke wants to heal old sores and so Mr. Gandhi should seek an interview with him and be prepared to answer all his queries so that he may be in a position to advise the King-Emperor to take the right path.

The Dukes visit to India.

Kesari (115), 8th Feb.

18. We do not know who may be the author of the brilliant idea of removing the discontent from the minds of Indians by parading the aged uncle of His Majesty the King through the length and breadth of India, but it seems as if the labour of reading printed speeches is going to bring the froth to his mouth. If this stratagem is really to remove the discontent in India, would it not be better to send all the members of the Royal family to tour the country? Fortunately, the Queen's progeny is so very large that two or three representatives of the Royal family can easily be available for each province. Besides, there would be no dearth of printed speeches. If in the absence of new, old ones be read out, no body would be able to detect the fact! Where there is nothing to be given there would of course be no lack of words! India must remain discontented until the Imperialists are prepared to make real sacrifices.

India cannot win her freedem by violence.

Young India (14), 9th Feb.

19. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"It is to be wished that non-co-operationists will clearly recognise that nothing can stop the onward march of the nation as violence. Ireland may gain its freedom by violence. Turkey may regain her lost possessions by violence within a measurable distance of time. But India cannot win her freedom by violence for a century, because her people are not built in the manner of other nations. They have been nurtured in the traditions of suffering. Rightly or wrongly, for good or ill, Islam too has evolved along peaceful lines in India. And I make bold to say that, if the honour of Islam is to be vindicated through his followers in India, it will only be by methods of peaceful, silent, dignified, conscious, and courageous suffering.......... What I am anxious to show is that non-co-operationists must be true as well to the spirit as to the letter of their vow if they would gain *Swarāj* within one year. They may forget non-co-operation, but they dare not forget non-violence. Indeed, non-co-operation is non-violence. We are violent when we sustain a Government whose creed is violence. It bases itself finally not on right but on might. Its last appeal is not to reason, not to the heart, but to the sword. We are tired of this creed and we have risen against it. Let us not ourselves belie our profession by being violent. Though the English are few, they are organised for violence. Though we are many, we cannot be organised for violence for a long time to come. Violence for us is a gospel of despair. I have seen a pathetic letter from a god-fearing English woman who defends Dyerism, for she thinks that if

General Dyer had not enacted Jhallianwalla, women and children would have been murdered by us. If we are such brutes as to desire the blood of innocent women and children, we deserve to be blotted out from the face of the earth. There is the other side. It did not strike this good lady that if we were fiends, the price that her countrymen paid at Jhallianwala for buying their safety was too great. They gained their safety at the cost of their humanity. General Dyer has been haltingly blamed, and his evil genius Sir Michael O'Dwyer entirely exonerated because Englishmen do not want to leave this country of fiends even if everyone of us has to be killed. If we go mad again as we did at Amritsar, let there be no mistake that a blacker Jhallianwalla will be enacted. Shall we copy Dyerism and O'Dwyerism even whilst we are condemning it? Let not our rock be violence and devilry. Our rock must be non-violence and godliness.......... We must then refrain from sitting *dhurna*, we must refrain from crying 'shame, shame' to anybody, we must not use any coercion to persuade our people to adopt our way. We must guarantee to them the same freedom we claim for ourselves. We must not tamper with the masses. It is dangerous to make political use of factory labourers or the peasantry—not that we are not entitled to do so, but we are not ready for it. We have neglected their political (as distinguished from literary) education all these long years. We have not got enough honest, intelligent, reliable and brave workers to enable us to act upon these countrymen of ours."

Protest against the attacks in the Anglo-Indian press on the non-co-operation movement.

New Times (9), 3rd Feb.

20. "It is a game at once ill-conceived and ill-played which the Anglo-Indian journals are playing in picturing to their readers and their comrades, the supposed horrors and self-contradictions of the non-co-operation movement in this country. That old enemy of Indian nationalism, Sir Valentine Chirol, is busy writing a series of articles and impressions for the London *Times* trying to bundle together some of the stock-arguments of Anglo-Indian extremists or moderate cynics to discredit Mahatma Gandhi and the non-co-operation movement. It is nothing short of an insult to the political understanding of India at this hour to present to her educated men a false picture of the world's political situation supported by bad logic, lack of genuine sympathy which alone can give insight, and lack of that statesmanship which might even move on the plane of enlightened self-interest. The two articles of Sir Valentine in the *Times* which have so far reached this country are full of the same kind of attack and insinuation against Mahatma Gandhi as his articles against Lokamanya Tilak when that great patriot, as the idol of the people, led the national movement in India. We would pass unnoticed such interested and mischievous writings but for the fact that they set the tune for the Anglo-Indian journalists who write with an assurance of ignorance. The latest instance of this type is an article in the *Daily Gazette* of last evening when it insinuates that the non-co-operation movement in India means, in its intent and effect, a negation of the principle and purpose of democracy!......... The basis of these ignorant attacks is the feeling of racial superiority against which Japan protested at the Peace Conference when the so-called League of Nations was being formed. And India will not be treated on equal terms with other free nations of the world until she regains her freedom, and the only way to secure that freedom is non-violent non-co-operation. It is the false notion of race-superiority which is at the root of the trouble and which makes all Asia feel one with India. India cannot rise in the estimation of the world till she shows her strength—not the strength of brute force but moral and spiritual strength."

The Parsis should not be blamed for holding aloof from the non-co-operation movement.

***Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 6th Feb.**

21. Adverting to the allegation that the Parsis by their apathy towards the non-co-operation movement are showing themselves to be selfish and ungrateful, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—The Parsis possess as much feeling for the welfare of India as the other communities. They understand it well that their own welfare is bound up with that of India and, therefore, the Parsis would be willing to join any constitutional, practical and

effective movement which may be started for the good of the country, for satisfying its just demands and for removing its grievances. No sane Parsi would be opposed to India's winning full responsible self-government similar to that of the Dominions and within the British Empire. On the contrary the Parsis would rejoice if India secured Home Rule, nay, the first person to raise the banner of Home Rule was a Parsi. But we regret to say that the movement at present started by men holding extreme views under the name of non-co-operation is neither constitutional, practical, nor effective. The promoters of the movement plainly say that their object is to paralyse the Government, and our common sense refuses to believe that this object can be achieved without a revolution in the country. Suppose for a moment that those that carry on the movement succeed in their object; still it is a grave problem what the future condition of the country would be. Therefore, if an educated and intelligent community like that of the Parsis, instead of falling a prey to excitement, think it wise to hold themselves aloof from such a dangerous movement, it is not proper to make such allegations against them as that they are selfish and ungrateful. Some people have come forward to advise the Parsis to throw themselves headlong into this movement without caring for the consequences, as other people have been blindly doing. It is certainly not fair to make such unpleasant allegations against the Parsis, if they refuse to act up to such suicidal advice.

Condemnation of the violent methods of non-co-operationists.
Gujaráti (17), 6th Feb.

22. Non-violence is held out as the chief characteristic of the non-co-operation movement and the leaders of the movement have declared that it would end in failure if its followers resorted to any form of violence such as hooliganism or oppression. But it must be understood that the followers of the movement have no right to encroach upon the liberty of speech and writing of persons who differ from them. It is not non-violent non-co-operation to prevent boys from going to school or people from going to their work; but it is a form of oppression. Such methods show the weakness of the movement. Should no objection be taken to people being tarred and conducted in procession on a donkey for refusing to join the temperance movement? People are also being forced to close their shops against their will. Such behaviour on the part of a few non-co-operationists is nothing short of tyranny. It is to be regretted that students in Bombay refused to give a hearing to Mr. Shastri. This goes to show that the non-violent non-co-operation movement has slipped out of the control of its original promoters and that a new element has been introduced in the movement which does not care for its leaders and takes delight in hooliganism.

Can non-co-operation be non-violent?
Gujaráti (17), 6th Feb.

23. Commenting upon the speech recently delivered by Mr. M. K. Gandhi at Vadtal (Kaira District) in which he reminded people of the Khilafat wrongs and the Punjáb atrocities and exhorted them to develop soul-force, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—It seems Mr. Gandhi means to teach the people the means of self-purification and developing soul-force by reminding them of past wrongs and creating in them a feeling of revenge and thus drawing them towards the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Gandhi, in short, wants to create public opinion that will force the British Government to bend its knee and calls it soul-force and self-purification. How can such a movement lay claim to be a religious one? Can it, in any way, be connected with religion? It is being said that soul-force should be developed, but that there should be no recourse to violence. Is it possible to do so? Is not violence inseparable from the very idea of "force"? Development of soul-force requires an insight into spiritual knowledge and the want of it cannot be supplied by non-co-operation or the spinning wheel. Soul-force can control public opinion, but if Government are to be made to bend their knee to public opinion such public opinion must come from educated men. Knowledge must be spread in the country to make public opinion effective and so there should be an increase and not a decrease in the number of schools and colleges in the country. People are talking of securing *swarájya* by developing soul-force through the means of the non-co-operation

movement. But how much of sincerity is there in the movement? Many men and women meet at public meetings to pass resolutions about non-violent non-co-operation, but many of them commit violence in thought and speech! Students are being made to sacrifice themselves in the movement. Is it development of soul-force and self-purification to advise others to sacrifice themselves? The non-co-operation movement has, no doubt, a commendable element of patriotism and has no immorality in it. But non-violence does not merely consist in refraining from the use of a stick, a rifle or a sword. Disarmed India is incapable of committing violence in deed, but it is certainly capable of committing violence in thought and words.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's manifesto to students.

Mahratta (8), 13th Feb.

***24.** "We have often pointed out in our columns how the Director of Information is only a Government official commissioned to give a wide circulation to a particular kind of literature. It is no wonder if the letter of Mr. Paranjpye, on the subject of College boycott, secures willing patronage at the hands of that official who eagerly propagates its copies throughout the presidency for the enlightenment of students who are playing the 'foolish lamb' in the hands of Gandhi and his followers. An examination, however, of the arguments advanced by the new Minister against College boycott is likely to make one feel that the epithet 'foolish lamb' would look more appropriate if it were 'transferred' from the advised to the adviser.......... Mr. Paranjpye refuses to see any causal connection between the College boycott and *Swarajya.* We can cure his short-sight if he pleases. The complete boycott of colleges would infuse in the minds of the leaders a sort of confidence that the youth of the country is ready to follow them. This will accelerate the non-co-operation movement and bring the pleaders, merchants and peasants very quickly into the thick. This will ultimately mean the withdrawal of the consent of the people on which British Raj in India is based. That will bring the bureaucrats down on their knees—and that means *Swarajya* for India. This is the chain of causal relations; and the new Minister thinks it a case of *non sequitur,* because he catches the chain at its extremities.......... Mr. Paranjpye believes like an innocent child that 'the feeling of Nationality which is happily growing stronger and stronger in our younger generation is the direct consequence of the education we have been receiving, of the English history and literature which we have been studying.' How we wish the Minister had not been blind to the policy that has guided the British statesmen in their solution of the problem of Indian education. Years before Macaulay not only admitted, but declared, with a sense of pride, that English education was to be introduced in India for the sole object of preparing Indian young men for clerical service. The same original policy still permeates the Provincial and Imperial departments of public instruction. The feeling of Nationality is growing in India, not because of English education, but in spite of it. To those who point out the innumerable defects in the present education, Mr. Paranjpye holds out the hope 'Education is a transferred subject, and I, as Minister of Education, must shape the policy in consonance with' the desire of the people, and 'I shall see that the funds placed at my disposal by my Council are utilised to supply these defects as far as possible.' Here, in the first place, the new Minister is labouring under self-delusion. If he is expecting to command a fat purse, it is a false hope. Besides, if men are to be judged by their past words and deeds, the new Minister does not show promise of radically overhauling the Educational Department to the complete satisfaction of all. And again to say 'I am the future Minister' as an argument against those that look down the present educational system is only an *argumentum ad hominem.* As a disbeliever in the non-co-operation movement Mr. Paranjpye holds up the 'New Councils' as the panacea for all ailments. Do you wish to reform the educational system? Then here are the New Councils and you need not be hopeless! Do you wish to right the wrongs of the Punjáb? Look to the New Councils! Do you wish to see the question of Khilfat honourably settled? Pay homage to the New Councils! **Do you desire Swarajya for your country? Take off your hats to the New Councils and the new Ministers!"**

Swarajya (143), 10th Feb.

25. People have come definitely to the conclusion that their salvation lies in the immediate attainment of *swarajya* and that recourse to non-co-operation is the only way to gain their object. Their reasoning may be right or wrong, but their choice is final. The co-operation of Indians represents the several props on which the edifice of British rule in India rests. Indians are no longer willing to furnish these props which only benefit others and injure themselves. Although it has been decided to withdraw ultimately all the props, the Congress has marked only a few for withdrawal at present. Receiving the education that is given in Government and aided institutions is one of the props that have been marked for immediate withdrawal. It will thus be seen that people have decided to boycott education not because it is bad in itself but because the boycott of education given in the present institutions is one of the items in the programme of non-co-operation. It is to be regretted that many sensible men do not exactly understand why people have decided to boycott education. These people are welcome to try to convince the people that they are wrong in having recourse to non-co-operation. But how do they hope to succeed? What acts of the English officials are capable of inducing the people to co-operate with them? And why should Indians co-operate with men who perpetrated the Punjáb atrocities? In short, owing to their inability to successfully attack the non-co-operation movement, the Moderates sing the praises of education and thus try to ingratiate themselves with the authorities. Where is the need of praising education? Who ever denied that education was a good thing? Why need a Minister appointed by Government preach the virture of education? No one willingly foregoes education. Poeple have decided on the boycott of education, not because they hate education but because they hate slavery. After the attainment of *swarájya* every student will resume his studies with redoubled vigour. The present boycott is inaugurated only with a definite object in view. Would the people of Europe, when the war was on and the schools were closed, have relished the advice of a Minister of education to the students to stick to their studies and to think of nothing else?

Appeal to Sindhi youths to boycott schools, and colleges in response to the call of the motherland.
Hindu (157), 26th Jan.

26. Young men! reflect a little. Do you see mother India yonder with the foot of the bureaucracy pressing on her bosom? Her ornaments lie scattered about on the ground! Her hair is dishevelled, her garment is besmeared with mud, and tears are streaming down from her eyes. These tears are tears not of water, but of warm blood! Listen! she is whining:—"Sons, run to my rescue at this moment of my distress. This bureaucracy has oppressed my innocent children in the Punjab and massacred them at Jallianwalla, and interfered with the religion of my Muslim sons in violation of solemn pledges and wants to strangle me by pressing its foot down on my bosom. Won't you come to my help? I have called upon you to leave Government schools and colleges, to get out of these slave-houses, become free and relieve me of this misery." Saying this the mother faints. Sindhi youths, do you hear what the mother says? The mother is calling you every moment and is remembering you every minute. This is the time for you to get up and do something. This is the moment, when you should give proof of your youthfulness. This is the moment and this the business. Evacuate slave houses. Come out of Government and aided schools and colleges. If you are unaffected even by the whining of the mother, if your stony hearts are not melted by the sobs of the mother, if you are still unable to understand things, you had better disappear from the world, pray God that the earth may burst open and devour you so that none may see your faces! Young men, what are you thinking of? It is a question of life and death, a question of liberty and slavery, a question of self-respect. Why are you wavering? True, there are not enough national schools and colleges to receive you on your coming out of the present institutions. But, brethren, remember one point of principle. Education can wait but not *Swaráj*. What would you have? *Swaráj* in a year or study of two or three more books in that time? Would you remain one more year comfortable in chains in the slave-houses, and suffer your country to be a dependent country for ever? Decide forthwith. Either make self-sacrifice and achieve freedom or be effeminate under slavery and await extinction. Decide quickly. If our youths will respond to the call of the mother, well and good; if not, the time is fast approaching when they must do so per force. There is excitement and awakening in the country. The poorer classes, the tillers of the soil and the artisans appreciate the situation. The bulk of our countrymen are advancing forward in response to the mother's call, and if our educated young men do not move onward, the former will go on step by step to the pinnacle of freedom and look down upon them, who will then have no place in which to hide themselves from shame.

Why students should give up Government schools and colleges.
Raj Hansa (89), 6th Feb.

27. We cannot say that success has attended any of the items in the non-co-operation programme except perhaps the boycott of educational institutions. Some people argue that since pleaders do not give up their profession, since title-holders do not give up their titles and since merchants still import foreign goods, there is no reason why students alone should be made to sacrifice their education and their careers. It is needless to say that it is mainly the Anglo-Indians and those of our own countrymen who are ever ready to dance to the bureaucratic tune that argue in this way. Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress have given the mandate that all students must leave their colleges. Uptil now about 25 thousand students have obeyed that mandate. It is foolish to say that this is against the interests of the country. What sense is there in saying that students should not boycott their institutions because pleaders still practice in the courts, title-holders still cling to their titles and instead of Lajpat Rais and Patels, barbers, cartmen and dismissed forest guards have entered the Councils? If pleaders are not true to the Congress and to their country, is it not the education they received in schools and colleges that is at fault? Besides, how many men are there educated in these institutions who can earn a livelihood by independent means? Is not this system of education one that neglects the health of the students and turns them into mere parrots? There are still more important reasons why these institutions must be boycotted. It not only works havoc with the physique of our youths, but it is the poison which degrades their mentality. Once this poison enters their mind there is no hope for them. The present Government is unjust. Therefore, it is our duty to non-co-operate with it. But the present system of education makes it impossible for us to see these truths. Moreover, it makes us believe that we are a worthless nation and that we are unfit for a democratic form of government. In short, it is a machine that turns out slaves. It kills our national self-respect. Therefore, educational non-co-operation is in the best interests of the country.

Approval of Mr. Gandhi's advice to students to take to spinning cotton yarn.
Praja Bandhu (29), 6th Feb., Eng. cols.

28. "It seems, in certain quarters the latest advice of Mr. Gandhi to the students all over the country to suspend their normal studies for one year and take to the spinning-wheel has caused surprise not unmixed with panic. If that is so, it shows complete ignorance of what constitutes the secret of *Swarāj*—the goal of our national aspirations and achievements, irrespective of our differences, political, credal, or communal. Our political dependence was brought about, and is maintained, largely, if not chiefly, to make us dependent commercially.......... Of late the mill industry has made its appearance, and has through vicissitudes of fortune attained a position that bids fair to expand under wise direction. But after all it has touched only a fringe of the problem, and foreign cloth of the value of 60 crores of rupees is still annually imported by us. If we intend to stop this huge commercial drain at once—and what student of economics and politics will not intend to do so—we must supplement the output of our mills by taking to our old, old spinning-wheels and hand-looms. Perhaps it is not well-known that even at present the weavers weave more cloth than all our mills combined together. If, therefore, the former were to increase their output, and manufacture all the cloth we need, we must supply them the yarn they need, otherwise they will increase the import of foreign yarn, which already amounts to 350 lacs of lbs. per year. No doubt hand-spun yarn, especially from our present quality of cotton, will be comparatively coarse. But if we willingly do what many Governments of the civilized world have forced their people to do—encourage and patronize indigenous articles even at some inconvenience and loss, in course of time the quality of our cotton and yarn is bound to improve, and the days of the gossamer muslins of Dacca are sure to come back, without our having to wade through all the horrors of modern Industrialism and Capitalism—the twin sisters of modern Imperialism and Militarism. But why ask students to leave their schools and colleges? We must not forget that in the early hours of the dawn the voices of children are heard the loudest. They are endowed with all the richest and noblest impulse of the human heart, and it is they who have been the saviours of nations in times of crises.......... Will not then the youth of India at this moment, at this supreme, awful moment, respond to the call of their Motherland, and preach to the dumb driven masses in deathless words the saving gospel of *Swaráj* and *Swadeshism*? The task is in every way worthy of themselves and the high traditions of our ancient spiritual culture."

Spinning will not win *swarájya.*
Lokasangraha (118), 12th Feb.

29. Mahatma Gandhi makes so much of the spinning-wheel and has such great faith in it that he would be only too glad if every family in India took to it. His only difficulty is how to get all these wheels. But if the spinning-wheel has anything to do with the winning of *swarájya*, we believe the country will be flooded with them in no time. The problem, however, is not of the supply of spinning-wheels but of their utility. And so far as this is not proved, the country will continue to regard this so-called panacea more or less as an idiosyncracy of Mr. Gandhi and his blind followers. It is indeed one of the whims of Mr. Gandhi and had not he himself been its originator, it would surely have been made fun of by the people. While giving a justification of this panacea of his, he makes the statement that one hour's spinning would bring in a profit of a quarter anna. It is needless to say that under these conditions it would simply be wasting the energies and time and intellect of the students to set them spinning yarn on the wheels. India has nothing to gain and very much to lose by taking to this fad. The spinning-wheel cannot solve the problem of *swadeshi*. These times of non-co-operation being full of intense emotion, people are easily fooled. Therefore, the need for keeping a balanced mind is most pressing. We must go on vigorously with the non-co-operation movement; but that does not mean that we are to go on spinning yarn till we are tired. It is our sincere and humble request to Mahárásthra that it should not fall a victim to this emotion.

Risk involved in using students for propaganda purposes.
Servant of India (10), 10th Feb.

30. Referring to the plan to use the students for propaganda purposes in villages the *Servant of India* writes:—"It cannot by any means be described as a fair or manly course. The students themselves are rash, immature and ill-equipped. Even among educated men and non-co-operators themselves there is a rowdy section which in spite of the essential creed of non-violence breaks up public meetings and spoils for physical violence. A similar section will not be absent in the villages, nor designing persons to pull the wires from behind. Conflict and violence are bound to ensue. It is most unfair on the part of elders themselves engaged in prohibited professions or trade to expose the generous but inexperienced youths to these risks and dangers. From fifteen to twenty thousand people adopted with acclamation the non-co-operation resolution at Nagpur. Not even two per cent. of them seem to be doing propaganda work at present. Why should they not take up village organization instead of asking the students to do so? Much as we regret their being withdrawn from Government and aided educational institutions, we should certainly prefer their studying in the national colleges to being sent on risky business. This is also the opinion of the prominent Maharashtra non-co-operators who, again, fail to see the magic virtues of the spinning-wheel or the utility of learning Hindustani."

Lokasangraha (118), 7th Feb.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 8th Feb.

31. Our leaders want to utilise the energies of our students in propaganda work in the villages. And so they have set about manufacturing these propagandists. Now this is not only funny, it is dangerous as well. Politics is not such a light business that a few lectures at Andheri would make boys proficient in politics. Our ideas about the intelligence of agriculturists are quite a different from those of others. In our opinion to entrust propaganda work among villagers to students would be waste of labour. Elderly men ought to take up the work. Sooner or later repression is sure to begin, and it is sure to be directed against these student preachers. Is it not worth consideration as to how many families will be cursing our leaders when this happens? Why should we expose our young men to the wrath of Government while the grown-up men are enjoying themselves right royally? If our educated and experienced men do not come out to fight the country's fight, is it not obvious that the nation is not prepared for that fight? Indeed, we are surprised that responsible men should put such strange ideas before raw minds. What are the students to do then? In our opinion, in this year that lies before them, they should try to become strong, healthy men, learn Hindi, learn also habits of simplicity, study politics critically and, if at all, they should at the most take only a secondary part in propaganda work. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* expresses agreement with the above views about the unwisdom of using students for propaganda work, and remarks that if the Extremists thus speak out their real minds, the non-co-operation movement will furnish very little ground for disagreement between them and the Moderates.]

Parents should not send their children to schools on the day on which victory medals are to be distributed

Raj Hansa (89), 8th Feb.

32. We hear that students in the Government and aided schools are going to be presented with medals in honour of the Allies' victory in the late war. This is of course natural on the part of Government. During the war the British Empire was in danger. And India also was in danger as forming a very important part of that Empire. So it is true that the victory has brought India safely out of that difficult position. And this no doubt should have been a matter for rejoicing for us. But alas! The Almighty has destined otherwise! When at the beginning of the war England was in great danger she promised that if Indians helped her in the war they would be granted self-government. The Indian Muslims were also promised that Turkey would not suffer in any way. But what took place subsequently need not be retold. The danger from Germany was over. The Rowlatt Acts, the Punjáb massacres and the dismemberment of Turkey are all well-known. So it happened that as soon as the position of England became better, that of India became worse. In other words the victory gave the British Government an opportunity to oppress India. This is an illustration of the proverb, 'One man's food is another man's poison'. It is true that in one sense this war was memorable for us. But certainly there was nothing in it to congratulate ourselves upon. For us the victory is really an occasion for mourning. It is a pity that at such a time students should be presented with medals to commemorate the joyous end of the war. The nation's mandate is to leave schools and colleges. At such a time, accepting these medals would mean accepting certificates of slavery and strengthening the chains that bind us. Therefore we, at least, hope that parents will not send their children to schools on the day of the presentation of these medals.

Government's neglect to pay adequately clerks and other subordinates tends to swell the ranks of Mr. Gandhi's followers.

Sind Observer (12), 15th Dec. 1920.

33. "It could be laid down without fear of contradiction that half-starved teachers and half-starved clerks under Government employ form not a little portion of Mr. Gandhi's sympathisers, allies and agents in the movement of non-co-operation. A Government that starves them but extracts the last tola of energy in the form of work by the time the wretched clerks gets home late at night (for in the Revenue and Judicial offices in the mofussil a clerk does the work which is distributed usually amongst three men in any city mercantile firm) cannot expect undivided loyalty from its miserably paid servants. If bribery amongst the lower grades of the services is so prevalent as to constitute a blot on any civilised government it is because these clerks and menials, these Revenue or Circle Inspectors and Taluka Sheristedars and innumerable underlings in every department of Government are so lowly paid that they should live somehow or other in these hard times and they live 'upon the people'......... Could a clerk feed and clothe himself and his family, marry his daughters and educate his sons, and perform all religious ceremonies on Rs. 30, 40, 50 or 60 a month in these times? We are constrained to say that the master must share half the responsibility for the sins of his servants. If corruption in Government offices amongst the subordinates and menials should be put a stop to, if the public should be saved from continual harassment the scandal of miserably low wages must at once be ended. It is no use disguising the fact that there is deep resentment in the hearts of these subordinates that while the higher Civil Services and Provincial Services have had their full because they have the 'loud mouth', these men are neglected for want of powerful support which the higher services undoubtedly had exerted. It is in this country alone, of all the countries in the world they say, that promotion begins from the top and takes unconscionably long time to reach the bottom; that the highly paid are paid still higher salaries although by delaying the promotion of their salary for a little while they do not run the risk of starvation, while those who are actually half-starved, the case of whose relief must have been given the first consideration, are allowed to starve fully filling their empty stomach all the while with the material supplied by Mr. Gandhi and the non-co-operationist orators.......... It is now an undoubted fact that Government, by paying its lower subordinates so miserably, has become the recruiting agent of Mr. Gandhi. It may be asked if these clerks receive such an insufficient wage why should they stick like leeches to Government Service? We think that a master who does not pay his servants a living wage ought not to put such a question at all. It is adding insult to injury.......... The Government's lower subordinates have to stick on, good wages or bad wages, because in this country there is not a wide field for enterprising and paying careers. And unfortunately the Universities turn out goods enormously in excess of the demand.......... The Government of Bombay issued a resolution on 6th December, 1919 asking heads of departments to submit proposals for the revision of salaries of the clerical establishments. Knowing the difficulties their servants in the lower grades are in Government promised to deal with the matter with the utmost expedition. But an year has elapsed and nothing has yet been done. The higher Civil Service obtained what it wanted a year ago. These clerks and menials may be promised retrospective promotion; but it will come as a poor consolation when the men have been kept on the tenterhooks of expectation for a promotion for several months which has not yet made its appearance.......... We know the process of incubation in Government Secretariats takes an inordinately long time especially when it concerns people who cannot threaten a revolt. But even the proverbial worm seems to be trying to stand erect and assert itself. The Talatis in the presidency proper have struck; to-morrow it may be the turn of the clerks and those placed above them. Government must hurry up matters. We trust there will be no further delay."

Condemnation of the Ahmedabad Municipality's resolution to give up the Government grant for education.

Gujarát Vartamán ( ), 9th Feb.

34. Commenting upon the refusal by the Ahmedabad Municipality to receive education grant from Government, the *Gujarát Vartamán* remarks:—In giving up the Government educational grant the Ahmedabad Municipality has committed a great mistake. Inasmuch as the Municipality is an institution managed by the people, there was no necessity to apply the principle of non-co-operation to it. The functions of the Municipality are to keep the streets clean, to provide water and to attend to public health and sanitation and, if there are sufficient funds available, to direct its attention to primary education. But for the latter, if it has not sufficient funds at hand, it has to receive help from Government or the rich. And if this help be stopped and new taxes are levied, it will have to be said that the Municipality forgets its own duty. The resolution passed by the Municipality to give up Government grant is, therefore, hasty and has been passed without mature consideration and in disregard of the responsibilities involved. It is obvious that Government control over the Municipality cannot be got rid of. On the contrary, owing to this resolution, the relations between Government and the Municipality will be embittered; and if Government take up a sterner attitude than at present towards the Municipality, the blame for it will lie at the door of the non-co-operationists.

Servant of India (10), 10th Feb.

35. "What will be the probable consequences of this resolution? The Municipality has never had a very enviable reputation for efficiency or wisdom in management and had some years ago been superseded. Though this resolution is a refusal to make reasonable provision for the discharge of an obligatory function under section 54 of the Act, the Government of Bombay will not, we hope, take any disciplinary action against the Municipality. The poorer class of residents who will be deprived of the benefits which would otherwise accrue may be expected to raise a strong protest and compel the Council to go back on its present resolution. What a mockery of the promised *swarāj* it is that elementary education should be deliberately sacrificed for the sake of a mere fad! But even at this price can the non-co-operators achieve their object, which, according to Mr. Patel's resolution, is to remove Government control? The Act unfortunately provides in Section 58 'that the extent of the independent authority of any Municipality in respect of public education and their relations with the Government Educational Department shall from time to time be prescribed by the Governor in Council."

Comments on the resolution of the Nadiad Municipality to refuse the Government grant for education.

Young India (14), 9th Feb.

36. Commenting upon the correspondence between the Nadiad Municipality and the authorities on the subject of the resolution of the former to refuse the Government grant for education, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"No one can take exception to the admirable spirit of the people or the correctness of the attitude of the municipality. Of course, the Government may, if it dare, disband the municipality. But any such disbandment must be futile if the rate-payers are determined not to have Government control over the education of their children. This is a peaceful revolution on a small scale. The success of the movement is due to the cohesion of the people and their ability to manage and finance the education of their children. Violence being eschewed, the people of Nadiad are able to give an education in *Swarāj* to their children. What is true of the municipality regarding the education of the children is true of the whole of India in every other respect. When the people have one mind, ability of management, and recognise the necessity of non-violence, if only as a business proposition, *Swarāj* is won. Finance is a matter of little consideration. For the Government does not bring money from heaven; it receives, to paraphrase an expressive Gujarati saying, an anvil weight of metal and returns a needle weight. And the pity and the disgrace of it is that, even with that niggardly donation, it imprisons and emasculates the tender mind of the nation. Were it not for self-delusion, we would at least refuse to be party to the ruin of our own children. The Municipality of Nadiad has shown how easy the whole process of nationalization of education is......... I hope that the object lesson given by the Municipality of Nadiad will not be lost upon other municipalities similarly situated."

Mr. Gandhi's condemnation of untouchability.

***Navjivan* (72), 6th Feb.**

37. **In the course of an article in which he discusses the question "Who is a Sanatani Hindu" Mr. M. K. Gandhi remarks:—Even a blind man can see that untouchability is irreligion. We are raising an outcry against the injustice done in the Punjāb; but we ourselves are guilty of even greater injustice towards the untouchables. I have noticed the houses of Bhangis to be cleaner than those of many Vaishnavas.**

I have been astounded at the truthfulness, straightforwardness, kindliness and other virtues displayed by several of them. I am convinced that *kaliyug* has made its appearance amongst us in the shape of untouchability, and through it we have been rendered sinful and have lost even the power to protect the cow. So long as we are not freed from this Dyerism, we have no right to free ourselves from English Dyerism.

Comments on His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's speech at the unveiling of the Brighton Memorial to Indian soldiers.
Swarajya (143), 10th Feb.

38. Commenting upon the unveiling of a memorial at Brighton to the Indian soldiers fallen in the war by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the *Swarajya* writes:—The Prince said that Indians proved true to their salt and helped England in her hour of need. But has His Royal Highness ever inquired how their services were rewarded by the bureaucracy here? If he has, then he must be aware that they got in return the Rowlatt Act, the Punjáb atrocities and the Khilafat wrong. The Prince took a little time to give expression to his sympathy, but the bureaucracy was more prompt and gave a practical demonstration of it in the Punjáb when the war had hardly ended. The Prince has unveiled a white memorial; the bureaucracy, too, has erected a memorial in the Punjáb to the fallen heroes and has painted it with blood!

Comments on Colonel Wedgwood's article on the convict settlement in the Andamans.
Praja Bandhu (29), 6th Feb., Eng. cols.

39. Referring to the Colonel Wedgwood's article in the *Daily Herald* entitled "Hell in the Andamans," the *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—"Ere this the sufferings of the convicts in the Andamans had reached our ears, especially those of some of the youths actually driven mad. But Government have so far shrouded the whole affair with the impenetrable veil of secrecy. They have in their possession a report prepared by a special Committee which they have not as yet published. Will they now do so, when their reputation has been exposed to the gaze of the civilized world by one of their own stock, and obliterate the abominable spot altogether, if the allegations are found true?"

Sávarkar brothers should be released from the Andamans.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Feb.

40. "After the exposure by Colonel Wedgwood of the horrors of that 'hell on earth', the Andamans, the further incarceration of the Sávarkar brothers, the two most prominent political prisoners in those islands, must appear to be indefensible from whatever point of view. Both of them are highly educated persons and none of themt was directly concerned in any murderous attack. In the case of the younger of them his only offence, so for as we remember, was that he published some so-called seditious poems, for which he received the preposterously cruel sentence of penal servitude. As for the elder Sávarkar the charge against him was that he sent to India surreptitiously a revolver, with which some youth in Nasik murdered the Collector. We do not think it was proved or even contended that this Sávarkar had instructed anybody to murder the Collector in question. This fact minimises the gravity of his offence. Anyhow, both the brothers have sufficiently expiated their offences during the last twelve years of their imprisonment. Persons convicted of graver offences have been given the benefit of the Royal clemency. It is both puzzling and painful to see that these two brothers alone should be prevented from receiving the benefits of that act of grace."

Comments on General Dyer's intention to give the proceeds of his lectures to the relatives of those who fell at Jallianwalla Baug.
Hindusthán (22), 7th Feb.; *Gujaráti Punch* (19), 6th Feb.

41. Referring to the news that General Dyer is going to deliver a series of lectures on his Persian Expedition in 1916 and that the proceeds thereof will be distributed amongst the relatives of the victims at Amritsar, the *Hindusthán* remarks:—We do not think any self-respecting Indian would touch a pie of the money coming from the hands of this sinner. When the majority of the people have made up their minds not to co-operate with a Government under whose regime such a wicked act has been perpetrated, it is a sin even to touch the blood money coming from the hands of the perpetrator of this black deed. In fact, this move on General Dyer's part is like applying salt to a wound. If General Dyer is truly repentant, he should refuse receiving his pension which is being paid from the Indian revenues and lead the holy life of a recluse, or he should expend the proceeds of his lectures in raising a memorial to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. There will not be found in India anyone who would pollute his soul and body by touching this blood-money. [The *Gujaráti Punch* remarks :—What are we to understand from this? To cut off a man's head first and then put a hat on it—is this true gentlemanliness, is this true sympathy? By this act of his, General Dyer perhaps wants to create the impression upon the minds of the Indian public that during the period of the disturbances he was helpless as he had to exercise his authority as a matter of duty; but now that he is not in authority, being prompted by humane instincts, he wishes to give proof of the purity of his heart. Many newspapers have suggested that the orphans of the victims at Amritsar should not accept the gift from his bloodstained hands. It is not to be wondered at if the poor helpless but self-respecting Indians do so. As long as General Dyer does not express his regret for his arrogant deeds, so long as he does not repent for his sins, he has no right to confer an obligation on India.

Appeal to Indians to profit by the recent actions of Government officials at Rai Bareilly and to follow the Congress edict.

Hindu (157), 27th Jan.

42. The firing at Rai Bareilly, the subsequent conduct of officers there, and the way in which the leaders have been confined indicate how ready the bureaucracy in India still are to do Indians to death. Hundreds of haris were thrust into jail without inquiry or trial. A meeting of thousands was fired on. Pundit Javharlal Nehru was refused permission to see the haris. Nay, he was peremptorily ordered to leave the town. The dead and wounded were left uncared for. These actions of the present bureaucracy must create hatred for the Government in the heart of every right-minded man. People have now begum to realise that there is practically no Government but anarchy in the country leaving every bureaucrat free to do what his fancy tells him to do. So many indignities are inflicted on us, so many of our people are killed or arrested, yet there is no justice for us! Justice is for the strong. Might is right. Far from punishing the officials who did all these things at Rai Bareilly, the Government gave a certificate of merit to the Magistrate for his action there. The Government also congratulated the Police, who fired, and fired without orders, on their good work! Nay, to hush up the whole matter, the Government from time to time issued garbled reports to mislead the public. Those who think that the reforms have introduced a new era into the country and are a measure of *Swaráj* had better go deep into the Rai Bareilly episode and see how they have been deceived and how free officials still are to commit atrocities. Brethren! won't you wake up a little even after witnessing such things, even after suffering such humiliations? Do you still believe that any good can come out of a shameless Government? Do please follow the Congress edict immediately and wash your foreheads clean of the dark blot.

Comments on the U. P. Government's resolution on the firing on Kisans at Munshiganj.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Feb.

43. "The U. P. Government's signal failure to vindicate justice in connection with the firing on Kisans at Munshiganj cannot be overlooked. The resolution which they have issued on the subject, instead of clearing the mystery of unauthorised firing and expressing regret for the incident, seeks to whitewash it in a most reprehensible manner.......... It is clear that neither the Deputy Commissioner of Police, who was much 'harassed,' nor the Superintendent of Police, who saw two of his men unhorsed, thought it necessary to give an order for firing. We are told that the former was in the centre and the latter at the right of the line, while the firing originated, at the left of the line. What were the circumstances that necessitated unauthorised recourse to firing by the subedar of the Labour Corps? This is not explained. 'Self-defence,' we know, is a plea which often covers a multitude of arbitrary deeds. Unless the exact circumstances are made known, the public will be led to suspect that the plea now given is only an excuse to gloss over the episode. Sir Harcourt's Government, instead of trying to arrive at the truth, seeks to draw a veil over the incident and refuses to institute an inquiry. Thus, not only is no regret expressed for the loss of lives taken in unauthorised firing, but the person or persons who were guilty of this lawlessness are to be let off with a pat on the back!........ It is plain that excesses having a familiar resemblance to those of the Punjáb under the O'Dwyer-Dyer regime have taken place in the United Provinces, and the authorities, instead of avoiding the mistakes of their western neighbours, are seeking to whitewash the culpable deeds of their officers. The public cannot but emphatically protest against this attitude of Sir Harcourt's Government."

Appeal to the authorities to assuage public feeling by meeting the legitimate aspirations of the people.

Bharatwási (156), 27th Jan.

44. The Honourable Mr. Bhurgri has given notice of the following resolution to be moved in the Council of State:—'That this Council recommends to His Excellency the Governor-General in Council the appointment of a mixed committee composed of members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State to consider the present situation of the country and devise a satisfactory solution.' This resolution of Mr. Bhurgri is most important and we warn the Government that it gives it its last chance. If the Government acting wisely and taking help from Honourable members like Mr. Bhurgri cools the excited minds of the people and makes some provision for the legitimate aspirations of the people to be fulfilled, well and good; otherwise even those members known as 'Moderates' who are still on its side will be disappointed and resort to non-co-operation bidding farewell to it.

Protest against the Ministers in the Punjáb not being consulted when the Seditious Meetings Act was extended to Jullunder.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 10th Feb.

45. The Joint Committee's Report warns the Governor that even as regards the reserved subjects he should consult the Ministers. The Committee are very strong on this point. They even say that the Governor cannot too often consult them. In the face of these instructions, it is painful to see that the Governor of the Punjáb did not consult his Ministers when applying the Seditious Meetings Act to Jullunder. The importance of the Joint Committee's instruction on this point is obvious. Since dyarchy is only a temporary measure, in course of time the reserved subjects will also pass into the hands of the Ministers. Therefore, it is necessary that the Ministers must be closely associated with the reserved subjects. It is also necessary that the reserved subjects should not be administered independently of public opinion. It is, therefore, necessary that there should be constant consultations between the Ministers and the Executive Councillors. In view of these considerations, it is surprising and painful that such an enlightened Governor as Sir Edward Maclagan should forget this important instruction of the Joint Committee.

Land acquisition in Mulshi Peta (Poona) in connection with the Tata Hydro-electric Works.

Kesari (115), 8th Feb.

46. The Collector of Poona had recently been to Mulshi Petta to try to reason with the inhabitants of the villages which are to be submerged by the Tata Company's operations. How far he succeeded in convincing them by his arguments can best be inferred from the determination the Mavlas expressed not to leave their lands. But it is necessary to show here the futility of the arguments adduced by the Collector. He admitted with his own mouth that the 52 villages in question are to be submerged for the sake of the comfort and conveniences of the people of Bombay. We need not discuss here the ethics of the policy of robbing Peter to save Paul's life. But we would ask, is Paul really going to be saved? It is simply an exaggeration to say that the supply of the electricity from Mulshi will enable seven lacs of the people of Bombay to leave the stuffy atmosphere of the city to live in the open spaces outside. The Tata scheme has its roots in the fact that electricity is cheaper than coal. But it is wrong to say that the Bombay mills are going to starve for want of coal if the scheme is not put into execution. India has enough coal to run her mills, and, therefore, the Collector's statement that if the dam is not built the Bombay mills will not produce a sufficient supply of cloth is merely a false alarm. Besides, the Collector kept in the background the fact that rice will rise in price when the Mulshi crop of seven thousand khandis would be raised no more. The Collector also said that the supply of electricity will make railway communication between Bombay and its suburbs very cheap. But every boy knows how far Government is able to influence the Railway Companies. However, all this controversy is out of place. The question is, supposing all that the Collector says is true, is the population of the 52 villages to be allowed to be turned out of their homes and lands for a few trifling advantages that may accrue to residents of Bombay! The Industrial Commission say with regard to the acquisition of land: 'We wish to draw particular attention to the desirability of avoiding as far as possible the acquisition of areas largely covered by residendential buildings'. Does not this recommendation apply to the 52 villages in question? The recommendations of the Industrial Commission are simply being trampled under foot. The injustice is all the more unbearable if we take into consideration the ryot's love for his land.

Swarájya (143), 10th Feb.

47. Recently the Collector of Poona visited the Mulshi Peta and justified before the people the action of Government in acquiring the land there. He called arithmetic to his aid and maintained that although the Tata scheme would render six thousand people in the Mulshi Peta homeless, it would benefit six lakhs of people in Bombay who are at present not suitably housed. So, according to him, a smaller number of people ought to be prepared to suffer for the good of a larger number. In European logic hard-heartedness finds no room for pity. It must be remembered that in the present case the well-being of six thousand of God's creatures is involved. No kind and sensible man will ever maintain that six thousand persons should be ruined for the benefit of six lakhs. When the people of the Mulshi Peta addressed the Collector as their *ma-bap*, he, too, in his turn called them his children! But he had hardly an idea of the extent of the responsibility he assumed when he called them so. No loving mother would ever think of turning adrift a smaller number of her children for the sake of a larger number! But this western step-mother tells six thousand of her children without compunction that they must give up their all for the benefit of six lakhs of her children at another place! Will any real mother ever harbour such an idea!

Comments on Government's reply to Mr. Baptista on the subject of Government's attitude towards industrial strikes.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 9th Feb.

48. Workmen and their friends in Bombay have got the false notion in their heads that, in spite of the unreasonable demands of strikers, Government will be induced by public opinion to intervene if a strike is sufficiently protracted. We would, therefore, welcome the pronouncement made by Government with regard to their policy towards strikes in reply to a letter addressed to them by Mr. Baptista in connection with the strike of the men employed on the petroleum tanks. No one can take any objection to the attitude of neutrality adopted by Government, but it is nevertheless their duty to get such disputes between capital and labour settled by means of arbitration. It is high time, therefore, that Government should appoint arbitration boards. [The paper then proceeds to justify the arguments advanced by Government for the protection of oil carts by the Police and for the employment of Pathans by the Petroleum Companies, and expresses hope that the strikers and their friends will take a lesson from the Government Press Note and not prejudice their case by bringing forward weak arguments to prop up their case.]

The Boy-scouts movement.

***Swarájya* (143), 10th Feb.**

49. Commenting upon General Baden-Powell's visit to India in connection with the Boy-scout movement, the *Swarájya* writes:—The object of the General's visit is to establish brotherly relations between Indians and the other peoples of the world through this movement. But is the establishment of such

relations possible in the present circumstances? Honesty and disinterestedness are the two qualities necessary for the success of the movement and Englishmen in India cannot be said to possess them. Indians have no faith in their honesty and as regards their disinterestedness—well, we had better not talk about it!

Comments on the Police Administration Report for the Presidency for the year 1919.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Feb.

50. "We have just been favoured with the Police Administration Report for the Bombay Presidency for the year 1919. It is not a bulky report, but contains only about sixty pages. That such a report should have taken a full year to compile shows how leisurely the wheels of the administrative machinery move.......... Only 12,962 out of a total of 22,752 men are stated to have had any education, while as regards the attractions of the service the following remarks of the Collector of Kolába are pertinent: 'There is no increase in the recruitment of educated men. The number both in 1918 and 1919 was only 13 against 33 in 1917. It is a truism to say that the police service, as at present constituted and paid, has no attraction for educated men. In fact even some educated and illiterate men come to the police force only as a last resource'. In fact, the service, as at present constituted, attracts only the most indigent and the dregs, as it were, of the community. And the lower ranks are miserably paid not because the public exchequer cannot afford to give them a living wage, but because public money is wasted in lavishing unnecessarily high salaries to higher officials, especially European, of a force which is top heavy. But it is not the miserable wages of the service alone that stand in the way of its popularity. The inequalities of the system, in its higher ranks, the excessively harsh treatment which is meted out to the subordinate ranks by the higher officials, which is reflected, in its turn, in the treatment of the average citizen by the policeman, the unholy zeal inspired in the rank and file for 'conviction', as apart from investigation of the truth,—these and other factors debar the educated and self-respecting sections of the community from entering the service. The Commissioner of the Southern Division complains that whereas in Europe and America the people are on the side of the police, 'in India they are only too often apathetic and neutral and occasionally obstructive.'......... We agree with the Commissioner when he says that 'without co-operation of the public no improvement is possible.' But such co-operation will never be forthcoming so long as the rank and file of the police are taught to look upon and act towards the children of the soil as undesirables in their own country. The subordinate ranks of the police imbibe this pernicious teaching at the hands of their 'betters', and it is no wonder that they come to regard themselves as alien and 'superior' in all respects to their own countrymen. It is this attitude of aloofness and supercilious arrogance of the police that prevents the public of all classes from regarding the service with anything but suspicion and disfavour. Unless the superior ranks of the service are leavened with a larger Indian element and the rank and file are taught to behave better towards the people, no improvement in the relations between the latter and the service is possible."

Complaint about terrorization by thieves, robbers and dacoits in the Kaira District.
Praja Bandhu (29), 6th Feb., Eng. cols.

51. "Harrowing tales of loot and plunder are reaching us from the Borsad and Mátar talukas of the district of Kaira. We are told that for the last six months a band of dacoits and outlaws, with firearms of the best make, are roaming over the whole area, striking terror, wounding many a man, violating many a woman, and even committing murder. With the setting of the sun, the defenceless people cower in an agony of terror, not knowing when the bandits will pounce upon them like hungry wolves. The petty criminal officers seem to be helpless, and the situation is day by day becoming critical. What are the self-constituted guardians and protectors of the masses, the mighty Olympians, doing? Where are their machine-guns and aeroplanes with which they suppressed in the name of law and order a nation-wide strike against their fettering Acts and ordinances? Is law and order not now sufficiently jeopardised? No wonder if the people

are losing faith in the purity of their motives, and demand *Swaraj* peremptorily and unconditionally!"

Alleged tyranny of the Police in the Nawabshah District, Sind.
Indu Prakásh (44), 10th Feb.

52. The tyranny of the police of Nawabshah district in Sind eclipses that of Dyer. News has been received that they have shown great brutality in impressing labourers for work and exacting work from them. Beating the people seems to have become a habit, almost a duty, with these policemen. They seem to exercise authority in the district like kings. They force even travellers to carry their luggage, and yet the officials do not seem to pay any attention to this state of things. It is reported that recently three travellers, one of whom was a woman, were asked to deliver to the police the camel on which they were travelling. As they refused to do so, the police, it is said, did not hesitate to beat even the woman. A complaint against the offenders has been lodged with the Deputy Superintendent of Police. Certain popular leaders also are enquiring into the matter; and we hope their assistance will be availed of by the authorities.

Real reason why the police are not punished for their misdoings.
Raj Hansa (89), 9th Feb.

53. Referring to the alleged torture by the Kolába police in connection with a recent case of theft, the *Raj Hansa* remarks that Government do not as a rule punish the police for their doings. With regard to the reason put forward in defence of this policy that strict punishment would lower their prestige and handicap them in their work, it says that this is not the real reason. The real reason, in its opinion, is that the Police Department is the custodian of the Government's power, that it is this department which makes the people fear Government, and, therefore, striking at it would mean striking at Government itself.

How Government should reward the heroism of the Bombay policeman who was stabbed to death while grappling with a Pathan who had run amok.
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 10th Feb.

54. In the course of an article in which it expresses great admiration for the heroism displayed by Krishna Atmaram, a policeman, who was stabbed to death while grappling with the Pathan who ran amok near the Crawford Market and murdered three passers-by and mortally wounded three others, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—We hope that Government will not think they have done their duty by giving a sum of Rs. 200 or so to his family in recognition of his heroism. The authorities place themselves in a ridiculous position by valuing at Rs. 200 to Rs. 500 the life of a Government servant who sacrificed his life in such exceptional circumstances. Of course, the family of the deceased will get the usual pension, but that would not be an adequate reward. Government should bestow either a large reward on the whole family of the deceased or a substantial special pension in order that other Government servants might be encouraged to display similar heroism, manliness and fearless bravery in such critical circumstances. Government should also show the generosity of undertaking the education of the children of the deceased and the maintenance of those who were dependent on him, in order that the whole Police Force may appreciate their generosity and receive impetus to discharge their duty with the same kind of fearless courage.

The first Session of the Legislative Assembly.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 9th Feb.

55. The programme of work announced for the first Session of the Legislative Assembly by its President presents a happy augury. On it appears the motion of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas on the Punjáb tragedy. The admission of the motion indicates what a great change has taken place in the angle of vision of the Government. The Viceroy had, at the last Sessions of the old Council, refused to admit for discussion a motion on the report of the Hunter Committee and the Government resolution on it and had ventured to advise people in a subsequent public utterance to forget the past, pointing out that the Europeans were also concerned in the matter and that its discussion would offend them.

The attitude taken up by him was indeed surprising and was calculated to irritate the people all the more. It resulted only in adding fuel to the fire and intensified the prevailing soreness of feeling and strengthened the hands of the non-co-operators. However, Government have at last changed their attitude, though they have done so rather too late; yet if they will allow the motion of Mr. Jamnadas to pass and see the wisdom of acting on it, they will be able to assuage the popular discontent to a great extent. In case the motion is lost we must say with regret that the whole blame will lie on the head of non-co-operators as by refusing like offended children to make use of the valuable right conferred by the Reforms they have made room in the Legislative Assembly for persons whose knowledge of their responsibilities is open to doubt. If instead of taking the extreme course of abstention they had devoted their energies to sending up the best available men to the Council, they could have compelled the Government to pay more respect to popular opinion.

Approval of non-official nominations to the Bombay Legislative Council and the appoinment of its President.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 7th Feb.; **Indian Social Reformer* (7), 13th Feb.

56. Adverting to the constitution of the new Bombay Legislative Council and the appointment of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as its President, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* says:—At one time a rumour was afloat that a Civilian would be appointed to the office of President as has been done in several other provinces, but it is a matter for pleasure that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has appointed an Indian to the office. That Sir Narayan is in every way qualified to hold the position and that he will acquit himself creditably is beyond doubt. If the Legislative Council of Bombay had at present the right of electing its President and if Sir Narayan had been a member of it, the choice of the majority would have fallen on him. Accordingly, his selection by Government is as welcome as it would have been if he had been chosen by the popular representatives. The nominations of non-official members made by Government also can scarcely be disapproved. It is a matter for rejoicing that while the non-co-operators are trying to wreck the Legislative Councils, the authorities, and especially the Bombay Government, are anxious to make the Reforms, and the new Council constituted in accordance therewith, a success. It is possible that had there been no non-co-operation agitation, Rajas, Maharajas and Sardars would have been appointed Ministers and members of the Executive Council, instead of these honours being bestowed on competent Indians, as had happened at the time of the Morley-Minto reforms. Though, on account of the opposition of a section of the people, popular representatives of proved ability have not been able to go to the Councils, it behoves those elected and Government to work together in such a manner as to give the opponents no ground to sneer but all reason to repent. When Government will prove by reposing confidence in the people and adopting a sympathetic and courageous policy that the Reforms are not playthings given to children to stop them from crying and to please them but that they are an effective weapon for putting the people on the way to progress, then only will the non-co-operation movement lose the hold which it has gained over a section of the people. [The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"It will be generally recognised, however, that for a keen student of politics and constitutional law, an active and acute political thinker, and a powerful speaker, all which Sir Narayan unquestionably is, the acceptance of the passive position of President is an act of renunciation which can be properly appreciated only by those who know what a full life his has always been.]"

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 13th Feb., Eng. cols.

***57.** "It is in the fitness of things that the first President should be a non-official, and that too a man of the type of Sir Narayan, whose sterling patriotism and liberal far-sightedness mark him out to be eminently fitted for the post. His deep knowledge of modern history and contemporary politics will serve him in good stead in guiding the deliberations of the Council. He has also had a distinguished career as a judge and possesses administrative experience. It is upon men of such calibre and merit that the success of the Reform scheme in the years to come will mostly depend."

Comments on the opening of the Indian Princes' Chamber.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Feb.

58. "The new Chamber, which, the Duke rightly said, should bear an Indian name, will give the Princes opportunities, to use the language of His Majesty's message, 'of comparing experience, interchanging ideas, and framing mature and balanced conclusions on matters of common interest'. We hope they will avail themselves of these opportunities though there is reason to believe that the most important Ruling Princes are far from being favourably inclined towards the experiment.......... One of the functions of the Chamber will be 'to discuss and make representations upon matters of imperial or common concern.' Now 'matters of imperial or common concern' is a very vague expression. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report contemplated joint deliberation and discussion between the Council of State and the Chamber of Princes on such matters. Evidently the arrangement proposed in the Report is to be followed. In view of the constitution of the Council of State, which is far from being preponderatingly 'popular,' this opens up the possibility of the Princes exercising, in the direction of policy connected with affairs common to the whole country, an influence out of all proportion to what is due to them. There is in this arrangement a danger which has to be jealously guarded against. And the danger is all the greater in view of the fact that the Princes have been given a definite assurance of non-interference in the domestic affairs of their own State.......... While this may be satisfactory to the Ruling Princes, it does not solve the problem of the Indian States. The privileges, rights and dignities, so far as they are personal to the Princes themselves, belong to an ancient order of things which has now passed away never to return.......... If the Princes are wise in their day they will read the signs of the times aright. The Maharaja of Gwalior showed that he was alive to the changed conditions of things when he said: 'We are witnesses to the re-birth of the world-accepted notions and proved theories seem all to be undergoing forced revision.' And the Maharajah of Patiala went further and said: 'The Princes of India realize fully that, as rulers of men, they cannot remain unaffected by what may be called world movements, and they must be prepared to tackle the new situation with the principal object of making their present interests identical with those of their people.' These are wise words. But they must immediately be translated into deeds."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 13th Feb.

***59.** "The scope of the Council of Princes at present is not very clear and its more precise definition has necessarily to be left to time and the growth of greater mutual confidence among the Princes themselves and between them and the Government of India. The Council, however, will immediately have incidental results which cannot but be of much advantage to the Princes themselves, in the first place, and to their States and people in the next. At present, there is no standard by which an Indian ruler may guide himself by.......... The informal association at the Council of State, more than the formal conferences in the Council, will certainly help to evolve a standard of Indian States statesmanship in close touch with British Indian models. This will necessarily re-act upon the administration of Indian States and will thus become the means of bringing them in line with the progressive features of British Indian polity."

Gujarâti (17), 13th Feb. Eng. cols.

***60.** Referring to the opening of the Chamber of Princes at Delhi, the *Gujarâti* writes:—"One feature of the constitution, which will arrest the attention of the public is the provision that the Viceroy is the final arbiter in all matters. Hitherto Native Chiefs and Princes were subject to the fiats and even whims and caprices of Political Officers in their respective States; and it remains to be seen how the institution of the Princes' Chamber will succeed in strengthening the hands of the Native Rulers and improving the character of the administration of their respective territories. As the subjects which will be brought forward for discussion and final disposal by the Chamber are not at all known to the outside public, it is not easy to appreciate the glowing language in which its future has been estimated by the speakers who addressed the gathering of the Native Chiefs and Princes on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony. The interests of the subjects of Native States have so far not received that attention which they deserved at the hands of their rulers and also of the British Government. Whilst Native Chiefs and Princes have been lauded to the skies for their princely contributions for all kinds of objects, Imperial or otherwise, the interests of the tax-paying community have always been treated with scant consideration. How far the newly founded Chamber of Princes will be utilised by the paramount power for carrying out its imperial projects of defence cannot be determined at this stage. So far as the outside public is concerned, there has been an air of mystery about this Chamber; and the public will be glad to know from time to time what good it has been able to do to the Native States and their subjects."

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 10th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Parsi* (30), 9th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 11th Feb.

61. The inauguration of the Chamber of Princes by the Duke of Connaught marks an epoch in the history of Indian Princes. The loyal services rendered by the Indian Princes during the great war have been appreciated and fully rewarded by the King-Emperor. The inhabitants appreciate the honour done to their rulers by appointing some of them on the Imperial War Cabinet and the War and Peace Conferences, but they would very much like to have a voice in their own administration. We wish, therefore, that the Duke had made a recommendation to the Princes assembled at Delhi to introduce schemes of progress in their States so that the inhabitants of these States might be able to enjoy the privileges shared by their brethren in British India. We hear many complaints from the Native States in this Presidency, and the policy of non-intervention adopted by Government seems to have tended to suppress public opinion in these States. Let us hope that the Native Chiefs will themselves recognise the rights of their subjects and give them a voice in their own administration. [The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* refers to the mention made by the Duke of the growing responsibilities of the Empire and believes that the Native States will now have to pay their share for the protection of India, and expresses hope that the States will not be made to pay more than they can, so that the inhabitants of these States may not be overburdened with taxes. The *Bombay Samachar* expresses hope that the establishment of the Chamber of Princes will tend to the solidarity of the Indian Government and to strengthen the relations between the Native States and Government. It express hope that the Native Chiefs will now recognise the necessity of giving their subjects a voice in their own administration.]

The New Reforms a great change for the better.

Sind Observer (12), 22nd Jan.

62. "Mr. Gandhi in the *Young India* writes that the system which Lord Reading is coming to administer will not permit him to do what is right. It will not help Mr. Gandhi's propaganda to acknowledge that the system of Government under the new order of things in 1921 is not what it was in 1920. But the truth is the old Governments have been entirely transformed by the new. Mr. Gandhi may be dissatisfied with the New Reforms, but it is not fair to represent that there has not been a very great change for the better. Take the Government of India. There are three Indian members in it, and he will be a very foolish Viceroy who could do things always against their will: the place for him will not be at any rate in India. Again, there is the Legislative Assembly with an Indian majority which can never allow a repressive law to be passed, if it is convinced of its inutility, and which on the other hand has the power legally and constitutionally to move for the repeal of already existing repressive laws. He will be again a foolish Viceroy who will set himself always in antagonism to his Council. Indians now possess legal and constitutional remedies in their hands, which if they use wisely and sensibly will enable them to achieve much in the legislative and administrative field. Mr. Gandhi's objection to the system does not take also note of the fact that the services are getting gradually Indianised, and under the new dispensation the bureaucracy will not be an uncontrolled agency.......... In fact, the Provincial Governments are in the proportion of five Indians as against two Europeans. We cannot sympathise with those who say the Reforms are inadequate or unsatisfactory. But to say, as Mr. Gandhi does, that the system would swallow the Viceroy is very much wide of the mark."

Need of readjusting the financial arrangements between the Government of India and the provincial Governments.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 6th Feb., Eng. cols.

63. "Mr. Jamnadas's resolution recommending an 'early revision of the financial arrangements between the Central and Provincial Governments arrived at on the recommendations of the Meston Committee in order to enable the proceeds from Income Tax to be credited to Provincial Revenues so as successfully to work the Reforms Scheme' comes none too soon.......... The Montagu Reforms place huge responsibilities on the Provincial Governments and especially on the Ministers and for the due discharge of them, a long and fat purse is absolutely necessary. On the other hand, the people are taxed to their utmost capacity, if not overtaxed, and it would be the height of folly to attempt further fresh taxation at the very beginning.......... Under the present circumstances of the provinces, particularly of Bombay, the only expanding sources of Revenue are Excise and Income Tax—though it is open to question whether the former head has not reached its utmost limit of expansion. However, even if it had not, the people of this country look upon 'drink' as India's evil genius and have always looked upon the expansion of Excise Revenue with feelings of dismay and horror. The people of this country cannot consequently look upon Excise as a mere source of Revenue and now that that Department has been placed under the control of quasi-responsible Minister we may well look forward for earnest endeavours to curtail that source of Revenue. Hence the only source of expanding Revenue on which the Provinces can depend is Income Tax; but curiously enough, the Meston Committee has not left that head entirely at the disposal of the Bombay Government. If, however, the Reforms are to have any chance of success, the Provinces cannot be financially starved, and the Government of India must take its greedy eyes off the most important sources of Provincial Revenue. We wish the Government of India will do it."

The salaries of the primary teachers must be raised at any cost.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Feb.

64. "Twenty thousand primary teachers in this Presidency are anxiously waiting to see how the Honourable Mr. Pranjpye, Minister of Education, is going to justify the trust they have placed in him and to discharge the heavy responsibilities which he has voluntary undertaken. The Committee of the Bombay Legislative Council, to which the duty of advising Government on the question of affording relief to these badly-paid teachers was assigned, have practically shifted the burden on the Minister of Education, on the ostensible plea that they did not feel justified in recommending any action 'which would be calculated to embarrass the Minister', but really in view of the difficulty of finding the ways and means, after what may be truly described as the open loot of the public treasury by the higher ranks of the service. On the very threshold of the 'New Era', thanks to this loot and to the exorbitant demands of the Central Government, the local administration is faced with a huge deficit, which some estimate at nearly two crores, and the cry all round is 'cut down the budget', regardless of all justice and consequences. And as it invariably happens in such eleventh-hour awakening and frenzied attempts at 'economy', it is the humblest and the least vocal who suffer. After the sumptuous repast indulged in by the higher ranks of the service, there are not even crumbs to throw to all the 20,000 wretches left shivering in the cold outside, though these are the persons who have been entrusted with the responsibility of moulding the character of the future citizens of India. Not to appear wholly apathetic to the cry of distress the Committee have recommended some slight relief of the lowest grades of these low-paid public servants; but it is so very little, indeed, that it hardly touches anything but the fringe of the problem.......... How is Mr. Paranjpye proposing to mete out justice to these thousands of hard-working and important State servants?

.... Provision ought to be made, at any cost, in the new Budget which is being prepared, to grant them the necessary measure of relief. The Committee has recommended for favourable consideration the scheme of revision proposed by Messrs. Sathe and Pranjpye. Though we know that it falls considerably short of the scheme put forward by the Sholápur Conference and acquiesced in by Messrs. Sathe and Paranjpye themselves, even the Sathe-Paranjpye scheme, if sanctioned, would afford these teachers some measure of real relief in their present plight. If, however, Mr. Paranjpye, on some plea or other, fails to convey to them even that much relief, there is sure to be widespread disappointment and discontent among them. In despair, some of them have even talked of wholesale resignations. We hope, however, the Minister of Education will yet be able to retrieve the situation and fully justify the confidence the teachers in all parts of the Presidency have placed in him."

Grievances of primary school teachers.

Praja Bandhu (29), 6th Feb.

65. Referring to the proceedings of the Conference of the primary school teachers of the Ahmedabad District held at Ahmedabad under the presidentship of Mr. Dahyabhai P. Derasari, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks:— For the present some slight relief has been given by Government to these teachers, and Mr. Dahyabhai has advised them to wait for more till such time as Mr. Paranjpye becomes Minister. Before this sage advice was given, the teachers have done more than enough in the shape of waiting, and even now they will no doubt follow Mr. Dahyabhai's advice. Like many other people, Mr. Dahyabhai seems still to feel the glamour of the title of Minister. But it is a question for consideration how the mere fact of the educational portfolio being entrusted to an Indian Minister will enable him to provide those means of expenditure which Government have hitherto been unable to provide. Government have converted only the expending departments into transferred departments; and there is a chance of more being spared for the transferred departments if there is a surplus after providing for the reserved departments. Therefore, if the teachers wait in the hope that they will secure a just redress of all their grievances through the sympathy and good management of an Indian Minister, there is very little chance of their hope being fulfilled. Government have not yet at all abandoned their pre-war point of view. They are giving increased remuneration to their servants in the shape of high prices allowance, war allowance, special allowance, etc. But they are unwilling to increase their salaries permanently, because they hope that there will be a great change in the present economic situation. But their hope seems to be a vain one. They have tried hard to control the currency and exchange, but all their artificial measures have not only failed but have produced quite the contrary results. It can, therefore, hardly be hoped that they will succeed in their efforts to bring down prices. Under these circumstances it would by no means be improper to make a permanent increase in the pay of primary teachers.

Apology for strong language of article on Government of India's despatch on the position of Indians in East Africa.

Young India (14), 9th Feb.

66. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—" I must apologise to the reader for the article on the East African Despatch under Mr. Adwani's name. (*Vide* paragraph 64 of Weekly Report No. 2 of 1921.) It gives a view which is not borne out by its contents. The language is needlessly offensive. Whilst I condemn the existing system of government in severe language I will not be knowingly guilty of pronouncing unmerited condemnation upon it. The Despatch is an honest attempt to do justice to the Indians of East Africa. It is true that it has been rendered possible by the awakening in India. But that too is a credit to the Government that it is responsive to public opinion when its own existence is not at stake. It is true also that it still betrays a language of patronage. But that is only to be expected until Englishmen have begun to regard themselves not as our trustees, but as equals or partners. Whilst I offer this appology to the reader and the Government, I do not wish to be unfair to my assistant. Mr. Adwani is a sincere and devoted assistant. He

endeavours to write calmly and dispassionately. But he is young, ambitious and inexperienced.......... The mistakes such as his are inevitable. I offer the apology because I want to avoid being understood as approving of everything written by my assistant, or other contributors. I am anxious to be impartial and fair in conducting *Young India.*" [Below the above Mr. L. A. Adwani writes:—" I am extremely sorry that it should have become necessary for Mahátmáji to apologise for my article on the Despatch in the columns of *Young India,* which in the case of leading articles and contributions is expected to contain what is approved or passed by him. But that not being always possible, I have had sometimes to exercise my discretion. I am also sorry—and I apologise to my chief, the reader and the Government—for unnecessarily offensive language wherever it occurs in the article, though I am unable to withdraw my main objections against the Despatch. But I recognise that it is for us—the rank and file of the National Army—to fight, not with strong words, but with deeds noble and non-violent".]

Suggestions to the Minister in charge of the Agricultural Department as to how to improve the fertility of the land.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 8th Feb.

67. Of the various departments placed under the Ministers, the Agricultural Department is one of the most important. Our land is naturally very fertile; but owing to the poverty and ignorance of the people, they have not been able to preserve its fertility. Till now Government have been neglecting this matter, but now that the Department has been placed in the hands of a Minister, it is our duty to show by making improvements that we were right in blaming Government in the past for the deterioration of our land. In the opinion of the officials of Government, the main causes of the deterioration of agricultural lands are the poverty of the cultivators and the smallness of many of the holdings; and, therefore, it is necessary to attract the rich to the occupation of agriculture and to prohibit by law sub-division of agricultural holdings beyond a fixed area. The first remedy that we would suggest is the repeal of the Act which provides that agricultural land cannot be sold to any person who is not an agriculturist, and we request the Minister to move in the matter at the earliest opportunity. In order to prevent an abuse of this innovation, it should be provided that agricultural land cannot be utilised for any other purpose than agriculture without the special permission of Government. Further, in order to encourage schemes of land improvement, it should be provided that those whose lands yield better crops then at present will be granted total or partial exemption from payment of land assessment on the surplus produce. For the fertility of the land, manure of a superior kind is necessary. Bones and certain kinds of seed-pods are the chief ingredients in such manure. But owing to prejudices as well as poverty our agriculturists do not make use of the manure. But if, as stated above, agriculture passes into the hands of the rich, such manuer will be used on a large scale and the lands rendered fertile. Poor agriculturists should also be induced to make use of this kind of manure by giving it to them ready prepared as *takavi.* We would press the Minister in charge of the Agricultural Department to give this matter preference over all others.

Co-operative Credit Societies should refuse to pay the fees of Government auditor.
Lokasangraha (118), 10th Feb.

68. A circular has been issued directing that the fees of the Government auditors for auditing the accounts of Co-operative Societies should be paid by the societies. We do not understand why in the first place Government should interfere in the work of the Co-operative Societies. Government do not contribute a pie to the capital of these societies and yet arbitrary rules are being increasingly enforced with regard to them. Why should not Government place confidence in the accounts of these societies when audited by the representatives of the people? If Government must interfere in the accounts of the societies, we think it is reasonable that Government should pay their own auditors. We do not think that these societies will collapse or that their management will in any way be affected if Government supervision is withdrawn. Therefore, we suggest that Co-operative Societies should not submit to this circular and bear the charges of the Government auditors, fees.

69. The judgment in the *Al-Wahid* case has been published. It is useless to comment upon it. No comments, that we may make, will deter Government from prosecuting newspapers. It is a pity that in cases of sedition where Government is a party to the case the trying Magistrate who is an officer of Government is selected by the Government itself. We can say without hesitation that if any body, the Provincial Governments and the Government of India should be prosecuted for sedition. It is these that have to administer justice according to law. And is it justice for Government to let off those who are avowed enemies of Government and to kill the smaller fry? We do not say that Mr. Gandhi and his associates should be touched. What we do say is that it is certainly strange that while these men are still at large, lesser men are being dealt with according to law. It is perhaps the case that Government dare not touch Mr. Gandhi and other leaders. It is stranger still that while the Governor of Bombay is taking no action against mischief-mongers, great and small, at Bombay, he is only too ready to come down upon Sind. In the judgment the Magistrate observes that "the Government sanction to file a complaint was received only in December last." From this it would appear that the Sind bureaucracy had asked for Government sanction from time to time. Be that as it may, the Governor could not withstand the pressure from the whites of Sind. On a former occasion it was Mr. Lawrence who had worried the Governor; on the present occasion possibly Mr. Cadell had worried him. We do not suggest that Government should under no circumstances take to task a man who writes or speaks sedition in any form. We are of opinion however that mere expression of disaffection or hatred should not be penalized at all. If any man directly or indirectly preaches the adoption of violent methods against Government he may by all means be punished provided of course he has been convicted of the offence by the impartial court of justice with the concurrence of an Indian jury and not by a white official especially empowered to try the case. And in the judgment in the *Al-Wahid* case we see no reference to incitements on the part of the accused to active opposition to Government.

Comments on the judgment in the *Al-Wahid* prosecution case.
Bharatvási (156), 29th Jan.

70. "It is now almost decided by the Allies, including not only France but also England, that the Treaty of Sevres was hurriedly concluded, and, therefore, it should be revised. The Anglo-Indian papers talk, therefore, of doing justice to 'Turkey'. Now, this means plainly, if it means anything at all, that the Allies were not just to Turkey then! The fact is that the Allies are not actuated by any noble, philanthropic motives now any more than they were before. They respect force and nothing but force. At the time that the Treaty of Sevres was concluded, Turkey appeared to be utterly ruined in every way. She had a small vanquished army, no navy, no financial solvency and no powerful friends. Therefore, that diabolical treaty was forced upon her. But now things are different. A good Turkish army has been formed under the leadership of that indomitable patriot, Mustapha Kemal Pasha. It has hurled back the Greek robbers in the Anatolian provinces. It has smashed Armenia, and it has held its own against all other enemies of its country. It is, therefore, its victories, which has forced the Allies to be 'just' to Turkey and nothing else!"

Reflections on the intention of the Allies to revise the Turkish Peace Treaty.
Hindusthán (21), 6th Feb., Eng. cols. (weekly).

RAILWAYS.

71. Commenting on the Railwaymen's Conference, the *Jam-e-Jamshed* endorses the address delivered by its President and remarks that no delay need be made to improve the future prospects of the Indian employees, whether in the higher or lower grades, and that, for the purpose of protecting their just rights, the foremost duty is to do away entirely, and without delay, with the objectionable practice of observing colour distinction which has been prevalent in the administration of Indian Railways. The paper adds that the black and the

The Railwaymen's Conference.
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 7th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 8th and 11th Feb.

white employees should, according to their qualifications, be placed on equal footing and that appointments on the Railways should be as fully thrown open to Indians as they have been to Europeans. [The *Bombay Samachár*, writing in the same strain, remarks that in order to overcome the defects in the Railway administration, it is necessary to remove for ever all distinctions of colour, to throw open to the Indians higher posts according to their qualifications, and to give them opportunities for qualifying for the same. The paper, in a subsequent issue, remarks that many of the resolutions passed by the Conference relate to the difficulties experienced by the Railway employees and have the full support of their personal experience. It trusts that the Railway Companies, and especially the Indian Railway Board, will give consideration to the demands set forth in these resolutions, and will try their best to act up to them.]

NATIVE STATES.

Evil of forced labour in Káthiáwár,
Hindusthán (22), 9th Feb., Eng. cols.

72. "Pharos" writes in the *Hindusthán*:—"Mr. Andrews is drawing our attention to forced labour in the Himálayas. Of course, steps must be taken to abolish it there. But we look nearer home also. In Indian States, particularly in those of Káthiáwár, there is the system of Veth still existing. The present Jam of Jamnagar, who ought to be an enlightened ruler, has had, I am told, most of his private buildings in his State built by coolies, who were never remunerated. In fact, it exists in some form or other even in comparatively advanced States like those of Baroda and Mysore. Mind you it is not only the ruler only, who exacts this kind of service. The officers of the State, from the Divan down to the petty *vahivatdar* and the Police Fozdar expect men to work for them for nothing! It is a terrible evil. The lives of the poor are rendered pitiable. The sooner this evil is eradicated from their midst, the better for India's future."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 18th February 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

- Bengal and Madras Legislative Councils : Hill exodus resolutions in the — . . . 39
- Bombay Legislative Council :
  - Complaint about Government not nominating a Muhammadan to the — . . . 38
  - Complaint about no non-Muhammadan from Sind having been nominated to the — . . . 37
- British Rule :
  - Alleged harassment of Brahmins by Satyashodhak Samajists in the Sátára District . . . 69
  - Comments on the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hasan at Calicut . . . 66
  - Comments on the end of the strike of Bombay Post and Telegraph peons . . . 70 & 71
  - India in the King's speech at the re-opening of Parliament . . . 62
  - Lord Willingdon has been following the policy of divide and rule in Madras . . . 67
  - Premonitions of repression . . . 64 & 65
  - Question of Indians overseas before the next Imperial Conference . . . 63
  - The Bhil Conference at Dohad, district Panch Mahāls, and the arrest of their leader Guru Govind . . . 68
- Chamber of Princes : Comments on the inauguration of the — . . . 18—20
- Council of State :
  - Comments on Mr. Sastri's resolution in the Council of State regarding repressive laws . . . 22—28
  - The — is no better than a Council of Slaves . . . 21
- Development of Bombay : Comments on the operations of the Bombay Development Department . . . 72
- Excise : Comments on the Bombay — Administration Report for the year 1919-20 . . . 56
- Finance : Necessity of retrenchment in the overgrown public expenditure in India . . . 61
- His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught :
  - Bombay public should give a warm welcome to the Duke of Connaught . . . 15
  - Boycott of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to Bombay . . . 16 & 17

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught—*concld.*

Comments on the King's Message at the opening of the New Councils at Delhi 10
Comments on the unveiling of the All-India War Memorial at Delhi . 11—13
Comments on the Duke's reception at Delhi 14
Comments on the Duke's speech in opening the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly . . . . 1—9

Indian Legislative Assembly :

Comments on Sir William Vincent's justification of the constitution of the Behar Government 36
Mr. Jamnadas's resolution in the — regarding the Punjáb affairs . 30—35
The Reformed Councils a farce 29

Indian Reforms :

Distribution of medals in memory of the opening of the new Councils to students in Delhi . . . . 40 & 41
The new Legislative Councils and the leadership of the Ministers . 42
The question of Minister's salaries 43

Non-co-operation :

Comments on the refusal by the Ahmedabad Municipality of the Government grant for education. 52
Nadiad Municipality's refusal of Government's educational grant . 51
Municipalities and the — movement 48
Protest against the Chief Justice of Patna's condemnation of — . 47
Should social boycott be used as a weapon in the — movement? . . 50
Swarajya will be delayed if non-co-operationists resort to violent methods 44
The Arya Samajists and the — movement 46
The duty of the youth of India in the present political crisis of the country 45
What is *swarajya*? 49

Public Service :

Comments on Lord Reading's speech at the banquet given by the English-speaking Union 53
There should be more Indian Judges on the Bombay High Court Bench . . . . 54 & 45

War.

Indian Muslims' representatives at the Indian Conference on the Eastern question 59
Proposed modification of the Turkish Treaty . . . . . . 57 & 58
Reflections on the German —indemnity as recently fixed by the Allied Powers 60

EDUCATION—

The hopelessness of the task before the Minister for Education . . . 73

RAILWAYS—

Comments on the proceedings before the Railway Committee . . . 74
Strike of the B. B. and C. I. Workshop operatives 75

NATIVE STATES—

Alleged highhanded action of the Jámnagar State Police in dispersing a public meeting 76

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Duke's speech in opening the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Praja Bundhu (29), 13th Feb., Eng. Cols.

1. "In pursuance of his 'official mission,' His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has inaugurated at Delhi the two Imperial Legislative Bodies—the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, and delivered one more pronouncement full of sweet sentiments and pious platitudes after the traditional manner of British statesmen to soothe the lacerated hearts of our countrymen. He referred to the 'free gift of one people to another' which all parties in India have proclaimed intolerable, if not unacceptable. But what will lend special significance to his pronouncement at Delhi is his reference to the 'high sense of duty,' the 'single purpose,' the 'never-failing courage,' of His Execellency Lord Chelmsford, and to the 'shadow of Amritsar,' the 'terrible chapter of events in the Punjáb.' We make bold to assert that if Lord Chelmsford had possessed even a modicum of all the virtues which he is announced from the house-tops to possess, India would not have witnessed during has Viceroyalty the 'shadow of Amritsar,' the grim tragedy of the Punjáb, which even such an august representative of His Majesty the King-Emperor as His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught is constrained to acknowledge. But acknowledgment is no amends for the lives and limbs of hundreds of innocent Indians. We ask for justice, reparation, and guarantee. Instead of granting these our legitimate demands, we are asked by the Duke 'to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, and to join hands and to work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day.' It is very well for the Duke to preach the old, old gospel of forget and forgive, but it is difficult to be laid to heart by those millions who live under the perpetual dread of Dyerian and O'Dwyerian regimes."

Servant of India (10), 17th Feb.

2. "We were among those who had hoped that as His Majesty's special representative His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught would make some announcement at Delhi which was calculated to heal the rankling sense of injustice and racial humiliation which the Punjáb happenings have created in the minds of all Indians. That hope, however, was not destined to be fulfilled. The Royal message confined itself strictly to what pertained to the Legislatures and ignored the one cause that has thrown even the Reforms in the shade. With characteristic lack of imagination His Majesty's Government again let slip a good opportunity. But it could hardly be the Duke's fault that the message he was charged to deliver did not contain the expected announcement. His own speech was thoroughly worthy of the occasion and remarkable for sincerity and depth of feeling. But for the shadow of Amritsar, it would have been received with glowing enthusiasm by all parties in the country.......... At the conclusion of his speech His Royal Highness made a most moving appeal which, we are told, affected everyone present in the assembly and brought tears to the eyes of many. Very few will be unwilling to respond to his touching appeal. But before there could be forget and forgive, justice must be done to injured parties. We are glad the Government of India have now recognised it and received in the right spirit Mr. Jamnadas's resolution on the Punjáb in the Assembly and Mr. Sastri's resolution on repressive laws in the Council of State. We are sure the people on their part will be quite generous. Before leaving these shores His Royal Highness will have the satisfaction of seeing that his desire 'to heal the wounds and reunite those who have been disunited' is well on the way of realization."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 17th Feb.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 14th, 16th and 17th Feb.; *Lokasangraha* (118), 19th Feb.; *Sandesh* (134), 17th Feb.; *Nireekshaka* (47), 18th Feb.

3. In the opinion of the *Dnyán Prakásh* the speech made by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at the time of the opening of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly was such as to touch a tender chord in the hearts of everyone. The paper refers to the popular expectation that His Royal Highnes would announce the repeal of obnoxious laws and the adoption of other measures calculated to assuage the wounded feelings of the people, and remarks that the omission need not dissatisfy the people since Government have adopted the resolutions

of both Mr. Shastri and Mr. Jamnadas. It is convinced that Sir William Vincent's utterances denote a real change of heart and asks Indians whether it would be wise to reject the proferred hand of friendship. In its opinion, Mr. Jamnadas was well-advised in agreeing to drop the third clause in his resolution regarding the punishment of offending officials after hearing Sir William Vincent and the other European members of the Assembly. [The *Indu Prakásh* on the other and expresses its keen disappointment at the failure of His Royal Highness to announce measures likely to give satisfaction to the people. In another issue the paper says the acceptance by Government of Mr. Shastri's resolution shows a welcume change in their attitude towards the demands of the people. In yet another issue, commenting on Mr. Jamnadas's resolution, it remarks that Government ought not to hesitate to punish those of their officials who are unable to control themselves in times of trouble. The *Lokasangraha* writes:—Both Messrs. Shastri and Jamnadas are mild by temperament, and it is futile to expect any of their resolutions to heal the lacerated heart of India. Had Mr. Jamnadas been firm, his resolution would have been accepted as it stood, but owing to his innate timidity, the authorities ate up the kernel in it and left an empty shell in his hands. The *Sandesh* says that every European member of the Council must have chuckled to see Mr. Shastri making an ass of himself while introducing his resolution. According to the *Nireekshaka* Mr. Shastri has become a mere puppet in the hands of Government.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 16th Feb.

4. The speech delivered by the Duke of Connaught at the time of opening the Council of State is full of sympathy and kind words and his appeal to the people to forget and forgive and the regret he expressed at the occurrences in the Punjáb would be expected to have proved very attractive. But we regret to have to say that the appeal and the advice given by him will not serve to pacify the hearts of the Indian people. The Duke has committed the mistake of dividing the responsibility for the Punjáb affairs between the officials and the people. Such action on his part can scarcely be considered as consistent with his mission of healing the old sores of the people. It seems those who had a hand in drafting the Duke's speech were ignorant of the feelings of the people and had no appreciation for them and that they were bent on upholding the prestige of Government. The Duke would have earned the blessings of India if he had been instrumental in getting repressive laws repealed. It is not yet too late to mend matters. The Duke should now make a donation towards the Jallianwalla Memorial Fund and use his good offices to induce the Government of India to pay their contribution to the fund. The fund, if participated by Government, will tend to enhance the prestige of British justice and establish the confidence of the people in Government.

Gujaráti (17), 13th Feb.; *Gujaráti Punch* (19), 13th Feb.; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchar* (85), 11th Feb.; *Baroda Vartamán* (60); 14th Feb.

5. The speech delivered by the Duke of Connaught at the time of opening the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly has disappointed the high hopes entertained in connection with it by the people of India. It is to be regretted that Government have lost a golden opportunity of winning over the confidence of the people and conciliating public opinion in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat affairs. There is little that can be considered as striking in the Royal Message. It goes to show that just as the King can do no wrong, he is unable to set wrong right and that he is as helpless as the Indians themselves. His Majesty refers with pride to the beginning of Swaraj the new reforms will make. But while India is taking the first step towards Swaraj, the Colonies have come up to the stage of partnership with England! Will India have to be a slave of England as well as of her Colonies during the term of her apprenticeship for Swaraj? The King-Emperor would do well to explain the point raised. [The *Gujaráti Punch* writes:—The King's message will scarcely soothe the distracted hearts of the Indian people. Was it to convey such a message that the Duke of Connaught undertook such an expensive journey? It was hoped that the Duke's visit would result in some substantial gain to India, but unfortunately the visit will be memorable for adding to the despair of the Indian people. The *Shri Venkateshwár Samachár* and the *Baroda Vartamán* express complete disappointment with the King's Message and lay special stress on the absence of any boons therein.]

6. No one will deny that His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught gave expression to words of sympathy at Delhi. But in the present state of our mind we can attach no more weight to them than to crocodile tears. Mere lip sympathy will serve no useful purpose when the intolerable treatment meted out to us in the Punjáb and the wrong done to our Muhammadan brethren are still fresh in our memory. The King-Emperor may be sorry for what has happened, but he has not punished the guilty, nor has he directed the Secretary of State to repeal the repressive laws. The dark cloud of our grief will only be lifted if the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs are redressed. The bureaucracy will readily accept the advice to forget the past since it is they who are responsible for the present state of things, but mere words will not soothe the wounded feelings of the people. [The *Vijaya* says :—The Duke asks us to forget past wrongs, but suggests that we should let alone Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. Leaving aside past wrongs, how can we forget that even during the presence of the Duke in this country, public meetings have been prohibited in Delhi and Lahore, that Baba Ramchandra, the leader of the ryots in Benares, has been arrested and that orders have been served upon Lala Lajpatrai prohibiting him from entering Peshawar? One might ask the Duke whether he would advise us to forget these things also.]

Prakàsh (130), 16th Feb.; *Vijaya* (92), 16th Feb.

7. "The speech which the Duke of Connaught delivered while opening the Indian Legislatures at Delhi is not disappointing to us for the simple reason that we did not, like others, expect another pronouncement which may go further than the pronouncement of August 1918 (?) or a definite step forward. The Duke had come definitely in connection with the Reforms, and his visit was arranged at the initiative of the bureaucracy to show to the world that all was well with India. Such an impression had already been falsified by the united resolve of the National Congress and the movement of student-revolt. It was an irony that while the Duke was opening the Imperial Legislatures Delhi was observing *hartal* and 'representatives' were supposed to be there on behalf of the people !......... The grief-stricken heart of India needs at this moment a clear, categorical and emphatic assertion of her right against violation of Indian life and honour in face of all tempers and humours of the bureaucracy. India's self-respect demands a guarantee which is absent in the reforms. No amount of consolation and personal appeal would make the Congress give up the struggle of non-co-operation with the present system because that system continues to live and flouts the achievement of *Swarāj*."

New Times (9), 11th Feb.

8. At last the Duke of Connaught gave out the long-kept-back Emperor's message at Delhi. The hopes of the moderate party were centered on that message. Whenever somebody spoke of the Punjab atrocities they would point to the Duke and say, 'Steady please, the Duke is here to do justice to the Punjab'. But these expectations have been falsified, and the Duke delivered at Delhi the message—a message which brings home to every Indian heart how hollow a farce his visit has been. We do not say that His Royal Highness has disappointed us. The reason is, we did not entertain any hopes at all. Seeing that the Duke's work was to reach its climax at Delhi, certain people kept wistfully waiting for the Duke's speech which was to proclaim the Emperor's message. But the climax proved extremely tragical. Though the money of the poverty-stricken and suffering people of India has been lavishly poured out like water on the ceremonies and decorations in honour of His Royal Highness, he has not wiped away even a drop of the tears from the eyes of the ryots. Can there be anything more tragic? Nothing, in our opinion, can be more painful than that Lord Chelmsford should make boastful and self-glorifying speeches, like Kichaka in the Darbar of King Virat, and that His Royal Highness should praise His Excellency for his splendid services. His Royal Highness referred to Delhi as the seat of ancient oppressive Kings. We wish he had not made that reference. Even when Duryodhana, the enemy of the Pandavas, occupied the throne of old Delhi, the people were happy; but in the modern Indraprastha the

Kesari (115), 15th Feb.

injustice of the English has become unbearable to the people. Who can forget this fact? What can be more insulting than that His Royal Highness should in effect say, 'your ancestors were oppressive; we are going to make you happy by our just rule'? Had he wished, the Duke could have brought a message from the King-Emperor calculated to heal the wounds caused to the heart of India by the Punjáb atrocities. But the message does not contain a single word on that subject. It was quite possible for His Majesty to have reassured his Muslim subjects and gladdened their hearts which are now sorely discontented over the Khilafat question. Here also the message is silent. The message could also have been rendered popular by promising the release of the political prisoners who are now suffering the miseries of hell in the Andamans and elsewhere. But no attention was paid to this point also. We are at a loss to understand what end the British statesmen have accomplished by sending such an utterly unsympathetic Imperial message with the Duke. However, in our opinion the message and the Duke's speech are, in one sense, of great importance. We, Indians, were habitually inclined to expect some boon whenever any member of the Royal family came to India. But now Indians should realise that a Royal visit means waste of Indian money without any boon. Those foolish Indians who have been disappointed have also a lesson to learn from what took place at Delhi. The Duke appealed to Indians to cease to misunderstand the British. We must carefully keep this advice in mind. What a serious misunderstanding was it that we hoped that justice would be done to the Punjáb by the British Parliament? What a great misunderstanding is it that we should believe that justice would be done to Turkey and the Premier's pledge redeemed by the British statesmen? The Duke, it seems, came here to teach us to do away with these misunderstandings and to make us learn the lesson of self-reliance.

Lokasangraha (118), 13th Feb.

9. The Duke of Cannaught opened the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly on the 9th of February. It is obvious that the public of Delhi was not enthusiastic about this ceremony. It would, indeed, be impossible to find a more insipid and colourless speech that the one delivered by the Viceroy on this occasion. Compared with the Viceroy's speech that of the Duke was dignified and thoughtful. His speech may be divided into two parts. In the first part the speaker appears as a representative of the British Crown defending the bureaucracy and in the second as a high-minded and generous member of the Royal Family who desires real unity between the people and the bureaucracy. In the first part the Duke speaks from his lips only while in the second he speaks from his heart. The first part is artificial while the second is spontaneous. The idea in the first part of the speech are nothing but commonplaces; and if the Duke had stopped short at the end of this part of his speech, everyone would have felt that His Royal Highness had in vain taken the trouble of opening the two bodies in his old age. But what the Duke spoke next invested the ceremony with a little of human interest. His Royal Highness said that the shadow of Amritsar has fallen upon the face of India. And His Royal Highness made an earnest appeal both to the bureaucracy and the people to forget the past. Indians are sincerely thankful to the Duke for the affection and sympathy which are reflected in every word, nay in every letter, of the appeal. Indians know and understand the heart of the Emperor and the other members of the Royal family. And if the Duke had come to India as our own guest instead of as a guest of the bureaucracy, we would have been eager to give His Royal Highness a sincere and hearty welcome. But since we have boycotted the bureaucracy, we cannot but boycott His Royal Highness as he has been caught in its trap. Nobody can help this situation and the Duke and ourselves must both face it. The Duke asks the bureaucracy and the people to forget the Punjáb outrages. The bureaucracy will forget them because they do not touch it in the least. But we cannot forget the atrocities. We cannot forget the massacre of unarmed multitudes of our countrymen like sheep. We cannot forget the deliberate insults to the honour of our sisters and brothers in the Punjáb. It is impossible to forget all this. Oh! Your Royal Highness, we know that you have not the power to heal our wounds. Your

heart is great, but your power is not great. Yet, open the heart of any Indian, even that of an ultra-loyalist sycophant, and you will find therein three wounds, *viz.*, dependence, the Punjáb and the Khiláfat. You will find that these wounds are bleeding profusely. And this sight will oppress your heart. Go to the Jallianwalla Bagh and pass a quiet hour there alone and you will hear the heart-rending cries of Dyer's victims. Go and see those women whom the officials insulted and their sighs will break your heart. It is not the murders of some of our countrymen that we feel so much, but it is the deliberately insulting manner in which they were murdered that is so galling to our self-respect. Mere sweet speeches will never heal these wounds. The balm which is capable of healing them is the balm of active sympathy and *swarájya*.

Comments on the King's message at the opening of the new Council at Delhi.
Loka Bandhu (88), 13th Feb.

10. On reading the message of the King-Emperor, one who is not familiar with the ways of the bureaucracy in this country might feel happy and satisfied. But when we take into consideration the fact that such messages were sent to us several times in the past and that they were invariably followed by broken pledges, repressive laws and high-handed actions on the part of the bureaucracy, we can easily realize that this message was merely intended to do honour to the Assembly, and that nothing good would come out of it. The *swarajya* which is granted to us is far from being real and contains more faults than virtues. It might perhaps be high statesmanship on the part of the bureaucracy to give a fictitious value to the Reforms by means of the King's message, but we have no doubt that the respect with which the Indians regard His Majesty will be diminished and that the present unrest in India, instead of subsiding, will increase.

Comments on the unveiling of the All-India War Memorial at Delhi.
Mahrátta (8), 20th Feb.

*11. "How merciful of Government it is to erect an All-India War Memorial in memory of the Indian soldiers who fought in the great World War! That the Indians should yet demand better treatment and greater consideration from the English rulers must be a puzzle to all Anglo-Indians and their kinsmen.......... The stone and mortar of the All-India War Memorial will commemorate not so much the Indian valour as the English bankruptcy. The valour of the Indian soldiers 'in the cold and mud of Flanders' is being rewarded with a huge arch of mud and cold stones. In his speech the Viceroy remarked, 'May it serve to keep their memory green and to inspire us that we may endure hardships with like silent fortitude'. The world knows how the memory, instead of being kept green, will be buried deep with the foundation stone of the memorial, and it also knows how the Imperialists are proof against all noble inspirations."

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 14th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 16th Feb.

12. Commenting upon the unveiling ceremony of All-India War Memorial performed by the Duke of Connaught at Delhi, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* says:—India welcomes sincerely this action taken by the British Government to preserve the memory of those who sacrificed their lives in the war; but it wishes that they would not consider their duty to have ended by doing only this. We make bold to say that the time has arrived to satisfy the Indian nation by effecting a change at an early date in the military policy in India. As long as the policy of discrimination based on the colour of the skin is observed between European and Indian soldiers in the Indian Army, as long as the Indian soldiers are not placed in the same position as their white comrades in matters of pay and rank, as long as generosity is not shown in the matter of appointing competent Indians on high military posts and by enrolling them in sufficiently large numbers in the Indian Defence Force, the services rendered by the Indian soldiers in the last great European war will never be considered as adequately rewarded. We hope that His Royal Highness will leave this country for his native land with this message of the Indian nation that it has now become essential for the British Parliament and the British nation to remove the injustices that are being done to Indians in the matter of appointments to the public services

of their country. [The *Bombay Samáchár* observes :—After this recognition of the services of these brave men, the lessons to be taken to heart by the rulers and the officers are that if full trust is reposed in Indians they will prove worthy of it, that all racial distinctions between the Indian and the British Army require to be removed and that the hesitation and niggardliness which are shown in appointing Indians to high military posts must be given the go-bye now for ever.]

Swarájya (143), 17th Feb.

13. Commenting upon His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's speech while unveiling the All-India War Memorial at Delhi, the *Swarájya* writes :—The Duke must really have been affected while performing the ceremony. He thought the sixty thousand soldiers who fell in the war would have paraded before him that day if they had been living. But they do not live! Their bones are rotting in distant lands! Since they could not come, the Duke made a loving suggestion to those present to try to think that the absent men were with them that day. But we must pause a little before we really wish them back. Ghosts have an ugly habit of turning up when one wishes the presence of those whose ghosts they are! What would happen if all the sixty thousand ghosts were to assemble in one place? What would be their feelings on seeing the present condition of India? What would the men who laid down their lives for the English think if they beheld the present wretched condition of their country? Who can imagine the feelings of the sixty thousand ghosts on learning that the English imposed the Rowlatt law on their countrymen before the war which they helped to win had actually come to end? What, again, would be their feelings if they came across the ghosts of the innocent men who were killed in the Jallianwala Bagh? It is not wise to call back the dead since it is not possible to hide the real condition of the country from them.

Comments on the Duke's reception at Delhi.

Mahrátta (8), 20th Feb.

14. "The visit of the Duke has done at least one service. It has taught the bureaucracy that respect is a thing which is to be commanded, and not demanded. In spite of all the decorations, illuminations, garden parties and dancing parties which had been arranged by the stage-managers, the Duke must have felt the welcome given to him at Delhi, unworthy of the name. And though he wired to His Majesty the King-Emperor, that in India he had been receiving the most hearty welcome, yet his innermost heart must be telling him that he was distorting the facts. For the heart of the people was as away from the welcome as it could be. It cannot be imagined that the Duke does not know how the people of Delhi deserted the city in thousands as he stepped into the capital.......... And again the most enthusiastic reception given to Mahatma Gandhi stood in glaring contrast to the people's attitude towards the Duke. More than two lakhs of people crowded the streets of the capital to have a glimpse of their great leader as he was taken out in procession. There were no electric illuminations, but Mahatma Gandhi moved through a sea of human faces lit up with smiles that spoke of admiration and worship.......... Gandhi's visit to Delhi, coming as it did immediately after the Duke's visit, showed that India knows how to worship 'greatness in rags'. Looking at the two receptions one naturally exclaims: 'Look here, upon this picture and on this!'"

The Bombay public should give a warm welcome to the Duke of Connaught.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 20th Feb., Eng. cols.

*15. "To-morrow His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught arrives in Bombay, and we are sure this city will give him as cordial a welcome as has been given to him by the other cities he has up to now visited. We are well aware that the N. C. O's. are sparing no efforts to persuade people to refrain from giving a fitting reception to His Royal Highness, but sensible people cannot be impressed by their round-about arguments. There is no reason why, because there are two parties in the country—one in favour of the Reforms and the other against them—that citizens should refrain from giving due honour to His Majesty's representative. Party considerations and conflicts need not deter us from giving a cordial welcome to an honoured member of the Royal Family who has shown himself such a good and sympathetic friend of India. Whether we are for the reforms or whether we are not, the most sensible course is to lay aside party considerations and welcome the Duke just as we would welcome His Majesty himself were he to pay us a visit. We should welcome him, not particularly because he has come to this country to inaugurate the reformed councils, but because he is the representative of the King-Emperor and the eldest member of the Royal House of Windsor."

Boycott of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to Bombay.

Kesari (115), 15th Feb.

16. In Bombay meetings are being held and resolutions passed to boycott the Duke of Connaught's visit. Will His Royal Highness gauge the true feeling of the country and will he be frank enough to interpret it in its true colours to the Emperor? Or will His Royal Highness send a similar message to England, to that which he dispatched from Calcutta, *viz.*, that he was pleased with the hearty welcome he received there, though, as a matter of fact, the city observed complete *hartal* on his arrival?

Muslim Herald (165), 18th Feb.

17. Commenting upon His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to Bombay the *Muslim Herald* remarks that on the one hand Government are making huge preparations to welcome him while on the other the public are determined to boycott him. It says that apparently the public will win. As regards the progress of *hartal* in the Bombay City, the paper predicts that only a few shops will be closed and spectators will certainly come out to see the *tamasha*, and that their presence will be taken as forming part of the reception. After quoting Mr. Gandhi's views as to the object of the mission entrusted to the Duke, the paper remarks that the latter is not to blame as he is simply carrying out the command of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

Comments on the inauguration of the Chamber of Princes.

Gujaráti (17), 13th Feb.; *Káthiáwár Opinion* (26), 13th Feb.

18. Are the Indian Princes independent or do they occupy a position similar to the Peers of the realm? If the Indian Princes are on a footing of equality with the British Government and can conclude treaties with them, then it would not be consistent with their dignity to be members of the Chamber of Princes recently opened by the Duke of Connaught. But they can only take part in the deliberations of the Chamber if they occupy a position of subordination to Government. These Princes could not be styled loyal and the pillars of the State if they were the equals of Government. It, therefore, stands to reason that those Princes who have consented to be members of the Chamber of Princes have accepted a position of subordination to Government. The Chamber has been established with a view to enabling the Indian Princes to take their due share in the administration of India and the British Empire. Why should then the inhabitants of Indian States not have a voice in their own administration? At present the subjects of Indian States have to put up with tyranny. Should not the Government of India who pose as the protectors of the Indian States remind the Chiefs of the duty they owe to their subjects? [The *Káthiáwár Opinion* expresses disappointment at the absence of any hint in the Duke's speech or the Royal Message to the Indian Chiefs to allow their subjects to have a voice in their own administration.]

Hindusthán (21), 16th Feb., Eng. cols.

19. "Pharos" writes in the *Hindusthán*:—"At last the Chamber of Princes has been formally thrown open by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. We protested again and again against its formation, and so did most of the major Princes. But the minor Princes, who wanted to sit on terms of equality with their former overlords, have succeeded. The Chamber is utterly useless, because it has no executive powers. It is merely a consultative, advisory body. To the Government it is useful, because it tends to degrade Indian Princes as a whole, which it has been always trying to do. And it does not help the subjects of Indian States in any way, since the private affairs of individual states are not to be discussed there. What we want, is some obligation on the part of ruling Princes to give more and more liberty to their subjects. But the British Government somehow seems to be quite satisfied with their autocracy! God help the people!"

Kesari (115), 15th Feb.

20. The opening ceremony of the Chamber of Princes was performed on the 8th February by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. The Viceroy in his speech remarked that he did not approve of the suggestion of naming the Assembly 'Narendra Mandal', as, on account of its being a Hindu name, it would not be liked by Muslims. Thus at the very outset His Excellency introduced in the Assembly the policy of "divide and rule." This is most improper. The question of naming the Assembly will be discussed and decided by it later on. But in the meanwhile for the Viceroy to say that an English name alone would be approved of by both the communities was utterly meddlesome. It would be well if Hindus and Muslims took this lesson to heart and saw the necessity of acting with one accord in everything. The constitution of the Chamber of Princes is defective in many ways. As His Excellency the Viceroy is empowered to make any petty Chief a member of the Chamber, and as every member is entitled to one vote, there is every possibility of the Chamber being packed with men ever prepared to secure the favour of Government. As the Viceroy is further empowered to carry on the work of the Chamber with closed doors, there is no chance of bringing the pressure of public opinion to bear upon it. Moreover, there is nothing to compel the Viceroy to accept the resolutions passed by the Chamber. He can disregard any of them he likes. In short, this Chamber is going to be a potent instrument in the hands of the Viceroy for being used against Indian public opinion. From the very first, we were afraid that this Chamber of Princes would do more harm than good to Indian political life. And the praise which was lavished, beyond all proportion, on the Chiefs, at the very first meeting, for their statesmanship and ability confirms us in our fears. These out-and-out autocrats who never hesitate to oppress their subjects in various ways will vote on the most intricate problems of India and the British Empire. And on the ground of its opposition, even the opinion of the Indian Legislative Assembly is likely to be set aside on occasions. We have no doubt that this will prove harmful to the progress of Indian self-government.

The Council of State is no better than a Council of Slaves.
Mahrátta (8), 20th Feb.

*21. "The Council of State seems to be no better than a Council of Slaves. When the Council met on Wednesday, the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri was to have asked a long series of questions on such controversial points as Sir Michael O'Dwyer's and General Dyer's pensions, the number of victims of the Punjáb disorders to whom compensation had been granted and the amount of the indemnities levied from the people. The questions were certainly very important and had they been pressed, many things would have come to the light. But the father of the questions threw them up at the eleventh hour and unknown things remained undiscovered. When his name was called Mr. Bhurgri immediately rose and said that in view of the debate in the Legislative Assembly, he did not wish to put his questions. ...... We ordinary mortals cannot understand how the debate in the Legislative Assembly could satisfy Mr. Bhurgri. For, in that debate there was not the least mention of the pensions of the two tyrants or the amount of the indemnities. We have the shrewd suspicion that Mr. Bhurgri collapsed before the gloomy prospect of being pounced upon by a whole pack of European members with the same mixture of indignation and persuasion to which Mr. J. Dwarkadas had been subjected the previous day. And a moment later came another confirmation that the Council was a Council of Slaves. Mr. Khaparde moved the adjournment of the House, in order to call attention to a matter of urgent interest, *viz.*, the closing of shops in Delhi on the day of the opening of the Indian Legislature and the necessity of taking action to allay the discontent which that movement meant. The President called upon the members to second the motion by standing up. But, as the report would have it, 'not a member stirred'! We have heard stories of inanimate statues made to speak by the exercise of the magical art. If any one doubts whether living men can be turned into dumb stones by the black magic of bureaucratic glances, let him but visit the rooms of the Council of State!"

Comments on Mr. Sastri's resolution in the Council of State regarding repressive laws.

Mahrátta (8), 20th Feb.

*22. "The Liberals must be wondering how the world is just the same as it was even after what happened in the Council of State during the last week. For, had not something very brave, very astounding, and very praiseworthy been done by Mr. Shastri? And had not something very kind, very sympathetic, and very generous been done by Government? Was it not a superhuman valour to have moved a proposition about the repeal of Repressive Laws? And was it not an angelic mercy on the part of Government to have accepted the appointment of a Committee? Oh, this stolid little world of disbelievers who could not properly appreciate the works of Great Men!......... To our minds the whole affair seems to be brimful with bashfulness and flattery on the one side, and arrogance and defiance on the other. The spirit of Mr. Shastri's resolution, its wording, the way in which the mover prefaced his speech, the manner in which he ended his speech—every one of these things speeks of a weak heart. We suppose it was the conviction that the presence of Repressive Laws was a disgrace to the Indian Statute Book and to the honour of India that inspired Mr. Shastri to move a resolution about them. A realisation that the Repressive Laws constituted a menace to the safety of the life and property of Indians must have made Mr. Shastri miserable and uneasy and led him to demand their repeal. This much we not only understand but are ready to praise. But we are at a loss to understand the intellectual perspicacity which enabled Mr. Shastri to make a threefold division of the Repressive Laws. A Repressive Law is a Repressive Law; and if all cows are black in darkness, all Repressive Laws are equally condemnable.......... Alas! he did not find time to feel the pulse of the country in the violent hurry with which he had to keep engagements with Government officials! Had he but made it convenient to understand what people thought of the Press Act and the Seditious Meetings Act, he would never have committed the gross mistake of extending his indulgence to them. If the Rowlatt Act was 'the unblessed mother of a monstrous brood of evil,' equally 'unblessed' and cursed by Indians were the other Acts which Mr. Shastri has deemed it proper to look upon as comparatively innocent.......... It is not surprising that Mr. Shastri turned to the subject of non-co-operation towards the end of his speech. For was it not exactly the subject which rankled in his heart, was sure to make his peroration very effective, and was an infalliable means of sending the whole Council Chamber ringing with cheers and applause?......... But people never expected that the generosity of Mr. Shastri would stoop so low as to speak ill of Gandhi's movement simply to humour those whose patronage was necessary for the good fate of his resolution.......... It is one thing to say that one cannot be intellectually convinced of the effectiveness of non-co-operation, and it is quite another thing to predict that it will end in violence and bloodshed. Such a prediction in the council rooms is undoubtedly more condemnable than petty hootings and hissings at public meetings. An enemy of India who wished to set the blood-hounds of tyranny and repression after the non-co-operators, would have uttered exactly the same words as those which fell from Mr. Shastri's lips.......... And after all how is Mr. Shastri's unscrupulous sale of generosity, honour and patriotism rewarded by Government? Did Government admit that the exercise of the Repressive Laws has been immoderate? Did Government promise to refrain from the use of these Laws until the Committee's report was out? Did Government assure that the Committee's report will be accepted? None of these things. On the contrary, Sir William Vincent definitely said, 'I cannot promise that their report will be accepted by the Government. Nor can I promise that during the tendency of the Committee's deliberations Government will necessarily refrain from using measures which it is in their power to use at present.' Can Mr. Shastri believe, after hearing these outbursts of autocratic defiance, that 'the principle of autocracy was definitely abandoned'? What has he achieved?......... He reduced himself to the ridiculous position of a prisoner asking the jailor to take away only some fetters off his hands. But all these endeavours were lost upon Sir Vincent who was successful in sending the Liberals satisfied by only treating them to the remark 'Extremists may like the use of these laws more freely in order to create difficulties to the Moderate section of politicians and to enable them to pose as martyrs.' There was 'laughter,' as the report says, after this remark. No laughter could have been more villainous and heartless. The Extremists have proved that they have courage and strength enough to face the Repressive Laws and, if need be, to die for their country. The world very well knows who are martyrs and who pose as martyrs. Men who could manage to laugh when a bureaucrat was cutting a dirty joke at the cost of their countrymen, are a wonderful specimen of human beings worthy of a Darwinian study."

Kesari (115), 15th Feb.

23. The work of the Council of State commenced from yesterday. Mr. Sastri has given notice of a resolution to appoint a committee to consider the expediency of repealing or modifying, as the case may be, the existing repressive laws. The terms of the resolution are such as would be relished more by Government than by the people, and judging from the experience of the past, such a committee is likely to give cause for repentance afterwards. The suspicion has been strengthened by the fact that Sir William Vincent has announced Government's intention of taking up for discussion Mr. Sastri's resolution on the very first day of the session. The Rowlatt Committee, the Chandavarkar Committee for considering the case of political prisoners and many other committees besides have been appointed in the past. The outcome of the first was the Rowlatt Act and the second recommended the release of only six prisoners out of 806. In the same way, the Sastri Committee also will deliberate for five or six months and come to the conclusion that all the repressive laws are necessary and will perhaps recommend the repeal of some insignificant act. The anxiety evinced by Government to meet the wishes of the members is wholly theatrical and the Moderates are simply falling victims to the trap.

Servant of India (10), 17th Feb.

*24. "When at the inauguration of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State His Excellency the Viceroy declared, and the Royal Duke emphasized, that autocracy had ended, they gave expression to the real spirit of the reforms which have started India on the path of responsible government. The provincial Councils have made a very good beginning in spite of the non-participation in elections of a section of our progressive countrymen. The choice of ministers has on the whole been very satisfactory, and there are signs of sectarian differences subsiding even in Madras Presidency.......... We feel justified in believing that a new era has begun because the Government of India have given the clearest indication of the fact that autocracy has ceased to be supreme there. This was shown not only by their giving the very first day of business to the discussion of Mr. Sastri's resolution on repressive laws and Mr. Jamnadas' resolution on the Punjáb, but by the unexpectedly conciliatory attitude adopted towards them. In fact it was all that could be desired. Only a few months ago Lord Chelmsford disallowed Mr. Sastri's resolution on the Punjáb when he tried to move it in the old Council. That a similar resolution should now be welcomed and accepted in the best spirit of co-operation indicates sufficiently clearly the change that has come over the citadel of bureaucracy.......... The only clause about accepting which difficulty was expressed was that relating to punishment of the officers concerned; and after the difficulties were pointed out, the mover himself withdrew it at the request of several of his colleagues. Mr. Norton appealed to the sense of renunciation and generous charity of Indians to forgive and forget. We are sure that this together with the touching appeal of the Duke will meet with ready response from a good many who have now joined the non-co-operation movement in despair of justice being done to the Punjáb. A spirit of co-operation and reconciliation marks the new era."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 20th Feb.

*25. "The Home Member 'accepted' Mr. Sastri's resoution specifically with reference to six Acts which 'Government wanted to improve,' excluding the Press Act, but adding two more to Mr. Khaparde's list. The

Press Act, he said, was already 'under the consideration of Government' whatever that may mean. He agreed that the Committee should be composed two-thirds of it of non-officials, but he would not promise that the Committee would be confined to the two Chambers of the Indian Legislature. This last condition seems to be rather a reflection on the representative character of the Legislature. Proceeding from Government and at the threshold of its career, it is not likely to have been much relished by either the mover of the resolution or his seconder, Sir M. Dadabhoy. Taking the Government position as a whole, the exclusion of the Press Act without any definite announcement regarding the intentions of Government regarding it and the reservation by Government of the right to include nominees of its own from outside the Council in the Committee, we cannot help thinking that it materially differed from that of the resolution and that the mover ought to have pressed for definite assurances, publicly given, regarding the Press Act and the outside nominations, before he accepted the 'acceptance' of Sir William Vincent."

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 16th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 17th Feb.; *Akhbar-e-Islam* (58), 16th Feb.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 16th Feb.

26. The speech made by Mr. Shastri in support of his resolution for appointing a Committee for considering the question of repealing or amending repressive laws evoked the admiration of men of all shades of opinion in the Council. Mr. Shastri voiced public opinion in drawing the attention of Government to the evil effects produced by the passing of the Rowlatt Act. He dwelt at length on the unsuitability of Regulation III of 1818 and we hope that the Act will either be repealed or substantially amended, so that public discontent in respect of it may be allayed. If Government want to make their administration popular they should repeal the repressive measures. Government no doubt, deserve praise for accepting Mr. Shastri's resolution. Let us hope that the Committee appointed will succeed in getting the repressive measures repealed at an early date and thereby pacifying the minds of the people and dealing a death-blow to the non-co-operation movement. [The *Bombay Samáchar* endorses the views expressed by Mr. Shastri in supporting his resolution and congratulates Government on the readiness they showed in accepting it and thereby dealing a blow to the non-co-operation movement. The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, writing in a similar strain, dwells at some length on the evils of the non-co-operation movement advocated by Mr. Gandhi. The *Sánj Vartamán* on the other hand writes :—How long will the sword of Damocles hang over the heads of the Indian people in the form of repressive laws? We give our full support to the amendment moved by Mr. Khaparde to Mr. Shastri's resolution for the immediate repeal of all repressive laws. We do not think that there is any necessity of appointing a Committee for considering the repressive measures when the country as a whole has protested against these measures. In these circumstances, we do not think that Mr. Shastri's resolution will in any way be acceptable to the people.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 15th Feb.; *Hindusthán* (21), 14th Feb.

27. Mr. Shrinivas Shastri is going to move a resolution in the Council of State asking for the appointment of a Committee to consider the question of the amendment or repeal of our repressive laws. It is well-known that these repressive laws are a source of trouble to the people and that they consider the Rowlatt Act as a Black Law passed in disregard of all the loyal services rendered by them during the war. It is creditable neither to Government nor the people to allow Act III of 1818 to remain on the Statute Book. Lord Chelmsford's term of office is coming to a close and it is probable that Mr. Montagu wishes that he should before his departure from India, repeal the repressive laws he himself has enacted. Mr. Shastri's resolution gives Government an opportunity of correcting their own mistakes as well as of proving to the people that the new reforms would give the people an effective voice in their own administration. Let us hope Lord Chelmsford will avail himself of the opportunity afforded to him of repealing the repressive measures. [The *Hindusthán* writes :—If the bureaucracy recognise the new spirit that is animating the world and the changed condition of India,

they will amend the repressive measures. Otherwise, India will be another Ireland as prognosticated by the *Nation*.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Feb.

28. "Sir William Vincent was guilty of a clear and grievous injustice to the memory of Gokhale, when he said that the latter was one of the supporters of the Seditious Meetings Act. We are amazed that Sir William's memory on this important point should have played him false. If Sir William will refer to the files of the Council proceedings of those days he will find that in none of the speeches which Gokhale made in the years 1907, 1910 and 1911, when the Seditious Meetings Bill in its various forms was under consideration, did he offer his support to the Bill. On the other hand, from first to last, he was opposed to the passing of the measure, both because of the extreme harshness of its provisions and the total absence of urgency for its adoption.......... We hope some one of Sir William's colleagues in Council will draw his attention to his error and induce him to make proper amends to the memory of the dead patriot and statesman."

The Reformed Councils a farce.

New Times (9), 17th Feb.

29. "The visible manifestation of that Montagu dispensation called by the name of Reforms Act over which the moderates and *johukums* bursted into hysterics of jubiliation, has commenced its work. The advocates of Reforms and anti-non-co-operators will gradually learn from the proceeding of the Indian Legislature in particular and Provincial councils in general that the Act was a mere farce and a collosal sham. Leaving aside the exorbitant expenditure involved in increasing the number of Executive Councillors and creation of the posts of Ministers together with their Secretaries, Under Secretaries, and Assistant Secretaries the very modest non-official motion for the justifiable and resonable reduction in the Minister's salary was defeated in the Bengal Legislative Council. In the Council of State, it is a well-known fact that even the mildly-worded amendment of Mr. Khaparde merely suggesting the repeal of the five repressive acts including the Press Act and the seditious meetings act was not accepted by the House, Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar being its only supporter. During the course of the debate over the Punjáb disturbances in the Legislative Assembly the mover Mr. Jamnádás Dwárkádás yielded to deletion of the third clause, which required the adequate punishment of the perpetrators of Punjáb barbarities—a clause without which the resolution would appear to be useless. The Government as represented by the Home Member has not changed its angle of vision and Sir William Vincent is reported to have stated that the attitude of Government towards General Dyer and O'Dywer was the same as expressed in their despatch to the Secretary of State. So the so-called 'New Era' has not produced any effect on the mind of hardened bureaucracy. They still assert that the Government had been 'too just' in inflicting the punishment on the actual offenders. Thus it is that the shameful condonation of and provision of fat pension to Dyer and condemnable exoneration of O'Dywer are termed by the Home Member 'too just'. It is this persistently unrepentent attitude of the bureaucracy that affords additional ground for resorting to non-co-operation."

Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly regarding the Punjáb affairs.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 20th Feb., Eng. cols.

30. Referring to Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' resolution regarding the Punjáb affairs in the Indian Legislative Assembly the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"It is satisfactory to note, that with the exception of the third clause, the resolution has been passed without opposition, and the main principle embodied therein has thus been definitely acknowledged by the Government. With this for the present all sensible people must rest content. As regards the third clause of the resolution, we fear that its deletion will not satisfy a large section of the public that has been crying for retributory justice. After due consideration of existing circumstances, however, we think that it would be neither wise nor manly to persist in a vindictive desire of inflicting punishment on those who did wrong but escaped from the consequences of their wrong-doing. For

the restablishment of that peace and good-will which are so necessary if the country is now to progress on the right lines, it is well that all classes and parties should exercise charity and forbearance, and give up the idea of retribution......... And so let us once and for all ring the curtain down over this unhappy controversy; let us cast all fear, suspicion and distrust into the pit of oblivion; let us turn our backs upon all feelings of bitterness or vindictiveness.......... The destinies of England and India are linked together for a great purpose. The British Empire seems to be designed, in the eternal order of things, to bring about the true internationalisation of the world. For that purpose India and England stand in need of each other; they cannot be separated without throwing each other into ruin; and for that purpose they must walk hand in hand, each lending strength and courage to the other in their onward march."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 16th Feb.; *Hindusthán* (21), 18th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 17th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 18th Feb.; *Bharat Seva* (16), 18th Feb.

31. The discussion that took place in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the resolution moved by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas on the Punjáb affairs goes to make it clear how reluctant the bureaucracy is to do justice to the Punjáb. Mr. Jamnadas showed some courage in opening the question, but he showed an equal amount of weakness in not adhering to his resolution in its entirety. The Punjáb wrongs will be fully vindicated only when those officials who disgraced their uniform by resorting to oppression are duly punished and are not allowed to draw their pensions from the Indian treasury. But it is to be regretted that Mr. Jamnadas did not press for the punishment of such officers and has thus confirmed the popular belief that he has now become a sycophant of Government. God alone knows when the wounds of the Punjáb will be healed; but it is to be greatly regretted that Government are still reluctant to take such steps as would pacify the hearts of the people of the Punjáb. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—No weighty arguments were advanced by Government for dropping Clause III of the resolution. It is to be regretted that the bureaucratic officials are still reluctant to conciliate public opinion and to set right the wrongs done to the people. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—It is gratifying to note that Government have shown an impartial attitude in respect of the resolution and that they have thus shown that they are fully cognisant of the keen feelings of the people on the question of the Punjáb affairs. We are afraid that the dropping of clause III of the resolution at the instance of Government will not be gratifying to the public. Why should General Dyer who has disgraced his uniform be allowed to draw his pension from the Indian treasury? As asserted by Mr. Norton in the Legislative Assembly, it is simply adding insult to injury to allow a tyrant like Sir Michael O'Dwyer to go scot-free and to appoint him the President of a Commission. Many people will consider the dropping of the most important part of the resolution as impolitic and short-sighted on the part of Government as also on that of the mover of the resolution. Perhaps the question of prestige may be said to come in the way of Government; but they have disowned any such motive on their part and we therefore find it difficult to solve the dilemma presented to us by their action. Had Government accepted clause III of the resolution it would have gone a great way in allaying the existing discontent in the country and in dealing a blow to the non-co-operation movement. However, the sympathetic attitude assumed by Government towards the question will produce a good effect on the minds of the people. The *Bombay Samáchár* also wishes that clause III of the resolution had not been dropped. It is of the opinion that Sir William Vincent's reference to the repressive measures adopted to quell disturbances in Ireland was quite out of place as in the case of Ireland such measures are used against an armed people while the people of the Punjáb against whom bombs were used had no arms with them. It, however, congratulates Government on the broad-mindedness they have shown in accepting the resolution in its amended form. The *Bharat Seva* observes:—If Government continue to show the sympathy and far-sightedness they have displayed at the commencement of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, the existing discontent in the country will disappear and complete *Swaraj* will be secured for India without

shedding a drop of blood. This is the only way of killing the non-co-operation movement. We must congratulate Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas on the success he has achieved in getting his far-sighted resolution accepted by Government.]

Indian Social Reformer (7), 20th Feb.

***32.** Mr. Jamnadas' intentions in bringing forward this resolution are praiseworthy. But the proceedings, as summarised in the daily papers, lacked warmth and spontaneity, essential factors in a scene meant to signalise a great reconciliation after a deep division. They were more suggestive of a business deal, an aspect accentuated by the haggling over and final giving up of the third and only part of the resolution under which some overt act giving effect to the two previous parts of it is still possible.......... Sir William Vincent in his speech on the resolution simply played with the subject-matter of it. He maintained that the first two parts of the resolution merely embodied what had always been the Government view and proceeded to lay down the astounding proposition that 'the Government of India was not responsible for the action of individual officers'!! Then who is responsible? The 'individual officers' claim to have acted under Government authority; Mr. Jamnadas would not have included this part in his resolution if he had been satisfied that the responsibility had been brought home to the individual officers; not only has this not been done, but the Government actually brought in and passed an Indemnity Act on the ground that they were in honour bound to protect their officers. No more painful proof of the unreality of the debate could have been afforded than the impunity with which the Home Member's dangerous and unconstitutional dictum was allowed to pass. Government are responsible for the actions of every one of their individual officers, and the only way in which they can discharge, and that not altogether, their responsibility is by promptly punishing the wrong-doer. In view of Sir William Vincent's dictum, it was all the more incumbent on the Legislative Assembly, as the guardian of the people's rights and liberties, to have insisted on adopting the third part of Mr. Jamnadas' resolution. By not doing so it has tacitly acquiesced in a proposition which constitutes a standing menace to good Government. And we cannot understand why every speaker, excepting Mr. Eardley Norton, but including Mr. Jamnadas himself, assumed that no officer higher than General Dyer was involved in the Punjáb tragedy.......... As we have said before, Sir Michael O'Dwyer's responsibility for the tragedy is infinitely greater than the General's.......... And this man has not only not been punished but he had a high tribute paid to his services by the Government of India and the Secretary of State.......... The Home Member's argument that the severities against Sinn Fein in Ireland repudiated the idea that Indian lives were not regarded as sacred as those of other parts in the Empire, was an insult to Ireland as well as to India. The resolution is said to have been carried unanimously, as was Mr. Sastri's in the Council of State but it remains to be seen whether it has appreciably allayed the public feeling in the country with reference to the Punjáb martial law administration. Even the special correspondent of the *Times* recognised that the matter will have to be re-opened if the Indian situation is to be eased.......... The resolution is a triumph for the bureaucracy at some additional cost to the Punjáb tax-payer!"

Gujaráti (17), 20th Feb., Eng. cols.

***33.** "The Government of India showed a commendable spirit of conciliation in giving priority to the Honourable Mr. Shastri's resolution on the subject of repressive laws in the Council of State and to Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' resolution regarding the Punjáb affairs in the Indian Legislative Assembly. The credit for this change in the unbending attitude they had hitherto maintained is due to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, whose graceful speeches and touching appeal made in homely language 'to forget and forgive,' though they have not produced that moral effect in the country which they would have under circumstances of less bitterness, have certainly influenced the moral and political atmosqhere prevailing at the headquarters of the Indian Government of Delhi.......... The acceptance of

Mr. Jamnadas' resolution by the Government of India with the exception of the third clause relating to the infliction of deterrent punishments upon the erring officers is also a noteworthy indication of a change in their angle of vision in regard to the happenings in the Punjáb.......... We are glad wiser counsels have prevailed and the Government of India have at last realised their moral duty to acknowledge their sense of regret at the atrocities committed. The omission of the third clause in Mr. Jamnadas' resolution has evoked considerable criticism and even disappointment. No sensible Indian wishes in the least to be vindictive in the punishment of the officers concerned, even though their action as well as the general policy followed by Sir Michael O'Dwyer were altogether revengeful and inhuman. The only question that required to be considered was whether the punishments meted out to the offending officers was adequate under the circumstances.......... The general feeling in the Assembly was that the old sore should not now be re-opened at this distance of time and that no spirit of vindictiveness be allowed to mar the harmony that should mark the inauguration of the new era. For our own part we are inclined to think that the punishments meted out to the European officers are totally inadequate and that the penalty of dismissal, as was recommended by the Congress Sub-Committee in their report, was the least that was demanded by the circumstances of the case.......... The general feeling in the country will be that the question of punishment was not satisfactorily dealt with in the Assembly. General Dyer's speeches and writings in England show that he is still unrepentant and bitterly hostile in his attitude towards the people of India. Surely his butcheries do not qualify him for the grant of a pension at their expense. Similarly, the officers who oppressed innocent students in a spirit of barbarism or insulted Indian women are not entitled to be maintained out of the revenue of a country which they have unpardonably wronged. We do not understand how Mr. Jamnadas or the other members of the Assembly reconciled themselves to a decision which makes the Indian tax-payer liable to pay pensions and gratuities to these heartless officers. The only explanation that can be given is that everyone thought it better, on the whole, to let by-gones be by-gones, in view of the guarantees that had been given regarding the future, and open a new page in a spirit of harmony and concord, irrespective of the merits of the controversy over the question of punishment. There is a good deal to be said in favour of this view, though it is doubtful if it will appease the inflamed feelings of the people at large. Sir William Vincent had omitted all reference to the brutal treatment that was meted out to innocent students. We are glad Dr. Sapru made ample amends for this omission by expressing the regret of Government at the occurrence of such a deplorable episode and by giving an assurance that the policy of Government will be not to penalise patriotism but to develop every civic virtue in the younger generation so as to enable young men to take their proper place in the public life of the nation."

Mahrátta (8), 20th Feb.

*34. "He who roared against Mr. Latthe that 'there should be no attempt to whittle down his resolution' bleated like a lamb when he had to stand against Vincents and Fells. The whole scene is full of humour. The Government officials take in their mind to mutilate Mr. Jamnadas' resolution beyond recognition. They fall down upon him from all quarters. One of them pats him on his back, another frightens him with a frown and a third coaxes him. The little child is at last brought round. It would have been worthier of Mr. Jamnadas to have stuck to the whole resolution and seen it lost. That would have put the Assembly to shame and would have proved that the autocrat still reigned supreme. But to have said that he was 'convinced of the honesty of the Government' and withdrawn the third clause is neither glory to him nor service to his country."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Feb.

35. "While, in fairness to the Government of India, it must be acknowledged that they have begun to show some signs of genuine remorse for the Punjáb atrocities, their acceptance of the resolutions of Mr. Sastri and Mr. Jamnadas does not show that they have fully

understood the feelings of the people in respect of the Punjáb wrong, and it will not be accepted by the latter as anything like an adequate redress. To take Mr. Jamnadas' resolution first: The resolution itself, it must be made clear, did not fully give expression to the demand of the people of India in the matter. The matter involved the honour of India, and, therefore, admitted of no compromise, no offer of a reparation that fell short of the minimum embodied in the recommendations of the Congress Sub-Committee, which were endorsed by the unanimous voice of the nation. That Mr. Jamnadas' resolution itself should have fallen short of this minimum and that non-official Indian members should have vied with one another, not in seeking to improve it but in supporting the Government's desire to whittle it down, affords the measure of the gulf that separates these 'representatives' of the people from the latter. That the Government should have sought to whittle it down affords the measure of their remorse. .... Sir William Vincent said that Government were anxious to arrive at an understanding on the Punjáb question. Now, the genuineness of their anxiety can be measured by their willingness to translate their anxiety into the required action so that the 'New Era' may begin, as they say they wish it to begin, with 'a clean slate'. Now, we shall, for the moment, not test their sincerity by the measure of the action which the Congress has demanded and which, and nothing less, will soothe the lacerated heart of the country. **Let the inadequate test furnished by Mr. Jamnadas' resolution suffice.......... Let us judge them by the test to which they willingly submit. If they** genuinely 'record their opinion and express regret that the martial law administration in the Punjáb in 1919 departed from the principles of racial equality and was calculated to deeply wound the self-respect of the Indian population by subjecting them to unnecessary hardships and humiliation' why should they hesitate 'to mete out deterrent punishment to the officers who were found guilty of improper exercise of their powers, and to take steps to relieve the Indian revenue of all payments towards gratuities, pensions or compassionate allowances to such officers'? The arguments they bring forward to justify their reluctance to do so are as dishonest as they are fatuous. Take the case of Dyer, the perpetrator of 'the blackest crime in history.' Sir William Vincent tells us coolly that, as for Dyer's action, the Government's view is the same as expressed in their own despatch and in the despatch of His Majesty's Government. We know what that view is and how any wordy repudiation of that black crime has been belied by the action taken against the criminal. Sir Godfrey Fell supplies the commentary. He said the Government of India had no authority to deal with him in any way other than that in which he was dealt with and that to leave the army in the way in which Dyer did was a disgrace worse than death. And yet this criminal is allowed still to call himself a 'Brigadier General.' That is, however, a disgrace to the British Army and is its concern. What makes the blood of every Indian boil is to know—and Sir Godfrey Fell's argument amounts to this—that the Government had 'the authority', and, worse, used it, to give him a pension out of India's revenues to enable him to indulge with impunity in activities such as writing the infamous article in the *Globe* which we reproduce elsewhere. And yet in the Indian Legislative Assembly were to be found our 'representatives' who acquiesced in this shameful outrage on Indian sentiment—we shall take a charitable view and say that in their enthusiasm for 'the tone of moderation and toleration' so readily commended by Sir William Vincent, they failed to realise what they were doing—and that it was after Sir Godfrey Fell's speech that Mr. Jamnadas was convinced of the 'honesty' of Government and withdrew the clause demanding deterrent punishment of guilty officers and discontinuing gratuities, pensions, etc., to these officers! So do honeyed words dupe honest men!...... Another melancholy proof of the refusal of Government really to begin the 'New Era' with a clean slate and of the failure of Indian members to interpret the needs of the country was provided by the debate on Mr. Sastri's resolution for the appointment of a committee to consider which of the repressive laws should be repealed and which of them should be modified. **That a publicist of Mr. Sastri's eminence and experience should propose such a resolution instead of demanding, as Mr. Khaparde did, the instant**

repeal of these laws is an illuminating commentary on the manner in which our elementary rights as human beings are going to be vindicated by our neo-legislators.......... It is true that a committee with a two-thirds Indian element is promised, but the Government will not undertake that their report will be accepted by them; only 'their opinion will carry the greatest weight'. So that in September the Government may or may not introduce the necessary legislation and the necessary legislation may or may not be repealing—for we know how a committee can be packed to secure a desired end.......... We have no illusions about the much-lauded conversion of the bureaucracy. And to us a remark of Sir William Vincent, evidently uttered in an unguarded moment, furnishes the key to their attitude. He drew the attention of the members to Ireland where the drastic measures taken, he reminded them, were in many ways much more severe than those taken in India. The choice of the parallel is not happy for the Government, but it was inevitable. Now what is the outstanding fact about Ireland? It is this: that a nation determined to be free is being coerced by brute force in a manner which has made British Imperialism odious in the eyes of the world. Sir William Vincent in recalling the parallel intended to repudiate the idea that Indian lives were not regarded as less sacred than those of others in other parts of the Empire. But Sir William omitted to mention the curious fact that in this Empire it is only Irishmen, Indians, Egyptians and Ceylonese who are, in moods of panic, so drastically treated. Can he recall ocasions when Englishmen in England or the Colonists in any of the Dominions were thus dealt with? He may not say it, but Indians will note that such treatment is reserved only for the subject peoples of the Empire.......... And it is because the Indian people have realised this fact—this inevitability of Punjábs on lesser or greater scale—about the Empire, that they are determined to stay in it on one condition alone—namely, the condition of being in their own country as much masters as Englishmen are in England and the Colonists are in the Dominions."

Comments on Sir William Vincent's justification of the constitution of the Behar Government.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Feb.

36. "Sir William Vincent's justification of the one-sided composition of the Behar Council is hardly convincing. It, however, exposes in all its nakedness the rooted distrust of the bureaucracy of the political integrity of even the highest placed Indians. Sir William explains that the reason why the Government of India resolved to go back upon the recommendation of the Joint Committee and the terms of the Government of India Act was that if they stuck to this recommendation and the terms of the Act, the Indian element in the Government would be undesirably large, since there was an Indian Governor too to be taken into account. The plain significance of this statement is that the Government of India have no confidence that an Indian of even the status and antecedents of Lord Sinha will hold the balance even between the European and Indian members of his Council. The reflections which the Government of India's action suggest are hardly creditable to either the Government or Lord Sinha who has tamely acquiesced in this bureaucratic attempt to tinker with the 'Reforms'."

Complaint about no non-Muhammadan from Sind having been nominated to the Bombay Legislative Council.
Sind Vási (162), 8th Feb.

37. Among the men nominated as Members to the Bombay Legislative Council, there is not even one from Sind. It was said that Sir George Lloyd on the whole cared more for Sind than his predecessors in office. These nominations, however, tell a different tale. We have once more reason to complain that Sind is treated as a step-daughter of Bombay. In this province there are men who will be ornaments to the Council. At the same time it was quite in the fitness of things for the Government to nominate at any rate two non-Muhammadans from Sind, in view of the fact that the non-Muslim population of Sind, considering its education, intelligence and progress, has not been given adequate representation by election.

Complaint about Government not nominating a Muhammadan to the Bombay Legislative Council.

Insaf (69), 11th Feb.

38. Commenting upon the constitution of the new Bombay Legislative Council, the *Insaf* writes :—We are sorry that there is no Muhammadan gentleman in the new Legislative Council. We had hoped that Government would nominate some able Muhammadan. But alas! Government did not take our Muhammadan brethren into their confidence. There is no Muhammadan, excepting Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah of the Executive Council, who can effectively move resolutions relating to the Muhammadan community in the Legislative Council and secure justice for them. From the purely Muhammadan standpoint, the new Legislative Council has proved disappointing for the community. Government has erred seriously in not nominating a fit Muhammadan to the Legislative Council, because at a time when the non-co-operation movement is in full swing, it was necessary to appoint a competent man who will be able to soothe the feelings of the people. We ask Government whether there is no such fit Muhammadan in the Bombay Presidency who can be nominated in the Legislative Cauncil. We still hope that as occasion arises Government will show their good faith towards the Muhammadans by nominating a qualified member of the community. When the Muhammadans have boycotted the Legislative Council owing to non-co-operation, it is the first duty of Government to see that no action on their part is interpreted by the people as savouring of non-co-operation against the Muhammadans.

Hill exodus resolutions in the Bengal and Madras Legislative Councils.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Feb.

39. "The Bengal Legislative Council debated on Wednesday last a resolution moved by one of the non-official members recommending to Government that the annual exodus to Darjeeling be discontinued from the next official year and that no provision be made for it in next year's budget. In spite of the opposition of Government, the resolution was carried, 53 voting for and 41 against it. Just before the resolution was put to the vote, Sir Henry Wheeler, Executive Councillor, threw out the following challenge to the 'democratic' Council. He said that 'whatever the fate of the resolution Government was going to follow this year the new system which was a material change in the past position and which would save money,'—the 'new system' referred to being that all the heads of Departments will perforce fly to the Elysian heights as before and that only the clerical staff will be left to the joys of the plains.......... It is to be regretted that both the Indian members of the Executive Council, the Maharaja of Burdwan and Sir Abdur Rahim said ditto to the bureaucratic shibboleths of 'efficiency' and 'lowness of the cost.' while Sir Surendranath Banerjea and his two ministerial colleagues kept mum, for reasons best known to themselves, in spite of the fact that the mover of the resoluton recalled the rather melancholy fact that Babu Surendranath of other days seconded the resolution, demanding the abolition of the exodus, at a Town Hall demonstration held in Calcutta so far back as 1886. Sir Henry Wheeler has plainly said that the Bengal Government will carry out the exodus in spite of any resolution which the Council may pass opposing it. If any apologist of Government can convince us in the face of such open flouting of the popular will, that the principle of autocracy das been 'definitely abandoned' since the inauguration of the Reforms, we shall be immensely obliged to him.......... We ask in all humility : Are these evidences of change of spots in the bureaucratic leopard?" [Elsewhere the paper writes :—"Lord Willingdon's Government have most improperly tried to anticipate the decision of the local Council by announcing, through the channel of the Publicity Board, that this year only the Governor, the Executive Council members and their secretaries will proceed to Ootacamund, leaving the Ministers and the under-secretaries to the joys of the plains. It is most objectionable on the part of the Madras Government to influence the decision of their Council in this precipitate manner. Secondly, the distinction made between Executive members and Ministers is highly invidious."]

Distribution of medals in memory of the opening of the new Councils to students in Delhi.

Kesari (115), 15th Feb.

40. It was arranged by the Delhi officials to award medals to school children with a view to impress on their tender minds the importance of the opening of the new Councils by the Duke of Connaught. But, unfortunately, there was no demand for the medals from school proprietors and municipalities, and some school-committees even passed resolutions not to award these medals. Still the officials persisted in their attempts, sent the medals to schools and forced students to accept them. Some students who refused to accept them were punished. In some places, the Taluka officers showed their bravery by tearing down certain placards condemning the ceremony of the presentation of medals. But of what avail would this enforced allegiance be to the bureaucracy? Have they not got common sense enough to know that enforced co-operation will drive co-operators to non-co-operation through disgust?

Karma Veera ( ), 15th Feb.

41. The inscription on the Victory Medal has a significant meaning to those who would search for it. On the obverse is inscribed the effigy of George the Fifth, the King-Emperor, and on the reverse there are the words "For liberty: For Honour" and between them there is a picture of two soldiers, one of them being a wounded Indian sepoy and the other a British soldier. The British soldier has placed his hand upon the shoulder of the wounded sepoy and stands erect and proud, with his chest forward, while the Indian sepoy is bent down with pain. In our present condition, we do not see that this picture is capable of any other interpretation than the one which we give below. The words "For liberty: For honour" have scarcely any meaning for us. It is true that the victory was obtained with the help of Indians, but it is only the English Bahadurs who reap the fruits of the victory and go about with their chests thrust forward. We Indians are the people who bend down in humility.

The New Legislative Councils and the leadership of the Ministers.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 20th Feb.

42. "The new Legislative Councils show no disposition to recognise the leadership of the Ministers. In Bengal, a non-official member carried a motion to establish dispensaries in every village in the face of the strong opposition of the Ministers, including the Minister in charge of the subject, Mr. Surendranath Banerji. In the United Provinces, the Council defeated Government on the salary of the Deputy President, which Government had proposed to fix at an unreasonably extravagant figure. The Council was clearly wrong in the other case, where, in spite of the just protest of the Education Minister, Mr. Chintamani, it usurped a function of the Allahabad University and abolished the age-limit for the Matriculation. In Madras, the Legislative Council carried by a large majority, in the face of the vehement protests of Government, a resolution subjecting the revision of land assessment to legislative control as in the case of all other taxation. This is a long-pending reform and removes a crying grievance of agriculturists."

The question of Minister's salaries.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Feb.

43. "The Honourable Sir Surendranath Banerjea, by **voluntarily announcing that he would devote to charitable purposes a portion of the Rs. 64,000 he would draw annually as the salary of his post, may be disposed to think that he has cut the gordion knot of the question of the Ministers' salaries, which had been perplexing the Bengal Legislative Council. But he is clearly mistaken.** While readily acknowledging that the 'sacrifice,' however insignificant, does credit to the patriotic feelings of himself and his colleagues, we fail to see how this action at all affects the issues raised.......... **The personal** 'sacrifice' of Sir Surendranath and his colleagues does not at all meet these issues but in reality draws a red herring across them.......... **Sir Surendranath's and his colleagues' example, while not contributing to the solution of the real difficulty, may prove seriously embarrassing to their successors, who may not see eye to eye with them in regard to either the propriety or**

the genuineness of the 'sacrifice' now made. The impossibility of effecting even the slightest retrenchment, in the vital interests of national economy without disturbing the stability of the whole structure, shows the 'utter futility of all piecemeal reform and the paramount necessity of overhauling the whole edifice itself, if any real advance is to be made."

Swaraj will be delayed if non-co-operationists resort to violent methods.

Navjivan (72), 13th Feb.; *Jam-e-Jamshed* (23), 16th Feb.

44. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan* under the heading "*Swaraj* will be delayed":—I am ashamed to write such a heading. The incidents that have happened at Bombay and Poona and my experiences during my tours lead me to exclaim thus: The people who have looted bazars in Bihar and who did not allow Mr. Shastri and Mr. Paranjpye to deliver their addresses have retarded the progress of *Swáraj* and strengthened the fears entertained by Mr. Shastri. If Mr. Shastri is convinced that India can carry on the non-co-operation agitation in a peaceful manner, he would become a non-co-operationist in a day and *Swaraj* would be attained in a day if the whole of India practises non-co-operation in a body. I am of the opinion that *Swaraj* would be quickly attained even if pleaders do not give up practice and students do not boycott Government schools and title-holders do not renounce their titles. But if our movement disturbs the peace, *Swaraj* will not be secured—not in a year at any rate. Those who disturb the peace are the enemies of the country because they co-operate with Government in an effective manner. Government know how to put down disturbances, but they would be defeated if we make use of a superior kind of force. We will be able to secure our goal in the quickest possible manner if we defeat Government by the weapons they do not possess. Non-co-operation will succeed only when we are in a position to display its marvels to the largest number of people. Such marvels can be displayed by peaceful methods alone. Non-co-operationists should no doubt observe decency at public meetings. But is it our fault if the emissaries of Government are discourteous at such meetings? No doubt it would be our fault if we did not help to put down such discourtesy. Government rule over us because they are in a position to outwit us in everything. But we will be able to dominate our Government when we can outwit them in all their intrigues. If Government emissaries attend public meetings with a view to breaking them up, the non-co-operationists should leave the field open to them by leaving such meetings in a peaceful manner. We have no more need to persuade pleaders and students to join our movement. Others will join us of their own accord if those who have taken to our movement set them a good example. The non-co-operationists should now turn their attention towards the working classes and advance the country's cause by serving all classes of people. [Commenting upon the above the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Mr. Gandhi seems to have been brought to his senses. Mr. Gandhi thinks that *Swaraj* will be delayed owing to the hooliganism practised by his followers, but every true lover of India fears that instead of getting *Swaraj* through his movement the country will fall a prey to mobocracy. Let us hope Mr. Gandhi will soon dissociate himself from the non-co-operation movement.]

The duty of the youth of India in the present political crisis of the country.

Navjivan (72), 13th Feb.

45. In the course of an article 'the secret of the fight', the *Navjivan* writes:—The English won the Empire of India by means of beardless inexperienced youths of 20 to 25 years of age. If we make up our mind, we, too, can get *swarájya* through school and college students. The opportune moment has arrived. Throughout the world the old era has set and a new age has dawned. At such a juncture, will the students of India maintain the calmness and apathy of corpses? Will they render nugatory the sacrifices of the leaders of their country? The students of Bengal have responded to the call. The students of Aligarh have announced their inviolable resolve. The students of the Karnatak are prepared for every sacrifice. Will the students of Gujarát sit silent calculating the advantages and disadvantages and the chances of victory or defeat? How can this be befitting for them? The eyes of India are turned towards Gujarát. Gujarát alone has proved her faith by establishing an independent University. Will the students of that same Gujarát lag behind in responding to the call of the nation? When students of other provinces are making new history, will the students of Gujarát think it manliness on their part to study the history of their dependence and to earn a degree by becoming experts in it? Some students think of their safety in future. Some others are dictating their own terms to the leaders as if India were an *Inami* village of these leaders and they were mercenary troops who sell their lives. This not a fight to upset the British rule and establish a different rule under a different king. This is a fight for securing *swarajya* and for the establishment of a just Government. This is not an immoral fight that it should need a scheming General to lead it. Young men, why do you wait for an impetus from the leaders? Those that have truth in their hearts and boldness of spirit should be prepared to offer up and devote their energies to the cause without caring for the consequences. Therein lies greatness; therein lies highest good. The present time is not a time to render the task before the nation difficult by asking the leaders 'what facilities have you provided for us' and thereby throwing the burden on their shoulders. Can our youths not show, for 9 months, this much boldness and imagination as to make the undertaking a success by their intelligence ability and heroism? The chief thing to be done is to infuse into others the spirit that is in them. They have to foster in themselves as well as in others the determination not to tolerate any longer dependence upon others, even though their lives are to be sacrificed for it.

The Arya Samajists and the non-co-operation movement.
Aryá Prakásh (15), 13th Feb.

46. If we carefully study the principles of the Arya Samaj, we shall realise that our Vedic religion is competent to satisfy our social and political as well as our religious aspirations. It would, therefore, be folly on our part to think of going outside our religion for the solution of the present-day political questions. Our religion teaches us that truth always triumphs. This should enable us to have firm faith in the ultimate success of the non-co-operation movement. Many Arya Samajists have forgotten their religion; but if they are brought to the true path, we shall render no small service in advancing the cause preached by Dayanand Saraswati and in helping Mr. Gandhi in his movement for the social and religious regeneration of India. The difference between Dayanand and Gandhi consists in this, that while the former did not take any credit to himself but pointed to the authority of the Vedas in all matters, Mr. Gandhi gives prominence to his own conscience and never refers to any authority. Sir Valentine Chirol, while writing about Mr. Gandhi, says that his non-co-operation movement is aiming at taking India back to the Vedic times. Mr. Gandhi may not acknowledge the services rendered by Dayanand in this respect, but we must not fail to be grateful to Mr. Gandhi for his bringing Vedic principles to the forefront and placing them before his followers for guidance. Mr. Gandhi's movement brings home to the Arya Samajists the necessity of recognising the fact that the political and religious questions are identical and striving for the true religious uplift of the country. In all our movements we should give a prominent place to religion and should never make it subordinate to any other consideration and should work for our cause with faith and determination.

Protest against the Chief Justice of Patna's condemnation of non-co-operation.
Lokasangraha (118), 14th Feb.

47. It is but just and necessary that a judge should not be allowed to take part in politics. But in India this excellent principle is openly flouted. Here in this country judges take part in politics as a matter of course and Government permit them to do so. The non-co-operation movement is nothing but an embodiment of the struggle between the bureaucracy and the Indian public and, as such, a judge has nothing to do with it. The question of the legality or illegality of non-co-operation may have to be decided in a court of law but certainly not out of it. In spite of this Sir Dawson Miller, the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, was meddlesome enough to condemn educational non-co-operation in speaking to an audience of students. In our opinion a judge with such biased views on current politics would not be able to give impartial justice in case some public leader is brought before him to be tried. We also suspect that the judge's speech was meant to influence the pleaders under him rather than the students. We strongly protest against such actions. From what we hear it appears as if a similar contagion is likely to spread to the Bombay High Court. We hope it will remain proof against it.

Municipalities and the non-co-operation movement.
Navjivan (72), Supplement No. 17 of 13th Feb.

48. It is a belief with many that our municipalities and local boards enjoy local self-government. The Bombay Municipality has recently proved how delusive this belief is. The fact that the so-called representatives of the people are thinking of presenting an address to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, a representative of Government, at a time when the whole nation is burning within herself on account of the insults offered to her, shows that the franchise enjoyed by the people of Bombay is unreal. Bombay is the metropolis of India. It is believed its Municipality has a high status. It can be said that most of its members are popularly elected representatives. In spite of that, this Corporation, too, could not display the boldness of symbolisig the misery of the people of the city by observing silence. It is a sign of slavery if one has to laugh when one is inwardly unhappy. It is worth while considering what the plight of the municipalities is as regards imparting education on national lines. Uptill now only the Nadiad Municipality has given up the Government grant, and the Ahmedabad Municipality has passed, on the 3rd February, a resolution by 18 to 12 not to receive the grant. The people of Ahmedabad deserve congratulations on getting this resolution passed through their representatives. But still it is often asked what objection can there be in receiving grants from Government. The money belongs to the people themselves. It is true the money belongs to the people themselves. But to-day the Indian nation is in the position of a widow whose property is being administered by selfish and hard-hearted agents. These agents not only commit misappropriation, but in return for what little they grant her, they outrage her. For the Indian nation to receive grants from Government, thinking that it belongs to herself, is tantamount to the widow receiving moneys from the agents who outrage her. Such money can give happiness and independence to the nation only if she can obtain the power to dismiss these agents. How can she dismiss those agents so long as she shows herself to be needy to receive money from them?

What is *Swarajya?*
Young India (14), 16th Feb.

49. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"What can the Government do to kill non-co-operation? is the question I have been asked. A settlement of the Khilafat in accordance with the Muslim demand, a settlement of the Punjáb in accordance with the Indian demand, and the grant of *Swaraj* in accordance with a scheme to be framed by authorised representatives of the nation.......... The nation's representatives must have full control over education, law, police and military. We must have full financial control. And if we are to be self-governing not a soldier can leave India without our consent. What about European interests? They will be as safe in a self-governing India as they are to-day. But there will be no privileges of a superior race, no concessions and no exploitation. Englishmen will live as friends in every sense of the term but not as rulers. And the British connection? Nobody so far as I am aware wants to end it for the sake of ending it. There must be complete independence if England's policy is in conflict with the Muslim sentiment on the Khilafat question or with the Indian sentiment in the Punjáb. In any case it must be a partnership at will, based upon mutul love and esteem. Is India ready for this? Time will show. I am convinced that it is. The *Swaraj* that the Congress demands is not one that is to be granted by England. It must be that which the nation demands and can enforce, in the same sense that South Africa received it."

Should social boycott be used as a weapon in the non-co-operation movement?

Young India (14), 16th Feb.

50. Mr. M. K. Gandhi thus concludes an article in *Young India* in which he condemns recourse to the weapon of social boycott in connection with the non-co-operation movement:—"I hope, therefore, that non-co-operation workers will beware of the snares of social boycott. But the alternative to social boycott is certainly not social intercourse. A man who defies strong clear public opinion on vital matters is not entitled to social amenities and privileges. We may not take part in his social functions such as marriage feasts, we may not receive gifts from him. But we dare not deny social service. The latter is a duty. Attendance at dinner parties and the like is a privilege which it is optional to withhold or extend. But it would be wisdom to err on the right side and to exercise the weapon even in the limited sense described by me on rare and well-defined occasions. And in every case the user of the weapon will use it at his own risk. The use of it is not as yet in any form a duty. No one is entitled to its use if there is any danger of hurting the movement."

Nadiad Municipality's refusal of Government's educational grant.

Servant of India (10), 17th Feb.

51. "When we commented last week on the resolution of the Ahmedabad Municipality refusing the educational grant of Government and asking them to withdraw their control, we were not aware that the Nadiad Municipality had taken similar action some months previously and had pushed correspondence with Government a stage further. In his reply the Collector of Kaira pointed out that while the acceptance of grants was optional the control was obligatory, quoting, as we did, the proviso, in section 58 of the District Municipalities Act. The answer of the Nadiad Municipality is that the rate-payers did not want the control.......... Approving the attitude of the Municipality, Mr. Gandhi says the Government must keep their control in abeyance. If he means control in practice, we can understand it. But can it satisfy the doctrine of non-co-operation? Most aided institutions like the D. A. V. College and the Fergusson College are in practice free from Government control. If it is theoretical or constitutional control, no Municipality can get rid of it without an amendment of the Act. The proper course for non-co-operators would be to resign their Municipal Councillorships and form a voluntary organisation for discharging what are now Municipal functions. They contemplate such a step with reference to law courts by organising arbitration boards. They cannot call themselves a Municipality and repudiate the operation of one or two sections of the Act. Mr. Gandhi challenges the Government to disband the Nadiad Municipality. A man might get into another's house and challenge him to turn him out Whether he is turned out or not the house does not cease to belong to the owner, unless the law relating to property is changed."

Comments on the refusal by the Ahmedabad Municipality of the Government grant for education.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 13th Feb.; *Political Bhomiyo* (74), 11th Feb. Eng. cols.; *Young India* (14)

52. Commenting upon the resolution by the Ahmedabad Municipality, not to receive any education grant from Government in obedience to the call of non-co-operation from the Indian National Congress, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—The resolution is obviously harmful to the interests of the City, inasmuch as the Ahmedabad Municipality had before that time passed a resolution making primary education free and compulsory. In order to give effect to this resolution, Government had granted a sum of Rs. 4 lacs for the purchase of land some time back and there are possibilities of a further grant of Rs. 1 lac yearly. If the Municipality did not want to accept the grant from Government it ought to have taken into consideration the proper means whereby it can do without that grant. But the non-co-operating members were so much excited that disregarding everything, they got the resolution passed amidst much noise and uproar. In this meeting, some mischievous outsiders were present and they, by the great noise they made, prevented those members who were opposed to the resolution from speaking. If the citizens of Ahmedabad will not take precaution betimes against such autocracy and disorderliness, chaos will henceforth prevail in the administration of their Municipality. [The *Political Bhomiyo* also deplores the action of the Municipality in passing the resolution and thinks that such mixing up of politics with municipal matters will be greatly detrimental to public interests. *Young India*, on the other hand, writes in approval of the resolution and declares that it is in accordance with the wishes of the rate-payers.]

Comments on Lord Reading's speech at the banquet given by the English-speaking Union.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 18th Feb., Eng. cols.

53. In the course of its comments on Lord Reading's speech at the banquet given in his honour by the English-speaking Union, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—"His Lordship's statement that he will find the same human heart in India as in Britain expresses the barest truth. After substituting names, is there any need to remind His Lordship in the words of England's greatest bard, 'Hath not an Indian eyes? Hath not an Indian hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions?' If the Indians have got all these, presumably they have got a heart too, and Lord Reading is perfectly right when he says that it is the same as is to be found in Britain. But we would further add and say that the Indian heart is far more sensitive to both pain and pleasure than any other heart in the whole world. It is universally remarked by acute observers that the Indians that are readily touched by kindness and that, equally, they are pained acutely when they are hurt wantonly. They return kindness with kindness but with compound interest and an unkind word or deed touches them deeply. Lord Reading might rest assured that if he deals with Indians generously and justly, he will find that he will be more than amply repaid by a people who know too well how to repay such obligations. His Lordship in this response rightly insisted that 'justice must reign supreme.' For this we heartily say, 'Amen!' Yes, justice must reign supreme in India and because more than ever during the last few years, Justice in India has abdicated its supreme duty, that India has become the foul breeding place of so many grievous wrongs.......... Hence Lord Reading's selection as our future Viceroy is almost a God-sent event. If Justice in India is once again to be enthroned on its high altar of purity, no man is more capable of doing this, than the great man, who as Lord Chief Justice of England, was the custodian of Justice for the whole British Empire. But apart from justice—the supreme need of the moment—we want for the present moment a man of commanding genius to solve the many complicated problems with which India has been beset. We believe in Lord Reading we have found such a man. For this we have a striking testimony from Mr. Churchill."

There should be more Indian Judges on the Bombay High Court Bench.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Feb.

54. "Bombay claims to be the most advanced of Provinces where the scheme of complete self-government could be put into operation at once. Yet, it is a strange anomaly that the Indian element among the High Court Judges of the Bombay High Court is scarcely in proportion to the same element in other High Courts. While Calcutta and Madras have more than half their number of Judges who are Indians, Bombay has only two. There are rumours of some impending changes in the High Court in the near future and the above preliminary remarks will, we hope, draw the attention of the Chief Justice and the Government of Bombay to the imperative need for increasing the Indian element in the High Court. It is an open secret that even an able Advocate like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad was raised to the Bench some ten years later than he ought to have been. When the late Sir Dinsha Davar died, his place, which ought to have been given to an Indian member of the Bar, was filled up by importing an Englishman in order, it is said, to strengthen the personnel of the Bombay High Court. Whether that experiment has proved successful or otherwise we leave it to those who practise daily in the High Court to judge. Now that Mr. Justice Marten is proceeding on leave, is it too much to urge upon the Government of Bombay that his place should be filled by the appointment of an able and experienced Indian member of the Bar practising in the High Court? It is time, that, instead of the High Court being made a dumping ground for English Barristers who have had very little practice and less experience at the Bar, an able Indian Barrister or advocate with some experience at the Bar should be selected to fill up temporarily Mr. Justice Marten's place. It should not be difficult to persuade one from among the few leading advocates to accept the temporary appointment. It must also be noted that if an experienced advocate is appointed much of the arrears on the original side of the High Court will be cleared, and the prevalent complaints both from the litigants and the legal profession as to the inordinate delay in the disposal of work will disappear."

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 20th Feb., Eng. cols.

***55.** "No one can deny that amongst the Indian members of the Bar of the Bombay High Court there are barristers and advocates capable enough to adorn the Bench, yet when a vacancy occurs it is an Englishman who is generally selected. There are only two Indian Judges in the Bombay High Court, whereas Calcutta and Madras have more than half their number of judges who are Indians. The appointment of Mr. J. B. Kanga to a judgeship in the Bombay High Court has created much satisfaction on all sides, and it has raised a hope that in future the merits of the Indian members of the Bar will be more generously recognised, especially as there is a rumour that the number of judges in the Bombay High Court is to be increased. As Mr. Justice Marten is shortly proceeding on leave we hope that some able Indian barrister or advocate will be selected to fill the place."

Comments on the Bombay Excise Administration Report for the year 1919-20.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 14th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 16th Feb.

56. Expressing its entire disagreement with the view expressed by Government in their resolution on the Bombay Excise Administration Report for 1919-20 that the drink habit is not increasing amongst the people of the Bombay Presidency in general, the *Sánj Vartamán* observes that the blunder which the Government commit lies in the assumption they make that the people of the Presidency are intemperate and in the satisfaction they take in the favourable results which the comparison of the figures of a decade gives. It says that this comparison is misleading as the estimate of the consumption of liquor per head is based on the total population of the whole Presidency and not on a comparison between two liquor-consuming areas. It remarks that granting for argument's sake that the view taken by Government is correct, the question arises why the consumption of liquor is increasing in towns, what steps the Government and the Abkari Department have taken to check it and whether the policy of Government is not to increase its revenue from this source. It declares that the figures of the last decade show a startling growth both in the Abkari revenue and the consumption of liquor, from which it is obvious that by raising duty on liquor the consumption has not decreased. It declares that this increase in the Abkari revenue and the consumption of liquor is undesirable and that the drink evil should be rooted out altogether from the Bombay Presidency. It opines that Government should take the necessary action to stop it and if they cannot do it, the public should do away with the evil by organizing agitation on a large scale. Referring to the increase to the extent of 31 per cent. in the consumption of liquor in Bombay City, the paper thinks that this increase is startling. It observes that though it is true that population of Bombay has increased it cannot be contended that with the growth of population the consumption of liquor should also increase in the same proportion. It concedes that it is partly due to the rise in rates of wages of the labouring classes of Bombay that the drink evil has increased amongst them, but it holds both Government and the public responsible for not doing anything in the direction of checking it. It attributes the growth in the consumption of liquor amongst labouring classes to the facilities which Government have provided for them by allowing liquor shops to be opened in the mill areas. It takes the Abkari Department and the local option Committee to task for not reducing the number of liquor shops in those areas and dwells on the imperative necessity of saving those poor people from the evil. [The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—Government have failed in the attainment of their object of checking the drink evil as they proceed with an eye to increasing their Abkari revenue. It is difficult to understand how the consumption of liquor can be lessened unless the number of liquor shops are reduced; and if Government want to eradicate the evil they must adopt the strong policy of reducing the number of liquor shops and announce their intention to that effect. No doubt, it is not possible for Government to give up a revenue of seventy-five lacs with one stroke of the pen and to do so can hardly be called far-sightedness in view of the present conditions; but, if the course mentioned is adopted, they will be able to rebut the charge which is levelled against them of encouraging indirectly the consumption of liquor with a view to safeguarding the revenue and at the same time they will be able to stop the evil gradually and devise measures to make up the loss in revenue they would sustain.]

Proposed modification of the Turkish treaty.
Lokashahi (120), 7th Feb.

57. It appears the British Government and their Allies will soon have to disgorge the Turkish provinces. The attitude of the English has now undergone a complete change and they are no longer ashamed to negotiate with the 'rebel' Kemal Pasha. It is to be seen under what noble sentiments the Allies will now cloak their defeat. Owing to their virtual repudiation of the principle of self-determination, the other nations are busy giving effect to it themselves. We wonder how long the bureaucracy will now continue to exploit India, 'their ancestral property'.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 20th Feb.

***58.** "As regards the Turkish Treaty, it is a hopeful sign that Indian Mahomedan representatives are to attend the Conference in London between the representatives of the European Christian powers and Turkey. Syed Hassan Imam is to be one of them and His Highness the Aga Khan may probably be another. We strongly suggest that Mahatma Gandhi also should be requested to attend the Conference both because he is a recognised leader of the Khilafat movement in India and also because he is a Hindu. Nothing will more effectually pre-dispose the Indian people in favour of Government measures to re-knit broken ties than a frank recognition and glad acceptance of the great fact of Hindu-Moslem unity, which will go down in history as the achievement, so far as it may be said to be the achievement of one man, of Mahatma Gandhi."

Indian Muslims' representatives at the London Conference on the Eastern question.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Feb.

59. "In connection with the departure for England of His Highness the Agha Khan to-day, we are authorised to state that though His Highness's departure is not unconnected with the approaching Conference in London on the Eastern Question, he is going to England as a private individual. An official status in connection with the Conference was, we understand, proposed to him; but he declined the proposal, believing that he could do better service to the cause which Indian Muslims have at heart if he went in a private capacity; since his views though entirely pro-Turkish, are his own, and he does not claim that they are 'representative' of the views of Indian Muslims as a whole. We will only observe, *en passant*, that His Highness's views as shown on many occasions since the armistice are far more nearly in accord with the views of the majority of Indian Muslims than those which are commonly ascribed to Mr. Hasan Imam, who, we understand, has already started for Europe as a Government appointed representative. We are curious to see whether the man whom we, and we believe the Indian Muslims, would choose to represent them, Mr. Mohamed Ali being vetoed, in a Conference of the Powers—Hakim Ajmal Khan of Delhi, 'the greatest gentleman in India', as he has been called—and Dr. Ansari will be 'invited' by the Government."

Reflections on the German war indemnity as recently fixed by the Allied Powers.

Navsári Patrika (73), 13th Feb.

60. Discussing the German indemnity recently fixed by the Allied powers, the *Navsári Patrika* writes :—This is really fine and indemnity with a vengeance! The people of India should determine a line of action for their future with extreme care after realising to what extent the greed of the civilised countries of the twentieth century has increased. What must the historians who styled the Emperor Aurungzeb a murderer because he killed his brothers and other kinsmen in order that he might govern his country without any obstacles in his way, be thinking about devilish remedies like Dyerism adopted in order to suppress agitation prompted by a desire for self-government on the part of the people of Ireland, Egypt and India? What will those same great personages (!) write about the monstrous fine to be taken from Germany or the organized loot of civilized times, who called Shivaji a robber because he plundered Surat and other places to satisfy the demands of his soldiers? That will be known when a new history comes to be written. In short, this is the enlightened age of Dyerism which throws in the shade the terrorism of Nadirshah or the Mogulai of Aurangzeb and of Briandism which would put to shame the looting expeditions of Shivaji. This is the age in which it is permitted to oppress and carry off without trial a religious Guru like Guru Govind during night time under the pretext of defence of the realm. Things carried to excess cannot last long. It is well known that the blanket becomes heavier the wetter it gets.

Necessity of retrenchment in the overgrown public expenditure in India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Feb.

61. Referring to the forthcoming Indian Budget the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks :—"Without indulging in vain regrets about an irrevocable past, we would protest—with all the emphasis we can command, and while there is still time to protest—against the policy of making good the annual deficit by borrowing. We demand that searching inquiries be made to find out if there is not room for retrenchment in our overgrown establishment, in our overpaid services, in our insupportable army. We demand that those who claim to represent the people must at least withhold their approval of this administration until they have investigated and exhausted all possible avenues of legitimate economy in public expenditure. We demand that they insist upon an indemnity being paid by the British Imperial Government for the loss we have been made to suffer by our officials in the Reverse Councils fiasco, if for nothing else, by way of some slight return for the 'gift' India made to the Empire during the war. And, above all, we require of those who claim to 'represent' the country that they be no party to any hocus-pocus in our tax system.......... Because we have yet no power of the purse, the new Councillors must feel all the more keenly their sense of trusteeship and must at least husband the resources they may not themselves be suffered to tap.......... The time is not yet for us to speak more specifically, or to advance details to warn the Indian members of the Legislative Assembly against their all too likely hypnotisation by a dole to their pet hobbies, while the needs of the country at large go unnoticed, by a grant of a commission of inquiry which can be packed suitably to return a preconceived verdict or afford an excuse for procrastination or a polite refusal."

India in the King's speech at the re-opening of Parliament.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Feb.

62. "There was nothing striking in the reference to India in the King's speech at the reopening of Parliament beyond the pious hope, of the usual type, that the assumption by Indians of new political responsibilities will secure 'progress in administration' and 'early appeasement of political strife'.......... If the present reference to the situation in India is extremely disappointing, we ought really to set it down to the failure of the Secretary of State and the rest of his colleagues of the Cabinet to appreciate to the full the gravity of the situation in India."

Question of Indians Overseas before the next Imperial Conference.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 20th Feb.

***63.** "We see that it is proposed to bring up the question (of the position of Indians Overseas) specifically at the next Imperial Conference. The self-governing Colonies must be clearly told that they cannot expect a single soldier to be sent out from India if they should embroil themselves with Japan, so long as they insist on treating coloured men as outcastes. On the colour issue India must and will stand with Japan against every nation which discriminates invidiously against coloured races. For the rest, India will insist on the rigid application of the reciprocity resolution which was passed at a previous Conference on the motion of Lord Sinha, but which seems to have been forgotten in recent legislation. We have in mind prominently the franchise for the Legislative Councils and the rebate on the Export duty on hides which, we understand, has now been relieved of the condition that it shall not be given on hides not manufactured in a British country."

Premonitions of repression.
Mahrdtta (8), 20th Feb.

***64.** "Disconcerting news has been coming in for the whole of the fortnight. In the Punjáb Lala Lajpatrai was prevented from crossing the Attock Bridge. Two Fyzabad leaders have been suddenly arrested and taken to an unknown destination. In Gujarat Guru Govind was taken away all of a sudden and thrown in the Sábarmati Jail. Towards the South Yakub Hussein has fallen a victim to the bureaucratic tyranny. These events are ominous. Sir William Vincent's reply to Mr. Shastri's resolution is no less significant.......... The weather seems to be surcharged with malignant intentions......... There are echoes of a coming storm."

Nireekshak (47), 18th Feb., Eng. cols.

***65.** "On the morrow of the publication of the Duke of Connaught's appeal to let bygones be bygones comes the news of Lala Lajpatrai being prohibited from entering the Frontier Province.......... We wonder whether the Duke has now heard of this incident and what His Royal Highness thinks of it. His Royal Highness made a personal but a powerful appeal to the Britons and the Indians, the bureaucratic party as well as the popular party to forget and to forgive. The incident narrated by Lala Lajpatrai is the latest example of bureaucratic high-handedness, and shows that our bureaucrats themselves are not at all solicitous of our forgiveness and are taking care that we shall forget nothing. Be it so—we shall think of forgiving them when they are truly contrite and in the meanwhile we will not forget."

Comments on the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hasan at Calicut.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Feb.

66. "The sensational arrest of Mr. Yakub Hasan caused a feeling of stupefaction to every Indian who read the tidings in yesterday's newspapers. 'Am I awake or dreaming?' was his natural question, nourished, as we all have been of late, on soothing statements to the effect that 'a New Era' has dawned for the country, and that the autocratic principle of Government has been abolished. At the same time a feeling of amusement almost akin to satisfaction mixed with our amazement, that Mr. Yakub Hasan, of all people, should have been selected as a subject for such harsh repression. Mr. Yakub Hasan is no agitator, but a sober politician whose influence has always been exerted on behalf of law and order.......... It is a shame to the Government of India that, in this acclaimed 'New Era,' it should be within the power of one Mr. Thomas, a District Magistrate, summarily to arrest a man of Mr. Yakub Hasan's eminence and known integrity who came into the district to protest in a perfectly constitutional way against repressive measures already taken by the District Magistrate and to investigate the grievances of the inhabitants. At the same time we cannot take the affair quite seriously, particularly with regard to the term of six months' imprisonment assigned to Mr. Yakub Hasan and his fellow-workers by this Mr. Thomas. .... We believe that Mr. Yakub Hasan and his colleagues will be speedily released.......... His 'dangerousness' is on a par with the 'dangerousness' of a well-known English author who, on arrival in India, was amazed to learn that the Criminal Investigation Department was at work inquiring into his antecedents, which could be found in "Who's Who"—that is to say, it is entirely the creation of the peculiar conditions which prevailed in India until now, and which, according to the Duke of Connaught and the Viceroy, now prevail no longer. Mr. Yakub Hasan's arrest is in fact a challenge to the bureaucracy to prove the sincerity of their protestations, to which the imprisonment for six months of such a man for such a crime will give the lie direct before the world."

Lord Willingdon has been following the policy of divide and rule in Madras.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Feb.

67. "Of all the provincial adminstrations barring, of course, that of Burma, Lord Willingdon's Government would appear to be the least inclined to effect a change in the angle of its vision. On the other hand, by availing itself of every opportunity that offers to accentuate the gap between Brahmins and non-Brahmins and other mutually hostile elements, it is merrily carrying on the game of *divide et impera* in that benighted Presidency.......... Lord Willingdon has appointed all the three secretaries of the Councils from 'the party in power', and it seems probable that the Deputy President of the Council will also be chosen from the same party. This is, indeed, playing the game of 'party politics' with a vengeance! What the political views of the Secretaries have to do with the business of the Council which they have to mind may be somewhat puzzling to find out, but Lord Willingdon's ideas of administration are, no doubt, of the approved bureaucratic pattern, inasmuch as they best serve the purposes of the bureaucracy."

The Bhil Conference at Dohad, district Panch Mahals, and the arrest of their leader Guru Govind.

Young India (14), 16th Feb.

68. In the course of its account of the Bhil Conference at Dohad, district Panch Mahals, *Young India* writes:—"At about 1 A. M. on the morning of the day the Conference was to meet, Guru Govind was rudely awakened from his sleep and asked by the District Superintendent of Police to see the District Magistrate at once. He was not even allowed to dress himself properly or speak to his son who was sleeping inside, and removed to an unknown destination. We are now informed that he is confined in the Sábarmati Jail. This arrest of Guru Govind naturally led to excitement and consternation at first, but by the efforts of the workers, calm was restored. And the fact that he was removed in the presence of hundreds of his followers without any resistance, whereas his last arrest had resulted in violence and bloodshed, is in itself a sufficient proof of the control his followers exercised on their passion. The lively proceedings of the Conference too were throughout marked by peaceful attitude and solemn determination of the audience of over 20,000, to give effect to the resolutions of self-purification and non-violence they were passing. They passed resolutions enjoining abstinence, non-stealing and non-violence and many assembled took a vow of temperance. We certainly do not desire ignorant and credulous peasantry to be made a tool in the hands of unscrupulous men, but we do desire their social and political uplift. In this the Bhil Conference affords a lesson."

Alleged harassment of Brahmins by Satyashodhak Samajists in the Sátára District.

Lokasangraha (118), 14th Feb.

69. Recently the Collector of Sátára declared at a Durbar held by him that he would not suppress the activities of the Satyashodhak Samaj, and so far he has acted up to this policy. But it is impossible to imagine what intolerable trouble this policy is causing to the Brahmins of the Sátára District. Particularly, the villages of Gaven, Limb and Vangal have to suffer most. Such offences as beating, burning of houses, cutting down crops and destroying wells are repeatedly taking place. But Government pay no attention to this state of affairs. Nobody feels his life to be secure. The leaders of the people alone must now check this tyranny. There is no other course left.

Comments on the end of the strike of Bombay Post and Telegraph peons.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 14th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 15th Feb.

70. Referring to the end of the strike of the Bombay postal and telegraph peons, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—We wish some popular member of the Indian Legislative Assembly would ask Government to furnish figures with regard to the additional expenditure they had to incur in breaking this strike. Only then shall we be able to decide whether the authorities have really gained a victory or whether in trying to punish the strikers, Government have involved both themselves and the public in heavy loss. No doubt the workmen have returned to duty.

But the Department should not rest content with this; it is their duty to see that the men are really satisfied. Like other working classes in Bombay, the post and telegraph peons labour under great difficulties in the matter of housing. If they are provided with houses at cheap rents and cheap grain and cloth shops are opened for their benefit on the co-operation principle, most of their grievances will disappear. We hope the claims of these peons will not be overlooked in the Bombay Development Scheme which has now been taken in hand. Many people declare that the postmen should have accepted the decision of the Committee appointed to consider the question of the salaries of the employés of the Postal Department. But these people forget that there was not a single representative of the post and telegraph peons on this Committee. There has been a worldwide awakening among the labouring classes, and in order to be able to cope with it, the Government in India should appoint arbitration boards, composed of representatives of both sides, for the settlement of all disputes. The Bombay postal strike was prolonged for five months; public opinion was flouted and nothing was done to relieve the hardships experienced by the public. This shows how little the Government of India is still responsible to the people. True wisdom, tact and foresight lies, not in breaking strikes, but in removing the causes of strikes and keeping the men aloof from strikes. [The *Bombay Samáchár* thinks that the strike should not have been prolonged for such a long period. It exhorts the men to take a lesson from this and not to have recourse to such hasty measures on the advice of irresponsible leaders. It also hopes that, now that the men have rejoined, the Head of the Department will fulfil his promise and take immediate steps to remove the causes of their complaints.]

Servant of India (10), 17th Feb.

71. "The postal strike in Bombay ended last week after a duration of five months. The strikers have returned to work unconditionally and will be content with such revision of their pay and prospects as was recently sanctioned. In that case, could not the strike have been terminated earlier? Should the so-called leaders not have advised such a course of action long ago? The strike could have been settled long ago and a lot of misery and suffering prevented but for the wrong lead of the leaders. It is true that in the present condition of labour, outside help and even leadership cannot be done away with. But it makes all the difference in the world whether those leaders think only of the interests of labour or are influenced by consideration of personal prestige and party politics."

Comments on the operations of the Bombay Development Department.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Feb.

72. "The protest raised in these columns against the rumoured offer of the Bombay Development contract to a British firm and the representations made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in this respect did not go unheeded and Government decided to invite public tenders. This evident respect for public feeling will, we earnestly hope, prove to be no mere camouflage. We hope so in spite of the persistent rumours in well-informed quarters that the decision as to the contract was made long ago; that is, a British firm would be the favoured recipient of the contract. We trust this rumour is unfounded and does less than justice to the Government of Sir George Lloyd. Unfortunately certain facts and information which have been brought to our notice lend colour to the suspicion of a strong bias on the part of the authorities concerned to favour British interests at the expense of Indian interests. We understand, for instance, that the specifications for the contract state that only British Empire produce and manufactured materials are to be used. Now, if this was intended to encourage Indian manufactures, the decision would deserve cordial endorsement. But as most of the materials have to be imported, this insistence on Empire produce and materials can only be interpreted as a patronage of British manufacturers. Now this patronage is not as harmless as it may seem to be at first sight. It will, in view of the state of the market, involve a most unjustifiable and scandalous waste of Indian money with a view to enrich the pockets of British manufacturers....... Calculating on the basis of the difference between English and Belgian

markets and having regard to the fact that out of a total expenditure of twenty crores on materials, at least ten crores must be on imported materials, the insistence on British materials would mean a present of nearly four crores to British manufacturers. Why should poor India be thus mulcted to enrich the wealthy British when quite as good material can be imported from other countries? We do not see that there is any justification for such a procedure which involves an immense financial loss to this country and we trust the question raised by us will receive the urgent attention of both the public and the Government. There are several other matters in connection with the Development Scheme in regard to which also the minds of those, who have any knowledge about the manner in which the execution of the scheme is being carried out, are considerably perturbed. Unfortunately, the veil of mystery, in which the Development Department seeks to shroud its activities, gives rise to misgivings regarding its capacity or willingness jealously to safeguard Indian interests without, of course, impairing its own efficiency. The public do not know how much money has actually been spent in the purchase of material from Britain; and whether the same material could not be purchased at cheaper rates from other countries, assuming that it was not available in India itself. The public are again entitled to know what amount is intended to be spent in this manner in the future and how much has been paid to imported 'experts'. They are entitled to know how many 'experts' have been imported and on what terms as to salaries or commission; what qualifications each one of them possesses; whether Indians possessing the same qualifications or able to do the same work could not be available and whether any serious attempt was made to secure the services of capable Indians in the first instance. These questions call for an immediate answer if the misgivings in the minds of the public that their money is not being used, as Government assured them when appealing for subscription to the Development Loan that it would be, wholly 'in Bombay, by Bombay and for Bombay'."

EDUCATION.

The hopelessness of the task before the Minister for Education.

Mahrátta (8), 20th Feb.

*73. "On a careful survey of the position of the Minister in the Council and Government, we find his task hopelessly difficult. His very position disqualifies him for working out anything like a national system of education. We must remember that the administrative machinery does not keep a provincial Minister free with regard to policy. The policy is settled and directed by the Imperial Executive, where no free and dictatorial voice is given to the Indian element. The Minister with the sum allotted to him and the Legislative Council behind him is supreme in his department subject to the veto of the Governor-in-Council. The Minister cannot defy the Governor if he wants to retain his Ministership and execute his own ideas in education. So long as we anticipate a clash between the Governor and a strong Minister, we expect the latter only to resign at the cost of all improvements in educational administration. If we expect the Minister and the Governor to agree we gain nothing from the agreement so far as National education is concerned. This dilemmatic position of the Minister leads us to no reform in education, want of money to finance the reforms kept aside. .... The hopelessness of the task of the Minister is one of the various considerations which led theNationalists to reject the Reforms and ask for a more substantial share, in the early stage of the Reform scheme. The non-co-operation movement is initiated on no consideration of the Reform scheme......... It is neither the ambiguous position of the Minister nor the hopelessness of his task, but non-co-operation with Government at large that requires of us the desertion of the present institutions and the establishment of National schools and colleges. The promises of the Minister, then, howsoever enticing they may be, with regard to National education, cannot lure us away from the straight road to Swarajya. We would accept National education given by the Minister only when he dissociates himself from Government and gives his education free of Government control. So long as the system is dominated by the interests of a foreign government, it can never be truly National.......... The present system of education has taught us to think. But we are not to think for the pleasure of thinking. We learn to think in order that we may act. The stage of action is now come. We have learnt to think within the schools. We must learn to act. This must be done outside the schools. National education, teaching us to act, cannot be given in the present schools, where action is practically forbidden. .... Let people consider inpartially all aspects of education, National Education, the Minster's possibilities, the Nation's demand, and then they must come to the inevitable conclusion of boycotting the present education in order that they may act."

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the proceedings before the Railway Committee.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Feb.

74. "It is strange that the Railway Committee, which could afford a holiday and could spare ample time for proceedings in camera, private interviews and conferences, should refuse to give a patient hearing to the representatives of the people. The treatment meted out by the Committee on Friday to Mr. S. V. Doraswami who represented the Bombay Passenger and Traffic Relief Association was not by any means what it ought to have been. It was evident from the manner in which the Committee disposed of Rao Bahadur Himatlal, who preceded him, that they were in a hurry. But the members should not have forgotten that they were serving on a public Committee and it was their business not only to find time but to treat every one impartially. It was obvious that the information supplied by Mr. Doraswami was not appreciated by the Committee......... It was open to the chairman to accept or reject the information supplied by Mr. Doraswami. But there was no reason why he should have resented it, imported a personal note, and interpreted Mr. Doraswami's 'facts' as 'dirty jobs'. If the Chairman could not tolerate those facts he should not have permitted the insinuations by the member who questioned Mr. Nensi about the subscriptions of his Association. Mr. Doraswami was the only witness who could have enlightened the Committee about the hardships of the people. Neither he nor Mr. Nensi was given the chance. The Committee did not like to 'waste time' listening to people who could not come as railway 'experts'. We thought that they were appointed to receive suggestions and information from all quarters, not only from experts."

Strike of the B. B. & C. I. Workshop operatives.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 19th Feb.

75. Commenting upon the B. B. & C. I. Railway Workshop strike, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—It is our misfortune that the authorities continue to believe that it is nobody's business to interfere in a strike till there is an actual breach of the peace. The workmen of the B. B. & C. I. Railway Workshop have struck work and the public are put to inconvenience. In spite of this, no one cares either to persuade the Railway Company or hear the complaints of the workmen or to inquire how far these are justifiable. A Labour Bureau has been established in Madras. The number of workmen in Bombay is more than at Madras, and none can say that there is no need of such a bureau here. The Government of India should preserve the peace of the industrial world and try to make it prosperous. This can be done only when amicable relations subsist between labourers and capitalists. It is high time therefore to establish Labour Unions and Arbitration Boards.

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged highhanded action of the Jamnagar State Police in dispersing a public meeting.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Feb.

76. "Jamnagar has lately demonstrated its concern for the greater happiness and progress of its 'Subjects'. Our readers may have read how the State Police, on the advice, no doubt, of those who are running the State in the absence of the Ruler on a more 'momentous' mission abroad, dispersed with a baton charge a peaceful meeting of the inhabitants of the city who had assembled to hear an address from the honorary secretary of the Kathiawar Political Conference on 'Native States'.......... Our readers would also see that the Agent to the Governor in Kathiawar, prompted doubtless by a laudable desire, worthy of a *ma-bap* suzerain power, to afford all possible protection to its ward, the persecuted Jamanager State, has prohibited (?) the territory like the Rajkot Civil Station, on the ground that 'agitation against the action of a particular State' is undesirable there. The public of the Station, however, had enough sense of humour as well as of politics, to turn the tables on the Agent, by dispersing as per the Agent's order and reassembling again at the same place and in even greater numbers, to denounce the Agent's action. We hope the irony of the episode will not be lost at least on the Agent."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 25th February 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 26th February 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council :
- Comments on the inauguration of the new — . . . . . . 10—12
- Interpellation in the — 16
- Necessity of changing the form of oath administered to members of the — 15
- The Bombay Budget for 1921-22 . . . . 13 & 14

British Rule :
- Alleged bribery in the Supply and Transport Department . . . 41
- Alleged highhanded acts of Government officials 40
- All the Talatis on strike who may desire to rejoin should be reinstated 44
- Comments on the Bombay Government's orders remitting the fines imposed on the cities of Ahmedabad and Nadiád in connection with the disturbances of April 1919 43
- Comments on the Bombay Government's reply to the representation of the Jain Community on the subject of the acquisition of land belonging to their temple at Byculla, Bombay 42
- Comments on the conviction of Mr. Yakub Hasan of Madras . . 46—50
- The Tata Hydro-Electric scheme in Mulshi Peta (Poona) . . . 45

Chamber of Princes : Comments on the inauguration of the Indian Princes' Chamber . . . . 30 & 31

Council of State :
- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Shastri's resolution in the — regarding repressive laws . . . . 19 & 20
- Comments on the King's message at the opening of the — and Indian Legislative Assembly 18
- Evidences in the — and the Legislative Assembly of a change of spirit in Government 17
- Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas' resolution in the — regarding grant of fiscal autonomy to India . . . . 21 & 22

Excise : Comments on the auction sale of country-liquor shops in Bombay City 53

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught :
- Benefits to India from the Duke's visit. 6
- Comments on His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's appeal to the people of India 'to forget and forgive' the past . . . 9
- His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's tour in India . . . 7 & 8
- His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to Bombay . . 1—5

[illegible] 359—CON *a*

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Income-tax : An — complaint 54

Indian Legislative Assembly :

- Comments on Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' resolution regarding Punjáb affairs in the — . . . . 22—27
- Comments on Mr. O'Donnell's resolution in the — regarding appointment of a Committee to examine the Indian Press Laws . . 28
- Mr. Samarth's resolution in the — in the matter of allowing Provincial Governments a voice in framing the Military Budget of the Government of India 29

Judicial matters : Comments on the conviction of the printer and publisher of the *Rangoon Mail* 52

Military matters : India's army should be placed on the pre-war scale . 55

Non-co-operation :

- Alleged spread of a feeling of contempt for Government among young boys and girls 34
- Comments on the refusal by the Nadiád and Ahmedabad Municipalities of the Government grants for education. . . . . . . 35 & 36
- Government's policy of keeping students aloof from politics is responsible for the hold the — movement has obtained over them . . 33
- How *Swarajya* can be attained 32
- The bureaucracy and the — movement . . . . 38 & 39
- The Council of the Parsi Central Association should have condemned the — movement in their resolutions on the political situation . 37

Police : The evil of "sporting clubs" in Bombay City where race-gambling is carried on 51

War :

- India and British policy in the Middle East 59
- The Indian Muslim delegates to the Near East Conference in London . 56—58

EDUCATION—

Comments on the speech of the Honourable Sir C. H. Setalwad as President of the annual general meeting of the Sydenham College Students' Union . 60

Constitution of the Central Advisory Board for the Education Member of the Government of India 61

MUNICIPALITIES—

Alleged arbitrary action of Government officials with regard to the Junnar (Poona) Municipality 63

The Bombay Fire Brigade and the acceptance of monetary gifts by its members 62

RAILWAYS—

There should be State management of railways in India 64

NATIVE STATES—

Complaint about the autocracy of the Jam of Jamnagar 67

Complaint about the prohibition by the Agent to the Governor in Káthiáwár of a public meeting at Rájkot 65

Complaint about the tyranny exercised over their subjects by Native Chiefs in Káthiáwár 66

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to Bombay.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 27th Feb.

*1. "The most remarkable feature of the Duke's tour has been the freshness which His Royal Highness has been able to impart to each recurring function. Especially was this the case in Bombay where, from the moment he set foot at the Victoria Terminus station, His Royal Highness made it clear in every way that he felt happy in being once again in his own city and among his own people. And Bombay most cordially reciprocated his feeling.......... The Duke's speeches in reply to the address presented by the Bombay Municipal Corporation and at the opening of the Legislative Council were most happily conceived. Those who most keenly realise their duty to co-operate in a critical capacity with Sir George Lloyd's Government in his many schemes for the advancement of the people of this Presidency, will be not the last to acknowledge the justice of the eulogistic references which His Royal Highness made to His Excellency.......... A London telegram on Thursday made the curious statement that His Royal Highness has intimated to His Majesty his desire entirely to retire from public life on the completion of his Indian tour. Such a decision at His Royal Highness' age is quite natural, and if it had not been timed so precisely to coincide with the close of his Indian tour, it would have provoked no curiosity. But coming as it does now, it may mean two things. It may mean that His Royal Highness feels and wishes to emphasise that his present mission to India is the crowning act of his public career. It may also mean that the His Royal Highness feels, as many of us do, that his self-sacrificing endeavour to bring peace and goodwill into the Indian atmosphere, has not been adequately supported by the Ministers in power. There is a widespread feeling, not by any means confined to ill-informed quarters, that some imoportant announcement that was to have been made had at the last moment been withheld, depriving His Majesty's message and the Duke's presence at Delhi of what would have given them an enthusiastic significance in the eyes of the people of India. However that may be, India feels that His Royal Highness has done his part bravely and wisely. Whatever may be the course of politics, she will have no memories except those of the pleasantest in regard to the Duke's visit to and sojourn amongst her people. And so we bid His Royal Highness goodbye, and though it is not within human probability that he will revisit these shores again, he may rest assured that the kindest wishes of this ancient land will always be with him and his."

Muslim Herald (165), 25th Feb.

2. Commenting on His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to Bombay, the *Muslim Herald* remarks that up to present His Royal Highness has not been given any opportunity to ascertain the feelings of the public at large, to study the present unrest in India, to find out its causes and to deliver such a speech as to create an atmosphere of calm among the people. It adds that it is generally alleged that the mission on which the Duke has come over here has nothing to do with the removal of the prevailing discontent. The paper declares that it refuses to believe such is the case. It thinks that the object of the visit is to eliminate the causes of discontent, that to an Indian a member of the Royal Family is all-in-all and that there is nothing which he cannot accomplish.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 19th and 21st Feb.; *Hindusthán* (22), 23rd Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 22nd Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 21st Feb.

3. The citizens are not going to take any part in welcoming the Duke of Connaught to Bombay. The general public boycotted the Duke at Madras, Calcutta and Delhi, and the people of Bombay also have made a firm resolution to boycott him. It is quite evident that the Duke's mission has proved a failure. He has not been able to pacify the hearts of the people or to heal their wounds. It is not the citizens of Bombay but the officials that have decorated the public thoroughfares with flags and buntings. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—The Bombay public did not give any welcome to the Duke and proved true to themselves by boycotting

him. The honour and ovations given to the Duke were from the official classes and the people took no part in them. The *Hindusthán* also declares that the people took no part in welcoming the Duke and that the officials had made arrangements to lead the Duke to think that he was being welcomed by the public. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, writes:—The Duke was given a hearty welcome by the people of Bombay. Those who say that the Duke has effected nothing during his visit seem to forget that he has practically made Lord Chelmsford apologise for his past mistakes and induced Government to accept Mr. Sastri's and Mr. Jamnadas' resolutions in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly respectively. The repressive laws will soon be removed from the Statute Book and the credit for their removal must be given to the Duke's good offices. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also ascribes the changed attitude of Government to the intervention of the Duke. In a subsequent issue the paper declares that the people of Bombay gave a right royal welcome to the Duke on his arrival and advises them to study his reply to the address of the Municipal Corporation.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Feb.

4. "The only result of the Duke's visit has been to accentuate the differences between the rulers and the ruled and intensify the existing unrest, inequalities and injustices. The King's message which the Duke delivered to the new Councils at Delhi has been received but coldly all over the country. It has failed to heal the wounds of India and remove the affront to her national self-respect......... The bureaucracy, the Anglo-Indian Press and the foreign agents of exploitation may deceive the outside world by the magnificence of manufactured receptions; they may succeed for a moment in creating a delusive air of enthusiasm. But this will not avail to alter facts. To-day, the greater portion of the city will be in mourning and observe a *hartal*. Here was an opportunity for the Duke—and the Crown—to exercise a healing influence on the Indian situation. But that opportuntty has been missed through bad advice. Our only hope is that the Duke, while in the hands of Indian officialdom, has noticed more than he was meant to notice; and that he will make his private observations known to those in power in England."

Gujaráti (17), 20th Feb.; *Hindusthán* (22), 21st Feb.; *Arya Prakásh* (15), 20th Feb.

5. The people of Madras, Calcutta and Delhi have come to realise the small extent to which the Congress resolution about boycotting the Duke's visit has been carried out. Contradictory opinions are being expressed in the matter of the welcome given to the Duke, and this much is certain that there has not been effective non-co-operation in the matter of according a welcome to the Duke. Owing to the *hartals* observed at the time of the Duke's visit at Madras, Calcutta and Delhi people in large numbers were *nolence volence* present at the festivities organised in honour of the Duke. In Calcutta the non-co-operationists had to picket the streets to prevent people from witnessing the Duke's processions. On the other hand the officials showed themselves to be cowards, in conducting the Duke's processions along the outskirts of the cities and not through the localities inhabited by Indians. In Bombay also the people are distrusted and the Duke is to be conducted through the outskirts of the city. This will give an occasion to the non-co-operationists to say that their propaganda has succeeded and that the officials have been frightened. No doubt the official arrangements as regards the route of the procession has made the task of the non-co-operationists easy inasmuch as they will have no occasion to take trouble of winning over the people to their side. Leaders of the non-co-operation movement have been holding public meetings in Bombay, and exhorting the people to observe *hartal* for three days. It is the talk of the town that victorias, taxis, trams and railway trains will not run on these days and that all markets, including the vegetable market, will be closed. Many people, and especially the working classes, are opposed to the holding of the *hartal*. Questions are being asked in many quarters as to why those municipal corporators who have undertaken to carry out the Congress resolution have not practised non-co-operation and why they still continue to attend the Corporation meetings clad in dress made of foreign cloth. The Congress

requires people to take such steps during the Duke's visit to the city as would manifest to him the feelings of the people. It is hoped Bombay will not fail in doing this. [The *Hindusthán* protests against the above article in the *Gujaráti* and declares that the classes and the masses are one in their determination to boycott the Duke's visit. It also deprecates the recent change in the direction of hostility to the non-co-operation movement in the policy of the *Gujaráti* newspaper. The *Arya Prakásh* publishes a long list of persons and associations in and outside Bombay who have resolved to boycott the *Gujaráti* for the recent change in its tone and its active opposition to Mr. Gandhi.]

Benefits to India from the Duke's visit.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 27th Feb.

*6. Discussing the benefits derived from His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—"His first speech on landing at Madras was a clarion call to the people, the great Indian electorate, to throw aside all petty differences and show the stuff of which they were made by making a good use of the new opportunities offered to them. Wherever he has been, he has by his sympathetic and wise counsel urged upon all parties to reconcile divergent views, to give up recrimination and bickering, and to unite on common ground. Already we notice the effect of his good advice in the friendly spirit that animates the new Councils, and we hope that as time passes this spirit will become stronger. Viewed in this light, the Duke's visit has certainly been of benefit to this country......... The proposition put before the country is therefore this. Is it to be peace achieved by treading the broad highway of orderly progress, or is it to be strife brought about by continual bickering and friction ? With co-operation and good-will animating all parties there is every hope for the former; with bickering and friction there is the ever impending danger of the latter......... Yet in spite of the manifold difficulties that are likely to crop up in the path, it is pleasing to note that there is a spirit of confidence amongst those who have shouldered their responsibilities......... During his stay in India His Royal Highness has no doubt marked and observed much that could not have failed to strike a man of his experience, sagacity and knowledge. We hope that on his return he will make use of his personal influence to make such suggestions as will carry out his noble desire to do real good to do this country."

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's tour in India.
Swarajya (143), 24th Feb.

7. If there was any work done by the Duke in India that was of the least importance it was the opening of the Councils. Even this work he did not do satisfactorily. He opened only some of the Councils and omitted the rest. Perhaps he had no time. But then he should at least have opened the Councils of the Provinces which he did visit. He visited the Punjáb, but instead of going to Láhore to open the Council of that province he went to Rawalpindi. Now the Duke had pompously declared that his object in coming out to India was, besides opening the Councils, to help in the healing of old sores. The Duke was determined to heal old sores wherever he found them. He did not see any at Rawalpindi. But he could have see them at Láhore! If the Duke could not go to Lahore he should at least have gone to Amritsar. It was really very improper that the Duke should have visited the Punjáb and not seen the places where the most terrible scenes were enacted. To go to the Punjáb and not see the Jallianwala Bagh is an unpardonable omission. But in one way it was good that he did not go there. It is a place where no conscientious Englishman can go. If the Duke had gone there all the killed and the wounded would have gathered round him. They would have shown him their wounds and would have asked him whether they were inflicted on them in return for their services during the war. They would have asked him several such inconvenient questions. They would have told him that his advice to forget the past is incapable of giving them any relief; it cannot stanch even a drop of the blood flowing from their wounds. They would have inquired of him whether he had permission to administer some more efficacious medicine than that.

Who could have given satisfactory replies to such questions? We repeat, therefore, that the Duke did well in not visiting many places in the Punjáb.

Hindu (157), 19th Feb.

8. The Indians have accorded the Duke a hearty welcome indeed everywhere by observing *hartal* wherever he has arrived. Calcutta, Patna, Agra, Delhi, in fact everywhere, his reception by the people has assumed the form of a *hartal*. We cannot help admiring the spirit of the Duke of Connaught who has, in spite of these popular demonstrations, wired to England and His Majesty the King that the people have given him a hearty reception and that they are happy and contented. Everybody can understand whether the wire is in conformity with the true state of things or is only intended to hoodwink the world. The purpose underlying the Duke's visit was that he should come to whitewash the misdeeds of the bureaucracy and proclaim to the world abroad that the people of India are happy and contented. The Indians, whose hearts are still sore, who are as yet being subjected to indignities and who are starving on account of indigence, are nevertheless pronounced by the Duke to be happy and contented. Sire, why would you not say so about us, for otherwise the curtain would fall and you would be exposed! But how long will the curtain last? It has already got holes in it.

Comments on His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's appeal to the people of India 'to forget and forgive' the past.

Sindvasi (162), 13th Feb.

9. The personal appeal to the people of India, which the Duke of Connaught made while concluding his speech delivered at the inaugural ceremony of the new Legislatures at Delhi, appeared to have been evoked from his heart and created a great impression on the audience. The usually tender-hearted and confiding people of India would under ordinary circumstances readily respond to such an appeal. But the people's attitude towards the Government has undergone a considerable change and the repeated trickeries of the past have made them suspicious. There are, therefore, very few persons inclined to forget the past and work in harmony for the future. The people ask, since atrocities have been committed and indignities have been heaped on the people, why should not the perpetrators of these offences be punished? If the offenders are punished, there would arise no necessity for the authorities to seek pardon from the people. If nothing else is done, at least the pension allowance of General Dyer and also of Sir Michael O'Dwyer should be stopped, and some other officials should be publicly chastised. It is not understood why they are allowed to go scot-free. The authorities seem to be sadly wanting in intelligence inasmuch as they sue for pardon through the venerable uncle of His Majesty the King-Emperor but do not wish to punish the offenders in any way. The people wish very much to bury the dead past, but the obstinate attitude of officials prevents them from doing so. It is hoped that better sense will still prevail with the rulers and Lord Reading will come with a promising message.

Comments on the inauguration of the New Bombay Legislative Council.

New Times (9), 24th Feb.

10. "The ceremonial of the Bombay Legislative Council was performed yesterday,—'representatives' from Sind being present—in the midst of a scene of 'extreme brilliance and animation'—when there was 'complete Hartal' at Bombay! What was lacking in popular sympathy was made up by the 'pomp and grandeur' of the ceremonial. The speeches of His Excellency the Governor and His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught were both full of eulogy for the 'reformed' Councils 'in which you (the Councillors) and your successors will have so potent a voice'! And the people have repudiated these 'reformed' Councils, as they have rejected these 'reforms'! Sir George Lloyd referred to the ceremony as the 'culminating point of a policy formulated with infinite care and put into practice with fixed intention.' That is exactly the nationalist's complaint. The 'care' has been for bureaucratic privileges, and the 'intention' has been to postpone the day of Swaraj! His Excellency referred to the 'reforms'

as a 'compromise'. There is a 'compromise' which is the essence of political progress. Are the 'reforms' a 'compromise'? Do the 'reforms' respond, in any substantial measure, to India's legitimate demand for *Swaraj*? The 'temper impatient of restraint' to which His Excellency refers is due to lack of compromise with the new National Spirit. What you have compromised with is really vested interests, *not* the national consciousness of India. The 'reforms' only impose a halting system of dyarchy on the Indian people who ask for political freedom.......... Sir George Lloyd referred to 'posterity' and 'history.' 'The foothills that loomed so large at the commencement,' said the Governor, 'are invisible to the gaze of the mountaineer'! Is His Excellency fitted to play the 'Mountaineer'? Is he not too much of an actor in the drama of 'reforms' to be its judge or be qualified to foresee what judgment 'history will one day pronounce upon it'? When were *real* reforms initiated with such self-complaisance as has been indulged in with regard to the 'reforms' in India? .... The Royal Duke also speaks in high terms of 'this great experiment' and gives a 'parting message' for 'Co-operation and Goodwill'. The Duke is sincere; but he has not realised the causes of the Non-Cooperation Movement."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 24th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 24th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 26th Feb.; *Akhbár-e-Islàm* (58), 25th Feb.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 23rd Feb.

11. The speeches delivered by His Excellency the Governor and the Duke of Connaught in opening the Bombay Legislative Council are quite in keeping with the new era inaugurated by the Reforms and are full of promise. It has been the general complaint so far that the officials wanted us to co-operate with them unconditionally and that they did not show any readiness to co-operate with us. But it appears from the proceedings of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly that the officials have taken care to remove this complaint at the instance of the Duke of Connaught. The Duke of Connaught has done well in drawing the attention of the members of our provincial Council and the Ministers to the duties that devolve upon them. Ignorance, insanitation and racial disabilities require to be removed as early as possible. Government, under the old regime, could not remove racial disabilities as they had adopted a policy of religious neutrality, but the argument will no longer hold water in the new Councils with their non-official majority. The Duke has done well in referring to the caste disabilities existing in this Presidency and we hope the Council will proceed to take early steps to show that they appreciate the Duke's advice. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—We are glad to note that the Duke referred to the evils of caste distinctions. The officials would do well to lay to heart the advice given to them by the Duke. Public opinion is divided in the matter of the new reforms owing to the lack of the spirit of compromise in our leaders and the attitude of stolid indifference towards the hopes and aspirations of the people assumed by the officials. Will our bureaucratic officials now work in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill towards the people? It is they to whom the advice given by the Duke is applicable as is well illustrated by the failure of the constitutional agitation carried on by Dadabhoy Nowroji, Sir Pherozshaw Mehta, Gokhale and other leaders owing to the scant respect paid to their opinions by the official classes. The Gujaráti proverb: 'They who do not yield to persuasion will have to yield to force' is quite applicable to them. These bureaucrats seem to have come to their senses to some extent now that the Extremists, exasperated by the failure of the moderate leaders, have resorted to desperate measures and an undersirable form of agitation. The Duke's appeal will bear fruit only when the officials work in co-operation with the people in the interests of India. The *Bombay Samáchár* pays a high meed of praise to the Duke for his highly sympathetic speech and declares that he has placed his finger on the right spot in indicating the weakness of the social and economic position of the Presidency and expresses hope that the new council will work in a spirit of harmony and good will and carry out the advice of the Duke. It is of the opinion that repeal of the repressive laws will go a great way in making the reforms a success. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* commends the speech to the notice of the officials and the public alike and expresses hope that

harmonious working between the officials and the people will tend to kill the non-co-operation movement organised by Mr. Gandhi. The *Sanj Vartaman* writes:—His Excellency the Governor, in requesting the Duke of Connaught to open the new Council, referred to the new reforms as the free gift of *Swarâj* from His Majesty. We must at this stage make it clear that the people of India do not want a free gift from the British. *Swarâj* is the birthright of the Indian people and it would be creditable to them if they secured their birthright without resorting to war or rebellion. Other nations may resort to rebellion, but India wants to secure *Swarâj* not by barbarous methods but by peaceful means. India does not want *Swarâj* as a gift but as her just claim. We fail to understand the meaning of gradual *Swaraj*. Should India be at the mercy of England for another fifty years? Is not India fit for *Swarâj*? Have the British a monopoly from God to shape the future of India? If immediate *Swarâj* is given to India, peace and contentment will reign in this country and it will be a source of strength to the Empire. Britain may or may not give us *Swarâj*, but we will secure it not by war or bloodshed but by peaceful means.]

Gujarâti (17), 27th Feb., Eng. cols.

***12.** "The function performed at the Town Hall, like the inauguration ceremonies at Madras, Delhi and Calcutta, gave not the faintest indication that the British Government was going to come to an end in India within the next seven or eight months. But what was meant to be conveyed to the minds of all was that it had planted with absolute confidence as to the continuance of its power and authority seeds of responsible self-Government which it was determined to foster and nourish so as to lead India to the goal of self-government, it may be at a distant date. It is no use living in the dreamland. On the contrary it is far wiser to put oneself in living touch with actual realities, however discouraging or opposed to one's preconceptions, and to know one's own situation with precision.......... It may well be, as remarked by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, that one's vision is apt to be obscured by the dust of ephemeral conflicts and controversies of temporary interest, and it is doubtful whether it is possible for many people, official or non-official, to form an absolutely impartial judgment on the character and possibilities of the reform scheme in their present mood. Officials cannot make allowance for the suspicion founded on past experience with which the Indian public look at the attitude of the bureaucracy towards the reforms, whilst the people, disappointed by excessively dilatory progress and irritated by official obstinacy and arrogance, have not much faith in their successful working.......... The proceedings of these Councils are bound to stimulate public interest and the study of public questions and contribute to the political training of the Councillors and the political education of the people at large. .... His Excellency urged that 'the verdict of history would be adverse to those who have resisted compromise and failed to see the just needs of the Empire and the rights it claims in return for benefits conferred'. But some of the assumptions underlying this contention are a little too one-sided. Has England done more for India than India has done or been forced to do for England and her Empire? It is not such an easy question which can be answered with the confidence Sir George Lloyd showed in arriving at his conclusion. Many Indians will be slow to accept the verdict of Englishmen in this matter instead of the estimate of the American statesman who has observed that India has no doubt won peace and progress but at a terrible cost.......... His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's speech on the occasion of the inauguration ceremony was as elegant in diction as it was happy in its conception.......... His Royal Highness' parting message to the responsible leaders of Indian opinion and British officials cannot be adequately conveyed except in his own impressive, pregnant and solemn words. [The paper here quotes His Royal Highness' advice.] No thoughtful person, who understands his responsibility as a citizen, and no God-fearing official will fail to be impressed by this solemn appeal by His Royal Highness who, at the age of 75, has thought it his duty to come to India and carry out the mandate of His Imperial Majesty to the best of his power. He has discharged it in a manner which reflects the highest credit upon him and no bitter controversies and no unhappy memories of grievous wrongs can prevent us from frankly recognising the breadth of mind and maganimity of spirit, sincerity and self-control, patience and toleration, which have distinguished the Duke's admirable speeches. If they fail to pacify and appease the lacerated feelings of the people, he at any rate has done his best to throw oil over troubled waters within the limits of the duty that had been assigned to him and of the official guidance under which he had perforce to form his judgment."

The Bombay Budget for 1921-22.

Sanj Vartamán (32), 25th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 25th Feb.

13. Sir George Curtis has succeeded in the difficult task of so framing the Budget as to suit the requirements of the new Councils. Large sums of money have to be expended in improving the salaries of low-paid Government servants and it would not be possible to effect any retrenchment in that direction. It is a matter for gratification that Government have recognised the need of retrenchment and have appointed a Special Officer for the purpose. We are, however, of the opinion that the work would be better accomplished by the appointment of a mixed committee of officials and non-officials to enquire whether there is any scope for reducing the staff in Government offices and the salaries of well-paid officials. It would also be necessary for the Committee to inquire as to whether there is any justification for continuing the new posts created by Government during the last five years. It is very wise on the part of Government not to think of levying any fresh taxes in spite of the huge deficit in the Budget. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* suggets that the draft of the Budget should be in the hands of the Press and the members of the Council at least a week before its presentation. It expresses gratification at the absence of new taxes, and suggests that the Government of India and Provincial Governments should issue loans simultaneously and at the same rate of interest.]

Indian Social Reformer (7), 27th Feb.

*14. "The financial statement presented by Sir George Curtis to the Legislative Council on Friday is a saddening tale of famine and loss of revenue on the one hand and increasing expenditure accentuated by an one-sided settlement with the Central Government on the other. The expenditure in the current year is expected to exceed the income by about a crore and a half, and a similar deficit is estimated for next year. Additional taxation is inevitable if this pace is maintained, and at no time would additional taxation have been more inexpedient and unwise than now. It is, therefore, incumbent on publicists to scrutinise proposals for new expenditure carefully.......... The total new expenditure proposed is nearly 90 lakhs recurring, and one crore non-recurring. The largest single item is 20 lakhs non-recurring for the purchase and construction of houses for Government officers. We could scarcely believe our eyes when we came across this item..........We are not at present concerned to discuss the propriety or otherwise of Government becoming a large owner of house property for its officials. But assuming that it is proper, should not this measure be postponed for a more favourable financial season?......... We hope that the Legislative Council will not let this item pass without, at any rate, considerable reduction."

Necessity of changing the form of oath administered to members of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Swarájya (143), 24th Feb.

15. Commenting upon the form of oath administered to the members of the Bombay Legislative Council, the *Swarájya* writes:—Whatever may have been the form of oath before, it is absolutely necessary to revise it now that the rights of *swarájya* are being conferred upon the people. What sensible person will deny that India ought to be mentioned in the oath if it is to be given *swarájya*? Up to this time the King of England exercised autocratic sway over India and, therefore, it was quite right to swear loyalty to His Majesty alone. But now under the Reforms Act the power is divided between the King of England and the people of India and so it is quite necessary for the popular representatives to pledge themselves to be faithful both to His Majesty and the people of India. They

should swear that while they would be loyal to His Majesty they would never betray their own country.

Interpellations in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 26th Feb.

16. A cursory look at the interpellations asked at the recent meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council will convince us that the new members of the Council have not made a careful study of the important questions affecting the interests of our Presidency. However, we do not want to detract from the importance of some of the questions asked in the Council. Dr. Batliwalla was quite justified in asking for the causes of the delay in the establishment of the School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in Bombay. We are glad to note that the sanction of the Secretary of State has been obtained and that the scheme will be given effect to as soon as finances permit. It is to be regretted that the question of the establishment of a Pasteur Institute in Bombay is still under consideration. Rabies is a deadly disease and there is an immediate necessity of establishing a Pasteur Institute in Bombay to meet the requirements of the Presidency. Let us hope Government will take early steps to meet the need. Mr. Godbole has helped to remove the misapprehension existing in the minds of the people in the matter of contracts for the Bombay Development Scheme. Government have stopped further criticism by their reply, but they would have done well to explain the causes that have led them to decline to accept any of the tenders submitted to them. Why should no chance have been given to private enterprize? The reply given by Government to Mr. Havelivala in the matter of abolishing the office of Coroner is gratifying.

Evidences in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly of a change of spirit in Government.

Servant of India (10), 24th Feb.

17. "In giving an early day, and a day of official business, to the Honourable Mr. Sastri's Resolution on the repressive measures, it was the Government's desire, the Honourable Sir William Vincent declared, to give practical evidence of their willingness to let the legislature exercise their rightful influence on the administration. Only last year a similar resolution was moved by the Honourable Mr. Patel for the appointment of a committee to consider the repressive laws.......... What contempt Sir William Vincent then poured on this modest proposal!......... Similarly, the acceptance of Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' resolution on the Punjab tragedy bears witness to the anxiety of Government to assuage public feeling in regard to this matter.......... Only some four months ago a similar resolution was disallowed. Now the resolution was not only admitted but accepted. No Indian will feel that adequate reparation has been made for official atrocities, but every competent observer will admit that Government expressed unqualified regret for such excesses and dissociated themselves from them in emphatic terms. Government's pronouncement in regard to the Esher Committee's report was quite satisfactory.......... The Government have already made an announcement on the Khilafat question which ought to satisfy the public that they are themselves losing no opportunity to keep British statesmen in intimate touch with Moslem sentiments in the matter."

Comments on the King's message at the opening of the Council of State and Indian Legislative Assembly.

Praja Bandhu (29), 20th Feb., Eng. cols.

18. "Unfortunately, all these hopes have been dashed to the ground, and shattered into a thousand fragments. The Royal message which the Duke read was a purely formal message, expressing 'My congratulations and my earnest good wishes for success in your labour and theirs.' We shall wait and see what 'success' attends the 'great constitutional change' which all parties in India have unanimously proclaimed intolerable, if not unacceptable, by virtue of its denial of unqualified fiscal autonomy, its entrenchment of bureaucratic irresponsibility at the Central Government, and its introduction of paternal absolutism at the Provincial Governments while professing to concede partial responsibility. Meanwhile the people cannot but infer that if the King can do no wrong, he

cannot also undo a wrong. Here are two great wrongs by virtue of which the people propose to sever all connection with the Ruling authority. Yet with regard to them the King assumes an attitude of serene indifference, extinguishing the last flickering hope of an honourable connection between India and Britain. Such is the utter bankruptcy of statesmanship in the counsels of the present Government in England and in India!"

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Shastri's resolution in the Council of State regarding repressive laws.

Gujarati Punch (19), 20th Feb. Eng cols

19. "The Honourable Mr. Shastri's resolution regarding the appointment of a Committee to examine which of the Repressive Laws on the Indian Statute Book can be repealed and which amended has, as was expected by the public at large, been accepted by the Government. We very much regret to say, however, that we do not know whether to laugh or to weep over it. As we said on a previous occasion, the ordinary laws of the land are wide enough to meet all exigencies of the situation and there is absolutely no need for special legislation. What the country at large, therefore, wants is their repeal pure and simple, and no amendment will satisfy it.......... If India is ever to be contented, it will only be after repression has been given a decent burial and not in spite of it. But to effect that, the very machinery of repression must go, as it is always safer to remove the stick rather than to rely on its discretionary use. The protestations of Sir William about the judicious use of repressive machinery in the past as well as in the future are not worth a brass farthing and the Indian public will be satisfied with nothing less than their repeal."

Praja Bandhu (29), 20th Feb.; *Deshi Mitra* (65), 24th Feb.

20. We fail to understand what necessity there exists for the appointment of a Committee to report on the question of amending or repealing the repressive laws as moved in the resolution of Mr. Shastri in the Council of State. The Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and Regulation III of 1818 afford no small annoyance to the people and still Government want a Committee to investigate into their usefulness or otherwise! Mr. Khaparde's amendment to repeal these measures at one stroke was more in accord with public opinion than Mr. Shastri's resolution. The defeat of Mr. Khaparde's amendment and the passing of Mr. Shastri's resolution go to show that the policy of flouting public opinion has not come to an end. [The *Deshi Mitra* writes:—The resolution moved by a sycophant of the type of Mr. Shastri was accepted, but the amendment proposed by Mr. Khaparde was rejected! What hopes should now be entertained about the new councils? Will any one now make bold to say that those who advocated the boycott of the Councils were wrong? Was there any necessity for appointing the Committee? Government do not even bind themselves to accept its recommendations! This will convince the people that the non-co-operation movement is fully justified.]

Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas' resolutions in the Council of State regarding grant of fiscal autonomy to India.

Mahrátta (8), 27th Feb.

***21.** "On the 23rd instant Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas moved in the Council of State that His Majesty's Government should be addressed through the Secretary of State with a prayer that the Government of India be granted full fiscal autonomy under the direction of the Indian Legislature. Of course, as the mover himself remarked, this demand was not a new one, but as old as the Indian National Congress; and evidently Mr. Shastri, who, though he may not pay allegiance to this year's Congress, has always expressed his profound loyalty to the old Congress, was expected to lend a whole-hearted support to Mr. Lallubhai's resolution. But what did he do? He did not wish to incur the displeasure of any of his patrons and so he adopted the safest way of saying, 'What is called fiscal autonomy has been granted to the people of India partially if not fully, substantially, if not in the legal form'. The arguments with which he substantiated his position are neither clear nor correct. We have only to ask Mr. Shastri one question. If autonomy had been already granted substantially, what harm was there in pressing to give it a legal form?

And again if it was granted partially, would it not have been consistent with his professions to support the resolution which demanded it to be granted fully?"

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 26th Feb.

22. Commenting upon the resolution about the grant of full fiscal autonomy to India moved by the Honourable Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas in the Council of State, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We do not understand the cause of the protest that was raised in the Council of State against this resolution. It was said that the resolution was not in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1919. But this Act does not bind the hands of the Legislature in such a way that it should not make any demands for the good government and the general welfare of the people. Such a position would be intolerable; and it will be doing injustice to the Act to argue that it tends to create such a position. It is stated in the Montagu-Chelmsford report that one of the chief causes of Indian unrest is the injustice done to India in economic matters for securing the interests of foreigners. Hence it is recommended therein that neither Viceroy nor the Secretary of State should as a general rule make use of his power to go against the resolutions of the Legislature relating to fiscal policy with regard to which both the Government of India and the Legislative Council are unanimous. Although it is so recommended, yet it is not binding upon the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to always abide by this rule. It is, therefore, a matter for regret that the Council has not passed Mr. Samaldas' original resolution. The change made therein upsets the aim of the original resolution and has the effect of perpetuating the present state of things. But we should not despair on account of this defeat. The members of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State should persistently bring forward resolutions for amending the laws which are concerned with our economic advantages, to enable us to judge what kind of attitude is shown by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State with regard to them. In this way the case for securing complete fiscal autonomy for India will be very much strengthened.

Comments on Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas' resolution regarding Punjáb affairs in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Navjivan (72), 20th Feb.; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 20th Feb.

23. Government have accepted the resolution regarding the Punjáb affairs moved by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas in the Legislative Assembly *minus* the third clause, which urged the punishment of the guilty officers. Government have expressed regret for the last year's policy, and that is all! The resolution was passed amidst universal applause. The Indians in the Council were puffed up with pride! But the drawback is that Government have gone so far in expressing their regret that men like blood-thirsty Dyer are still allowed to draw their pensions from the Indian treasury! It has rightly been said that there is no people in the world so easy to please as the Indians. [The *Praja Bandhu* writes:—The mutilation that Mr. Jamnadas' resolution has undergone goes to show how reluctant the bureaucratic officials are to respect public opinion and to mete out justice in the Punjáb affairs. The resolution will not meet with public approval so long as men like Dyer who have disgraced British rule in India are allowed to draw their pension from the Indian treasury.]

Kesari (115), 22nd Feb.

24. It is necessary to protest against two statements made by Sir W. Vincent during the discussion on Mr. Jamnadas' resolution on the Punjáb. His first argument was, why should Mr. Jamnadas insist upon the punishment of the offending officials even when the Congress Committee did not press that point. But the public are intelligent enough to see through Sir Vincent's insidious sophistry. The opinion of the Congress Committee was that it was not necessary to punish the offenders if all the responsible officers from the Viceroy downwards were immediately dismissed. However, contrary to all expectations, the British Ministers appreciated the work of the Viceroy and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, and even during the debate on Mr. Jamnadas' resolution Sir William Vincent did not fail to support the action of Sir Michael.

And this very Sir W. Vincent is shameless enough to take advantage of the moderate demands of the Congress Committee and assert that there is no demand from the public to punish the guilty officials! His second argument was: You who are shouting yourselves hoarse against the Martial Law administration in the Punjáb, shortlived as it was, look at what is going on in Ireland and you will understand what Martial Law really means. This indeed is the height of shamelessness and impudence combined. Does the perpetration of a 100 crimes in Ireland justify the bureaucracy in committing 75 in India? Have not the British fallen low in the estimation of the civilised world by their atrocities in Ireland? It is the height of folly to cite the actions in Ireland in support of the Punjáb atrocities. We have further to ask Sir W. Vincent this: The Sinn Feiners at any rate are using arms against the police force, but what harm had the poor and helpless Indians done to you that you should turn Jhallianwalla Bagh into another Glencoe? Did they import machine guns from Germany? Did they raise a military force against you and rise in rebellion? Without any such thing taking place, you violated the honour of their women, flogged respectable citizens, threw down bombs among them, cut off the water-supply, and made the people crawl like vermin. Did you commit, and can you dare to commit, such inhuman crimes in Ireland? Why should you then add insult to injury by mentioning Ireland?

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Feb.

25. "The spokesmen of the 'Moderate' party in the Legislative Assembly made no secret of their conviction that the heart of the bureaucracy was wet with tears of repentance. Though Sir William Vincent himself failed to express 'regret' (!) in repect of the inhuman treatment meted out to the students of the Punjáb, Dr. Sapru, overwhelmed by the sense of his own official position, generously came forward—vicariously—to shed tears on behalf of the Government, of which he is now a member......... When the leading lights of 'Liberalism' assure us in this wise, it is futile, of course, to expect them to demand punishment of the wrong-doers, for in their eyes, there has been no wrong-doing at all!......... Sir William also thought it fit to tell his Moderate colleagues, before the curtain was finally dropped on the debate, that Government's view regarding Sir Michael O'Dwyer 'was the same as expressed in their despatch to His Majesty's Government'. After such 'ample' evidence of 'repentance' on the part of the Government of India, our 'Moderate' friends were, no doubt, justified—at least, in their own eyes—in turning their backs on their own performances at Madras two months ago. But they will, we trust, excuse the rest of their countrymen if the latter fail to note in the protestations of the bureaucracy the ring of genuine repentance and of a disposition to behave better in the future. On the other hand, the speeches of the spokesmen of the bureaucracy clearly indicate the resolve of the latter to pursue to the last the traditional policy of meting out repression simultaneously with the announcement of 'concessions.'"

Gujaráti Punch (19), 20th Feb., Eng. cols.

26. "So the subject, on the right handling of which, even according to that reactionary of reactionaries [Sir V. Chirol] the peaceful evolution of India and the future of the British Empire depend, has been once again disposed of in a typically bureaucratic fashion. The mild resolution of Mr. Jamnadas which once again offered the Government an opportunity to pour oil on the troubled waters of Indian politics, an opportunity to vindicate the oft-expressed platitude that British Rule in India is based on *justice*, not on *force*, has been whittled down to a degree—thanks to the honeyed words of Government officials and the accommodating, nay, obliging attitude of those who profess to represent the mind of the Indian people—that will fail to evoke enthusiasm—much less satisfaction—from the lacerated heart of India. Thanks to the theory of 'splendid brutality', the people of this country have already lost all faith in the possibility of getting the barest justice from her British administrators, and if nothing is done to restore it once again to life, England may well hope to see another Ireland in India in the near future. The only way to prevent

that state of affairs from arising in this country is to deal squarely in the matter of the Punjab tragedy and the meting out of deterrent yet stern punishment to all those who are guilty of excesses is the only way to do it. The people of this country fail to reconcile the disapproval of General Dyer's conduct with the burdening of the Indian treasury with unemployment pay on his behalf and the letting off of others with a mere verbal disapproval. Justice is no respecter of race or position and if the call of Justice necessitates the punishing of Lord Chelmsford, he must submit to it. It ought to be clear by this time that that is the only way of restoring peace in India and any the least attempt at evading the demands of the people—and the demands of the people do not go beyond the demands of bare justice—will be found to operate against the best interests of England as well as India. We wish British statesmen will realize the transparent truth of the above statement."

Servant of India (10) 24th Feb.

27. "While we welcome the spirit in which the Government accepted Mr. Jamnadas's resolution on the Punjáb and the readiness with which popular representatives recognised that spirit, it cannot be said that the net result will meet the public demand in this matter. The way in which the discussion ended will only have the effect of closing the chapter of the Punjáb tragedy without obtaining adequate amends or applying an effective remedy. Due punishment of the offending officials is the least that Government could do to satisfy the public, and the clause demanding it being deleted from the resolution, the general feeling is that the Legislative Assembly has only covered up the wound without healing it.......... But, in fairness, it must perhaps be stated that the complete catalogue of the punishments inflicted on the officials which Sir William Vincent intended to present to the Assembly but could not, his speech being cut off in the middle by the order of the Chair, would, it is believed, have disclosed that Government have meted out more punishments than the public know; in any case, all the officials concerned, it is said, have been removed from the old posts and put on to new, so that the public who have suffered such grievous injuries at their hands may be spared their irritating presence. While it is impossible to expect the people to be satisfied on the score of punishments, it will be admitted that the expression of regret on behalf of Government was satisfactory. The value of such an expression, unaccompanied by any deeds which made it real, will be questioned; but it can no longer be said that the Government is still altogether unrepentent.......... Victims of official atrocities will be given compensation more nearly approaching that given to victims of mob violence. This concession, however, has unfortunately been robbed of most of its grace by the denial by Government of the justice of our claim that victims of official and popular violence deserve equal compensation. Again, the praise showered upon Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the fountain and origin of most of the evil, naturally dilutes to some extent the satisfaction which the other parts of the Government's pronouncement would have caused. On the whole, this latter, one dare not hope, has been satisfying, but it may be taken as a sure indication of a change for the better in Government's attitude towards this question."

Comments on Mr. O'Donnell's resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly regarding appointment of a Committee to examine the Indian press laws.

Mahratta (8), 27th Feb.

***28.** "During the last week the Legislative Assembly passed a resolution moved by Mr. O'Donnell to appoint a Committee of officials and non-officials to examine the Press and the Registration of Books Act of 1867 and the Indian Press Act of 1910, and report what modifications are required in the existing law. The passing of this resolution is not a public benefit as much as it seems at first sight. Speaking absolutely, a committee of inquiry on the Press Act is no doubt a thing to be welcomed. But in the light of what had already passed in the Council of State, this Committee is not likely to make the Indians feel grateful. Mr. Shastri had already secured the appointment of a Committee to consider whether any or all the repressive laws could be repealed or amended. Had Government any intention of allowing the Press Act to be repealed it would not have accepted in the Legislative Assembly a resolution demanding a committee to report what 'modifications' are necessary in it. The acceptance of the resolution, therefore, clearly means that the Press Act is not going to be repealed; it will be only modified in some respects. This is certainly not what the people want. While placing this resolution before the Assemby Mr. O'Donnell indulged in some seemingly benevolent talk about 'public feeling' and the 'changed policy of Government'.......... Messrs. Sheshagiri Iyer, Girdharlal and others of the Council of State definitely demanded the total repeal of the Press Act. Surely they were echoing the public feeling on the question. And if Government is so anxious to pay full heed to the 'public feeling' as Mr. O'Donnell represented, why should not an immediate repeal of the Act have been accepted? The answer is not far to seek. Government is only making a false show of benevolence. Speaking on Mr. O'Donnell's resolution, Sir W. Vincent proceeded to explain the policy and the attitude of Government in the matter.......... We are only struck with the impudence with which he asserted, after giving a distorted version of the history of the Press Legislation from 1867, that the Press Act of 1910 'has been administered with a reasonable amount of forbearance and with beneficial effects as a whole.' Sir W. Vincent seems to possess strange ideas of 'forbearance' and 'beneficial effects.' What is the picture of official 'forbearance' depicted in the *Gazette of India*, 1917?......... If these figures speak of 'forbearance' we are afraid that the quality is present in the official hearts in an abnormal form. The Press Act had 'beneficial effects' no doubt. But it had those effects on the Government treasury which must have been considerably enriched by the incessant flow of securities, and not on the people! Another unjustifiable sentence that Sir W. Vincent thought it safe to utter was, 'I know that the European-owned and edited press had not suffered *to the same extent as* the Indian press'......... Every impartial observer knows that the European Press, speaking roughly, has not suffered at all. We read that Mr. Jamnadas challenged the Home Member's statement that the Press Act had been fairly used. Every other non-official member ought to have emphatically supported him and compelled the Home Member to correct his mistake. There has been vivid injustice in the application of the Press Act and unless it is repealed there is no safety for Indian journals. Again, it must not be forgotten, that the Press Act has not been the only weapon in the Government armoury to be used against Indian journalism. The Defence of India Act was a mighty missile in the bureaucratic hands during the war times and no less than 57 presses and newspapers had to suffer under that Act. With such facts before us we cannot go into ecstacies over the appointment of a petty Committee on the Press Act. The real remedy is neither the amendment nor the repeal of such measures but a radical change in the very system of government."

Mr. Samarth's resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly in the matter of allowing Provincial Governments a voice in framing the Military Budget of the Government of India.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 21st Feb.

29. Mr. Samarth moved a very important resolution in the Legislative Assembly in the matter of allowing Provincial Governments a voice in framing the Military Budget of the Government of India. Had this resolution been accepted, the Provincial Governments would have been in a position to secure the opinions of the Ministers on the question. But Mr. Samarth's resolution was defeated owing to the change in the attitude of the Assembly after Mr. Hailey's speech. We, however, do not find Mr. Hailey's speech in any way convincing. We hope Mr. Samarth will not be discouraged by the fate his resolution has met and will again bring a similar resolution before the Assembly.

Comments on the inauguration of the Indian Princes' Chamber.

Servant of India (10), 24th Feb.

30. Mr. G. R. Abhyankar writes:—"It is a matter of intense regret that the Royal proclamation did not remind the Indian Princes of their obligations to maintain good government in their States.......... In this proclamation His Majesty's Government ought to have given as much prominence to the obligations of the Princes to the Imperial Power as they have done to the obligation of the latter to the former.......... The speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy in requesting His Royal Highness the Duke to open the Chamber was very disappointing. The Viceroy has more than once frankly advised the Indian Princes to move along with the progress of the times and to be alive to their responsibilities towards their own subjects. But on this memorable occasion when he should have advised the Princes to follow in the footsteps of the British Government and to introduce responsible government in their States, he observed a reticence which was thoroughly discouraging. His statement that the great ideal was of an India governing itself through its Princes and elected representatives and owning allegiance to a common head is equally open to exception. No body desires the continuance of personal rule in Indian States.......... The speech of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught was statesmanlike and worthy of the occasion.......... The resolution of thanks moved on behalf of the Indian Princes to the Royal Duke and the speeches of eminent rulers who supported it did not at all disclose that breadth of vision which ought to have characterised them. The reiteration of fidelity and loyalty to the British Throne has lost all its novelty and charm at this hour of the day......... The Government does not expect these platitudes to be repeated on every conceivable occasion. If instead the Princes had enthusiastically responded to His Royal Highness and assured him of their determination to unflinchingly follow the same policy on which the British Government has entered and accepted the same ideal which has been laid down by His Majesty's Government in August 1917 and which has been only partly carried out at this moment, it would have given unqualified satisfaction to the Duke for all the troubles he undertook in coming over to this country at this time of his life to inaugurate this Chamber......... It was therefore a matter of some relief to find that at least one belonging to this distinguished order, His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, is conscious of his duty in this respect."

Rájakáran (131), 20th Feb.

31. The *Rájakáran* expresses the opinion that the establishment of the Chamber of Princes will hinder the growth of democratic institutions in India. It writes:—The Chiefs are opposed to democracy. Every Chief is fond of exercising unrestrained power in his State. Most of them aim at ensuring a life of luxury for themselves and their families at the expense of their subjects. Instead of requiring the Chiefs to delegate some of their powers to the representatives of the people, the British Government give them an assurance that their rights and privileges would not be interfered with. During the great war the Chiefs gave valuable assistance to the Imperial Government totally disregardful of the interests of their own subjects and so they have now become Government's favourites. The bureaucracy know well by experience that they can command the wealth and influence of the Chiefs in their hour of need simply by conferring empty honours upon them and that is why they have brought the Chamber of Princes into being.

How *Swarajya* can be attained.

Young India (14), 23rd Feb.

32. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"*Swaraj* is easy of attainment before October next if certain simple conditions can be fulfilled. The past five months' experience has confirmed me in the opinion. I am convinced that the country has never been so ready for establishing *Swaraj* as now. But it is necessary for us as accurately as possible to know the conditions. One supreme indispensible condition is the continuance of non-violence. Rowdyism, hooliganism, looting that we have recently witnessed are disturbing elements. They are danger-signals. We must be able to arrest their progress. The spirit of democracy cannot be established in a year in the midst of terrorism whether governmental or popular......... The next condition is our ability to bring into being the Congress organisation in terms of the new constitution, which aims at establishing a Congress agency in every village with a proper electorate......... There are certain things that are applicable to all. The most potent thing is Swadeshi. Every home must have the spinning wheel and every village can organise itself in less than a month and become self-supporting for its cloth. Every man and woman can give some money—be it even a pice—to the Tilak *Swaraj* Fund. And we need have no anxiety about financing the movement. Every man and woman can deny himself or herself all luxury, all ornamentation, all intoxicants at least for one year. And we shall have not only money but we shall have boycotted many foreign articles......... We can do nothing without Hindu-Muslim unity and without killing the snake of untouchability. Untouchability is a corroding poison that is eating into the vitals of Hindu society......... If this is a religious battle, no argument is necessary to convince the reader that self-denial must be its supreme test. Khilafat cannot be saved, the Punjab humanity cannot be redressed, without godliness. Godliness means change of heart,—in political language, changing the angle of vision. And such a change can come in a moment. My belief is that India is ripe for that change......... Have we honest, earnest, industrious, patriotic workers for this very simple programme? If we have, *Swaraj* will be established in India before next October."

Government's policy of keeping students aloof from politics is responsible for the hold the non-co-operation movement has obtained over them.

Sind Observer (12), 5th Feb.

33. "The policy hitherto pursued of treating politics, specially current politics, as taboo within the four walls of a college or a school has been greatly instrumental in depriving students of the sound advice and guidance of sober and sane leaders of public opinion and even of their teachers and principals, and has thrown them entirely at the mercy of orators not of a very desirable kind. If students get out of hand to-day Government's policies with regard to them are also responsible for the state of things. The habit of careful and comprehensive thinking, the proper cultivation of political sense, the acquirement of accurate knowledge on political matters, and the formation of sound views have not hitherto been encouraged, as politics was treated as a dangerous and forbidden subject. And now when Moderate leaders realise the harm which the Gandhian gospel is spreading and come forward to counteract its influence they are hooted down because the irresponsible boys have never been taught in their colleges to cultivate a sense of political judgment by responsible publicists.......... The new teaching aims at the destruction of the old public life of the country, ignores all historical and social conditions and attributes all the miseries to which Indian flesh is heir to an alien Government, and goes so far as to call it a Satanic Government, forgetting the historical fact that British rule alone could secure peace and establish order and that the evolution of the heterogenous elements of India into a compact and united nation is a slow and painful process.......... What is the meaning of this idea of *Swarâj* within eight months? It is that the foreigner must be got rid of. This revolution is to be brought about by non-violent non-co-operation or by peaceful means. Events have abundantly proved that the talk of non-violence is mere camouflage.......... People are asked to ignore the Government. You can no more ignore the Government than you can ignore the earth upon which you walk. Suppose you are capable of ignoring the Government, will the Government ignore you? Does it want to see its rule overthrown, even if the overthrowers are saints, sages or mahátmas. Will it permit the new mahátmas to retain the peaceful character of their movement and yield power impotently without striking a last blow under which the whole country would reel? These are very elementary and obvious considerations, and we would have been ashamed to trot them out here but for the complete upsetting of the balance of political judgment at present. On the other hand, self-interest, if nothing else, should urge every son and daughter of this country to harbour no sentiments inconsistent with the continuance of British rule in India and by peaceful endeavour to win Home Rule for their beloved country which at no distant date will be theirs."

Alleged spread of a feeling of contempt for Government among young boys and girls.

Sindvasi (162), 13th Feb.

34. The Government should understand that politics have spread all over the country and the atmosphere is now surcharged with contemptuous feeling for Government to such an extent that boys as well as girls have been deeply affected by it. The non-co-operationists are prepared to transgress the prescribed limits and the incidents of the Punjáb and Amritsar are useful weapons in their hands. The pamphlets that are being distributed among the boys and the speeches that are being delivered in streets and lanes and in the vicinity of schools have all reference to the Punjáb incidents. Now, if the feeling of contempt for the Government spreads among the boys it will have very serious consequences. It is, therefore, meet that the deep and malignant wound of the Punjab which is now and then being pointed out to boys with a view to stir up their feelings should be at once remedied. We feel that it was a mistake to have distributed medals among boys on Thursday last in commemoration of the functions to be performed by the Duke of Connaught. The distribution of such medals would have been proper only if some Royal clemency would have been announced with regard to the Punjab and other incidents of injustice.

Comments on the refusal by the Nadiad and Ahmedabad Municipalities of the Government grants for education.

Gujaráti (17) 20tn Feb.

35. Following in the wake of the Nadiad Municipality, the Ahmedabad Municipality has resolved not to accept the Government grant in respect of primary education. The funny part of the situation is this that both these Municipalities have no hesitation in accepting Government grants in matters other than educational! Will Government forego their responsibility in the matter of providing education where the municipalities resolve to make their own arrangements? Will Government consent to the proposal made by these municipalities to the effect that the Educational Inspectors should not visit their schools? Have Nadiad and Ahmedabad found rich philanthropists who will bear the extra burden for all time? Will Government allow these Municipalities to have their own way? Or will Government suspend these Municipalities and order fresh elections? It must not be forgotten that in spite of resolutions passed at public meetings the rate-payers change their attitude when they are confronted with the question of being saddled with additional taxation.

Kesari (115), 22nd Feb.

36. The controversy regarding the decision of the Ahmedabad Municipality to reject the Government educational grant bids fair to grow into a serious affair. Those who cannot bear to see the non-co-operation movement gather strength have started a campaign against the Municipality and they have reminded it that it was superseded 10 years back for its disorderly administration. They were also thinking of setting up the people against the Municipality; but here they failed. The enemies of non-co-operation have, therefore, reminded the Municipality of section 58 of the Municipal Act and warned it that the refusal to accept the Government grant did not mean removal of Government control. But the Municipality's contention that it wanted neither grant nor control is not illegal. Now, if the Governor and his Councillors are wise they should be prepared to remove their control over the Municipal schools which did not take Government grants. If they are not so straightforward, let them dissolve the Municipality. The citizens are prepared for this. If it is true of *swarajya* that it must be won and not received as alms, why should not the same be true of local self-government as well? It is no use asking Government to relinquish their control. The hope of removing Government control lies in plainly telling them that we will not allow them to exert any control at all.

The Council of the Parsi Central Association should have condemned the non-co-operation movement in their resolutions on the political situation.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 27th Feb., Eng. Cols.

***37.** Commenting ont he resolutions, passed by the Council of the Parsi Central Association, on the subject of the political situation in India, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"We consider it our duty to point out that the Association should have embodied in these resolutions a clause expressing the strong dislike of the Parsi community towards the non-co-operation movement. The omission of this important clause puts the rest of the resolutions in a dubious light, and might create a false impression in the mind of the Duke as well as the Government that the Parsis are also in favour of Non-co-operation, whereas it is well-known that the majority of them is averse to it. We think the Association has not acted wisely in omitting such a clause, although we hear that its inclusion was strongly urged by several members of the Council who were present at the meeting. We believe that we are voicing the true feeling of the Parsi community in this matter when we state that the Parsis are behind none in the earnest desire to see the political advancement of the country towards the goal of *Swarájya*, and to help as far as may lie in their power in seeking due redress of wrongs; but the thoughtful and clear-minded portion of the community, comprising in fact the whole with only a few exceptions, is entirely against the adoption of any unconstitutional, impracticable and doubtful means of attaining the desired ends."

The bureaucracy and the non-co-operation movement.

Kesari (115), 22nd Feb.

38. All reforms have to pass through four stages. During the first stage any new movement is looked upon with contemptuous neglect; the second is that of active repression; next comes compromise, and lastly success. The Indian National Congress has gone through the first three stages and approached the last one. The non-co-operation movement is the direct outcome of the National Congress. And within six months of its inauguration this movement has reached the second stage of its existence. Now the bureaucracy do not think it wise to dismiss the movement with contemptuous neglect. It is clear to them that they must use force to suppress it. The Indian National Congress has discarded the Reforms as being incapable of healing the wounds of the Punjáb and the Khilafat. The bureaucracy deliberately attempted to blind England by closing their own eyes and launched upon the farce of inaugurating the new Councils at the hands of the Duke of Connaught by inviting him to the country. But this cunning of theirs overreached itself. They found it hard to tyrannise over the people during the Duke's presence in India. Bred as it is in their bones, the bureaucracy could not but resort to repression occasionally. At Delhi the Duke pathetically appealed to Indians to co-operate and the Viceroy also announced that autocratic rule had come to an end with the inauguration of the new Councils. The Government of India, in order to make an impression upon him of the Indian public, even went so far as to devote the first day of the New Era to the resolutions of Messrs. Shastri and Jamnadas. But the impatient bureaucrats of Madras at once gave the lie to the official anouncements at Delhi by their repressive policy by sending Mr. Yakub Hassan, the famous Muslim leader and secretary to the Central Khilafat Committee, and his associates, to jail. The authorities may for certain reasons release the leaders and condemn Mr. Thomas, the District Magistrate, who imprisoned by Yakub Hassan and others. But that does not prove that the angle of vision of the bureaucracy is changed. Habit is second nature and this tyranny will never cease until the bureaucracy is deprived of its power.

Mahrátta (8), 27th Feb.

***39.** "If the events that are taking place in different parts of India are an index to the policy which Government has determined to adopt against the movement of non-co-operation, it is clear that the policy is deplorably mistaken. .... Since the beginning of the non-co-operation movement Government had not as yet violently interfered with the activities of the leaders or their followers and it was not altogether without any regard to facts if some supposed that Government was going to give a fair trial to Gandhi's programme.......... Some had, however, expressed their shrewd suspicion that Government's indifference towards the movement of non-co-operation could be more correctly explained by connecting it with the Duke's visit to India. It was said that the Government of India was trying to keep the Duke under the illusion that there was contentment everywhere in India. This was, of course, not an inference countenanced by men who knew the ways of the bureaucracy. They were neither ready to suppose that the visit of the Duke put any restraint on the bureaucratic tendency towards repression, nor were they ever beguiled into the hope that the opening of the new Legislature would mean any definite departure from the old methods of terrorism. It now seems, however, that the hand of bureaucracy had really been stayed by the Duke's presence and that the exit of the Duke will perhaps be the signal for the beginning of repression in India. This is not an idle surmise. Any one who has followed the course of events during the last fortnight will believe that there is a sudden change of policy in the conduct of the Provincial Governments......... The arrests and imprisonments of Mr. Yakub Hassan and his three companions clearly show how the Madras Government is inclined. Similarly there have been incidents at Calcutta which, though not directly connected with politics, reveal the readiness of Government to take the first opportunity to suppress public agitation with all possible means. The prohibition orders served on Lala Lajpat Rai and many others in Northern India must obviously be the first of the series of repressive measures which Government are contemplating. There have been arrests at Nagpur. ....All these events, however, are insignificant as compared with the action which the Government of Bihar and Orissa has taken. Lord Sinha has issued a circular to all the District officers in his province in which he addresses them regarding the situation created by the non-co-operation movement and explains to them the views of Government and the measures which they desire to be taken.......... This declaration of a Governor of a province leaves no doubt as to the policy which the Government intends to adopt in the immediate future. Lord Sinha, in his circular, speaks only of 'all lawful and reasonable' means. But the world knows by past experience how the words "lawful and reasonable' lose all meaning when Government sets itself to killing a popular movement.......... People know full well that the Government of India is a great Government, and when once they send down repression on the heads of the non-co-operators, it will roll like the Russian roller without hindrance. But this is not a question of what a mighty Government can do against its helpless subjects. Unlimited repression is possible; but is it moral, is it justifiable and is it desirable in the interests both of the rulers and the ruled? In the first place 'repression' is never a means of governing a country. It might have been an instrument of government in the barbarous times of the past, but if civilisation has any meaning it is certainly inconsistent with the adoption of repressive measures.......... Repression can never be consistent with justice and mercy.......... If the Government of India goes in for repression in these days, it will be a virtual declaration that it is based on might rather than right. Repression is a vicious policy for any government at any time and place, but it will particularly be so for the British Government in these times. For, what was the principle in defence of which the armies of England and India fought and bled on the battle-fields during the great war? Was it not for the vindication of justice and truth that England joined France? Was it not a crusade against injustice, greed and repression that the Allies carried on for years together?.......... Repression on the part of Government is ever condemnable; but it is doubly so in these days when the English vaunt that they have learnt and taught the whole world a glorious lesson in political morality by their victory over Germany. And again, is the nature of the non-co-operation movement such as will justify the use of such repressive measures as were recklessly used some fifteen years back? The present agitation is utterly different in its character as well as its results from that which had spread all over India in about 1907.......... Not only is there on incitement to violence but there is a definite condemnation of it. Even the pardonable violence of words is avoided.......... If the Government meets the absolutely non-violent movement of non-co-operation with the violence of repression, its action will not only be unwise and immoral, but it will bring upon it the censure of all liberty-loving countries of the East and the West. The events of these two weeks lead one to suspect that the Provincial Governments are losing their mental balance.......... Let Government awake to the sins and dangers of repression and mend its policy before it is too late."

Alleged high-handed acts of Government officials.
Ráj Hansa (89), 21st Feb.

40. In the course of an article headed "the illegal acts of Government officials," the *Rája Hansa* says:—Government pays these officials fat salaries and allowances for their enjoyment. The District Collector goes on tour for four months, but he gets his allowance of Rs. 200 per mensem for all the twelve months of the year. Even when he goes on tour he pockets his travelling allowance and harasses the poor ryots by interfering with their daily work. Are not these people ashamed of their disgraceful conduct towards the poor? If anybody complains against these unjust acts, he has to put up with the insolence of men

like Mr. Cadell. Is this the rule of Moguls or of dacoits? And how often are we to bring these things to the notice of Government?

Alleged bribery in the Supply and Transport Department.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Feb.

41. "The Supply and Transport Department and the Stores and Munitions Control Departments have earned for themselves a name for unhesitating bribery, which is as much a waste to the people at large as it is a loss and injury to the Army itself. Since the conclusion of the Armistice, the advertising columns of the daily press have been filled by announcements of the sale of surplus or condemned military stores, which were purchased without any regard to economy, and are disposed of with no better indication of a commodity like conscience in those who are in charge of this transaction. When will the Government of India realise that their ostrichlike policy of wilfully shutting their eyes to the corruption that stains the name of public service in India can no longer be tolerated by the country? When will our 'representatives" gather up sufficient courage to abandon the policy of indulging in meaningless mundanities while their country is plundered under every pretext?......... Let them demand an inquiry into the sales of surplus and condemned stores. Let them ask for an explanation of the methods of military supply; let them give up their selfish attempts to obtain exclusive information. We are aware of the gravity of the charge we are making. But if it suit the Government in India to take up the gauntlet, if it suit any member in the Council to demand an inquiry, evidence shall be produced which will open wide the eyes of every one who claims to feel for this country. We fully realise the immense difficulty in making them speak who have benefited from this jobbery and bribery in public service. But we trust to the growth of nascent patriotism to repair the evil of selfish commercialism."

Comments on the Bombay Government's reply to the representation of the Jain community on the subject of the acquisition of land belonging to their temple at Byculla, Bombay.

Jain (82), 20th Feb.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 23rd Feb.

42. Expressing dissatisfaction with the Government's reply to the petition of the Jains in connection with the acquisition of land belonging to the Sha Motisha temple at Byculla, Bombay, which is required by the City Improvement Trust for building chawls, the *Jain* remarks:—It is not understood why the Bombay Government has resolved to wrest from the Jains the land which belongs to them and about the sacredness of which the community holds deep religious sentiments. Occasions of quarrel among the Indians have many times turned to Government's advantage in their administration; and, accordingly, while the Jains have been stupidly quarrelling among themselves, the decision to grant, to the City Improvement Trust, the right to commence building operations on the land has done great harm to the Jains. It is strange that although the disputed suit for the right of ownership between Sheth Rattonchand and the Jain Sangh has already been decided, and the Jain Sangh, the Appellant in the suit, has been given absolute rights in the administration and ownership of the temple, still this case has been referred to in the reply as being still pending, and it is stated that Government will duly consider a petition from the winning party to the suit. Such is the cold comfort given. Such is the beauty of British justice. It is not too late as yet. It is, therefore, necessary for the Jains in every town and village to raise protests for the preservation of the right of the community and send wires to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and His Excellency the Viceroy expressing their sorrow at this inference by the Bombay Government. [The *Bombay Samáchár*, while it is dissatisfied with the Government's reply, remarks that the Jains could have received some consolation if their representatives had been allowed to wait upon His Excellency in a deputation and that the President of the City Improvement Trust had been asked to be present on the occasion. The paper wishes that Government will not allow the feelings and sentiments of the community to be wounded for the carelessness of a few.]

Comments on the Bombay Government's orders remitting the fines imposed on the cities of Ahmedabad and Nadiad in connection with the disturbances of April 1919.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 23rd Feb.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 24th Feb.

43. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* bestows very high praise on the action of the Bombay Government in remitting the balances of the fines imposed on the cities of Ahmedabad and Nadiad in connection with the disturbances in April 1919, declaring it to be quite in keeping with the noble mission on which His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught came down to India, namely, to heal old sores and to remove bitter memories. The paper wishes that other provincial Governments will also copy the good example set by the Bombay Government. It continues :—At the same time, however, we must point out that the Government order on the subject is not as generous as it ought to be and is not calculated to give full success to the Duke's mission. These fines were imposed under the martial law regime, the object of which was to create an impression on the people, and their burden fell not only on the actual participators in the disturbances but also on a large number of people who were not only not proved to have joined the disturbances but also could not possibly have taken part in them. In order, therefore, to give full effect to His Royal Highness' mission and to increase the prestige of British justice we would press the Bombay Government to extend the hand of their generosity still further and to order a refund of the instalments of the fines that have been already paid. Such an order will not only tend to spread peace all round but will also strengthen the authority of Government. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also declares that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has displayed far-sighted statesmanship of a high order in thus acting up to His Royal Highness' advice to forget and forgive, and sincerely wishes that the heads of other provincial governments will copy the good example set by him. It praises the goodness, sympathy and justness of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and congratulates the people of the Bombay Presidency on possessing such a noble ruler.]

All the Talatis on strike who may desire to rejoin should be reinstated.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 23rd Feb.

44. The *Dnyán Prakásh* complains that some Collectors have refused to reinstate the old Talatis who went on strike and who are now willing to resume their duties, under the impression that the men struck work in pursuance of the non-co-operation movement. It maintains that this belief is wholly erroneous and that the men were actuated by no other desire than to secure adequate remuneration in these days of high prices. The paper charges the authorities with vindictiveness and pleads for the immediate re-instatement of all the men that may express their willingness to be taken back.

The Tata Hydro-Electric scheme in Mulshi Peta (Poona).

Kesari (115), 22nd Feb.

45. The more one thinks of the Mulshi scheme the plainer becomes the hideous injustice involved in it. The Industrial Commission has recommended that land occupied by buildings should not be acquired by Government for industrial purposes. But more important still is the fact that the Commission could not and has not arrived at any definite conclusion as to the advisability or otherwise of applying the Land Acquisition Act for the benefit of a private company. This controversy brought out the one fact that this Act was not properly administered and was, therefore, in need of urgent amendment. Considered from this public point of view, the proposal to submerge such a vast and fertile area for the generation of electricity, is like burning a house to protect oneself against chill. Taking all the figures into consideration, this scheme will not save more than 2 per cent. of India's coal production. Is it not devil's justice to ruin 15 thousand peasants in order to save this insignificant portion of India's annual coal output? Is the happiness of 15 thousand ryots less valuable than three lakh tons of coal?

Comments on the conviction of Mr. Yakub Hassan of Madras.

New Times (9), 21st Feb.

46. **"The most prominent among the officials who have cared to interpret the spirit of the 'New Era' is one Mr. Thomson, District Magistrate of Malabar, who, under cover of law, has clapped into jail Mr. Yakub Hassan and three other prominent Madras political workers—two prominent lawyers and one rich Muhammadan merchant of Malabar.** The conviction was under section 144—quite 'legal' to be sure! The ends of law can be set at naught by an official who proceeds to act unhampered by sense of fairplay or political justice. If only the executive officials in India proceed logically, with strained meanings, to apply the preventive and repressive sections of the Criminal Procedure Code, they can make short work of justice—and of the 'Reforms'—and prove to the world that when the Viceroy, in his speech at the baptism of the Indian Legislature at Delhi, flattered the 'representatives' of the people into the belief that the principle of autocracy had been abandoned, he indulged in more than an illusion."

Lokasangraha (118), 22nd Feb.

47. We have already published news regarding the arrest of Yakub Hassan and three other leaders. It is strange that while on the one hand the higher officers and even the Duke ask for co-operation, on the other hand their subordinates do not hesitate to lay their hands on such respectable citizens like Mr. Yakub Hassan. This is a lesson for the Duke more than for the people, and we believe that the Duke has realised how very unwilling the bureaucracy is to co-operate with the people. The bureaucracy is quite at home in the game of caressing with one hand while dealing blows with the other. The days of frightening the people with imprisonment are past. The people are ready to go into prison, and shortly prison walls will have to be erected round the whole country! Though the bureaucracy may be thinking of disturbing the peace, the people are determined not to let it be disturbed. Our strength lies in our patience, and we wish to retain that strength.

Chaitanya (102), 21st Feb.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 22nd Feb.

48. Commenting upon the arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Yakub Hasan and three others at Calicut, the *Chaitanya* writes:—In our opinion Government are not well-advised in prohibiting the holding of meetings. The non-co-operators and the Khilafat workers will do nothing except indulge in tall talk even if they hold thousands of meetings. Government are only fostering the movement by opposing it. The present movement will die out simply by ignoring it. If, therefore, Government will not stay their hand all thoughtful persons will conclude that they are indirectly encouraging the movement. [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—People generally expected that Government would resort to repression as soon as the Duke's visit would come to an end and their expectations are now being realised.]

Servant of India (10), 24th Feb.

49. "The Madras Legislative Council deserves to be congratulated on the precedent it has set in adjourning for the consideration of a definite matter of urgent importance, namely, the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hassan and three other Khilafat workers at Calicut. It is, however, a matter for regret that no resolution was validly put before the Council and that the motion was merely talked out at the end of the allotted time. Though the leader of the ministerial party, Sir P. Thesgaraya Chetty, strongly defended the action of the District Magistrate, it is more than probable that, had it been put to vote, the Magistrate's action would have been condemned.......... It is a matter for great regret that, while the age of autocracy is announced to have ended and the worst of repressive laws are expected to be repealed, acts of repression should be getting more frequent."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Feb.

50. "Sir Lionel Davidson, whom some regard as the evil genius of Lord Willingdon's Government, in defending the action of Mr. Thomas, the Collector of Malabar, gave him a certficate that he had acted with "great care and considerable tact."......... The events preluding the arrest of

Mr. Yakub Hassan belie the statement that this official has not acted with haste. It is a pity that the Madras Government do not see that Mr. Thomas' action is bound directly to give rise to conditions which he is anxious to avoid being established in the District.......... But the Madras bureaucracy, which has learnt nothing and forgotten nothing, openly applaud such suicidal deeds of the men on the spot, mocking the grievances of the people."

The evil of "Sporting Clubs" in Bombay City where race-gambling is carried on.
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 25th Feb.

51. When the law was passed abolishing the book-maker from the turf, it was thought that those foolish persons who ran the risk of being ruined through betting on the races would be afforded protection. But with the exit of the book-maker came "bucket-shops"; and the nuisance became so alarming that a law had to be passed to put a stop to them. But people took advantage of the niceties of the law and circumvented it by transforming these "bucket-shops" into "sporting clubs." There is no end of these "Clubs" in Bombay, and large crowds collect before them to give away their money. It is said that at several of these shops those who cannot take bets of Rs. 5 or Rs. 10 can invest small sums of Rs. 2-8 or Rs. 1-8; nay, very poor people, such as barbers, cobblers, oil-sellers and other small tradesmen are afforded facilities to make bets of 5 annas and 10 annas. It is quite necessary that Government should take urgent measures to inquire into these allegations. The proprietors of some of these concerns also make it a condition that they will not pay dividends above Rs. 500. If it is true, as many of the owners of these clubs declare, that they invest the sums paid in to them by their clients on the "totalisator" on the race course, there is no reason why they should not pay full dividends even though they exceed Rs. 500. There is very likely some fraud underlying this mysterious arrangement; and if Government and the Bombay Police investigate into it, they will be able to solve it, and the solution will perhaps help them to pass a law for putting a stop to these clubs; and through the instrumentalitly of such a law many a poor man will be precluded from throwing away his hard-earned money on race-gambling.

Comments on the conviction of the printer and publisher of the *Rangoon Mail.*
New Times (9), 24th Feb.

52. Commenting upon the conviction of the printer and publisher of the *Rangoon Mail*, the *New Times* remarks:—"The trial and conviction affords another illustration of Cradockism in Burma. The purpose was no doubt to give a blow to free public life by throttling the freedom of the Indian press. It is, indeed, a rare procedure which Sir Reginald has followed in bringing home to young Burma the spirit in which 'the new era' has been inaugurated in that young province. We have heard of trials and convictions in India for expression of opinion; but the *Rangoon Mail* trial beats all record, for its editor and printer have been sentenced to jail for reproducing views from well-known papers read throughout India. In Mr. Chandra's case Cradockism stands revealed in its true colours and stripped of all professions."

Comments on the auction sale of country liquor-shops in Bombay City.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 20th Feb.

53. One can have an idea of the large revenue which Government derives by the sale of liquor licenses from the auction of liquor shops held in Bombay on last Monday and Tuesday. On the whole 187 shops were sold, the total sale-proceeds being Rs. 25,13,800. Last year the sale-proceeds were 16,28,800. It is really startling that there should be an increase of nine lacs of rupees this year. In this year's auction, the shop-keepers, according to the proper advice given to them, showed, with one or two exceptions, the wisdom of abstaining from competition. On the other hand, the authorities started with such a high initial bid that the liquor merchants were almost staggered. In the case of every shop an initial bid of double the amount realised on the last occasion was made. In doing so the object of the authorities was to get as large an income as possible, but many of the licensees justly refused to bid. If such a high initial bid was to be made, what was the use of holding an auction? The same result would have been achieved if the maximum price for every shop had been fixed and notified to the shop-keepers; and thus there would have been no need of going through the farce of an auction sale. The action taken by the authorities is characterised by harshness and highhandedness towards the liquor merchants; and the latter should raise an unanimous protest against it.

An Income-tax complaint.
Kesari (115), 22nd Feb.

54. One more proof of the worthlessness of the Reforms is to be found in the recent excessive assessment of the Income-tax. It is clear that Government enforces only that part of its laws which is favourable to itself and pays no need to that portion which may be of benefit to the ryot. According to the Income-tax Act of 1918 it is open to the officers who administer the Income-tax Act to prosecute people who show false incomes in their affidavits. But these high-handed officers instead of accepting such affidavits and assessing the tax on the incomes given in them, calculate them according to their own private sources of information and then assess the tax as they please. If they have grounds to believe that the affidavits show false incomes, why do they not prove their falsity in courts of law? That is how they disregard the plain intention of the law; and this sort of tyranny of that department is increasing day by day. As the doors of the civil courts are closed against appeals against such decisions of the Income-tax Officers, appeals have necessarily to go to higher officials in the same department; which means that redress is not possible. The officers are not ashamed of exacting payments which not only exceed actual income but sometimes even the whole of the property of the poor victims. The only hope against such tyranny is in resorting to passive resistance by refusing to pay any more tax than that due on the income declared in the affidavits.

India's army should be placed on the pre-war scale.
Sind Observer (12), 4th Feb.

55. "The *Daily Telegraph* is 'at it' again. It wants no reductions in the Indian army, and says Government must keep its powder dry when the issue in India turns to one of physical force when Mr. Gandhi and his Moslem associates see the opportunity for direct action. There seems to be a strong militarist party in London at the back of these writings, and it is very easy for one to write as he pleases from his comfortable arm chair six thousand miles away. But the question facing the Government in India is: where is the money to be found to keep a huge army which now consumes more than 40 per cent. of the revenues of the country. We have now no enemies worth considering on our borders, and it will be a criminal waste of the taxpayer's money to continue to spend half the income of the country on bloated armies. As to the dangers of the Gandhian movement they are exaggerated out of all proportion as pointed out in London by Sir Claude Hill, late Member for Agriculture in the Government of India. An army on the pre-war strength and with modern appliances can suppress in five minutes any internal disorder. And we also think that the remedy lies in pacification methods and not in keeping big armies."

The Indian Moslem delegates to the Near East Conference in London.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 21st Feb.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 24th Feb.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 23rd Feb.

56. Commenting upon the appointment of Indian Muhammadan delegates to the Near East Conference, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—Besides His Highness the Aga Khan, His Majesty's Government have invited for consultation, in connection with the Turkish Settlement, such strong personalities as Mr. Chhotani, the Presideent of the Khilafat Committee, and Mr. Hasan Imam. We call these gentlemen strong, because they hold very strong views in reference to the Khilafat and they are such men as cannot be cowed down by anybody and they have often expressed their views very strongly. The fact that, in spite of knowing their views, His Majesty's Government have invited them for consultation is one, on account of which both they as well as His Majesty's Government deserve to be congratulated. This event is also no less gratifying to the Indian Muhammadans, who had justly claimed that, according to the pledges which were given to them during the last great war, their feelings should be considered in reference to the question of the Khilafat. [The *Sánj Vartaman* remarks that Sir William Vincent's explanation, in reply to the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri's motion for adjourning the meeting of the Council of State with a view to discussing the subject of Indian Moslem sentiment on the Khilafat question, shows that the Government of Indian now appreciate the seriousness of the Turkish question. It congratulates the Government of India and the Cabinet on appointing three Indian delegates to the Near East Conference. While expressing its confidence in His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. Chhotani, it expresses some doubt about Mr. Hasan Imam on the ground that he is a Shiah and that of late his political opinions have undergone a change calculated to lessen public confidence in him. It adds that the matter of selecting delegates should have been entrusted to the Central Khilafat Committee. In its opinion Mr. Yakub Hasan of Madras should also have appointed as a delegate. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also expresses its satisfaction at the appointment of the three Indian delegates to the Near East Conference. It has no doubt as to the fitness, ability and popularity of the persons selected. It, however, thinks that it would have been better if the selection had been left to the choice of the Central Khilafat Committee and if the number of delegates had been larger. The paper also complains that the Indian delegates are now being sent at the eleventh hour, and points out that the Government of India should have made arrangements for their being sent much earlier if their presence in the Conference was to be of substantial utility.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Feb.

57. "The invitation given to a number of Indian Muslims to be present in the quality of respresentatives at the coming Conference in London, at which a question which concerns the Muslims far more nearly than it does any other body of British subjects is to be discussed, is a step in the right direction, and is recognised as such. Some of the delegates or representatives—it is a little difficult to know how to designate them with precision since they owe their position to the Government's invitation, not the people's choice—are men whom we should not ourselves have chosen, but their personality does not seem to us to matter very much since the strength and unanimity of the great mass of Indian feeling on the subjects which the Conference is summoned to discuss will be sufficient to keep them straight. We have no fear in that direction. Our fear is that the Indian Muslim delegates may prove to have been merely invited to witness another outbust of ignorant fanaticism against Islam, another exhibition of the perference of the British Government for foreigners who happen to be 'Christian' over British subjects who are Muslim. Such an event would make things worse instead of better. We cannot forget that the Khilafat Delegation was encouraged to proceed to London a year ago, for a similar purpose; nor are we ever likely to forget the treatment which they met with. The truth is that, without the absolute and unreserved support of the Government of India and the India Office, the Muslims of the British Empire stand no chance against the wealth, enforced by ties of camaraderie with English statesmen and financiers and ecclesiastical flirtation with English prelates and political pietists, which foreigners like Venizelos and the Armenian propagandists wield.......... Muslims—Indians generally—are tremendously handicapped among the peoples of the Empire, not to speak again of foreigners, by the fact that the only Power they have behind them—the Government of their country—is more subservient to the wishes of the ruling clique in England than it is representative of Indian feeling. Even when it supports the demands of the latter, with a certain measure of conviction, the support cannot by any means be called whole-hearted.......... That is why it has had no weight to influence the counsels of the Empire even where the peace and welfare of the British Empire were at stake. If the Government of India would put forth the strength of India, make its whole weight felt; threatening—say, for instance—the immediate withdrawal of the Indian troops form every theatre of war, the effect would, we believe, be instantaneous and electrical. That is what we mean by whole-hearted support; and that is what 'Dominion Status' really means."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 24th Feb.

58. Commenting upon the Muslim delegation to England to explain the Muhammadan point of view before the Peace Conference, the *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the selection of Messrs. Hasan Imam and Chhotani by the Government of India shows that the latter are genuinely desirous of solving the Khilafat question in accordance with the wishes of the Muhammadans. It expresses its conviction that the significance of these two nominations would not be lost upon the Muhammadans since both these gentlemen have always opposed the Government.

India and British policy in the Middle East.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Feb.

59. "Mr. Churchill foreshadows the reduction of British commitments in the Middle East. But he tenaciously sticks to the 'mandates'. It is only when Britain renounces her economic-imperialistic ambitions and lets the Arabs manage their own affairs that there can be any real possibility of reduction in her commitments. India is vitally interested in Britain's 'mandates' for it is her soldiers who are asked to take the main responsibility in holding them. Their expenses while outside India may be paid by Britain, but India has to incur the expenditure of training them and of raising additional troops to replace them. She, therefore, is entitled to say whether the lives of her soldiers should be placed at the mercy of British imperialistic statesmen. In the King's speech an indication is given that 'the representatives of India' will also meet in England with the Premiers of the Dominions and the British Government to share in the discussions which 'will be most valuable in bringing about co-ordination in the Empire's external and internal policy.' Who will be 'the representatives of India' and how will they speak in the name of the people of India, when the latter have no voice in the direction of their foreign and military policy?"

EDUCATION.

Comments on the speech of the Honourable Sir C. H. Setalwad as president of the Annual General meeting of the Sydenham College Students' Union.
Mahrátta (8), 27th Feb.

***60.** Commenting on the address delivered by Sir C. H. Setalwad as president of the annual general meeting of the Sydenham College Students' Union, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"In his presidential address, he ventilated his furious disapproval of the cry for National education, and he laboured to prove that the aided colleges were of a national character. The thought of the Government grant received by these colleges was, of course, not very comfortable to the speaker. But he managed to summon up the required irrationality to deceive himself and others and exclaimed: 'People forget whose money is being spent. The British have not brought the money with them. It is our money. It would be interesting to learn that the annual expenditure of the country on education is something like eleven crores of rupees'. Mr. Setalwad's capacity of having confused brains seems to be wonderful. If he has a similar capacity of listening to what is reasonable, we would gladly correct him. People do not, as he thinks, forget whose money is being spent on education in India. Rather it is the conviction that 'it is their money' and that 'the British have not brought the money with them' that makes them rise in revolt against a system of education which is not to their benefit. The present education takes the money from the people and gives them nothing in return. Mr. Setalwad thinks it 'interesting' to learn that the annual expenditure of the country on education is eleven crores of rupees. His ideas of 'interesting' things seem to be curious. If he is interested simply in the sight of the big figure 'eleven crores', he will find more interesting facts and figures if he spares time to learn the military expenditure in India. For us, however, the expenditure of eleven crores on education is more frightful and exasperating than interesting. For we know that the major portion of these eleven crores have gone, neither to the spread nor to the reform of education, but to meet the demands of the Indian Educational Servants, the Educational Directors, and the numerous other Europeans who stick to the department like drones."

Constitution of the Central Advisory Board for the Education Member of the Government of India.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 27th Feb.

61. "Some time back it was announced that a Central Advisory Board would be constituted to advise the Education Member of the Government of India and that this would meet at Delhi this month. It was stated that the Board would consist largely of non-official educationists. The name of those selected were given, but as some of them had, since, accepted office as Member of Council and Ministers, it was intimated that new selections would be made in their places. It is now stated that only Mr. Paranjpye, the Bombay Minister of Education, has expressed his inability, on account of his duties as Minister, to be on the Board, and that Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Sir Surendranath Bannerj iand Mr. Mian Fazil Hussain had expressed their desire to rema in on the Board. Sir Chimanlal is now a member of the Bombay Executive Council, and the other two gentlemen are Ministers of Education in Bengal and the Punjáb respectively. We think that it will be the general feeling that the course adopted by Mr. Paranjpye is the correct one, and that that adopted by the three other gentlemen is calculated to impair the usefulness of the Broad. Sir Chimanlal's is perhaps, the most crucial case. He is an official now, and his decision to remain on the Board, deprives that body of the services of a non-official educationist. Not only that but Sir Chimanlal is an absentee from the first meeting of the Board and is bound to be often so at future meetings, as the sittings of the Board are not likely to be timed to take place during the slack administrative season in Bombay. An even more serious consideration is that Education is a transferred subject in charge of a Minister, while Sir Chimanlal is a Member of the Executive Council in charge of business unconnected with Education. The precedent is not a convenient one, and may conceivably become embarrassing to the relations between the Ministerial and official sides of Government. The first two objections apply to the case of Sir Surendranath and Mr. Hussain. These gentlemen as Ministers have their regular channels of communication with the Government of India, and the object of the Board is to get a representation of non-official opinion which would otherwise remain unreflected in the formulation of policy."

MUNICIPALITIES.

The Bombay Fire Brigade and the acceptance of monetary gifts by its members.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Feb.

62. "The Municipal Commissioner, Bombay, after exhaustive enquiries, declares it to be a fact that some members of the Fire Brigade accepted monetary gifts from certain cloth merchants who were anxious that their property should be saved from the fire which broke out at the Mulji Jetha Cloth Market on 22nd July last.......... In consequence, he is obliged to issue a warning to every member of the Brigade that he will be summarily dismissed if he can be reasonably presumed to have been guilty of any such offence, even if legal proof be not forthcoming. Such a warning as this is badly called for. While not wishing in any way to belittle the splendid work that the Brigade is doing, we feel bound to say that the practice of offering monetary inducements to members of the Brigade and the City Police, either directly of indirectly, has gone a little too far in this city and is demoralising the two forces to an unsuspected extent......... The practice not infrequently gives rise to black-mail. If the practice of bestowing such gifts is firmly discountenanced by the superior officers, the moral of the force will certainly improve and the public themselves will not feel the necessity of offering such 'inducements' to individuals to do their duty."

Alleged arbitrary action of Government officials with regard to the Junnar (Poona) Municipality.
Kesari (115), 22nd Feb.

63. That the present Municipalities do not really represent the public can be clearly seen from the example supplied by the Junnar Municipality. Here correspondence concerning the increase in the salary of the Municipal doctor was going on for many days between Government and the Municipal Committee. But before the negotiations had come to a close, Government took the amount from the Municipality's funds in the Government treasury, without so much as letting the Committee know of it. A municipality's savings are kept in the Government treasury as a deposit, and Government officers have no right to spend them without the Committee's consent. What a mockery of self-government is it when Government officers can lay hands on municipal deposits by force and spend them in the name of the committee without their consent! Mr. Joshi, one of the Councillors, condemned the action of the officers concerned and brought forward a resolution to the effect that the question concerning the doctor's salary should not be considered until the amount was refunded. But it was thrown out by the President with the help of the nominated members! To call such committees by the high-sounding name of local self-government is as appropriate as calling a dog a lion. The constitution of municipalities is shortly to be revised. Will the municipalities be the people's true representatives then at least?

RAILWAYS.

There should be State management of Railways in India.

Sind Observer (12), 22nd Feb.

64. "We in Sind have state-controlled railways only. But our position is not much better than that under company management. We suffer the same grievances as elsewhere. But we are not convinced of the utility of 'absentee landlords' like the London Boards. The question of finance mostly rests on Government, the companies' contribution being very little. Government will get money from all available markets even without the help of companies. As to stores, the big Port Trusts of India and big firms like the Tatas have no Boards in London to purchase them, and nobody can deny that they purchase as cheaply as the London Railway Boards. As to political influences we cannot see how that could be avoided. The Railway Budget must be passed by the Legislative Assembly having a great majority of Indian members. The Assembly is bound to take up questions like the wider employment of Indians, passengers' and Indian merchants' grievances, &c. Mr. Wali Mahomed Hassanally, for instance, has already sent questions advocating the abolition of reserved compartments except for women. On account of the wider political opportunities given to Indians, the railway management is bound to come under severe notice in the Councils; and we desire that on the expiry of the existing contracts with the companies the Railways should be taken over by the State. Public opinion in this respect cannot be disregarded."

NATIVE STATES.

Complaint about the prohibition by the Agent to the Governor in Káthiáwár of a public meeting at Rájkot.

Hindusthán (22), 23th Feb., Eng. cols.,

65. 'Pharos' writes in the *Hindusthán*:—"The British Government in India is again showing that it sides with Indian Princes in their contests against their subjects. It has no real sympathy with the aspirations of their people, however much it might outwardly pretend to have it. We have mentioned before how an audience at Jámnagar that had met to hear Mr. Kothari's lecture on Indian States was dispersed by the police. To protest against the forcible dispersion a meeting was called at Rajkot under the presidentship of Mr. Shukla. Now Rajkot being a civil station one would have thought that such a lecture would not only be tolerated there but rather encouraged. But, alas, that was not the case: Mr. Shukla was asked by Mr. Maconochie, Agent to the Governor in Káthiáwár, not to hold the meeting with the object of protesting there against the action of the Jámnagar Government! Now, if the Agent to the Governor takes the side of the autocratic State what will the people infer therefrom? Will they not see in it the union of one evil spirit with another?"

Complaint about the tyranny exercised over their subjects by Native Chiefs in Káthiáwár.

Gujaráti (17), 20th Feb.

66. A few incidents that have recently come to light go to show how the Indian Chiefs who enjoy the protection of the British Government and who have taken advantage of their non-intervention policy to pursue a tyrannical policy worse than that of the Czar, resent any awakening on the part of their subjects. An Indian Chief who poses as an enlightened ruler has prevented his subjects from taking part in the Kathiawar Political Conference by threats of confiscating their property. Another Chief who counts Peers of the Realm amongst his friends has the audacity to pull down people's residences to widen streets and to refuse to pay any compensation to them. In spite of his being a Hindu he has no objection to destroy temples! A third Chief does not allow his cultivators to sell the cotton they grow. He buys the cotton himself at fixed rates and sells it in Bombay and makes a profit. Only recently Mr. Kothari went to Jamnagar to deliver public lectures on the political questions of the day, but he was told by word of mouth not to deliver his lectures. A public meeting to protest against the action of the Jamnagar State was to be held at the Rajkot Civil Station, but Mr. Maconoche prevented it from being held! He seems to be under the impression that British citizens have no right to criticise the internal affairs of Native States. Many petty Native States in Kathiawar are guilty of such high-handedness as is seldom seen either in British India or in some of the bigger States. With rare exceptions people in the Native States of Kathiawar are subjected to an extreme form of tyranny. If a Chief wants money he asks for it from one of his subjects who has grown rich outside his dominions and if the money is given to him he pays no interest and seldom returns the capital. If the Chief's demand is not satisfied the Chief does not hesitate to harass the relatives of the rich man. Many of the Native Chiefs indulge in luxuries and pleasures and think that they have every right over the life and property of their subjects. Such Native States should be annexed by the British Government after making due provision for the decent living of their rulers.

*Complaint about the autocracy of the Jam of Jámnagar.
Hindusthán (22), 23rd Feb., Eng cols.

67. 'Pharos' writes in the *Hindusthán*:—"Indian States are difficult to improve; some of them are so disgustingly antediluvian, that no modern light can ever penetrate there. It appears that Mr. Kothari went to lecture about Indian States to Jámnagar. A large number of citizens had collected to hear him, but before he could speak, the police came up and dispersed the audience by force. Mr. Kothari then went to somewhere near the railway station. The audience followed him there and the lecture was delivered. These facts prove that there are many people in Indian States who want to have their States reformed. But their rulers are perverse brutes. The Jám of Jámnagar is not enlightened, although he has received his education in England. He is most unjust and autocratic. The Chamber of Princes will help him but not his people! A tragical institution indeed!"

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 5th March 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian matters.

Famine in portions of the Panch Maháls District 57
Nothing is being done for the relief of famine in Bijápur . . . 58

Bombay Legislative Council:

Comments on the Government's reply to interpellation regarding the Cadell incident 53
Comments on the inauguration of the new — by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught . . . . 49—52
The Bombay Budget for the year 1921-22 . . . . 45—48

British Rule:

All repressive laws should be repealed 8
Comments on Lord Reading's speech before Indian Students in England 11
Comments on the alleged threat to murder Mr. C. R. Das by some Europeans 13
Comments on the 'muzzling' order on Pandit Rambhujdatta Chowdhary by the Punjáb Government 10
Comments on the Nanakana Saheb tragedy in the Punjáb . . . 14
Comments on the notice served on Dr. Paranjpe of Nágpur to suspend his temperance campaign 9
Comments on the remission by Bombay Government of the fines levied on the Cities of Ahmedabad and Nadiád in connection with the disturbances of April 1919 . . . . 17 & 18
General Dyer's letter in an English newspaper on the situation in India 12
Question of Lala Harkisan Lal's appointment as Minister in the Punjáb in the House of Commons . . . . 15 & 16

Council of State:

Comments on Mr. Shastri's resolution in the — for amending certain sections of the Criminal Procedure Code 33
Comments on the debate in the — on the appointment of a Committee on the Press Act 32
Mr. Bhurgri's resolution in the — for the popularisation of Indian Universities 34
Development of Bombay: An Indian should be appointed as Director of the Development Department 59
Excise: Proposed temperance agitation in Poona City 60

E 867—CON a

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

His Excellency the Viceroy: Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's farewell address at the Calcutta Club . . . . 28—31

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught:
- Boycott of the Duke's visit by the people of Bombay 5
- Comments on the inauguration of the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught 6
- Money spent on His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit has been wasted 7
- The departure of the Duke of Connaught . . . . 1—3
- What — can do for India on his return to England 4

Indian Legislative Assembly:
- Comments on the resolution in the — regarding prohibition of export of cattle 44
- Mr. Joshi's resolution about the registration of Trade Unions in the Legislative Assembly . . . . 42 & 43
- The Indian Budget for 1921-22 . . . . 35—41

Non-co-operation:
- Comments on a private circular on the — movement attributed to the Maharaja of Kolhápur 25
- Comments on repression against the — movement in the Province of Behár and Orissa . . . . 21—24
- Comments on the policy of repression alleged to have been launched by the authorities against the — movement . . . . . 19 & 20
- Comments on the *Times of India's* article on — 27
- Complaint about the violent methods of the non-co-operationists . . 26

War:
- Appeal to the British Government to prevail upon the Allies to accept the demands of the Turkish representatives at the Near East Conference 56
- The Near East Conference and the Indian Moslem delegates . . 54 & 55

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Committee to consider the question of industrial — in the Bombay Presidency 62

Protest against the re-appointment of Sir Chimanlal Setalwad as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University 61

RAILWAYS—

Only those who are insane can look for justice from the Indian Railway Committee 63

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The departure of the Duke of Connaught.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 28th Feb.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 1st Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 1st Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islam* (58), 28th Feb.

1. The Duke's tour came to an end today. This tour has proved successful from the Duke's own point of view and that of the official classes, but it has not produced the desired effect on the mind of the people. Has the Duke been able to heal old sores and to remove the bitterness existing in the minds of the people? According to the opinion of the majority of the public the Duke's visit has not resulted in any diminution in the bitterness of the people; on the contrary such bitterness is on the increase owing to the behaviour of the officials. The Duke is not to be blamed for such a state of affairs. He has done his best to pacify the minds of the people and has failed and the responsibility for this failure rests with the Government of India. In bidding farewell to India the Duke has given two messages, one for the people and the other for the officials. He has aptly described the nature of the connection between India and England by the analogy of the frail plant growing by the side of a giant tree in the forest. The analogy drawn by the Duke is a perfectly correct one. The Duke has understood the importance of India, but it is a pity that the officials have not yet realised that England falls with the fall of India and rises with its rise. The message that the Duke means to carry to England indicates the weak spots in the British administration of India. While the officials are apprehensive of a revolt in India, the Duke has been convinced that the heart of India is sound and true and that her loyalty is untarnished. This message is full of hope. It gives the right guidance to the people of England. India is grateful to the Duke for this noble message of his. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The farewell speech the Duke made was quite in keeping with his august dignity and will be inscribed in letters of gold in the annals of India. The Duke was entrusted with the task of finding out the grievances of the Indian people and we have no doubt that we shall reap the good fruits of his mission. We require no more conclusive proof of the success of the Duke's mission than the message he is going to convey to England. It clearly implies that India has not yet received justice at the hands of England owing to her not having kept herself in sympathetic touch with India. Both England and India should lay to heart the Duke's words that England and India rise and fall together. The Duke's assurance about the untarnished loyalty of India is bound to make an impression on the English people and to strengthen the hands of the incoming Viceroy. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The Duke's parting message gives us boundless joy which has been greatly enhanced by the assurances he has given us. It is a matter for no small gratification that the Duke has recognised the justice of India's complaint that "her voice has not carried the weight it has a right to claim." The Duke desires to deal justly with India and India on her part wishes him success. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* declares that the Duke's mission has proved a success and believes that his parting message will not fail to bear good fruit.]

Indian Social Reformer (7), 6th Mar.

***2.** "The parting words of the Duke of Connaught, spoken in response to a hearty farewell speech by His Excellency the Governor, were couched in a tone of regret that his visit had not done all that His Royal Highness hoped that it might do. India has had cause for disappointment, though His Royal Highness chivalrously attributed it to his own lack of a more youthful vigour of mind and body. He had not, he said, moved among her peoples and her cities with deaf ears and closed eyes: he had seen, he had read, he had listened and he had tried to sift the grain from the chaff. And, as a result, his message to England is: that a greater effort should be made in England to understand and appreciate the Indian point of view. 'The voice of India has not carried the weight and does not carry the weight which India has a right to claim.' This is the whole contention of Indian nationalists in a nutshell."

Lokasangraha (118), 3rd Mar.

3. The 'lengthening shadow of Amritsar' pursued the Duke like a ghost from the moment he landed at Madras to the time he left Bombay, and the sound of the cries of the victims of Dyer at Jhallianwalla was always falling on His Royal Highness' ears in the midst of the tunes the bands played in his honour. This is loudly proclaimed to the world by the speech His Royal Highness made at Bombay while embarking. He has been convinced by what he saw that India is not getting a proper hearing in England. But as he had nothing in his hands which he could give to India, he eased his heavy heart by wishing her peace and plenty and wisdom to her leaders. We may tell him that India has got peace and that her leaders do not lack wisdom. It is only plenty that she does not posses. Can the Duke give us that?

What His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught can do for India on his return to England.
Kesári (115), 1st Mar.

4. 'Forget and forgive' was the sum and substance of the Duke's message to the Indian people. The British Cabinet realised that something must be done to soothe the stirred up feelings of the Indian people. But unable to punish the martial law offenders and unwilling to transfer any real power to the hands of people of this country from the close-fisted bureaucracy, they resorted to the trick of indulging in mere wordy promises and for this purpose deputed the chivalrous and generous Duke of Connaught to this country. We must say that the bureaucracy put the Duke to unnecessary trouble in choosing him for the difficult task of appealing to the Indian Nation to forget the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs. Before coming here the Duke could not have realised the uselessness of his mission. The English people are always kept in ignorance of the real state of affairs in India. And naturally His Royal Highness must have believed that the insignificant instalment of self-government now offered to the Indian people was likely to satisfy their aspirations and make them oblivious of their past wrongs. But since His Royal Highness landed at Madras he must have been thoroughly disillusioned and must have realised that all his efforts had been in vain. The 'reception' that His Royal Highness received at Madras and at Calcutta must have made him alive to the fact that India's wounds were deep and causing her intolerable pain and that mere verbal sympathy was not at all likely to heal them. His 'reception' at Delhi must have confirmed him in this view of his. But powerless as His Royal Highness was to do anything that mattered, what else could he do than deliver his empty message? Ever since his arrival in this country the shadow of the Punjab never left him. Latterly when he came to Bombay it must have haunted him more and more. When we realise with what enthusiasm he came and how disappointed he went away we have nothing but the most heartfelt sympathy for this noble and royal guest. But if the Duke came to this country empty-handed, is it anybody's fault that he should go away empty-handed? India would yet have given him a hearty send-off. But when a guest comes into your house when you are in mourning and goes away before the days of mourning are at an end, how can he expect to be sent away with full hands? In short, the Duke of Connaught has realised that his mission was useless and has declared his intention of never more taking any further part in such missions. But we may take it that he will not give effect to this declaration before he finishes the task for which he came to India. The object for which His Royal Highness visited this country may not have been fulfilled from his own point of view or that of the bureaucracy. But there is no doubt that from the point of view of the Indian people it has been fulfilled. The Duke has seen with his own eyes the real state of affairs in this country. This visit will enable him to enlighten the British Cabinet on the Indian situation. So long we have been ventilating our grievances through the National Congress and in other ways. But now the Emperor's uncle has been here, has seen things with his own eyes and it is his duty to open the eyes of the intoxicated British Cabinet. If His Royal Highness does his duty, a great deal of the country's work will have been accomplished. The Duke will have done his duty if he reads before the British Cabinet the only lesson which his visit to the country has taught him, *viz.*, that nothing but complete self-government will avail at this critical moment. We hope His Royal Highness will not fail in his duty.

Boycott of the Duke's visit by the people of Bombay.
Navjivan (72), 27th Feb.

5. Under the heading "His Royal Highness the Duke's departure", the *Navjivan* writes:—The people of Bombay have done what the Bombay Corporation did not know how to do. By observing peaceful yet complete *hartals* on Monday and Wednesday, Bombay declared to the world that the people did not participate in any way in this show of loyalty. The voluntary

boycott of the visit of His Royal Highness the Duke by the whole public of Bombay, in spite of there being no ill-feeling of any kind towards him, shows that the people have now begun to understand the essence of Satyagraha. If such an attitude were to become part of our nature, Government would be convinced in a few days that it is impossible to rule over such people highhandedly. His Royal Highness the Duke will leave Bombay to-morrow. We have particularly to see that our boycott is kept up at the same level on this day (as before) and that our calmness and firmness are not shaken in any way. For it is a matter beyond all doubt that the good old Duke, who has been a tool of the Indian bureaucracy and the wicked policy of the British Government, returns to his native land with memories of the wholesale boycott of his visit by the wounded hearts of the people at every place rather than those of the tinsel show of the engineered welcome given to him by the bureaucracy in India.

Comments on the inauguration of the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.
Sind Observer (12), 10th Feb.

6. "There is no man in India who is more abused by a certain section of the people than Lord Chelmsford—next, of course, to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer! He was called upon to resign and go, but great is his reward to-day. In the words of the Duke he can proudly say: 'For this I have striven and in this I have won.' His Excellency has seen the foundations securely laid of the edifice of *Swaraj* and history will give him a place greater than that of Lord Canning, Lord Ripon and Lord Hardinge. The word *Swaraj*, so dear to every Indian heart, has been sanctified and has received official *imprimatur* by being mentioned twice in the Royal message to the Houses of Assembly......... Some people expected that some of the repressive acts would be withdrawn on this auspicious day. It has not been done. Several considerations might have weighed with the Government......... The Duke has shown in his speech that the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly will exercise a powerful influence in the administration of the Indian Empire, which goes to strengthen our conviction that as regards the repeal of the repressive laws matters will be left in the hands of the Imperial Legislatures. Sir William Vincent's announcement that Mr. Shastri's resolution to appoint a Committee to go into the whole matter of these acts and regulations will be debated in a few days in the Council of State and it gives us a clue as to the intentions of Government. We are extremely pleased to read that the Royal Duke on behalf of His Majesty has most emphatically repudiated the idea that 'the administration of India had been or could ever be based on principles of force and terrorism'......... We sincerely echo the appeal of the Duke to India and Briton 'to bury along the dead past mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and work together to realise the hopes that arise from to-day.'"

Money spent on His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit has been wasted.
Swarájya (143), 3rd Mar.

7. The *Swarájya* considers the amount spent by the Bombay Government on the welcome to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught as so much money wasted. In its opinion the money could have been more suitably spent in relieving the distress of the poor. It is bad economy, says the paper, to incur such a heavy expenditure for a purpose which yields no return, especially at a time when the country is faced with a large deficit.

All repressive laws shuld be repealed.
Sind Observer (12), 15th Feb.

8. "The matter of repressive legislation is one upon which all shades of opinion, in which we also include the best European opinion, are agreed that it should be repealed. It would be inconsistent for the Executive to be armed with laws fit only for the old days of autocracy. .... The continuance of these laws even under the new dispensation would be tantamount to a confession that the Government has not been put on a more liberal foundation and the Executive's trust in repressive legislation is as unbounded as before. We are sure Government will not make such a sorry confession but that it would exercise broad-minded commonsense and practical sagacity. The time has certainly come when it has to unbend itself and humour the powers that it cannot subdue by withdrawing all coercive laws. The problem of India has upto now been a conflict between bureaucracy and public opinion. The old monarch of autocracy, says the Duke, has passed away. And with him must also pass away his repressive codes, statutes, and regulations with which he has fully armed himself upto now.......... Let them be withdrawn now. The bitterness of feeling in the popular mind will disappear, and people will put faith in the efficacy of the new councils.......... If the non-co-operationist should be deprived of his popularity the only way is to strengthen the authority and prestige of the Councils in the eyes of the people. That prestige will be greatly enhanced by withdrawing on their advice all these laws. The retention of these laws on the statute book is not consistent also with India's new international status. India is an original member of the League of Nations.......... Lord Haldane has also said that the question of self-determination for India is a matter of time and the King-Emperor's aim is to confer Swaraj on India. We consider, therefore, that the continuance of repressive laws on the Indian Statute Book can no longer be justified."

Comments on the notice served on Dr. Paranjpe of Nagpur to suspend his temperance campaign.

Rajakáran (131), 27th Feb.

9. Commenting upon the notice served upon Dr. Paranjpe of Nagpur requiring him to suspend his temperance campaign as it was likely to lead to breach of the peace, the *Rájakáran* writes :—The authorities who regard the temperance movement as undesirable and illegal in this twentieth century must be barbarous and shameless to a degree. A civilized nation like America has become completely dry. Even England checked the drink evil when the war was on. In India, however, it is an offence to try to eradicate the same evil ! This shows on how very unjust lines the administration of this country is now being carried on.

Comments on the "muzzling" order on Pandit Rambhujdatt Chowdhury by the Punjáb Government.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Mar.

10. "Not resting satisfied with prohibiting public meetings in most of the politically-advanced districts of the Punjáb, the Government of that province have begun muzzling prominent Congress and Khilafat workers. The latest victim of this executive absolutism is Pandit Rambhujdatt Chowdhury......... It is barely two years ago that this leader enjoyed the honour along with the other Congress leader, Lala Harkishenlal, of being declared a 'rebel' by the Punjáb Government and sentenced to penal servitude. Lala Harkishenlal is now a member of the Government which has sought to muzzle the Pandit. Such are the vicissitudes of public life in this country ! However, the Pandit's countrymen have full confidence that he will survive the muzzling order in the same way as he did the sentence of transportation for life and forfeiture of all his properties."

Comments on Lord Reading's speech before Indian students in England.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3th Mar.

11. "If Lord Reading approaches his task in India in the same spirit of reverence for justice as has characterised his career during the last few years and as he dilated on at the gathering of Indian students in London, we may assure his lordship that he will be laying the foundations of everlasting gratitude on the part of our countrymen towards him.......... It is the glaring and repeated failure of Lord Reading's countrymen in India to do justice to the people of this country, that has dried up every trace of the confidence of the latter in the professions of sympathy, liberality and impartiality of English statesmen and the bureaucracy here. Whether Lord Reading will be able to materialise the high hopes he entertains in respect of his task in India, is difficult to tell. The outlook is none too favourable. Yet we wish him every success in the endeavour."

12. Commenting upon the letter written by General Dyer in one of the English newspapers on the present situation in India, the *Rájakáran* writes:—Some Englishmen may dissociate themselves from the sentiments expressed by Dyer, but their disapproval will lack sincerity. Indeed, Dyer is at large to indulge in such writings simply because 90 per cent. of the Englishmen share his views. Had the English nation really cared for justice Dyer would have been hanged or sentenced to penal servitude.

General Dyer's letter in an English newspaper on the situation in India.
Rájakáran (131), 27th Feb.

13. Commenting upon the statement that some European ex-officers of the army have addressed a letter to Mr. C. R. Das saying that they would kill him in the event of his non-co-operation propaganda leading to the loss of a single European life, the *Lokasháhi* says that Indians will not fail to retaliate if these men really translate their professions into practice. It remarks that Mr. Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation does not mean that people should quietly allow themselves to be slaughtered like dumb animals. It asks the enemies of *swarajya* to remember that if they resort to murder in suppressing a legitimate movement, Indians will not hesitate to pay them back in their own coin.

Comments on the alleged threat to murder Mr. C. R. Das by some Europeans.
Lokasháhi (120), 28th Feb.

*14. Referring to the Nanakana Saheb tragedy, in the Punjáb, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"We are not concerned here with the exact details of the massacre. The question that rises uppermost in our minds is how far are the officers of Government responsible in this hideous matter; and we believe every one who comes to know of the heartless shooting and whacking and burning will put the same question to himself. The best and the most authorised answer would be provided if we reproduce what Mr. Lala Girdhari Lal says about official responsibility in the able and impartial report on the tragedy. Since the occurrence of the tragic event, Government has, as usual, started issuing communiques and arresting people. There has also been an insipid discussion in the Council of State where an Honourable Member was frightened into silence by Mr. Hailey as soon as he raised the point of official responsibility. Such things can never go to satisfy the people. Not only the Sikh community of Northern India but all Indians have learnt the news of the tragedy with the deepest sorrow and the greatest anxiety. Their minds will know peace only if what Lala Girdhari Lal proposed is done by Government. He says: 'In trying to see punishments meted out to the guilty, who have actually perpetrated this foul deed, they must not forget the officials, who, whether Europeans or Indians, have prompted these evil and debasing actions?"

Comments on the Nanakana Saheb tragedy in the Punjáb.
Mahrátta (8), 6th Mar.

15. "The dishonesty of the attempt in certain Tory quarters to foist the 'blame' of Mr. Harkishenlal's appointment on Mr. Montagu, in the face of facts which are open to everybody to see, is on a par with their attitude towards 'the hated Jew'.......... The *Morning Post* charges Mr. Montagu with arranging matters so that 'the most dangerous enemies of the Crown' are being given power in India, while 'the loyalists feel insulted and betrayed.' The journal does not tell us who these unfortunate 'loyalists' are and why they are not themselves voicing their sorrows, instead of leaving it to the *Post* to do this by proxy. The game of the journal, however, will deceive nobody."

Question of Lala Harkishenlal's appointment as minister in the Punjáb in the House of Commons.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Mar.

16. "Lord Ampthill is taking a strangely perverted view of the Speaker's ruling in connection with the point raised in the House of Commons about the appointment of Lala Harkishen Lal as Minister. The Speaker, in

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Mar.

deprecating hostile questions on the subject, rightly pointed out that, having just given powers to the Governor to select his own Ministers, the House should not begin by adversely criticising the appointments......... It is adding insult to injury for Lord Ampthill to speak of 'injustice or injury inflicted upon Englishmen or Englishwomen in India' in connection with an appointment which has been deliberately made as some sort of reparation for the grievous wrongs inflicted on the Punjáb by the former Government. If any 'injustice' or 'injury' has been done to Englishmen and Englishwomen by the appointment it is done to their false sense cf prestige as a ruling race."

Comments on the remission by the Bombay Government of the fines levied on the cities of Ahmedábád and Nadiád in connection with the disturbances of April 1919.

Praja Bandhu (29), 27th Feb., Eng. cols; *Gujaráti Punch* (19), 27th Feb., Eng. cols.

17. "We cannot say definitely what is this belated and isolated act of clemency, in celebration of the Duke's visit, due to, whether it has been inspired by the generosity of our Governor or whether it has been compelled by the bold and fearless stand of the Municipalities of the two great cities of Gujarát that had been asked to pay the compensation. Nevertheless we have reason to believe that it cannot be due to the former cause, otherwise it would not have been shown so tardily and niggardly. An act of clemency, if really intended to strike the imagination of a despondent people, ought to have come spontaneously and generously. There are besides the cities of Ahmedábád and Nadiád several other cities in India which have been made to pay compensation for damages done during the disturbances. Moreover, even in these two cities there are hundreds of persons still rotting in jail either at Sabarmati or in the Andamans who were found rightly or wrongly to have been involved in the momentary frenzy of those troublous times. An act of clemency extended to all these cities and persons would have more strikingly signalised the visit of the Duke. But when it is extended to places where it had to be extended, it loses all its grace and falls flat upon the public mind." [The *Gujaráti Punch*, on the other hand, remarks:—"The heartfelt thanks of the people of Ahmedábád and Nadiád will go to the Bombay Government for the remission in celebration of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to Bombay. It is an act worthy of our liberal-minded Governor, and will be much appreciated by the people at large, particularly in view of the fact that the infliction of a general fine for damages caused by a section was looked upon with general disfavour. However, we cannot help saying that the liberality of Sir George Lloyd could well have been so extended as to cover the sums already recovered, and we wish His Excellency could have seen his way to do it.......... Could His Excellency not improve upon the original decision even now?"]

Navjivan (72), 27th Feb.

18. Commenting upon the order issued by the Government of Bombay remitting the balance of the fine imposed upon the citizens of Ahmedabad and Nadiad in connection with the disturbances of April 1919, the *Navjivan* writes:—"He who wants to trace the success of non-co-operation can see it everywhere. The Municipalities of Ahmedabad and Nadiad wisely refrained up to now from paying the fine of Rupees four lakhs and a quarter which was to be recovered through them. As it could not be collected, Government, realising the situation, have declared that they have remitted it under the pretence of celebrating the visit of the Duke of Connaught. It is a question whether Government deserve to be congratulated upon correcting their mistake in this way so late in the day. But, at any rate, it is clear that this is an indirect victory of the non-co-operation movement. This victory also suggests a way to the people to make a good use of it; and that is, by means of a very small voluntary tax, to strengthen the hands of our municipality to make good to it the educational grant of one lakh of rupees which it has renounced by non-co-operating with Government. In this way the action of both the people as well as the Municipality will shine out throughout the country.

Comments on the policy of repression alleged to have been launched by the authorities against the non-co-operation movement.

Young India (14), 2nd Mar.

19. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"I have devoted a special article to the Bihar repression. Since writing it I have come across more news in the press about Bihar. And if there is no second Jallianwala in Bihar, it will be due, not to want of goading by the authorities, but to the exemplary self-restraint of the Biharis. What is there to prevent an officer from shooting an unsuspecting crowd, which he may allege, and believe, to have collected in defiance of an order? Such a thing may easily happen, and the catastrophe may go down to history, written by a government historian, as an 'error of judgment.' Repression is assuming definite shape in the United Provinces also. Public speakers are being restrained. The Calicut Magistrate has rendered himself famous by imprisoning Mr. Yakoob Hassan and his companions. But it is the expected that is happening. *Swaraj* cannot, must not, be cheaply attained. Why should not all, young and old, suffer imprisonment? It is common suffering that will indissolubly bind us together. As non-co-operation begins to tell, the authorities are bound to lose their heads. For, it is clear, that as yet there is no real desire to repent. The Duke has spoken sonorous sentiments, and it is said that, whilst H. R. H. was pronouncing these sentiments, he was visibly affected. The Council has accepted a resolution recording its regret over what happened during the fateful April of 1919, and, as if to mock us, almost at the time that these empty sentiments were being uttered, the magistrates in various provinces were hatching plots of repression. It was a most telling illustration of what is meant by wordy repentance. India to-day wants no magnanimous speech nor, for that matter, any magnanimous action. What she is thirsting for is the barest justice. She is entitled to demand the stoppage of pensions from the Indian treasury to Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer. She cannot be satisfied so long as officers who have misbehaved are still in the enjoyment of high offices. But so long as this elementary justice is withheld, so long must India continue the battle of Non-co-operation, and so long must the Government continue its policy of repression. We must treat repression as the touchstone wherewith we are to be tested......... If we are in earnest we shall go through the ordeal without losing temper. After all, we are trying the temper of the Government by refusing co-operation, but its instinct of self-preservation keeps it sober upto a point. It loses balance after that point is reached. As a rule, we respond by becoming angry in turn and so the Government feels stronger for our weakness. Non-violence teaches us that we make no response to the Government's temper. And, if we carry out the lesson in practice, the Government must lose. Repression will have lost its edge, because of our non-response, even as an arm swung in the air becomes dislocated for want of response."

Lokasatta ( ), 26th Feb.

20. The *Lokasatta* sees signs of repression everywhere in India. It declares that if the English resort to such a policy they will only be hastening the downfall of the British Empire, and remarks that if that be the wish of the Almighty, who can go against it! It points out that the war which the Indian nation is now waging is not with the English people but with the present system of administration in India. In the opinion of the paper, British rule is proving highly injurious to the best interests of Indians, and their salvation lies in bringing about a radical change in the existing system by means of non-violent non-co-operation, in spite of all threats of repression.

Comments on repression against the non-co-operation movement in the province of Bihar and Orissa.

Young India (14), 2nd Mar.

21. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"Repression is most rampant in Bihar because the officials have become daring under the cover of an Indian Governor. Lord Sinha has become a shield for official offenders. Let the reader judge from the following facts. Maulana Mazarul Huq and Babu Rajendraprasad, both well known in Bihar, were prevented from going to Arrah. A letter from a friend says: 'In the districts of Muzaffurpur, Saran and Champaran notices under sections 144 and 107 are being continuously served. Those who declined to be bound over are imprisoned. Thirty such persons have already gone to gaol. Action against others is pending. It is a matter of pleasure that some of these are old men and that the womenfolk, instead of being downcast over these imprisonments, have felt unconcerned, if not elated'.......... Now the question is: what can Lord Sinha do short of resigning? He cannot supervise the orders of even magistrates. If he did the magistrates will non-co-operate, strike, and make his position intolerable and government impossible. Therefore for the sake of, some day and in some way, serving his country as Governor, he makes himself believe that it is better for him to hold on his post than make room for an English Governor. This is but the beginning of his rule. The public will find that the Civil Service under his regime will have consolidated its power more thoroughly than under an English Governor. And this, for two reasons; the Civil Service will make a greater grievance of every restraint under Lord Sinha than they would under an English Governor, and the people would submit to wrongs more cheerfully because they would naturally want to make his regime successful. And thus the strongest Indian who could possibly have been selected for the high post of a Governor will fail not because of want of effort or ability but because of the inherent evil of the system His Excellency has been called upon to administer. It gives me no pleasure, thus, to have to criticise the rule of one for whom I entertain very high regard. But even a Gokhale would have failed had he been called upon to administer the system with the existing spirit."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 6th Mar.

***22.** "Every Indian, whatever his political complexion, is concerned in the success of Lord Sinha's administration of Bihár and Orissa. We were rather surprised at the circular issued by His Excellency's Government ordering all Government officers to embark on a counter-campaign against non-co-operation, without any reference to the causes which gave birth to non-co-operation and without any instructions to the official counter-propagandists as to how they should meet the non-co-operationist's grievance that the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs remain unredressed, and that Indians are treated as beyond the pale of civilized citizenship in the British Colonies. .... The attitude of Bihar Government against non-co-operation seems to have led them into a position regarding the drink evil, which has invoked the condemnation of journals that may be expected to be especially sympathetic to the Sinha regime."

Kesari (115), 1st Mar.

23. The prophesy that immediately after the Duke's departure the Government will launch a policy of repression has come true. In Nagpur Dr. Cholkar is being tried for sedition and meetings are prohibited for one month. Similar cases are occurring all over the country.. But Lord Sinha has surpassed all the other tyrants in this respect. He has issued a circular instructing all District Magistrates not to have any compassion henceforward on agitators. He has also threatened to take severe measures against the non-co-operation movement shortly. If there are any people who still believe that autocratic rule has come to an end in this country then they deserve to be congratulated upon their invincible blind faith!

New Times (9), 26th Feb.

24. "The new era in Behar and Orissa has opened under the Indian Governor of the Province with the working of repressive laws! Most of the orders are preventive, such as: 'Thou shalt not enter' or 'thou shalt not speak', and so on. And the most common ground for these orders is that 'a state of excitement' exists somewhere.......... In these days of strikes and student-boycott movement and the progress of the non-co-operation, any head of a district may easily construe any aspect of non-co-operation as 'a state of excitement' and cooly proceed to work the legal machinery to imprison a Yakub Hassan here, another leader there, a third elsewhere, and so on, on the mere pretext of keeping 'peace and order'......... Lord Sinha was, we believe, one of the very first men to advise the Government not to have recourse to coercive measures to combat the movement of non-co-operation but to let it die of inanition. The movement, instead of dying, has rapidly spread, securing widespread sympathy. In any cease, till the beginning of November last, when the Government of India issued their resolution they affected indifference saying they relied on the support of the Moderates and not on repression for the collapse of the movement. That plan has, no doubt, failed for the simple reason that the causes of the non-co-operation movement are deep and nothing has been done to remove them. The Government has resorted to repression, Sind being one of the first provinces to suffer. But why should Lord Sinha's province lead the repressive campaign ? "

Comments on a private circular on the non-co-operation movement attributed to the Mahárája of Kolhápur.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 6th Mar.

*25. "The *Bombay Chronicle* published on Thursday an extraordinary document purporting to be 'a private circular' which is being circulated by the Maharaja of Kolhápur among his friends and 'to those concerned'. Like the previous letter, also imputed to His Highness, and published by *Justice* (Madras), this letter, we strongly suspect, is also a concoction. The burden of the letter is that non-co-operation is a dangerous movement, that Government is wrong in not repressing it, and that at this stage of it mere repression will be futile unless reinforced by the formation of a Government party in the country districts.......... If it is true, as the letter alleges, that His Highness has been stopped from making speeches in British India, there is plenty of scope in Kolhápur, not to speak of other Indian States, for His Highness' oratorical efforts. Lastly, we are sure that His Highness is incapable of the confusion in the letter of the non-co-operation movement led by a non-Brahmin and assisted by two Muhammadan gentlemen with the Brahmin caste whose influence it is the object of its writer to undermine. The letter appears on the face of it to be a crude fabrication which, we are sure, His Highness will take the earliest opportunity of repudiating as he did in the case of the letter in the *Justice*."

Complaint about the violent methods of the non-co-operationists.
Gujaráti (17), 27th Feb.

26. When the non-co-operation movement was started, its leaders indulged in tall talk about freedom of speech, liberty of conscience and the right of self-determination; but the way in which the movement is being carried on leads us to think that its followers cannot tolerate any adverse criticism against the movement and are not prepared to allow anyone to have liberty of conscience or freedom of speech. Formerly Government used to encroach upon the liberty of the press, but a certain political party has now begun to assail the liberty of the press. People who declare themselves to be non-violent non-co-operationists refuse to give a hearing to those who are opposed to their views. The people of Ahmedabad, Surat and Nadiad have begun to complain that the non-co-operationists do not allow them any freedom of speech or liberty of conscience. Non-co-operationists are said to have harassed school and college students at Surat and Ahmedabad and at the latter place they showered words of abuse on them. People and newspapers who are against the non-co-operation movement are also being intimidated. Mr. Gandhi has openly declared that he means to put an end to the present form of Government, and the officials understand what he means and do not come in his way. But ignorant or wicked people have begun to think that the British have been defeated by Mr. Gandhi and that their administration is at an end, and so they have at places begun to indulge in highway robberies and plunder. Mr. Gandhi, no doubt, denounces such actions, but his followers do not seem to mind it and the people in general think that Mr. Gandhi's denunciation is merely verbal. They argue that if Mr. Gandhi were really opposed to the actions he denounces his followers would take care not to allow them to happen. Mr. Gandhi's motives are quite straightforward and there is sincerity in his preachings; but many persons are reluctant to join him as the masses misunderstand him and resort to excesses. Many thoughtful people have begun to give up their connection with the Congress because they have been convinced that the non-co-operation movement is likely to lead India to disorder similar to the one that at present exists in Russia.

Comments on the *Times of India's* article on non-co-operation.
Swarajya (143), 3rd Mar.

27. Commenting upon the article published by the *Times of India* a few days ago, entitled 'Deeds are Seeds', in which the paper warns the non-co-operationists that their acts are sure to produce results least expected by them, the *Swarajya* writes:—From an English author the *Times* borrows the sentence "whoso breaketh through a fence, a serpent shall bite him." We shall all do well to remember this sentence. Nature administers her laws impartially and, therefore, Englishmen run the same risk of being bitten by the snake as the Indians if they break nature's laws. While warning Indians not to break through the fence of non-violent non-co-operation, Englishmen should remember that they, too, cannot push repression and Dyerism too far with impunity.

Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's farewell address at the Calcutta Club.
Young India (14), 2nd Mar.

28. Commenting upon His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's farewell address at the Calcutta Club, *Young India* remarks:—"We cannot help feeling greatly amused by his attempts at analysis. He sees that the non-co-operators are depriving the Government of one of their stock arguments against self-determination. He, therefore, analyses their efforts and attributes their 'attention' to the 'masses' to the failure of the movement as regards the 'classes'. He makes a similar futile effort to analyse the 'Moslem aspect' of the present situation. He believes that the Muhammadans have been 'led into' the movement by their views with regard to the Turkish Peace Treaty. Hindu-Muslim unity and the unity between the 'classes' and the 'masses' are inconvenient things indeed. We shall not, therefore, deny him the little consolation he secures from his inventions. But we may point out that if he really wants his successor to benefit by his own experience he should endeavour to formulate a better analysis of the non-co-operation movement than the one he gave at Calcutta. Non-co-operation is not spread, any more than Christianity, by propaganda. If the sufferings in the arena in Rome and the Catacombs catastrophes could be called Christian propaganda, we shall agree that the spread of the present movement is due to propaganda. If the movement had relied on porpaganda it would never have begun. The gigantic propaganda machinery of the Government would have strangled it long ago. Lord Chelmsford knows that the Publicity Bureaus, subsidized journals, Anglo-Indian organs of opinion, Reuter, the foreign correspondents of English newspapers and similar innumerable agencies of propaganda have been mobilized to misrepresent and counteract the movement. Non-co-operation has spread not on account of, but inspite of, propaganda. Amritsar needed no propaganda. Khilafat was not the outcome of propaganda. Non-co-operation, no doubt, 'takes hold of grievances where they may exist.' It does something more. It tries, against tremendous odds, to remove them. We are glad that the departing Viceroy recognises that it behoves the Government to remedy the grievances. The failure on the part of his Government to do so is universally acknowledged. That failure, not propaganda, is responsible for the spread of non-co-operation. If the Government honestly wishes to remedy the grievances it knows how to do so. That it dare not. We are already perceiving the shadows of coming events. The failure to understand the present situation, plausible analysis and pious wishes spread no-co-operation—not propaganda. The shadows that are beginning to darken the country will establish non-co-operation."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 26th Feb.; *Hindusthán* (21), 2nd Mar.

29. The term of office of the most unpopular Viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, will come to a close within a month. Lord Chelmsford has ruthlessly destroyed the good atmosphere created in India by Lord Hardinge. In his speech he has cleverly omitted all reference to the occurrences in the Punjáb. His administration can only be judged by them. His serious carelessness in this matter cannot be condoned. He ought to have been dismissed at once and impeached in Parliament. He has entirely failed to do justice to the people of India. His administration presents the blackest page in the annals of the British administration in India. We are thankful to Lord Chelmsford for his frank statement of the policy of his Government regarding the non-co-operation movement. According to him it is a failure and the policy adopted by Government in reference to it has succeeded. It is too early yet for him to form an opinion about it. It is a serious mistake to believe that the non-co-operation movement has failed because all the colleges and schools are not closed. Its success or failure is to be judged by the extent to which there is a change in the views of students. There can be no doubt that the boycott of the legislative councils has been successful. The *swadeshi* movement and the spread of the spinning wheel is growing apace. The cause of the failure of the *hijrat* movement is that it was undertaken without any organization or management. It should be left to the good sense of the people to judge whether the non-co-operation movement is beneficial or harmful. But what does our experience of the last six months show? Have not the Magistrates and Collectors tried to suppress this movement by means of their autocratic powers? Lord Chelmsford further explains his policy by saying that Government will not interfere so long as their policy is successful, but that they will be compelled to interfere to preserve peace and order as soon as there is anarchy in the country. It is certainly the duty of Government to preserve peace and order. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement are as anxious to preserve peace and order as Government themselves. The great mass of the people have now understood that the success of the non-co-operation movement rests on peace and order. If the non-co-operation movement results in anarchy, we believe that Mahatma Gandhi himself will come forward to help the Government to preserve peace and order. But it is not just to throw all the responsibility of preserving peace and order on the people and to absolve the officers of Government from all responsibility however much they might be guilty of exciting the people. It is the duty of Government of India to see that Government officials, especially the district officers, avoid all acts which might tend to excite the people. The Imperial and the Provincial governments should issue special orders to all officers to the effect that they should not interfere so long as the non-co-operation movement is free from violence. It is also the first duty of every non-co-operator and every Indian who sympathises with it to preserve peace and order, even though the authorities might give cause for excitement. The non-co-operation movement will die on the day on which it is perverted into a movement of violence and bloodshed. [The *Hindusthán* also adversely criticises His Excellency's address at the Calcutta Club. It remarks that His Excellency does not seem to relish the term 'Satanic' applied to his Government. But, it adds, the remedy lies in His Excellency's own hands. If he wants to kill the non-co-operation movement, he should first remove the causes of the people's discontent and then the people will drop the term 'Satanic' and call his Government 'saintly'.]

Lokasangraha (118), 1st Mar.

30. There are only a few persons perhaps who have seen Lord Chelmsford in person. But there are millions who have sounded the depths of his heart. Afraid that they might perhaps find traces of kindness there, His Excellency opened his stony heart to them in a farewell speech at Calcutta recently. This speech is worthy of being read by every Indian as an eye-opener. His Excellency is of opinion that a change of circumstances begets a change of mind. The Government of India has often been called 'satanic', but we do not think the same description has ever been applied to His Excellency Lord Chelmsford. He may have been described as cruel, narrow-minded, indifferent, perhaps at the most, as senseless. But by his speech at Calcutta he has won for him the description of being shameless. We refer to that part of his speech where he says that the abuses which have been showered upon him have not been able to affect in any way his humorous disposition. Lord Chelmsford is convinced that non-co-operation will die a death of inanition. But still if circumstances strengthen the movement he feels confident that the members of the New Councils will help Government to kill this movement. We would, therefore,

ask the co-operators to prepare their minds to stain their hands with the blood of their countrymen, as otherwise patriotism might stand in their way!

New Times (9), 26th Feb.

31. "Non-co-operation is no longer treated with contempt; it is not 'fizzling out'; it grows from more to more; it has pervaded even the official atmosphere! Lord Sinha has already issued a Circular saying he 'proposes to initiate active measures to combat it at a very early date'; and Lord Chelmsford devotes his speech at the Calcutta Club to an attack upon the new movement. .... 'It behoves us, British and Indians,' the Viceroy says, 'to counter act non-co-operation by propaganda.' You are welcome to have an anti-non-co-operation propaganda; but you can crush the new movement neither by propaganda nor by repression. Both propaganda and repression have been at work,—with what result? His Excellency is still calling upon 'British and Indians' to 'help in combating the agitation'! 'No one could have done more than I,' says His Excellency 'to bring, Muslim view and the sentiments of the Muslim community to the attention of the Peace Conferences which have been considering the Turkish Peace Terms.' When did verbal assurances convince a country? Why will not the Government state in exact terms what it has done to present Muslim case to the Cabinet? Has the Viceroy urged that the Premier must fulfil his pledges to Indian Muslims in the War? Has he urged that a United India stands by the Indian Muslims in their demands? Has he urged that no Viceroy could be held responsible for the consequences which must arise out of a denial of justice to the claims of Islam? Has he urged that if the Cabinet would still trample upon Muslim claims, Indian soldiers would no longer be in Mesopotamia to keep the country for the British? No verbal assurances can convince the Muslims that the Government of India has done its duty by them in a matter which has profoundly stirred them.......... The Viceroy apprehends that the policy against non-co-operation may fail. 'A moment may come' he says, 'when our policy fails'. The double policy of propaganda and repression, as we have already said, is bound to fail. Then—what then? Then the Viceroy expects the 'Reformed' Councils to make only one response to the Government:—'We will support you in any action that you may consider necessary to maintain order in the country'! 'Any action' to suppress non-co-operation under the excuse that non-co-operation is subversive of 'order'! The new movement, it is true, is a big blow at the prestige of the bureaucracy; but when has it been an ally of forces of disorder? Our non-co-peration is non-violence; it is pledged to peace and order. Not by violence but by soul-force it means to make the Nation great and free. The way out of the present situation is not to adopt 'any action' to persecute the new spirit of nationality, but to come to terms with it, to respond to its demand and to rejoice in seeing India become a Nation of the Free."

Comments on the debate in the Council of State on the appointment of a Committee on the Press Act.

Servant of India (10), 3rd Mar.

32. Referring to the debate in the Council of State on the appointment of a Committee on the Press Act, the *Servant of India* remarks.—"One thing that deserves to be noted in this connexion is the claim advanced by the Home Member for the retention of the Press Act for the benefit of the Native States. The princes have, it is urged, helped the Government during war, and they must be protected from blackmail. Blackmailing, of course, every sane man will unreservedly condemn, but is the Press Act to be used for the purpose of preventing blackmailing? Why is not ordinary law set in motion to this end? Again, under cover of affording protection to princes from newspapers which abuse their power, there is likelihood of several newspapers being gagged when engaged in their legitimate function of criticising the administration of Native States. This must be averted. We must beware of such arguments, because already princes have begun to claim that no agitation must be allowed in British India in regard to any of the grievances which their subjects may feel against themselves. It is to be hoped that the Committee will not let itself be beguiled into an over-ready complaisance with such restrictions on account of a misplaced tenderness for the princes."

Comments on Mr. Sastri's resolution in the Council of State for amending certain sections of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 5th Mar.

33. We are grieved at the fate of Mr. Sastri's resolution in the Council of State for amending certain sections of the Criminal Procedure Code with a view to preventing the use of more than necessary force in putting down disturbances. It seems that the Government of India have not taken a lesson from the Punjáb atrocities and the consequent discontent in the country. Sir William Vincent, instead of accepting the resolution on behalf of Government, has ripped open old sores and insulted the Indian public by his reply. The Council has done a great wrong in rejecting Mr. Sastri's resolution. Government owe us an explanation in the matter of the fear expressed by Sir William about disturbances taking place in India in the near future. There is nothing to fear from the non-co-operation movement, but some officials have taken unnecessary alarm and have begun to adopt repressive measures. This is not a happy augury. The Punjáb atrocities owe their origin to hasty and high-handed measures, and we fail to understand why certain officials are still disposed to take similiar steps. The taking of any such steps will be doing injustice to Lord Reading and will increase his difficulties and will, moreover, nullify the good effects produced by the visit of the Duke of Connaught.

Mr. Bhurgri's resolution in the Council of State for the popularisation of Indian Universities.

Kesari (115), 1st Mar.

34. Referring to the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri's resolution recommending the popularisation of the Indian Universities, the *Kesari* remarks that their present constitution gives the bureaucracy a predominant voice in guiding their policy. It takes strong objection to and expresses its surprise at the Honourable Mr. Shafi's statement that the Universities are already popular institutions. In its opinion, unless senates are popularly elected, universities cannot be so. It is at a loss to know whether to admire Mr. Shafi's tactics or to pity the credulity of the Councillors who threw out the resolution by a majority.

The Indian Budget for 1921-22.

Gujaráti (17), 6th Mar., Eng. cols.

***35.** "The Honourable Mr. Hailey called it an *Economy Budget.* A more appropriate description of it would be an '*Alarming Military Budget*'. It is, indeed, an unfortunate coincidence that the country has started on what has been proclaimed to be a New Era under the depressing cloud of huge deficits.......... The excess revenue from Customs is more than absorbed by the deficiency in Railway earnings, and the increase in the proceeds of the income-tax and the profit on wheat purchases is more than counterbalanced by deficits in the estimated revenue from other sources. But the main cause of the huge deficit of 22·3 crores was the increase in military expenditure to the extent of 15·2 crores......... The enormous military expenditure which India has to endure is open to no independent check. The expenditure incurred in connection with military expeditions is also subject to no intelligent and effective control. The policy adopted by the Indian Government in dealing with the frontier tribes is also an unknown and mysterious factor. This continuous and heavy outlay on military operations on the frontier has hitherto proved disastrous to the moral and material progress of India, and the country at large must call upon the Government to lay before the public all the information in their possession regarding the state of affairs on the frontier. Is it that the tribes are more to blame than the frontier policy of Government? Does that policy require to be amended in order to create a more peaceful atmosphere on the frontier? Does it err on the side of meddlesomeness? These are difficult points to solve so far as the outside public are concerned. But the appalling burden that India has to shoulder from time to time on account of these frontier expeditions necessitates a very careful consideration of these questions and accentuates the urgent necessity of solving them in a more satisfactory manner than hitherto." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The Finance Member has in his statement tried over and over again to assure the public that Government have scrutinised military expenditure with the utmost care and that the total of 58·20 crores represents the irreducible minimum sum arrived at on mature consideration.......... In spite of the laboured justification that the Finance Member has put forward, it is impossible for us to view this situation without feeling great concern and alarm. It is simply monstrous that even after the war, which was waged for restoring peace and tranquillity to the civilised world, the Indian Government should allow their military expenditure to grow to such a fearful extent. The Finance Member has conjured up spectres in Central Asia, on the Indian frontier and within the country itself. Military Jingoes were responsible in the past for conjuring up the Russian bugbear and for the huge expenditure that the country had to bear as a result of these baseless apprehensions. Now the Bolshevik scare is being exploited for silencing the critics of the ruinously expensive military policy upon which Government have embarked for some years past. We for our part do not believe in it in the least. But all the same India has to suffer from the consequences of such an unproductive and dreadful drain of her financial resources. We do not attach much importance to the inquiry which is going to be made by a Sub-Committee of the Imperial Defence and a Committee of the Executive Council of the Government of India regarding the combatant strength of the Army in India. We all know what the Esher Committee has done and do not expect any substantial reduction in the expenditure as a result of the proposed investigation. We are afraid that the two Committees will more or less simply confirm the foregone conclusions of the Indian military authorities to a more or less extent and the situation will be no better than what is indicated in the present military budget." In a still further article the paper comments as follows about the additional taxation proposed to be levied :—" If military expenditure is to be kept at the high level it has attained and the deficit in the Budget is to be met by additional taxation, no serious exception can be taken to the principle on which the new sources of revenue have been selected except in two or three respects. The increase in the general tariff will, on the whole, be welcomed except by those who are adversely affected in their import trade. How far this enhancement will have a protective influence on indigenous industries remains to be seen. No objection whatever can be taken to the taxation of articles of luxury and imported liquors. But we are sorry the concession hitherto granted in the case of import of mill machinery and stores has been withdrawn and a 2½ per cent. duty put on them. The proposed increase in the foreign sugar duty has already sent up the price of sugar in the market and it is doubtful how far it will encourage the sugar industry in the country. The enhanced duty on matches, which will bring an additional revenue of 110 crores, will directly affect the poor population at large. We notice that firewood, food grains, fodder and oils will have to pay higher railway rates. Firewood and fodder have already become sufficiently expensive, and we are sorry the Finance Member has decided to put a higher rate on these necessary articles of consumption. Perhaps the same observation applies to certain descriptions of food grains and oils. The higher scale of income-tax does not touch the lower grades of incomes which are left untouched, and it is certain that the representatives of the trades and industries affected by this measure will be dissatisfied. The most objectionable feature of the proposals for additional taxation is the increase in Postal rates, especially the abolition of the half-anna postage for letters and the raising of the quarter-anna to half-an-anna. Some time ago a threat was held out that if increases in the salaries of the men in the Postal department were sanctioned, the public would be called upon to bear the burden. That threat has been carried out. The Postal department had won a well-deserved reputation for efficiency. But since the outbreak of the war, and especially during the last two or three years, it has lost it completely. Apart from that consideration, we strongly object at any rate to the abolition of the quarter-anna postcard, which had become popular amongst the masses, and also of the half-anna postage. The proposal strikingly demonstrates to what desparate straits Government have been driven by their currency policy and acceptance of an extravagant programme of military expenditure.......... It cannot be at all urged that the poorer classes have been kept out of the

sweeping net that has been spread out by the Finance Member to make both ends meet. It must not be forgotten that they will be affected to no small extent by enhanced duty on matches, increased Postal rates and also by the enhancement of railway rates on articles of necessary consumption. We hope a vigorous attempt will be made to impress upon Government the supreme necessity of retrenchment in military expenditure and removing the fresh burdens that have been laid upon the people at large."]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd and 4th Mar.

36. "The Budget is overshadowed by the currency disaster. The estimated deficit and the proposed additions to taxation are all to be traced to this one central fact—the Currency and Exchange muddle. For his critics Mr. Hailey has the usual excuse of the unrepentant bureaucrat: 'There are some people with whom it is impossible to reason'.... Mr. Hailey says: 'In our opinion there is no practical step which Government can take at present which would put an end to the trade depression and to the general feeling of uncertainty now existing.' We trust the Legislative Assembly will not accept this statement of insolvency, nor concur in its necessity or expediency. Let the Government of India repair their blunder by obtaining from the British Imperial Government the loss the country incurred in serving the Empire. Let them then define an honest standard and keep to it honestly through all the ups and downs of the market....... With all his laboured attempts at elucidation, Mr. Hailey will never succeed in making the Indian merchants forget that the Government of India gave a rupee for 16 pence when its silver contents cost them ten pence or less, but promptly disowned all their legal and moral obligations the moment the bargain became unfavourable. And they at least must make no allusions to 'commercial morality' having themselves, in less than a generation, more than once, broken their plighted troth. If the Government of India honestly commence a genuine Currency reform, they will have to abandon all connection with the British Imperial Government—civil or military—and thereby rid themselves of their perennial nightmare of the 'Home' charges.......... Will the Government adopt this gauge of their honesty? Will the Councillors suggest this measure of their own financial perspicacity? If they do not, the public will discover its own modes of obtaining restitution.......... The Budget under review is innocent of any desire to retrench or reform. Our military charges are growing; our civil administration charges are growing, our Exchange, our 'reforms'—all indicate increased burdens. Is there no room for reduction in establishment, for revision of very high salaries with a view to reduction?......... The changes in the Customs Tariff might be welcomed as they stand. But unless we are assured that they represent something more than a mere attempt to tide over a deficit, unless we know that they indicate a growing determination on the part of our Government to lend all possible help the State can to the development of our industries, we cannot extend our approval to these shifty expedients of inefficient financiers. The Customs changes announced offer no such assurances.......... But, above all, in the proposed addition to the taxes we protest most emphatically against the suggestion to increase the tax on communications.......... We regard it as no justification for the increase in Postal rates that the salaries in the Postal Department have been increased. If the Government of India must change their policy, let them at least first adopt all those labour saving devices which, like the automatic stamp machine, will offer continuous service to the community at relatively much less cost, let them extend the activities of the Department by removing the absurd restriction on the maximum weight of parcels, by improving the insurance side, by adding to the banking possibilities, and, above all, by a policy of rigorous revision of salaries in the highest grades. If they try these remedies they will have all the revenue they need without any addition to the charges on communications which no civilized Government can now afford to impede." [In a subsequent issue the paper remarks:—"How difficult it is for the bureaucracy in this country to think and act as representatives of a truly national Government is well illustrated in the lengthy and pathetic defence of the increased Customs duty on cotton manufactures which the Finance Member of the Government of India has felt obliged to make. We cannot conceive of a self-respecting

member of any of the Dominion Governments entering into such a laboured apology for any measure about to be taken by his Government. The Finance Member has been obliged to enhance the general *ad valorem* duty from 7½ per cent. to 11 per cent. from sheer necessity, that is to say, to prevent India from going headlong into bankruptcy. And yet for resorting to this act of self-preservation the Finance Member deems it proper to make an abject apology to the British public or rather the British cotton manufacturers who have been all along unduly favoured at the cost of India by the bureaucracy by means of the penalising cotton excise duty of 3½ per cent."]

Mahrátta (8), 6th Mar.

***37.** "The new year's Indian Budget shows a fearful increase in military expenditure on the one hand, and a scheme of additional taxation of a very objectionable nature on the other.......... But neither Mr. Hailey's anxious nights nor the satisfaction of the Anglo-Indian press can persuade us to reconcile ourselves with the Budget; and we have every hope that if the members of the Legislature are in any way awake to the interests of the public whose representatives they are supposed to be, they will subject the Budget, not only to a scathing criticism, but to a considerable overhauling. .... The first thing that strikes us as we look at the Budget is that the main item responsible for the apprehended deficit of 18 crores is the proposed Military expenditure.......... It would be well if a warring country or a country where Militarism prevails spends half of its resources on the provisions for the army. But India at present is neither. More than two years have passed since the termination of the war, and it is not unnatural to expect the military budget to assume its normal proportions; and considering how the cost of maintaining a soldier has doubled and redoubled itself during these years, the actual combatant strength for the post-war times must be fixed in such a way that it does not hurt the financial strength of the country. Besides India is not a country where Military activities and developments should be entitled to a preference and civil administration may be neglected. The industrial and other needs of the country are so urgent that every pie that the people can give must go to their satisfaction. These considerations are exactly the general principles which should have guided those who shaped the new year's Budget. But they seem to have been totally neglected, and we find Mr. Hailey coming forth with a proposal to spend nearly half the revenues for Military purposes.......... Again, though Mr. Hailey tells us that the Military expenditure and the policy underlying it have been subjected to a very severe scrutiny, yet he has made abundant provision for evidently unnecessary undertakings like the creation of new services such as the Royal Air Force and Mechanical transport. Also, the sum of one crore and twenty-nine lakhs which has been budgeted to cover the cost of certain recommendations of the Esher Committee seems objectionable, specially in view of the fact that all these recommendations of that Committee have not yet been carried into force. There are, however, two other suggestions in the Military budget which require to be particularly condemned. One of these is that the cost of the British troops which have been recently transferred from the Indian to the Home establishment is to be borne by the Government of India. Nothing can be more unreasonable than the use of Indian money towards the maintenance of British soldiers that live in England and are in no way connected with Indian interests. The plea of His Majesty's Government that they cannot bear the cost of these troops because they have been transferred to England at a very short notice is simply wonderful and the fact that the Indian Government has accepted the plea as reasonable is only a proof that Indians are helpless and voiceless in these matters. Even this matter, however, seems less provoking in comparison with another insinuation which Mr. Hailey has dropped in the course of his speech. In order to impress upon his audience the difficulty of the Indian authorities to reduce the combatant strength as much as desired, he tells them that this could not be done without the approval of His Majesty's Government and that the Government could not consent to any further reduction in the army, in view of the affairs in Central Asia and on the frontier and indeed in view of certain factors within India itself. What does Mr. Hailey mean by these 'certain factors within India itself'? Does he mean to suggest that the Government of India is thinking of fighting the political movement in the country with the assistance of its army? Will some lover of peace and order from amongst the members of the House press the Finance Member into an explanation of his utterance?......... With the Military expenditure as an unalterable factor, the members of the Legislature cannot do much to relieve the financial position. Given that the revenues can be estimated at 129 crores and also given that the military expenditure cannot be a pie less than 62 crores, what can the House say to Mr. Hailey's proposal of new taxation? It must say yes. Of course the details of the taxation may be modified. But there is no other alternative before the members than to consent to raise by taxation the amount necessary to convert the apprehended deficit into a slight surplus.......... It, therefore, follows that if the members of the House cannot suggest any forms of taxation other than those proposed by the Finance Member,—and we have every ground to fear that this will be so,—they will have to accept the Budget without a murmur. We would have gladly suggested to the members that they should demand a still greater increase in the *ad valorem* duty of foreign articles. But, here again their mouths have been already gagged by Mr. Hailey. He says that the increase of duty from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to 11 per cent. has been fixed only after having obtained the approval of the British Government by assuring them that the increase is in no way a matter of protective trade policy but simply a remedy to smoothen the straitened conditions of Indian revenue. This clearly means that no further increase in tariff can be contemplated. It is in the view of all these circumstances that we have prophesied that the members who sit in the Legislature are entirely helpless in Mr. Hailey's hands and that we cannot expect any important change either in his estimated expenditure or in his taxation proposals. And what will this new taxation mean? It will mean nothing but the complete ruin of the poor of the country. Out of the 19 crores which are to be raised by means of new taxes, more than $8\frac{1}{2}$ crores will be coming from increased taxes on Railways, Post and Sugar, and these are exactly the taxes which affect the poor people. The increased taxation on foreign sugar will result, not only in the rise of prices for that article of trade, but also in the rise of the cost of Swadeshi sugar and also of jaggery; and thus even if the poor man leaves off eating foreign sugar, it will not protect him from the dangers of a very high cost of living. The increment in the railway fares will also affect the poor man—and that also in more ways than one.......... The rich people will be quite safe, since the first and second class fares hardly stand any chance of increase, while the poor who have to travel third class will be the greatest sufferers. Much more oppressive to the poor than these two taxes will be the enhanced postal rates that have been proposed. The abolition of one pice card will be a literal disaster upon the poor farmers, labourers and mill-hands.......... Mr. Hailey's assertion that India has the cheapest postal service in the world is most unfounded. In England they have to pay a penny for a card, while in India we pay a pice for it. But this does not mean that we have a cheaper service. The average income of an Indian is not even 1/20th of what the average Englishman earns and to suit this proportion a card should cost 3/5th of a pie here. Any one who looks at these facts reasonably will be convinced how the raising of the quarter anna post-card to half an anna is a hard blow to the poor classes.......... It will be only the middle and the poor classes that will have to suffer the woes of increased taxation. Hence it is that we are inclined to call this Budget a mill that grinds the poor."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 6th Mar.

*38. "Mr. Hailey professed to be as unpleasantly impressed as the general public when he found that he will have to invite the new Council to begin its career by assenting to the addition of this new large burden to the crushing ones already borne by the people. Whatever his personal feelings might have been, history can hardly fail to observe that the reform scheme came at a time when the bureaucracy had come to the end of its tether and had made itself so odious in the eyes of the people that it can hardly face the world without a feeling of shame. Very few persons with minds to think with, outside the official circle, will acquiesce in the pretence that an unkind stroke of fate had led to circumstances forcing Mr. Hailey to place on the Assembly a task which would be a trying one for the Mother of Parliaments. 'Circumstances have turned against us,' he plaintively added, 'as they have turned against so many countries in the last year, and the circumstances must be faced.' They have to be faced no doubt, but the country at large is convinced that the fate and circumstances, which Mr. Hailey unctuously invokes, have been largely courted and tempted to overtake India by the measures of Government......... We are told that the announcement on the increases on import duties were received with applause. If this was the case, those who applauded must have learnt their economics at the feet of the philanthropist who prayed that he should lose the sight of one eye in order to bring into force the boon which ordained that his neighbour should get twice whatever he got. The central feature of the Budget is that 20 crores are to be raised by additional taxation, and that the bulk of the amount must come from the pockets of the Indian tax-payer who is already hard hit by high prices and by recurring famines and epidemics. The moral effect of the latter has been to create a state of uncertainty and depression, peculiarly susceptible to unsettling influences. The poor and middle-class consumer will have to pay more for his cloth, for sugar, for firewood (railway freight), for his letters, post cards and money orders. All these are more or less necessities of life to all, the last three to all except the unskilled, landless, labouring classes. The occurrences in Bengal two years ago when the price of cloth went up and had to be controlled, mainly owing to the stoppage of imports during the war, will be reproduced over the whole country. Mr. Hailey explained at some length that this was not a measure of protection to the Indian mill industry. There was really no need for this apology which was really claptrap. No industry will expand on the strength of an impost on foreign imports, which is levied to-day and may be taken off next year. The raising of the postage and railway rates is an unprincipled and immoral device. Railways and the Post Office are extravagantly administered. The mismanagement of the recent Bombay Postal strike affords an excellent object-lesson. The Budget is a thoroughly bad Budget. India lost 35 crores by the Government's manipulation of Exchange. It has now to pay 20 crores. Those who applauded this Budget must, indeed, be itching to applaud anything."

Lokasangraha (118), 4th Mar.; *Swarájya* (143), 3rd Mar.

39. The *Lokasangraha* says that the budget of the Government of India shows that the administration is proceeding at breakneck speed towards the precipice of bankruptcy. It complains that there is no other country in the world which spends half its revenue on the army alone and that it is maintained at its present strength with the object of extending the frontiers of the Empire. It adds that the country is caught in the grip of repression and taxation at a time when the so-called new era is ushered into existence. [The *Swarájya*, on the other hand, expresses its satisfaction that Government have decided to tax articles of luxury such as motors, foreign spirits, etc. The duty on cloth, sugar, etc., will also, in its opinion, benefit the country as it will tend to foster indigenous industries. The increase in Railway fares and postage rates, however, in the opinion of the paper, will not fail to impose an intolerable burden upon the people.]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 2nd Mar.; *Hindusthán* (22), 3rd Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 2nd Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 3rd Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 4th Mar.; *Akhabár-e-Islám* (58), 4th Mar.

40. The Indian Budget introduced by Mr. Hailey is a disappointing one. The Finance Member has declared that the members have no right to vote on the military expenditure. Is this *swaraj*? India is burdened with an enormous military expenditure which swallows 56 per cent. of its revenue, and still Indians are not admitted to King's Commissions and they are made to serve in the Army on meagre pittances and their comforts are not properly attended to. It is said that the Military expenditure must be kept at a high level owing to the menace in the Middle East. But who is responsible for it? Who has framed the Middle East policy? The expenses of the army of occupation abroad may be paid from the Imperial Exchequer, but it is India that paid for the training of that army. Why should India alone supply the army for upholding the land grabbing policy of Britain? Why is no help asked for from Canada, Australia or South Africa? Indian manufactures will be benefited by the imposition of a 11 per cent. import duty on foreign piece-goods, but it is not proper that such a duty should be imposed on the import of machinery. Machinery for the use of mills should be allowed to be imported free of tax. We welcome the duty on foreign liquor and articles of luxury, but disapprove of the increase in the duty on sugar as it is likely to affect the poor classes. Increase in the Railway freight on goods and in the Postal rates is to be deprecated. Increase in the Income-tax on the profits of Joint Stock Companies is likely to affect Indian industries and to retard their progress. [The *Hindusthan* writes:—The economic position of India will not improve as long as there is no reduction in the military expenditure and in the "Home charges". Mill industry in India will be benefited to some extent by the imposition of the import duty on foreign piece-goods, but the benefit has been counterbalanced by the duty on machinery required for the mill industry. The poor classes will suffer great hardships owing to the increase in the Postal rates. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also considers the Indian Budget as disappointing and disapproves of the increase in the Railway freights and Postal rates. It suggests that the increase in the Postal rates and Railway freights should be done away with and that the deficit should be met by increasing the import duty and by the imposition of preferential tariffs. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* disapproves of the import duty on sugar and lucifer matches as, in its opinion, the poor classes will be affected by it. The *Bombay Samáchár*, while approving of the increase in the import duty on foreign piece-goods, deprecates the increase in Postal rates and Railway freights. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses approval of the increase in the import duty on foreign piece-goods and believes that the indigenous industries will receive a stimulus by the protection thus afforded to them.]

Servant of India (10), 3rd Mar.

41. "The Budget proposals of Mr. Hailey would not have come as a surprise upon people who have been following the trend of financial developments in India during the current year.......... It was a bitter irony of fate that the first budget under the new constitutional dispensation should have to shew a deficit and should require the huge addition of 19 crores to national taxation.......... Members of the popular legislative chamber were confronted with a situation, military and financial, in which they could not but support Government in its proposals.......... The additional burden thrown upon the mass of the population by the increased tax upon railway traffic and even enhanced postal charges will be keenly felt, though the raising of import duties and additional taxation upon the rich through articles of luxury are unobjectionable.......... Mr. Hailey's defence of Government's exchange and currency policy will fail to convey comfort or conviction to the trading and general public. The Assembly will of course have a very difficult task before it. It will be called upon to support Government in its embarrasing position and yet it will not be satisfied with the way in which the ordinary expenditure of Government is growing with leaps and bounds. The enhancement of import duties is a move in the right direction, but the currency policy requires altogether different treatment."

Mr. Joshi's resolution about the registration of Trade Unions in the Legislative Assembly.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Mar.

42. "How the interest of 'the masses' are safeguarded by our 'representatives' in the Legislative Assembly was strikingly demonstrated by the debate on, and the fate, of Mr. Joshi's resolution on the question of the registration of trade unions............. As he said, in this matter we must follow the example of England. Not only should the status of a trade union and its officer be fixed in the eye of law, but the official should also be protected, as he is protected in England, from civil and criminal liability, in the legitimate exercise of his functions.......... Mr. Joshi would have been well-advised to demand an immediate legislation on the subject. Yet Mr. Joshi's resolution was whittled down in a most reprehensible manner, and on pretexts of the flimsiest character. Mr. Joshi represented the case of Labour very clearly and forcibly, but as it happens to our 'representatives' he easily succumbed to the diplomatic blandishments of Sir Thomas Holland—with the result that the resolution as it has emerged in its final shape is as inconsequential and useless as it could be.... The main motives which prompted Sir Thomas Holland in thus securing the whittling down of Mr. Joshi's resolution was evidently his intolerance of the 'agitator'............ As Mr. Joshi said, the employers had organised themselves into several associations to protect themselves, and to bargain for more gains, and it was but fair that the labourers must be allowed to protect themselves and to bargain for what they wanted. This was the only issue involved. But it is futile to expect statesmanship, or justice for 'the masses,' from the Government of India as it is constituted at present."

Mahrátta (8), 6th Mar.

***43.** "It really grieves us much to see how the non-official members of the Council of State put forward admirable resolutions and then allow them to be damaged by the European members anyway they like. Mr. N. M. Joshi's resolution about Trade Unions which was considered by the Council on Tuesday last was certainly one of the best resolutions of the session, and, had it been passed, it would have considerably facilitated the progress of labour movement in this country. But, as we said a short time ago, the European members nowadays find it very easy to get the popular resolutions mended in their own way by administering alternate doses of flattery and threats.......... Everyone will surely be satisfied with the way in which the resolution was framed and also with the speech which Mr. Joshi made when he moved the resolution. His appeal that the status of Trade Union and its officials must be fixed in the eyes of law, his insistence that the example of England must be followed in this matter, his subtle reference to the case of Mr. Wadia and the Buckingham Mill in which the former did not receive genuine justice simply because his activities were alleged to be actuated by political motives and malice, and his finishing stroke that if all politicians were to be whipped none, not even the members of the House, would escape punishment—all these speak of praiseworthy feelings on the part of Mr. Joshi. But his philanthropic intentions and benevolent determinations were all shattered the moment a pack of Europeans presented a frowning countenance and vehemently condemned the resolution. They suggested amendments which took the very soul out of the original resolution, Mr. Joshi accepted them quite obediently and the result was that the cause of those for whom Mr. Joshi had recently renounced a C. I. E., suffered a set-back. The fruits of half-heartedness!"

Comments on the resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly regarding prohibition of export of cattle.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23rd), 5th Mar.

44. A resolution was moved in the Legislative Assembly to stop the export of cattle. The Revenue member replied that the situation relating to the export of cattle was not at all dangerous, and added that in the last ten years the number of cattle had increased by ten per cent. Accepting his figures for the time being, we would ask whether this increase by ten per cent. is sufficient to meet the wants of India and if there is a sufficiently large number of cattle to warrant export. He also said that arrangements were made to export cattle only from those provinces where there was a surplus of cattle. Just because there is an increase of cattle in one province, the number of cattle in the whole of India cannot be said to have increased on the whole. The prices of ghee and milk might have increased owing to the general rise in prices, but who can assure us that the present situation is not due to decrease in the number of cattle? The Honourable Mr. Sarma asked Indians not to adopt a narrow outlook and not to live only for themselves. It is certainly necessary to think of maintaining the lives of other people as well as our own; but when there are not sufficient means to maintain our own lives, it would not be a wise policy to provide others from the insufficient supply at our disposal. The resolution for stopping the export of cattle has not been accepted in its entirety by the Government of India, and, therefore, it will not serve our purpose. Government must now have realized that the people

not only hold firm views on this question but that they are fully convinced that the economic life of India mainly rests on its right solution.

The Bombay Budget for the year 1921-22.

Commercial Mercury ( ), 28th Feb., Eng. cols.

45. "It is somewhat unfortunate that the first Bombay Budget under the Reformed Councils should show such a large deficit. This is partly due to the adverse conditions of the monsoon. There is a double task before the Council to obtain equilibrium of the two sides of the budget as well as to create new resources which are urgently essential to undertake the social, educational and industrial programme. We hope the Council will not fall back upon the easy expedient of floating loans which are ultimately bound to embarrass our finances. Loans ought to be purely for genuine productive expenditure and nothing else. The other way of finding funds is by taxation, and we believe that the resources of the province on that head are not yet exhausted. The conditions under which the budget has been framed being novel, the Finance Member could not be expected to be acquainted with the full taxable capacity of our Presidency. This work will have to be undertaken as soon as possible. The one obvious method of effecting economy is to reduce the establishment charges of the government. Our administrative machinery is top-heavy, and whereas other nations, since the Armistice, have been mercilessly cutting down the civil administration costs, we have been increasing them. This can no longer continue. The lower grade public servants have to be looked after, but not the higher grades who are drawing princely salaries which even in the land of the Almighty dollar are utterly unknown. Retrenchment, pure and simple, is the need of the hour."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Mar.

46. "One thing that emerges from patiently wading through a bulky volume is that the cost of supervision and administration has risen by leaps and bounds, and that it alone swallows up during the ensuing year half the revenues of the Presidency.......... The increase in the case of the subordinate services is more apparent than real, and as Mr. Lawrence admitted in the Council, the intrinsic worth of the rupee is less than eight annas—and as a local magistrate, once said, it is worth only six annas! So the corresponding benefit to the low-paid branches of the service is very much reduced.......... Even greater must the objection be to making the increased cost militate against the 'Reforms'. In a Province where formerly two members of the Executive Council sufficed, where is the need for four councillors and three Ministers, with fat salaries and allowances, and a large increase of establishment? We are reliably informed that the Government have gone on piling up the cost of establishment by making superfluous appointments and unnecessarily creating new jobs.......... The expenditure under '22—General Administration' is shown to be three times what it was in the accounts for 1919-20. We are told that this expenditure includes a lump provision of 20 lakhs 'for purchase and construction of houses for Government officers of all departments' embraced by the Civil Secretariat. But why should this amount be treated as an expenditure on a 'reserved' subject, when it very properly ought to be shown under head '41—Civil Works'? It is feared that if it were so shown, the Council would exercise its right of vetoing the expenditure on providing palaces or comfortable accommodation to fat-salaried Government officers, as not being very urgent or not necessary to undertake in a lean year? As might well have been anticipated, this camouflage has escaped notice of the Council.......... What needs to be impressed is that in view of the confusing and complex nature of the Statement laid before the Council, it is very desirable that an independent committee of the Council should scrutinise the items seriatim and after going closely into the matter, sanction only such expenditure as is absolutely urgent, bearing in mind that this is a famine year and that no expenditure should be incurred for which a clear case is not made out."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 3rd Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 28th Feb.; *Bombay Sámáchár* (61), 2nd Mar.

47. In introducing the Bombay Budget Mr. Curtis dwelt upon the necessity of economy, but he has not practised economy in framing the Budget. In the discussion on the Budget none of the elected members of the Council advanced sound arguments for retrenchment that would appeal to the people. They have wasted the time of the Council in moving the reduction of petty items of expenditure and have thus shown that they are ignorant in matters of finance. It may be said that the elected members of the Council have been straining at gnats and swallowing camels by their grudging attitude towards the low-paid Government servants and liberality in sanctioning big appointments and the increases in the salaries of high-paid officials. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—The discussion on the Budget is not at all encouraging. The members of the Council indulged in general remarks about retrenchments but have made no constructive suggestions for meeting the deficit. Much of the discussion on the high salaries paid to big Government officials was futile, for the salaries of these officials have been fixed by the Secretary of State. The Council has a great responsibility placed upon it. The members will have now to tap new sources to meet the increasing expenditure. They will also have to be very careful in their criticisms, for some of them will in future have to occupy the posts of Ministers and then their own criticisms will be raked up against them. In a subsequent issue the paper deplores the tendency shown by the members to grudge petty allowances to low-paid Government servants and the appointments of new Under Secretaries and clerks in the Secretariat. It is of the opinion that the members seem to be unaware that the new Council will entail a lot of extra work on the clerical staff of the Secretariat. The *Bombay Samáchár* dwells upon the necessity of effecting retrenchments in the Budget and draws the attention of the Council to the large sum provided in the Budget for erecting bungalows for Government officials, and asks the members to see if they cannot get the amount reduced. It also suggests the necessity of reducing the salary of the President and Deputy President of the Council.]

Servant of India (10), 3rd Mar.

48. Mr. V. R. Kothari writes :—"It is evident that the deficit is due mainly to increased expenditure on reserved departments......... The transferred departments, however, such as Education, Medical Relief, Public Health and Agriculture tell a different tale. The increase in expenditure on these departments over the revised estimate for 1920-21 is more than sixty-three lakhs; but reference to the budget figures of the same year narrows it down to about thirty-three lakhs and a half, for about thirty lakhs of the budgetted amount was not spent at all......... So in one year the expenditure on the reserved heads mentioned above has gone up by about eighty lakhs.......... The Government obviously seem to have been entrenching their position against the Reformed Councils, and the stages in the growth of expenditure on these departments synchronise with those in the progress of reforms.......... The reforms are obviously intended for the development of transferred departments, and this unfortunate tendency of the bureaucracy to demand more and more for services in general and for reserved services in particular augurs ill for the future of the reforms. Indeed, the Education Minister has secured for his own department about thirty-seven lakhs of rupees in excess of the revised figure for the current year; but out of this amount five lakhs are snatched away by the higher services, while about twenty-two lakhs go to the revision of primary teachers' pay. And the Minister proposes to make very little progress in primary education. Nor has any adequate provision been made for the educational uplift of the backward and the depressed classes. The Finance Member wants the Council to tap new sources of revenue; but Government is not likely to evoke any response to this appeal either in the Council or in the country unless the bureaucratic tendencies of extravagance are properly checked."

Comments on the inauguration of the new Bombay Legislative Council by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.

New Times (9), 25th Feb.

49. "'The great Act—the free gift of Self-Government to a People !' So speaks Sir George Lloyd of the 'Reforms.' It is a misreading of the motives and character of the Reforms Act. If it were, indeed, 'a great Act' the country would not reject it; as to its being a 'free gift of Self-Government' from England to India, the less said the better. When was self-government a 'free gift' from one nation to another? And a 'free gift' is not what a nation with any sense of honour will accept from another. India has asked for self-government not as a 'gift,' a 'free gift,' but as her birth-right; and India's grievance is that this right, the divine right, of a nation to live its own life, has been subordinated to imperial and bureaucratic interests.......... This feeling that India is not treated fairly is behind the spirit of nationality; and if it be true, as the Governor complains, that 'the spirit has brought with it a temper impatient of restraint,' the explanation is simple; no living nation but must be 'impatient of restraint' by a bureaucracy that blocks the path to Freedom. According to the Duke of Connaught, 'the three great causes of unrest and unhappiness' in India are 'ignorance, insanitary conditions of life, and great inequalities in the distribution of all that makes life worth living.' His Royal Highness forgets to ask what these three—ingorance, insanitary conditions and cruel inequalites—are due to. They arise out of the present character of the administration; they are due to the fact that the interests of a living nation are subordinate to those of a bureaucracy and an Empire. The main cause of unrest in India is irresponsible government......... The Duke speaks of 'customs and social restrictions' in India which 'impair the brotherhood and embitter the outlook of large sections of the Indian people'! There you have the stock argument of 'caste' in Indian society as an evil which, the critics say, makes India an 'unsuitable place' for large experiments in 'Reforms'!......... It is the bureaucracy that betrays the 'caste spirit' in Indian administration; it is the champions of the bureaucracy, not the nationalists, who advocate the theory of administration by a caste......... Neither the Governor nor the Duke has in his speech at the opening ceremony of the Bombay Council got near to the mind and heart of Modern India; neither has secured a careful analysis of the present unrest of the character of the non-co-operation movement; neither understands how qualified India is for Swaraj; for neither has an adequate understanding of the centuries of culture and civilization behind the present struggle for National Freedom."

Lokasangraha (118), 27th Feb.

50. The bureaucracy are on the one hand talking of high political ideals and are on the other freely making use of the instruments of repression. Any open-minded person who sees this inconsistency in the conduct of the bureaucracy will say "Will you please keep silent? You may not be tired of talking high political ideals, but you have wearied India by telling the same story over and over again. Even a child knows these principles by heart, and why should you talk of them any more when your actions give them the lie?" The speech the Governor of Bombay delivered at the opening of the local Legislative Council was of this type. His Excellency said there are two principles underlying British Rule in India: one of them is to make India gradually fit for self-government; and the other to establish peace. This peace, according to Sir George, is to be established by peaceful means only. But are the bureaucracy helping the cause of peace by sending men like the editor of the *Rangoon Mail* and Yakub Hassan to jail? The bureaucracy are sadly mistaken in their view if they still think that peace can be established in India by means of repression. It is unfortunate that they do not know that they are adding insult to the injury which they have already inflicted upon India. His Excellency would not have spoken in that strain had he remembered that the time to act up to the principles which they are so fond of avowing every now and then had come. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught did the same thing on the occasion. He appealed to the Indians to co-operate with the Government. He should have expostulated with the bureaucracy instead. Our earnest appeal to the bureaucracy is: 'You are quite competent to do what you like. The public will go their own way. But please do not be spinning out such yarns over and over again.'

Hindusthán (22), 28th Feb.

51. The speeches delivered by His Excellency the Governor and His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught at the opening of the Bombay Legislative Council deserve our praise. We have scarcely any doubts about the sincerity and sympathy of the Duke, but it must be said that he has not been able to gauge the feelings of the Indians during his recent tour. The views expressed by His Excellency the Governor were also full of sympathy. Sir George Lloyd does not merely sympathise with our aspirations but he has shown his earnestness of purpose by refraining from taking any repressive measures against political activities in the Presidency. The speeches of the Governor and the Duke, however, reflect the official point of view and not the Indian. Both the Duke and the Governor may consider the new reforms as inaugurating a new era for this country, but these reforms are considered as disappointing by the Indian people. Let us, however, hope that the officials will try to work the reforms with a view to conciliating Indian opinion. Should they think of disregarding Indian opinion, they will not be able to carry out the policy chalked out for them by the Duke and the new era will exist only in dreamland.

Gujaráti (17), 27th Feb.

52. Mr. Asquith lately declared in Parliament that the new reforms constituted a great experiment in the administration of India. It is our opinion that though these reforms do not give *Swaráj* to India, they remove the obstacles in the way of securing *Swaráj* and place India on the way to it. In the Bombay Presidency, the non-officials have a majority in the new Legislative Council. There are two Indian Executive Councillors and three Indian Ministers and thus there is an Indian majority even in the Governor's council. We shall, therefore, be surprised if the people of this Presidency fail to make use of the new reforms in their own interests. The Duke of Connaught, in opening the new Legislative Council, rightly said that the period of our waiting is over and that we have now entered into a new political life. We look forward to *Swaráj* as the goal of our political activities; but we have not yet defined it. Do we want *Swaráj* on the democratic principles of the west? Western political institutions have given rise to class differences and discontent among the labouring classes. In Russia anarchy has resulted from the domination of communists in matters political. People should, therefore, be wary against falling victims to catcha words and shibboleths. The Duke has, therefore, advised our Legislative Council to treat the labouring classes with sympathy and justice and warned them of the dangers that the Presidency would have to face if the aspirations of the people are not satisfied. The Duke has laid special stress on the need of compromise in conducting the administration. But just as the popular party is expected to "leave its own ground to seek a common ground", the officials must also give the go-bye to their ideas of prestige and show their willingness to make a compromise. If the officials do not show any willingness to make a compromise, the people, in the present circumstances, are not disposed to trust them. We have no doubt that the Duke is prompted by honest motives in giving the advice to the Legislative Council.

Comments on the Government's reply to interpellation in the Cadell incident.

Kesari (115), 1st Mar.

53. Commenting on the Government reply to the interpellation on the Cadell incident, the *Kesari* ridicules Government's statement that Mr. Cadell did not give a blow but a slap only. It asks if the bureaucracy is of opinion that receiving slaps on the cheek is nobler than receiving blows. Referring to Government's justification of Mr. Cadell's action on the ground that his midnight visitors spoke Kanarese only, though one of them could speak English, it remarks that this excuse betrays Government's mentality. It points out that Mr. Akadas also received blows when he spoke in English. Lastly, it says that Mr. Cadell's apology is only delusive since he did not offer it in writing but only communicated it orally through the Mamlatdar; it wonders how such a hearsay apology could be expected to satisfy the people.

The Near East Conference and the Indian Muslim delegates.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Feb.

54. The *Bombay Chronicle* protests against Greece being allowed to take part in the Eastern Conference being held in London and says:—"The Greeks have no real claim to any part of Turkey except that the present Government of England bestowed upon them certain regions, God knows why. England alone defeated Turkey, and has, since the defeat, needlessly humiliated the whole world of Islam by doling out the spoils of Turkey to mere jackals. It is ludicrous to pretend to suppose that even a perfectly equitable arrangement between Greece and Turkey would settle the whole question raised before the British Empire by the Treaty of Sevres. England only is responsible, and Muslims look to England only for redress. The help of Italy and France is welcome at the moment, but Muslims know quite well that it is not disinterested.......... Dr. Ansari in a telegram we lately published spoke of the battle as 'nearly won' because the Indian Muslim delegates, upon their way to England, had reached full agreement. We were filled with pity when we read the words. The battle seems to us so far from won, that we implore the Indian Muslims not to let themselves be hypnotised into a false security by their hopes of the London Conference, and the assurance of Lord Chelmsford that the utmost is being done to give effect to their views. They should rather be preparing, with the assistance of their Hindu brethren, for a fresh campaign."

Insáf (69), 25th Feb.; *Political Bhomiyo* (74), 25th Feb.

55. In the course of an article in which it approves of the selection of His Highness the Aga Khan and Messrs. Chhotani and Hasan Imam as the representatives of the Indian Muhammadans at the Near East Conference, and dwells on their qualifications and abilities, the *Insáf* remarks:—We hope that Government will show the courage of properly and satisfactorily revising the Turkish settlement in accordance with the feelings of India as expressed through these Indian representatives. This will remove the religious discontent among the Muhammadan community. [The *Political Bhomiyo* also expresses its satisfaction at the selection of Mr. Chhotani, His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. Sayed Hasan Imam and dwells at length on their fitness for the duty entrusted to them. As for His Highness the Aga Khan, it remarks that he is the most competent person among those who will take part in the Conference. It thinks that if England and the Allies make use of this opportunity for righting the wrong done to Turkey, the unrest prevailing in the world will disappear and the Muhammadans will be satisfied. As a very great part of the Muhammadan population of the world, it adds, is comprised within the British Empire, the whole world hopes that England will respect their feelings.]

Appeal to the British Government to prevail upon the Allies to accept the demands of the Turkish representatives at the Near East Conference.

Akhbár-e-Islám (58), 1st Mar.

56. Referring to the proceedings of the Near East Conference which has just commenced at London, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* declares that the demands made by the Turkish representatives are reasonable and are calculated to meet the Allies half way and at the same time to preserve the self-respect of Turkey. It is glad that both the representatives of the Sultan and of Mustafa Kemal Pasha have displayed the great farsightedness of submitting identical demands before the Conference and interprets this union of the two parties as an unmistakable sign of the ultimate victory of Islam. It adds:—We once more declare that the demands of both the parties of Turkey are just in every way and on behalf of the Muhammadan world we humbly appeal to the British Government to make good use of her immense influence to get them accepted by the Conference. We have many reasons to make this appeal. The first and most important reason is the preservation of the peace of the world. The second reason is that Muhammadans have been convinced that while France and Italy are in favour of the Turkish demands, the Government of Great Britain is against them. The third reason is the increase of the Bolshevist influence in Muhammadan countries. We boldly say that if the Government of Great Britain gets the Turkish demands accepted by the Conference, there will be no trace of Bolshevism in Muhammadan countries. Acceptance of the Turkish demands will also prove to be an effective remedy in removing the discontent in India. His Royal Highness the Duke who left the shores of our country yesterday, had come here to heal our old wounds. In honour of the memory of the visit of His Royal Highness to India, the Government of Great Britain should support the Turkish demands at the Peace Conference. His Royal Highness the Duke in his tour in India has taught to Indians to forgive and to

forget. The Government of Great Britain and the Allies, keeping in mind this lesson, should forget and forgive the fault of Turkey in joining with Germany. If Sir George Lloyd, the Governor of Bombay, who is very sympathetic towards the Muhammadan community and has made a very careful study of Moslem countries and of Muhammadan sentiments and philosophy, uses his influence to get the demands of both the parties of Turkey accepted, we have every reason to hope, after the high certificate given to him by His Royal Highness the Duke, that his advice will create a very good impression on the Government of Great Britain and the Conference.

Famine in portions of the Panch MahalsDistrict.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Mar.

57. "The Honourable Sir Ibrahmin Rahimtulla and other members of Government, as well as the public, who may be disposed to imagine that all possible efforts are being made officially to relieve distress among the population of the famine-stricken districts of our Presidency will do well to turn their attention for a moment to the actual conditions which obtain in some of the villages of the Panch Mahals District.......... Indeed, it must appear as if it were a regular part of the duty of the 'men on the spot,' to try to mislead headquarters by representing the situation as less serious than it is and the official measures for relief as more than adequate. Our experience of the Kaira and Orissa famine furnishes instances in point. The Mamlatdar of Dohad seems to be a typical representative of this local officialdom, to whom the migration of hundreds of starving people from their ancestral homesteads is nothing more than a natural economic phenomenon.......... It is the soul-killing bureaucratic system which engenders such an attitude of utter callousness on the part of local officialdom, and so long as there is no appreciable change in that system, it is hopeless to expect that local officials will discharge their duties towards 'the masses' with the sense of responsibility and humanity which they ought to exercise on an occasion like the one in question. None of the official spokesmen in the Council have yet deemed it necessary to furnish the public with the details of the measures which Government propose to take to fight the famine in the Presidency, which is growing more and more serious every day. We are told that a little over ten and a half lakhs will be devoted in the coming year to direct relief. But, if the relief operations are conducted in the same half-hearted and superficial manner as have so far been pursued, we shall be faced this year with a more serious situation than fell to our lot in 1918-19."

Nothing is being done for the relief of famine in Bijápur.
Karnátak Vaibhav (86), 1st Mar.

58. Nothing is being done in connection with the famine prevailing in the Bijápur district. The officials have not yet declared famine; and though the Commissioner, Southern Division, has been informed of the famine conditions prevailing in the four talukas of the Northern Sub-division of the District, it is stated that he is not giving any attention to the matter. The leaders of the people, too, have neglected the matter and have made no attempts to secure contributions from the famine relief fund for the district. In the meanwhile, it is reported that whatever money was available from that fund has been already handed over to those who applied for it on behalf of Ahmednagar.

An Indian should be appointed as Director of the Development Department.
Bombay Chronicle (1) 1st Mar.

59. "From all that has been said hitherto, it will have become evident that the Development Directorate is, to all intents and purposes, an irresponsible body with an officer at its head wielding autocratic powers. While Sir Lawless Hepper continues strongly entrenched in his position of virtual dictatorship over the destinies of Bombay's civic enterprise and patriotism, the Government of Bombay have adopted an evasive attitude and met the demand for more light with a studied silence. Questions were asked in the Legislative Council and instead of boldly facing them Government took refuge behind a quibbling of words, divorced from any sense or meaning......... In the light of what has happened, it is difficult for the public to avoid the conclusion that the reason which actuated Government in treating the Development business as a reserved subject, while very properly it should have been in charge of a Minister as a transferred subject, was to avoid any opportunity of effective criticism on the part of the Council, of the arbitrary and extravagant acts of the Department. We hope it is not so. Even as it is, it is supposed that the Department is in the charge of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. But there appears to be little doubt that Sir Lawless Hepper is for all practical purposes all in all. So, Sir Chimanlal would seem to be occupying an invidious position, which for an independent man can possibly have no attraction. Sir Chimanlal cannot, in these circumstances, make his influence felt either on the Director of Development or the Department itself though by the usages of a bureaucratic system of Government, the responsibility must fall on him ultimately for defending in the Legislative Council the conduct of his official subordinate.......... Assuming that the relations between the two were properly adjusted, it would still be touching only a fringe of the complaint. Sir Chimanlal is not a technical man, and it will then be as easy as it is now for the Department to thwart the intentions of the Member-in-Charge in diverse ways and perpetuate the evils that have been complained of. In order to remove all chances of undue racial favouritism, or jobbery, or arbitrary action, for which a department of such magnitude opens up many opportunities, it is necessary that an Indian should be appointed as Director. Nothing short of it, not even a Committee which will merely 'advise,' will remove the existing public discontent. There is no difficulty in finding a competent Indian to fill the post of Director. There are many Indians who possess both the technical knowledge and administrative experience in as great a measure as, if not greater than, Sir Lawless Hepper."

Proposed temperance agitation in Poona City.
Kesari (115), 1st Mar.

60. Though the Abkari Advisory Committee for Poona city has passed various resolutions in connection with the location and the closing of liquor shops in the city, none of them, it appears, will be put into force from April next. Mr. Lavate has, therefore, declared his intention to see that these resolutions are given effect to independently of the authorities, as peacefully and keeping as much within the bounds of law as possible, from the 1st of April. How far the authorities are interested in giving effect to the resolutions of the Advisory Committee is evident from the indifference shown by the Collector and the Excise Commissioner. So long as the bureaucrats had absolute control over the matter, they had their own way. But now that it is in the hands of a Minister it is intolerable that the old tyranny should continue. Even if the Minister does not introduce any new reforms, it is absolutely necessary that he should give effect to the resolutions of the Advisory Committee regarding the closing down of the two liquor shops in Kasba Peth and the Gadhikhana and the stopping of the sale of liquor on Sundays from April next. If he fails in this Mr. Lavate should persistently carry on this agitation.

EDUCATION.

Protest against the re-appointment of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 6th Mar.

*61. "Last week's *Government Gazette* announces the re-appointment of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. This is quite an unusual appointment as no member of the Executive Council has held this office for at least the last thirty-five years. We hold that the reasons against the combination of the two offices in one person are as valid now as they have been in the past. It will be noted that this departure is initiated in the first two weeks of the reformed Government, as pointing to a tendency which has to be guarded against. We should add that Sir Chimanlal has done well as Vice-Chancellor, and will, no doubt, continue to do so. Our objection is entirely on principle."

Comments on the Committee to consider the question of industrial education in the Bombay Presidency.
Kesari (115), 1st Mar.

62. The Bombay Government have appointed a Committee to make provision for industrial and technical education in this Presidency. We are not enthusiastic about Committees as nothing substantial comes out of them. This Committee, however, differs from others inasmuch as its President is not a sun-dried bureaucrat as usual but Sir Vishweshwarayya, late Minister of the Mysore Government. There are five Indian members on this Committee and seven Europeans. It is difficult to understand why Europeans should be in a majority in a Committee appointed to provide for industrial education to Indians, especially as 'Industries' is a transferred subject. The fact only betrays the unwillingness of the bureaucracy to entrust Indians with the management of even the ordinary affairs of the country. The principal work before the Committee is to ascertain the number of institutions which impart technical and industrial education and to recommend measures to develop and make them efficient. In his recently published book, 'Reconstructing India,' Sir Vishweshwarayya has recommended that every provincial Government should send at least 25 students every year to foreign countries to acquire technical education. He has also made a good many other important suggestions. We hope he will resolutely put forward his opinions and recommendations when the time for writing the report comes.

RAILWAYS.

Only those who are insane can look for justice from the Indian Railway Committee.
Mahrátta (8), 6th Mar.

***63.** In the course of a communication in the *Mahrátta* on the subject of the grievances of third class passengers, an anonymous correspondent thus complains of the behaviour of the president of the Railway Committee towards one of the witnesses:—"He did his level best to belittle and laugh out the facts and figures produced by Mr. Doraswami on behalf of the Indian Passenger and Traffic Relief Association.......... Nowhere in the world but in slave-ridden India the chairman of a public enquiry Committee would have dared to treat a representative of a recognised public body in such an overbearing, bullying manner as this. No other people in the world except Indians with their 'slave mentality' would pocket such an insult. From the very beginning of the enquiry it is seen that the chairman of this Committee has been showing off his strong prejudice against State management of railways. Even for appearance's sake or decency's sake, he is not deterred from adopting this undignified attitude. Only those who are insane can look for justice from such a Committee. And, as Government remains as dishonest and anti-Indian as ever, the Committee's majority report recommending Company management will be promptly acted upon by Government, leaving the Indian third class passengers to be oppressed by the Companies. There is not the slightest doubt about it. Oh Indian third class passengers, wake up from your lethargy! Decide at once to be non-co-operators, win *Swarájya* within a few months, and then take your revenge on Company management of Railways, which is your worst possible enemy. Do not hesitate. There is no time to lose. Waste not a single moment."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 11th March 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 12th March 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

- Agrarian matters : Failure of crops in parts of the Broach District . . 66
- Bombay Legislative Council :
  - Comments on the provision for housing accommodation for Government officers in the Bombay Budget . . . . 52 & 53
  - His Excellency the Governor's speech at the opening of the — . . 56
  - Question of Ministers' salary in the — . . . . 54 & 55
- British Rule :
  - A warning to Government 19
  - Comments on Lord Reading's speech before the English-speaking Union 20
  - Comments on Mr. J. B. Petit's proposal for a new political party in India 22
  - Comments on the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government to inquire into the question of sporting clubs 23
  - Comments on the constitution of the Deck Passengers Committee . 24
  - Comments on the orders prohibiting Pandit Rambhujdutt Chowdhari and Dr. Kitchelew from speaking in public 17
  - Forcible taking over of three Municipal school buildings at Nadiád by the Collector of Kaira 21
  - Government of Behár and Orissa and temperance. 25
  - India and Imperial Preference 27
  - Manchester and the raising of the import duty on cotton goods . . 26
  - The shortcomings of the present form of Government in India . . 18
- Co-operative Credit Societies : A suggestion for amendment of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act 70
- Council of State :
  - Comments on Mr. Shastri's resolution in the — regarding amendment of provisions in the law for the suppression of disturbances . . 34—39
  - Honourable Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas' resolution about complete fiscal autonomy for India in the — 40
- His Excellency the Viceroy : Comments on Lord Chelmsford's views on the Khilafat question and the non-co-operation movement . . . 33
- His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught :
  - Comments on the departure of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught . . . . 28—30
  - Reflections on the boycott of the Duke's visit by the people . . . 31 & 32

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ARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Indians in the Colonies: Recrudescence of trouble among Indians in the Fiji Islands 68

Indian Legislative Assembly:
- Comments on the resolution in the — regarding appointment of a Committee to inquire into causes of the non-co-operation movement 51
- The Indian Budget for the year 1921-22 . . . . 41—50

Indian Press Act:
- The policy of the new Gujarati Weekly the *Model* 64
- The Press Day in Bombay . . . . 62 & 63

Indian Reforms: The reforms and what they have brought in their train . 57

Judicial matters: Comments on the conviction of the editor of the *Rangoon Mail* for sedition 69

Non-co-operation:
- Comments on the policy of repression in Bihár and Orissa . . . 6—8
- Comments on the private circular on — attributed to the Maharaja of Kolhápur. . . . . 9—11
- Exhortation to the Indians to take a lesson from Egypt aud not to slacken their agitation till the goal is reached 13
- How Government meet the — propaganda by their counter-propaganda 12
- India is fit for the grant of *Swarajya* 15
- Non-co-operation is likely to give rise to violence 14
- Reflections on the repressive policy of Government against the — movement . . . . 1—5
- Why Mr. Gandhi thinks that people should co-operate with Government in the Census operations 16

Posts and Telegraphs: Mr. Gandhi's complaint about the stopping of a telegraphic message sent by him 65

Public Service: Protest against the dismissal of about 700 Talatis for taking part in the recent strike 67

War:
- Appeal to England to bring about a satisfactory revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty 60
- Comments on the Near East Conference at London 59
- Prospects of the modifications of the Turkish Peace Treaty. . . 61
- Reflections on the indemnity demanded from Germany by the Allies . 58

MUNICIPALITIES—

The proposed Bombay Municipal address of welcome to Lord Reading . 71

RAILWAYS—

Alledged deceitful dealings of the G. I. P. Railway with the Pandharpur (Sholápur) pilgrims 72

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Reflections on the repressive policy of Government against the non-co-operation movement.

New Times (9), 5th Mar.

1. "The tide of repression is rising! It will rise yet higher as the influence of non-co-operation becomes stronger. Repression has spread from Sind to Bengal.......... His Excellency Lord Chelmsford said in his Calcutta speech that non-co-operation must be counteracted by 'propaganda'. None need object to Government's counter-propaganda, even if it be carried on by means of aeroplanes throwing, not bombs, but counter-literature on crowds at public meetings! If the movement of non-co-operation be based on truth, it will grow by counter-propaganda. But the way in which some of the well-known non-co-operators have been treated by officials in different parts of the country show that the method the Government is pursuing to combat non-co-operation is not propaganda but repression. .... The Government propaganda against non-co-operation has not told, will not tell; and it is no wonder the provincial Governments turn to repression as the method to put down the new movement.......... What should be our attitude? How should we meet the challenge of repression? With good humour on the one hand, with courage in the other! Repression should not take us by surprise; and we must never forget that self-suffering is the price of Freedom."

New Times (9), 8th Mar.

2. "The order against Mr. C. R. Das has been withdrawn. This, however, does not indicate that there is change in the Government's policy of repression.......... And is it unfair to believe that the bureaucracy is out to launch a big campaign of repression against non-co-operation? The attitude indicated by Government in the Legislative Assembly on Saturday is not the attitude of an Administration that would come to terms with the people. Mr. Yamin Khan moved a resolution asking for the appointment of a committee to examine the causes of the non-co-operation movement; but the motion was lost!......... How will the country meet the challenge of repression? It seems to us if the campaign of repression becomes more extensive, non-co-operation will develop into passive resistance......... Civil Disobedience is, also, a mode of constitutional struggle; in cases, indeed, when an order comes in conflict with the dictates of conscience, civil disobedience becomes, for the individual concerned, a moral duty. It means self-suffering; it does not mean violence. It seems to us if Government continue to be deaf to the call of non-co-operation, the Congress will have no option but to call upon the people to disobey illegal and unjust orders of the bureaucracy. And if the Nation be ready for self-suffering and sacrifice, it will, we are sure, vindicate the moral ideal and achieve *swarâj* at an early date."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Mar.

3. "That the Duke's visit was intended to be a mere blind to cover up the glaring defects of the bureaucracy and not the raising of the curtain on the 'New Era' is becoming plainer every day, especially since his Royal Highness left the country. In Madras, Delhi, Bengal, Punjáb, Central Provinces and United Provinces, the campaign of repression has already begun, while in Behar and Orissa it is in full swing, thanks to Lord Sinha, who imagines that because he is an Indian special responsibilities rest on his shoulders to suppress the non-co-operation movement.......... We have seen how Mr. Thomas is behaving in Malabar. The Magistrate of Mymensing similarly 'sees red' in the presence of Messrs. Das and Neogi, while the Punjáb Government has recourse to the more convenient weapon of a gag under the Defence of India (!) Act.......... It is only our Presidency that is still immune, and long may it remain so as a bright example!"

Kesari (115), 8th Mar.

4. The moment the Duke of Connaught left India, repression has commenced with redoubled force. From all sides comes the news that notices are being served upon various leaders under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Bombay seems so far to be the only exception. Mr. Vijayaghavacharya and Mr. C. R. Das are of opinion that such notices are illegal.

Even the Advocate-General of Madras is inclined to take the same view. The question, therefore, arises whether it is necessary to submit to these notices. The Congress Working Committee should, in the opinion of Mr. Das, decide in favour of a campaign of passive resistance against such illegal notices. The All-India Congress Committee will of course consider the matter when it meets next at the end of this month. The reasons alleged in justification of these notices are that peace should not be disturbed and that discontent should not become widespread. Since the actions of the Government are the cause of the widespread discontent, the policy of gagging the leaders of the people who are only trying to turn the prevailing discontent into peaceful channels indicates the mental degeneracy and moral downfall of that Government.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 8th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (21), 9th Mar.

5. The whole of India has been shocked at the news of the order issued by the District Magistrate of Mymensingh against Mr. Das under section 144 of the Indian Penal Code. The order has been cancelled after it caused excitement among the people and drove them to observe *hartal* for three days. We would like to know whether Government have adopted a policy of repression against the non-co-operation movement or whether the order in question was a freak of fancy on the part of the Magistrate. The order is opposed to the policy laid down by Government with regard to the non-co-operation movement. Adoption of repressive measures in certain parts of India immediately after Lord Chelmsford's speech at the Calcutta Club makes the policy of Government still more inexplicable. It is matter for no small gratification that while section 144 of the Indian Penal Code is being used to put down the non-co-operation movement in several parts of India, the movement is allowed to proceed on its own course unhampered in this Presidency. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd deserves credit for maintaining peace and tranquility in this Presidency by refraining from taking any steps to encroach upon the rights of the people. The Duke of Connaught, in his farewell address, dwelt upon the necessity of England sending her best men to India, and we believe that we have secured a first rate man in Sir George Lloyd and trust that he will not alter the wise and statesmanlike policy he has been, so far, pursuing. [The *Hindusthán* refers to repressive measures recently adopted in other parts of India and writes :—His Excellency Sir George Lloyd deserves praise for keeping his head cool and for refraining from adopting repressive measures in this Presidency. What a low opinion must we form of Lord Sinha when we compare him with Sir George Lloyd? Had Lord Sinha possessed a cool head and a firm mind he would not have allowed Bihar to drift into its present political condition.]

Comments on the policy of repression in Bihar and Orissa.

Young India (14), 9th Mar.

6. Referring to the policy of repression followed in Bihar and Orissa, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—"No wonder non-co-operation has become in Bihar almost a statutory crime. No wonder a Bihar Magistrate has the impudence to assault an inoffensive *sanyasi* in the presence of a large crowd of admirers. I do not know that such a non-violent atmosphere was possible a year ago.......... I am hoping that the Government employees will answer the Bihar Government circular by attending non-co-operation meetings in a body and dare it to dismiss them. One can understand the prohibition against public servants not speaking at such meetings. But to restrain them from attending non-co-operation meetings, or contributing funds to national institutions, or introducing the spinning wheel, is unpardonable restriction on individual liberty; to which, I trust, the public servants will refuse to be party by complying."

Bombay Chronicle (2) (Sunday edition), 13th Mar.

*7. 'Atropos' writes :—"Whatever one may have credited Lord Sinha with, tact, legal acumen or power of advocacy or even hob-nobbing, he has never been known to be the happy possessor of imagination. An uncompromising foe of anything that does not fall in with his views, his lordship, in the full glory and effulgence of power, has inaugurated an era of repression in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. This *swadeshi* Governor, inflated like a pouter pigeon in his exalted position, has issued a circular to his officials to combat non-co-operation in a rather graceless fashion. The ebb of nationalism will not vanish by the fiat of Lord Sinha's will. He may have attained salvation but the country has not......... After the giddy breakfast in Downing Street his lordship's liver is out of order."

Lokasangraha (118), 10th Mar.; *Sandesh* (134), 10th Mar.; *Rájakáran* (131), 6th Mar.; *Swarájya* (143), 10th Mar.

8. Lord Sinha seems to have taken a vow to crush his countrymen. What can suit the English better that to put to use this tool? Taking shelter behind this black man, the white officials in Bihar have been thoroughly gratifying their desires. They are openly doing to-day what they could not have done under a white Governor. And if this black bugbear shows any disinclination to fall in with their views, they are ever ready to declare him incompetent! But this man is not an unwilling tool in their hands. Would he have been a Governor to-day if he had resigned in 1910 when the Press Act was being enacted? And how is he to repay the kindness of those who elevated him to his present position if not by thwarting the aspirations of his own countrymen? [The *Sandesh* says that Lord Sinha is not a *Sinha* (lion) but an ass masquerading as a lion. In the opinion of the paper the present system of administration is such that no one who associates himself with it, whether he be a European or an Indian, can possibly serve the cause of *swarájya*. The *Rájakáran* says that the Governorship conferred upon Lord Sinha has made him arrogant. In its opinion his regime will entail greater hardships upon the people than that of Englishmen. The *Swarájya* writes:—In Government the non-co-operationists have secured poweful allies. Although the methods of the two widely differ, the result of their activities is the same. We are receiving particularly valuable assistance from Lord Sinha in spreading this movement! And this is quite natural. After all, he is an Indian and as an Indian he cannot but sympathise with his countrymen. This our native Governor has issued a circular apparently against non-co-operation but which will in reality have the effect of spreading the movement more widely.]

Comments on the private circular on non-co-operation attributed to the Mahárája of Kolhápur.

Servant of India (10), 10th Mar.

9. "The British Government is perfectly able to take care of itself and when unable to do so, His Highness may rest perfectly assured that his loyal help will be asked for. How unwanted his assistance in this direction is at present he could very well have inferred from his being prohibited to address meetings in particular parts of the Bombay Presidency. An enlightened Prince can always find enough work in his own State not to meddle in British Indian politics, even if it were not seriously objectionable on other grounds, and for aught one knows of Kolhápur, it is not exactly a paradise, His Highness himself having peculiar views as to what is due from a ruler to a particular class of his subjects. He will be serving the interests of British India best by concerning himself least with its affairs."

Lokasangraha (118), 5th Mar.

10. If the letter appearing in His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur's name was really written by him, we think it is time that the Imperial Government should consider well whether it is safe to keep such a dangerous man on the throne of Kolhápur. Every word in the letter, saturated as it is with hatred of Brahmins and of *swarájya*, indicates the madman. And giving such a man the power of life and death over millions of lives means deliberately endangering them.

Rájakáran (131), 6th Mar.

11. Commenting upon a confidential communication alleged to have been addressed by His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur to his officers, an English translation of which appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* a few days ago,

the *Rdjakdran* says that the Maharaja is one of those people who cannot resist the temptation of making an exhibition of their wisdom even after being snubbed several times. In its opinion, for the Maharaja to presume to give lessons to the English in the art of government is as ludicrous as for a grandson to aspire to teach his grandfather as to how one should conduct himself in the world.

How Government meet the non-co-operation propaganda by their counter-propaganda.
Young India (14), 9th Mar.

12. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"The Bihar Government is illustrating the meaning of counter-propaganda by Government, referred to in his speech by Lord Chelmsford. This Government has gagged non-co-operationists of unimpeachable character and invited its officials and other supporters to conduct an unopposed campaign against non-co-operation. I understand that overzealous chowkidars announce these Government meetings in my name. The people gather, see unfamiliar faces, and most of them retire. Those who remain to listen to the eloquence of co-operators are told that if the law-courts are abandoned and the drink shops are closed, the Government revenue will suffer. Thus these co-operation speakers put a premium on drink and litigation. I have given the substance of a graphic description given to me by a most reliable worker. It is a highly probable picture. A moment's thought will show that the Government speakers must say what my informant has attributed to them. A non-co-operationist usually begins by describing the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs and demonstrating the satanic nature of the system under which we were governed.......... A Government speaker must declare the Government as the most angelic in spite of the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs, and ask the people not to give up law courts because they give justice, and not to give up drink because an occasional draught is no crime and it brings revenue to Government and enables it to conduct schools. The spinning wheel, he must contend, is an ante-diluvian fad impossible to reintroduce in our homes, and foreign goods we cannot do without till India has been educated and industrial to the extent of being able to compete with foreign markets. Thus Government propaganda must at least indirectly encourage drinking, litigation, and use of foreign goods. An honest Government, responsive to the wishes of the people, will seize this golden opportunity of allying itself with the people, thus getting rid of the drink curse, will encourage even indifferent experiments in national education as a lesson in self-help, will stimulate the desire for settlement of disputes by arbitration, and will welcome the revival of hand-spinning, if only as an aid to machine manufacture and industry in the place of idleness. A Government, anxious for the public welfare, will recognise the inner meaning of the struggle, will understand its religious nature, and, conscious of its good motive and moral strength, will be indifferent of the opposition against itself and will hail the great undoubted revival of a yearning after strength, character, and purity. But that would mean a change of heart on the part of Government which need not be expected just yet."

Exhortation to the Indians to take a lesson from Egypt and not to slacken their agitation till the goal is reached.
Sindhi (53), 2nd Mar.

13. It is rightly said that the British promises are not worth even a cowrie or the scrap of paper on which they are written. In Egypt when the non-co-operation agitation was in vogue and the people boycotted the Milner Commission the British issued a manifesto, probably with a view to deceive the people, that Egypt was about to be granted independence. The manifesto produced its desired effect. Several men began to speak in eulogistic terms of the English and called them benevolent people. The Egyptians themselves were enchanted. But the disillusion came soon after. It should be borne in mind that in politics agitation should be kept on going until rights are fully secured. We have now met with a fresh instance illustrative of the above dicta. Agitation having slackened, advantage has been taken of it, inasmuch as the report now issued by Lord Milner with regard to Egyptian independence points out that "Egypt cannot yet stand on its own legs without the help of the

British ". Whether Egyptians require help or not the British needs must volunteer such help, for on 'goras' alone lies the responsibility of the whole world! Well, the Egyptians who believing in promises and pledges had wound up their agitation are now suffering the consequences of their own action. They are wringing their hands in anguish and exclaiming, "Curse the day when being deceived we relied on the word of the Britisher in political matters and brought misery on ourselves by our own folly!" Not only the pledge of granting independence has been broken but as it appears now, a whittling down of the few rights conceded to the Egyptians by Lord Milner has also commenced, with the result that Lord Milner has resigned his post and Mr. Churchill has been appointed as the Colonial Secretary. The independence of Egypt is now a matter not to be even dreamed of. Egyptians in stopping their agitation just at the time when it was bearing fruit committed a blunder and they are ruing the consequences of their own action. We should learn a lesson from Egypt now. Those of our friends who relying on hopes are now recommending the country (India) to wind up the agitation are either under delusion themselves like the Egyptians or they wish to delude us as the British have done in the case of Egyptians. Brothers, the struggle for freedom which has once commenced should not be stopped unless and until we have reached our goal. If we stop short or hesitate a little or back out we shall have to suffer the consequences.

Non-co-operation is likely to give rise to violence.
Servant of India (10), 10th Mar.

14. "The disorders at Trichur in Cochin State which were directly connected with the non-co-operation movement should open the eyes of the blindest believer in the possibility of its continuing on non-violent lines. It is not very material whose the provocation was. The contention of the critics of the movement has always been that, however much Mr. Gandhi may try to keep it free from violence it would nevertheless result, the necessary degree of self-control being impossible for average human nature. Chaos became so supreme at Trichur that the State authorities were powerless to safeguard life or property, and British force had to step in to restore order. It shows clearly that implicit faith cannot be placed in the innate goodness of human nature. The methods followed by the Benares non-co-operators to prevent students from sitting for the Sanskrit examination and the discourtesy of vilification to which they subjected no less a person than Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, coming after all the severe admonitions of Mr. Gandhi, should suffice to convince him that his dream of non-violence, however beautiful, cannot be realised in this imperfect world."

India is fit for the grant of *swarájya*.
Lokasangraha (118), 11th Mar.

15. The grant of *swarájya* alone can put a stop to the present discontent in India. Sir William Vincent, however, is puzzled as to how India would be able to protect herself from external aggression and internal dissensions if she is given *swarájya* at once. Sir William should have been ashamed to say that India who rescued England from the German peril is not in a position to protect herself. Who is responsible for our present helpless condition? Sir William boasts that it is British power which protects India from internal dissensions as well from external aggression. We would point out to him, however, that under British rule dissensions came into being where none existed before. Is it not hypocrisy on the part of those who have always endeavoured to prevent India from becoming fit for *swarájya* to dwell on the unfitness of Indians? If the bureaucracy persists in her present methods it is futile to expect India to be ever able to protect herself so long as she forms part of the British Empire.

Why Mr. Gandhi thinks that people should co-operate with Government in the Census operations.
Young India (14), 9th Mar.

16. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"I have been asked as to whether census enumerators should co-operate with the Government by responding to Government's call. Not being clear myself, I have hitherto shirked a public answer. The spirit of civil disobedience in me has pulled me one way, my loyalty to the existing programme has pulled me in the opposite direction. My loyalty has triumphed and

I am clear that we must co-operate with the Government in the matter of the census. I am convinced that it strengthens our cause. It disciplines us in the habit of even reluctant obedience to statutory rules when they do not hurt our conscience or honour, and demonstrates the high and non-violent character of our struggle. We must resist the temptation to offer civil disobedience even when it is so great as in the matter of the census. Thousands of us have a single opportunity presented to us of showing our dislike of the existing system of Government. But the exercise of restraint at the present moment enables us to prepare for civil disobedience in future. Let us, therefore, help the Government to complete the census operations, not because we fear the punishment of disobedience, but because we are by nature and training law-abiding, and we need not as yet disobey unmoral laws, whether by way of protest or with the view of destroying the authority of the Government which no longer enjoys our confidence. That extreme step in the non-violent non-co-operation is open to us, but we recognise that the atmosphere for its working has not yet been sufficiently created, and that we may not take extreme steps whilst mild measures are open to us. I hope, therefore, that all those who may be called upon in terms of the existing law to help census operations will render the required assistance to the authority."

Comments on the orders prohibiting Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari and Dr. Kitchleew from speaking in public.

Young India (14), 9th Mar.

17. Referring to the orders passed against Pandit Rambhuj Dutt Chowdhari and Dr. Kitchelew, prohibiting them from speaking at public meetings, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India.*—"I congratulate both the receivers on the orders. The Government, I hope, will find that the movement still goes on as merrily as ever. I have already suggested to the Pandit and the Doctor that they should now write out all the thoughts worth publishing and send them to the Press and to those meetings which they may wish to attend. And they may devote to spinning a portion of their enforced leisure from talking. I would advise the other speakers also to accommodate the Government by speaking as little as possible and confining their attention to quiet organising. I know that all these gentlemen would gladly invite imprisonment by disregarding these arbitrary orders. The time for such action has not yet arrived.......... But there is the other side to these orders. Now that we do not wish to seek the protection of the law-courts, it will be idle to speculate as to the legality of their orders. Everything is or can be made legal for a Government that wishes to rule arbitrarily. But the co-operators may well bestow a moment's reflection on what is happening in India. The Indian members of the Executive Councils and the responsible ministers are as much privy to these orders as are the respective Governors. Grant that the non-co-operators are wicked persons. Are the co-operators satisfied with the exercise of the arbitrary powers against them? Mr. Raghupati Sahay of Gorakhpur might have been a Deputy Collector if he had chosen to be one. He is a cultured educationist. But he has the misfortune to have organising ability and to have a hold on the citizens of Gorakhpur. He also, I just learn from the papers, has been gagged. Nobody preaches violence in the land. Mr. Raghupati Sahay is the last person to do so. But a Magistrate under a 'Home Rule' Government has been able to prohibit him from speaking at a public meeting!"

The shortcomings of the present form of Government in India.

Gramya Swardjya ( ), 11th Feb.

18. Mr. Ramrai Mohanrai writes to the *Gramya Swardjya*:—It is an undoubted fact that an unmistakable fear of Government has taken hold of the people. The spectre of Government is frightening people in every home, every village and every city. But just as the fear of a ghost is imaginary, so also is the fear of Government; and just as a ghost is the sign of a diseased mind, so also is the fear of Government a symptom of the disease of unmanliness. Some tremble at the very idea of criticising the actions of Government while others are aghast at the notion of telling the truth to Government officials. All this is the result of the administrative policy

of Government, whose three aims are preservation of peace and order and the efficiency of the administration. The welfare of the people and the prestige of the country find no peace in the scheme of the Government of this country. The belief that Government is the agency for inflicting punishment has taken a firm hold of the public owing to the policy pursued by Government for the past sixty years, and the discontent prevalent everywhere is due to to same cause. If the Government had used their authority for the benefit of the country and helped in fostering popular movements, the people would have identified themselves with Government and would have considered it their duty to preserve Government's authority. There is a great gulf fixed between Government and people. It is the duty of Government to remove false fear. But Government do not perform this duty of theirs. If people abandon fear, unite together, follow peaceful agitation and convince Government of the helplessness of its authority the present form of Government will be changed into the democratic form.

A warning to Government.
Gramya Swarájya ( ), 20th Jan.

19. We are passing through very critical times. There is unrest all the world over. Who can say how long India will be free from unrest? Unrest is on the increase amongst the people and the economic position of the country is going from bad to worse. The policy of Government is not framed with a view to safeguard the commercial interests of the country. Government do not at all respect public opinion in matters political. A great responsibility has, therefore, devolved upon the people. The Nágpur Congress has passed the resolution about non-co-operation and informed Government that the people do not wish to have any connection with them. The non-co-operation resolution is a very significant one and is more important than it appears at first sight. When Government fail in their obvious duty, the people point out their mistakes; but if Government pay no heed, the people should resort to non-co-operation with a view to opening the eyes of Government. Should Government, however, fail to appreciate the feelings of the people and refuse to be moved by the non-co-operation movement, then the people should form their own system of administration, which is not an easy task to accomplish. Are not Government aware of the discontent prevailing in India? They must either be foolish or proud not to understand public opinion or to care for it. Be it as it may, it is now necessary to warn Government on behalf of the people. We would like to take this opportunity of warning Government thus:—Do not be led away by the advice of your officials who are sycophants, nor by the members of the Criminal Investigation Department and do not merely look to the interests of the Empire. Do not think of frightening the people by opening fire upon them or throwing bombs upon them from aeroplanes. Keep an eye on officers that are likely to give humiliating treatment to the people. If you follow a policy of repression you alone will be held responsible for it. Bear in mind that God Almighty is above temporal power and that if you do not try to heal the wounds of the people by doing them justice, the people will do what they think fit for self-protection.

Comments on Lord Reading's speech before the English-speaking Union.
Bombay Chronicle (2) (Sunday Edition), 13th Mar.

*20. 'Atropos' writes:—"Speaking, on February 13th, at the farewell dinner of the English-speaking Union at the Hyde Park Hotel, Lord Reading, the retiring President, said that he was coming out to uphold the cause of British justice in India. India does not want any particular brand of justice.......... India wants pure and simple justice as the world or comity of nations conceives it to be......... Justice to India—yes, my Lord, India wants it; and if you want to give it, be an Indian first in spirit. You can yet capture the imagination of the peaceful people of this country, if you, in the name of His Majesty the King and British Democracy, make yourself the sponsor of *Swaráj*.......... I shall later on tell you what not to do. But beware of Anglo-India. Lord Ripon had enough of it."

Forcible taking over of three Municipal school buildings at Nadiád by the Collector of Kaira.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th and 10th Mar.

21. Referring to the action taken by the Collector of Kaira in connection with three school buildings in Nádiad the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"The mere word 'non-co-operation' has become a bogey in official quarters. It is to this that we ascribe the attitude of the Collector of Kaira and the Educational Inspector, N. D., in the matter of the three school-buildings, and also that of the Minister of Education. If it were not for that bogey, the Minister at least would have perceived that, far from seeking to impede the municipality's experiment, it is to the interest of Government to give it a fair chance; since if the system of national education carried on by the Corporation independently proves less efficient than that hitherto carried on by the municipality under Government inspection, the people will object to it and it will die a natural death; whereas, if it proves more efficient, it will be a great advantage to the Presidency.......... The action of the Collector of Kaira with regard to the three schools cannot be called a measure of repression, but it is vexatious.......... The Government does not—at present at any rate—require those three school-buildings for the purposes of education.......... Government education in Nadiad needs at present only one or two rooms for a practice class, and these the Corporation would be willing to assign to them in one or other of the buildings in dispute. So, in the case of two school-buildings at any rate, the immediate aim of Government would seem to be merely to take them from the non-co-operators even at the cost of putting them out of use for purposes of education; and to put the Nadiad Municipality to expense in the hire or purchase of three other buildings." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"The three school-buildings at Nadiad have been taken over by the Collector of Kaira on behalf of the Educational Department in accordance with his ultimatum, the delay accorded to the Municipal President having expired. According to the report of our Nadiad correspondent, the Collector, supported by a force of police, entered the buildings by breaking open the locks. In view of a document from the municipal archives which has been shown to us, we doubt the validity of the Department's claim to legal ownership of those school-buildings; though we can quite understand that the Collector, being a Collector, and having threatened in his ultimatum decided action on a certain day, felt it a matter of prestige to execute his threat in an imposing manner. He would not have been a real Collector otherwise. But we are not surprised to learn that the people are incensed at his high-handed action, which, we still hope, may be repudiated by the higher Provincial authorities."]

Comments on Mr. J. B. Petit's proposal for a new political party in India.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 13th Mar., Eng. cols.

22. "Mr. Jehangir B. Petit has written a lengthy letter to the Press in which he discusses certain aspects of the present situation and urges for the creation of a new political party which he wishes to style 'the Indian Progressive Party'......... It is not quite clear what Mr. Petit means by a 'progressive' party. The Extremist party is quite progressive in its own way; but it wishes to force the pace, so that there is a danger that the engine of progress will be thrown off the rails if it is allowad to go too fast. The Liberal party is also for progress; but that progress is to be on the lines of least resistance, by safe and constitutional methods, though not at the same time unnecessarily slow and tardy. Both these parties desire progress; hence it is not quite clear what need there is for the creation of a third party whose watchword will be the same....... Writing of the Moderate or Liberal Party, Mr. Petit remarks that it is unable to command the confidence of the people because it appears to be hopelessly out of touch with the current of thought in the country. We doubt the correctness of this remark. The Liberals are not out of touch with the current of thought in the country, but it is men like Mr. Petit who will not keep in touch with the Liberals for reasons best known to themselves. We shall try to state one of these reasons quite plainly.......... We appreciate Mr. Petit's desire to create a powerful and critical opposition to the authorities in a system of Government such as is now set up in the country. But an opposition-party outside the councils

will not be able to influence the Government in any way. To create such an opposition party Mr. Petit should have launched his movement much earlier than this. If Mr. Petit really wishes to do service to his country at this critical moment, and we have no doubt of his sincerity, let him give up all petty and trifling considerations and join the Liberal ranks, for which he is by his temperament and his position in society most fitted. His enrolment in the Liberal ranks will be a great accession of strength to that party, which we are sure will welcome him with open arms. But if Mr. Petit tries to 'trim' between two parties we are afraid that between the two he will have a fall."

Comments on the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government to inquire into the question of sporting clubs.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 11th Mar.

23. The amendment effected in the Gambling Act with a view to putting down bucket-shops gave rise to Sporting Clubs which freely take bets from annas eight to rupees five hundred. There are about five hundred such sporting clubs, at present, in Bombay. Are not Government able to deal with such clubs? Will not the police be able to inquire into these clubs without the aid of a Committee? These sporting clubs are open to all and have proved ruinous to the poor classes. Government, in their recent Press Note, admit that the Gambling Act is defective. What is the Law Member of Government doing? We refuse to believe that the law is so defective as not to be able to check the evil of sporting clubs. It seems Government have not the courage to put the Act into operation. Government, in the first instance, should have closed the so-called sporting clubs under the Gambling Act and should have awaited the decision of the courts of law in the matter and then amended the Gambling Act in view of that decision. Now that a Committee has been appointed to inquire into the sporting clubs, we hope the Committee will send in their report at an early date so that the evil of these sporting clubs may be put an end to before the opening of the Poona racing season.

Comments on the constitution of the Deck Passengers Committee.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Mar.

24. "The reply of the Commerce and Industry Department to the representation made by the Indian Passengers and Traffic Relief Association, Bombay, regarding the non-representation of Indian passenger and mercantile interests is hardly satisfactory.......... The Secretary to the Commerce and Industry Department assures the I. P. and T. R. Association that the European members are included solely because they represent the most important shipping companies whose interests may be affected by the report of the Committee. But, it is strange that it did not strike the Department that the need of inclusion of representatives of the passenger public and Indian mercantile interests, whose grievances primarily the Committee has been charged to enquire into, was even greater.......... We would urge the Committee, if it is possible, to co-opt locally one more Indian member, representative of the passenger and mercantile public, wherever the Committee holds its sessions."

Government of Bihar and Orissa and temperance.
Lokasangraha (118), 11th Mar.

25. The credit of discovering the many benefits accruing from the consumption of liquor and communicating them to the people belongs to the Government of Behar and Orissa. The *Jansakti* of Silchar quotes the following from the *Behar and Orissa Gazette*:—"To-day the talk of temperance is to be heard everywhere. It would, therefore, be proper to acquaint people at this time with the value of liquor as a food and medicine. All the great men, such as Moses, Alexander, Napoleon, etc., used to partake of wine. He who takes wine with his meals does not even need much food." Well done, Lord Sinha! No Indian can be more stupid than yourself. Indians, remember that it is one of you who has ranged himself on the side of Englishmen and gives you this advice with a view to benefiting them at your expense. It does not matter much now if you get less food to eat! By drinking you will enjoy life and will also fill the coffers of Government! And you will also be able to claim the credit of imitating great men like Moses, etc.

Manchester and the raising of the import duty on cotton goods.
Bombay Chronile (1), 12th Mar.

26. "The self-regarding feelings of Lancashire have at last been roused. The raising of the duty on cotton goods imported into India has evoked a storm of protest from interested quarters in Lancashire and even the usually sane and impartial Liberal journal, the *Manchester Guardian*, has joined the selfish and insane cry.......... And the cutcry was anticipated by the Finance Member who, as we pointed out the other day, felt himself obliged to enter into a lengthy and pathetic defence of the enhanced duty. .... Lancashire has taken advantage of this apologetic defence and suggests that if revenue is the only consideration, then the course is to raise the countervailing excise duty to the same level; which means that what Lancashire really wants is that the Indian cotton industry should continue to be placed at a disadvantage in competing with Manchester cotton goods. A more barefaced assertion of the claim that India is a British possession which should be exploited in the interests of the British people, whatever the resulting harm to its people, could not be imagined.......... In 1917, when the import duty was raised from 3½ per cent. to 7½ per cent., and the excise duty was allowed to remain at the old figure, a similar outcry was raised. But then Britain was in need of India's help in the war and a 'gift' of £100 million was extracted from her. So Parliament thought it better not to exercise its power."

India and Imperial Preference.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Mar.

27. "Mr. Montagu announces that he is appointing a commission to examine with reference to all interests concerned the future fiscal policy of the Government of India, 'including the desirability of adopting the principle of Imperial preference.' With reference to this statement we must say at once that so long as India is not permitted to enjoy full fiscal autonomy to the extent to which the Dominions and Great Britain enjoy it at present, all talk of Imperial preference in connection with this country will be futile and an outrage on national self-respect. India's experience, so far, of her inter-Imperial economic relations has been 'one of heads I win and tails you lose'—all the benefits accruing to her 'partners in the Empire' and all the sacrifices falling to her lot. Therefore, so long as she is not in a position to insist on choosing what is good for her and rejecting what is detrimental to her interests, India cannot voluntarily participate in any scheme of so-called Imperial preference."

Comments on the departure of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught.
Gujarati Punch (19), 6th Mar.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 6th Mar.

28. The Duke's farewell address is the best and most valuable of all the impressive speeches he delivered during his visit to India. It makes it quite clear that the Duke loves India, and it will be engraved in letters of gold in the annals of our history. The Duke has great faith in the future of the new councils and, considered from his own viewpoint, his verdict in the matter deserves to be respected. We are quite in accord with the Duke in thinking that England and India are inseparably bound together and that they rise and fall together. The message that the Duke means to convey to England gives us ample proof that he kept his eyes and ears open during his visit. His bold and sympathetic pronouncement has endeared him to the Indian people and they will always cherish his memory with love and gratitude. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—We are deeply indebted to the Duke for the message he means to convey to England and hope that the message will have the desired effect of inducing that country to give due weight to the voice of India. The Duke's visit will be considered as an unqualified success if his message bears the expected fruit.]

Praja Bandhu (29), 6th Mar., Eng. cols.; *New Times* (9), 2nd Mar.

29. "We rejoice that even at the eleventh hour His Royal Highness grasped the central point of India's grievances, and gave expression to it in befitting terms. We cannot, however, equally rejoice at the solution he is to suggest to England on his arrival there. He will say: 'Send her your best—your second best will not be good enough—and you need have no doubt or misgiving as to the course of your future partnership.' We are firmly of opinion—and we dare say every right thinking Indian will agree with us—that even the very best, not to say of the best, men of England will not be able to solve the manifold and deep-rooted grievances of India. She demands, and demands emphatically, the strings of her destinies in her own hands. Until, therefore, they are vouchsafed unto her, she will know no rest and continue in her present activity with ever-growing zeal and vigour. We wish the Duke would deliver this message to England, and if he is pleased to do that his visit to India at his age in life would not go in vain in the eyes of the future impartial historian." [The *New Times* remarks:—"The fact that the policy of repression has been set on foot by the executive officials and that Lord Sinha has given *carte blanche* to his subordinates is a shameful repudiation of the Duke's view that the loyalty of India is untarnished. The policy of repression is a policy of distrust and suspicion; it is a policy which stands condemned when a young patriotic graduate like Kazi Abdul Rahman is sent to rigorous imprisonment and a man like Yakub Hassan is clapped into jail, and man like Lala Lajpat Rai and Pandit Ram Bhuj Dutt Chaudhri are prohibited from making speeches or entering certain areas. The Duke confessed that 'greater effort must be made in England to understand and appreciate the spirit of India'. To 'understand and appreciate' the 'spirit of India' is to recognise her right to *Swaraj*, the right to live out her life according to her own ideals."]

Sánj Vartamán (32), 9th Mar., Eng. cols.

30. Referring to the message which His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught proposes to convey to the people of England, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—"These words, we need hardly say, ring sound and true and express the barest truth, said in sonorous and heart-stirring language. If England listens to this message conveyed to her by the mouth of the most respected member of the Royal Family, by one who knows what he says and whose words are well pondered before they are uttered, then, most assuredly, the dawn of the New Era will be heralded in India. What India wants amongst the British Commonwealth of Nations is equality and co-partnership......... If the Duke succeeds in driving this point home, he will then have rendered the greatest possible service to this country. In the meantime we wish him Godspeed and patiently await for developments which are sure to be brought about as the result of the Royal visit."

Reflections on the boycott of the Duke's visit by the people.

Model ( ), 6th Mar.

31. India has not been able to secure justice in the matter of the Khilafat and the Punjáb affairs, the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and the seditious meetings Act continue to disgrace the Statute Book and to cast aspersions on the loyalty of the Indian people. The hearts of the people are weighed down with discontent and grief, and in these circumstances they have not been able to accord a hearty welcome to the Duke of Connaught. In spite of external show and official engineering of the welcome accorded to him, the Duke has come to realise that he was not accorded a warm welcome. The public in general had to boycott the Duke to show him that they were afflicted with grief on account of the injustice done to them. The Parsi community took part in welcoming the Duke and so their conduct appears inexplicable to those who know that they sympathise with the Hindus and the Muhammadans. We are glad that the non-violent non-co-operation organised by Mr. Gandhi has achieved a triumph so far as the Duke's visit was concerned.

Muslim Herald (165), 11th Mar.

32. Commenting upon His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught's visit to India the *Muslim Herald* remarks that people expected a great deal from his visit, *e. g.*, they thought that peace would prevail throughout the country, that rewards would be bestowed, that high offices would be offered to Indians and that low prices would become the order of the day. But on the other hand, adds the journal, the new Budget, which was presented immediately after the Duke's departure, makes provision for new taxes, causing thereby a further rise in prices in certain necessaries of life. People think, remarks the paper, that prices have gone up as a punishment because people had refrained from giving the Duke a suitable welcome. It discards such a notion and declares that His Royal Highness the Duke's Mission was quite different and had nothing to do either with the Budget or with high prices. He concludes by saying that it is in the nature of the Indians to look upon their King as their *ma bap* and it is but natural to expect boons from the parents.

Comments on Lord Chelmsford's views on the Khilafat question and the non-co-operation movement.

Young India (14), 9th Mar.

33. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"His Excellency the Viceroy has made two important declarations, one on the Khilafat and the other on non-co-operation and the policy of the Government arising from it. On the Khilafat His Excellency has given an exact indication of the Government mentality. He thinks that he has discharged his responsibility fully towards the Muslims of India by pressing their claim. Whereas, the Indian contention is that, on a matter so vital to the Muslims, he should have resigned when he found that the Imperial Government had disallowed the Indian claim. Nobody accepts the plea of Britain's helplessness at the Council table of the League of Nations. The public may also recall the fact that, when the terms of the treaty of Sevres were published, the Viceroy entered upon an elaborate defence of the part played by the Premier. How comes it, then, that he finds himself, again, pleading the Muslim cause! Would he have done so if there had been no non-co-operation? And what has he to say even now? If the claim is disallowed and non-co-operation is still pursued, he assumes that anarchy will be the result. Therefore, the Government, he threatens, will step in to restore order. We know what 'restoring' order means. His Excellency forgets that, if there is anarchy in India, it would be due to the criminal breach of their duty, both by the Imperial and the Indian Governments, towards the three hundred millions of the people of India. A Viceroy may be satisfied with merely pleading the case of India. Can India be satisfied? Can a man who is dying of hunger be satisfied with mere sympathy, especially, when he knows that the sympathiser can give more than mere sympathy?......... The treaty of Sevres is a breach of solemn pledges and the ordinary canons of honour. One who sincerely sympathises with a starving man is presumed to share such sufferings, and is not expected to shoot him when the latter shows symptoms of becoming mad through the pangs of hunger. The responsibility for anarchy, if it does overtake India, will, therefore, rest with the Indian Government and with those who support it in spite of its wrongs, not upon those who refuse to perform its wrongs, not upon those who refuse to perform the impossible task of making people forget vital wrongs and try to direct their anger in a proper channel. His Excellency wonders at the discription of the Government as satanic. He is wrong in adopting the description for himself. For nobody has accused individuals of being satanic.......... But the system that the Viceroy and his colleagues, whether Indian or English, administer, possesses all the attributes of Satan—deceitfulness, hypocrisy, unscrupulousness, and unmitigated tyranny on occasion and its justification tempered by half-hearted confessions......... His Excellency is on safest ground when he enunciates the doctrine of meeting Non-co-operation by propaganda—by the counter-propaganda of co-operation. He is entitled to take all the comfort he can from the fact that both the title-holders and the students have made a poor response in point of numbers and that sufficient Indians have been found to act as members of the reformed legislatures. Non-co-operationists, whilst admitting that the numerical response might have been greater, manage, however, to take pleasure in the titles and the schools and the law-courts having fallen into disrepute. These institutions no longer remain the objects of idolatry that they once were. Non-co-operationists are satisfied that practising lawyers and title-holders can no longer be popular leaders. They know that even those, who have not given up titles, practice, or schools, are at heart non-co-operators and confess their weakness. His Excellency has been misled by his advisers in believing that non-co-operationists have only now turned their attention to the masses. Indeed, they are our sheet-anchor. But we are not going to tamper with them. We shall continue patiently to educate them politically till they are ready for safe action. There need be no mistake about our goal. As soon as we feel reasonably confident of non-violence, continuing among them in spite of provoking executions, we shall certainly call upon the sepoy to lay down his arms and the peasantry to suspend payment of taxes. We are hoping that that time may never have to be reached. We shall leave no stone unturned to avoid such a serious step. But we will not flinch when the moment has come and the need has arisen."

Comments on Mr. Shastri's resolution in the Council of State regarding amendment of provisions in the law for the suppression of disturbances.

Young India (14), 9th Mar.

34. "The absolute futility of co-operation and the grim necessity of working independently of the Government, have now passed the phase of mere polemics. The people are not going to appeal to Government. They do not want, as Mr. Patel said in his speech at the meeting called by the Press Association of India, to repeal, much less to modify the Act. What we want is the power to repeal that and many other acts. For, as he said, if the Government had the power of repealing it they would also have the power of restoring it. It is that power we are fighting for. Again, therefore, we do not want to appeal to Government for an amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code. 'Men of substance', like Mr. Shastri, ought to have anticipated that it is against their tradition of irresponsibility that executive officer should submit to their being brought within the purview of the law. If Mr. Shastri's proposal about the onus of proving emergency on the executive officers was to be accepted, there would, therefore, be as Sir William observed, 'very few soldiers and police officers, who would be willing to accept service.' If Mr. Shastri still needs must offer to co-operate with the Government he knows the terms on which his offer will be accepted. Sir William Vincent has made his position abundantly clear. He must ignore the rights of the people and forget his duty towards them. That is not all. He must be prepared to make it possible for the executive officers to 'do their duty' and not make them liable to 'unnecessary prosecutions'. The position of those who have determined to escape serfdom is also clearly defined by the Governments. The Government is bent upon helping them. It has started the engines of repression and helped the non-co-operators in awakening the people to the hard realities of the present situation in the country. It is not now left to the single-handed efforts of non-co-operators to prove that the bureaucracy has no hesitation, as Mr. Das says, in breaking the law when it suits their purpose. The externment order against Mr. Das has proved, that 'we are mere serfs in our country and life is not bearable without *Swaraj*.' It is these executive fiats of undisguised repression that will both strengthen our determination and ensure the success of non-co-operation. The historic truth shall, once again, be confirmed. Coercion hastens freedom."

Mahrátta (8), 13th Mar.

*35. "The reformed Councils have been in working for more than a month, and one can fairly judge their value from what they have achieved during this period. It was evident, even before the Councils had begun their work, that on account of the non-co-operation movement the ablest and the fittest men of the country had remained aloof and that the Councils had been flooded with mediocre persons without knowledge, courage and skill which are evidently necessary to fight for the people's cause. This view has now been completely corroborated. The Legislative Houses at Delhi have up till now done absolutely nothing that will benefit the public and much that is likely to injure the self-respect of the country. Any one who has followed with attention the reports of the proceedings of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, will easily come to agree with us. The attitude of the representatives of the people has been anything but satisfactory, and almost every proposition calculated to do some justice to the people has been either withdrawn or amended or lost.......... During the last fortnight once more it has been illustrated that the Council of State consists of persons who are, as a Congress President once said, 'very convenient' individuals. We refer to Mr. Shastri's resolution to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure and other enactments so as to secure some improvement in Government's method of supression of riots and unlawful assemblies. His motion consisted of eight different clauses which were nothing more than a reproduction of the existing practice in England. One can quote numberless instances of Indian crowds dispersed by the use of firearms. This always leads to a considerable loss of life and to the embitterment of public feeling.......... Such incidents are not only exasperating but a proof that the life of Indians is of no consequence to the bureaucrats who are allowed to exercise unlimited power under the Criminal Procedure Code and other enactments.......... Mr. Vincent, as is usual with him, tried to impress the Council with his omniscience and stamped down Mr. Shastri's proposals as both 'impracticable and unsound'. The excuses which he advanced in favour of retaining the present enactments were extremely flimsy. The manner in which he warned the Council not to question the discretion of the executive officers, the way in which he described a mob in India as 'a mob with wild passion, a mob prone to every kind of mischief, ready for homicide in rage, and a mob on its errand of wickedness,' and the impudence with which he declared all the clauses of Mr. Shastri's proposition as unacceptable—everyone of these things was an unbearable insult to every Indian who had the least respect for himself and for his country. As a retort to this overbearing attitude of Sir W. Vincent, all the non-official members ought to have united and voted in favour of the resolution. Mr. Shastri showed quite a commendable persistence and courage and stood to every part of the resolution. But what could he do without the support of his comrades?"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Mar.

36. "The fate of Mr. Shastri's resolution in the Council of State for the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code and other enactments dealing with the suppression, by the use of force, of riots and unlawful assemblies and the speech of the Home Member, will tend to disillusion those who are still enamoured of the 'gift' of the 'Reforms'. What Mr. Shastri's resolution asked was that Chapter IX of the Criminal Procedure Code be so amended as to bring it into line with English law on the same subject. Sir William Vincent's speech, however, reveals an attitude of irreconcilable opposition to any attempt to restore in India a reign of law similar to that obtaining in England. The mouthpiece of the bureaucracy would have nothing of the sort and practically pleaded for the continuance of the present system which places Indian life, honour and property at the mercy of over-zealous military and civil officers. When he asked the Council to note 'that during the next few months there might be serious disorders in the country' it seems likely that he knew what he was talking about. At any rate the symptoms which are appearing in one province after another seem to support his prediction and give colour to the rumours which have been current for sometime past that even if non-co-operation should proceed upon entirely peaceful lines, the officials have determined on a new era of repression. The Punjáb nightmare, during which civil and military officers were alike guilty of all sorts of excesses, is too fresh in our minds for us to accept the Home Member's complacent assurance that in future officers would exercise the greatest care, and use 'the minimum force necessary.' However unimpeachable the intentions of the officers and however pious the resolutions of Government may be, given the same conditions, it is to be feared the men in power will behave no better than they did in the Punjáb nearly two years ago, since they know that they will not be called to strict account for their doings."

37. "The *Servant of India*, which is painfully surprised, along with Mr. Sastri, that the Government of India should have resisted the absolutely reasonable attempt to place the Indian law on the subject of firing on mobs on a par with the English law, ruefully observes that Government, by their action, 'certainly lost much of the ground which they seemed to have gained by accepting the resolutions on the Punjáb and repressive laws.' To us it seems that the only ground that Government have lost lay in the imagination and credulity of our Moderate friends........... There is, therefore, nothing to be surprised at in the attitude of Government when they refuse to recognise the advisability of placing the Indian law on the subject of firing on a par with the English law."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Mar.

38. "By opposing Mr. Sastri's resolution respecting the use of fire-arms, Government certainly lost much of the ground which they seemed to have gained by accepting the resolutions on the Punjáb and the repressive laws. Their opposition to this resolution, in which Mr. Sastri asked for nothing more than that the Indian law should be put on a par with the English law in respect of the action to be taken by the authorities in repressing riots, was uncompromising; for their acceptance of clauses Nos. 5 and 6 of the resolution, which the Home Member dangled before the Council as a substantial concession, was really no concession at all. These clauses are already embodied, as Mr. Sastri explained in moving his resolution, in the Criminal Procedure Code and the Police Manual, and found mention in the resolution merely for the purpose of giving to the Council a complete view of all the necessary safeguards. The expectation was that they would surrender the autocratic power concealed under the form of law and would place within the reach of the subjects those remedies which judicial proceedings allow. Instead, well-worn pleas of the difficulties of the executive officers and the delicate duties they have to discharge were made, and special immunities claimed for them. The public have good cause to hold the opinion that so far in India the police and the soldiery have used fire-arms without their full necessity being established and that life has been held altogether too cheap. Until provisions similar to those mentioned in the resolution are introduced in the Indian law, this state of things must continue. Far more important, however, than the enactment of such provisions as are set forth in the first six clauses of Mr. Sastri's resolution is it that the aggrieved persons should have free access to the courts of law. But the requirement in the existing law of the Governor-General in Council's consent has operated as a complete bar to judicial trials. It was urged on behalf of Government that if the action taken by the civil or military authorities in putting down riots be subjected to the scrutiny of independent tribunals, they would be put to too severe a test, and that at any rate in India law must be relaxed in order to protect the officers concerned. Why should the law be so devised in India alone as to afford to the officers protection which is not available to the ordinary citizen? It is said that if officers are harassed by prosecutions in law courts for taking drastic action in the discharge of their odious duties, they will not be willing to assume responsibilities. The Commander-in-Chief put forward this plea. Why should officers in India alone refuse to do without unusual immunities a duty which everywhere else they manfully perform? Here they adopt a lower standard, and, instead of boldly shouldering the responsibilities of their office, come and whine for special protection which in England no one would ever think of giving. As to the peculiar circumstances of India, which, it was suggested, render it necessary to impose a restriction upon the institution of criminal proceedings, they will not stand a moment's scrutiny. No one can or does pretend that there is any difference between English mobs and Indian mobs, which is not entirely to the advantage of the latter. English mobs go to much greater excesses and are much more difficult to handle than Indian mobs. There is no valid reason, therefore, for refusing to embody in Indian law safeguards which the English system of jurisprudence has set up. Drastic powers are often quite necessary and ought not to be denied; but those that wield them must be held to account in an effective manner for the way in which they have to use them. The executive

Servant of India (10), 10th Mar.

can never be allowed to be above law or to be its own judge. We must, therefore, continue to press for a stiffening of the existing law so that the lives and liberties of the people will be fully protected in emergencies."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 6th Mar.

39. Though the Jhallianwalla Bagh tragedy has brought to the notice of Government how the proper limits are transgressed by civil and military officers in putting down riots and dispersing unlawful assemblies, yet they do not seem to have learnt any lesson from that dire episode. We regret to say that the sentiments expressed by Sir W. Vincent on behalf of Government during the debate on Mr. Shastri's resolution on the subject are quite out of keeping with the New Era and the changed angle of vision. The Indian people have bitter experience of how inadequate and dangerous to the freedom of the people the rules regarding firing are. Hence the people have lost all faith in those rules. It is necessary to limit the power given to Government officers by the present rules in dealing with riots. Mr. Shastri's resolution sought to bring the law in this respect in line with the English law. Why should Government hesitate to amend the law in this respect? The English law is that firing should not be resorted to until the expiry of one hour after the warning is given. Mr. Shastri wanted a similar change in the existing law. Sir Vincent's argument that there was a danger of much loss of life taking place during the one hour before firing, cannot hold water inasmuch as Mr. Shastri was prepared to give the requisite powers in exceptional cases. Sir Vincent asks that Government should have ample powers to put down riots in case any take place owing to the non-co-operation movement. But nobody would like to grant such powers to the officers, for who can say that there would be no repetition of the Jhallianwalla tragedy? We hope that Lord Reading would see the justice of Mr. Shastri's demand.

Hon. Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas' resolution about complete fiscal autonomy for India in the Council of State.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Mar.

40. "Never was a greater disservice done to the country by its 'representatives' than when the stalwarts of the Moderate party like Messrs. Sapru, Sastri and Kale combined together to negative the resolution of the Honourable Mr. Lallubhai Samaldas, demanding complete fiscal autonomy, by accepting Sir George Barnes' amendment to it. Mr. Lallubhai who, though he demanded complete fiscal autonomy, did not word his resolution as happily as he might have done, saw the futility of accepting the amendment which gave the 'concession' of autonomy subject to provisions of the Government of India Act, 1919, when the 'provisions of the Act' themselves militate against its exercise. He, therefore, rightly declined to accept the amendment and withdrew his resolution, and thus in regard to this particular resolution, displayed an independent attitude which was markedly in contrast to that of his colleagues.......... We are sorry to hear from the mouths of people, who have been maintaining that they are the true followers of the Indian National Congress, that all that they bargained for, both in their Memorandum and representations while in England, was the limited form of fiscal autonomy conceded under the Act, thus repudiating the demand which for decades the Congress and its pioneers like Ranade, Dutt, Gokhale, Mehta and Wacha had made for complete fiscal autonomy. We know, of course, how anxious our Moderate friends are to make the Reforms a 'success', but we never imagined that they would go so far in their infatuation with it, as to set their backs upon a demand, which has been consistently and unanimously voiced by the country, simply because such a demand would disturb the arrangements recently sanctioned."

The Indian Budget for the year 1921-22.

Indian Commercial Mercury (4), 7th Mar.

41. "The Budget has to be faced more or less as it is, because we think any material retrenchment is not possible, perhaps with the exception of some cuts in the cost of army and civil administrations.......... The budget which is cast in strong militaristic lines must be made a people's budget, and the princely cost of Indian administration has to be greatly, but gradually reduced. This will have to be the work of the new Assemblies, but we are

afraid it will have to be accomplished not within the twinkling of an eye, but in a longer period of time. Under the circumstances the proposals of the Finance Minister will have to be accepted in their main outlines, but not in all their details. We think that they are the best under the present conditions, and their merit consists in laying a burden generally on those who are best able to bear it. We welcome heartily the increased customs duty from 7½ per cent. to 11 per cent. and regret that it was not enhanced further. We hope this duty will in the future form a kind of a nucleus for protective tariff which is urgently needed in this country. The country will also welcome all increase in duties on luxuries and also Income-Tax. It is a notorious fact that the productive classes of the country, namely, the ryots are heavily taxed, and incomes of what are in the West called the 'social parasites' escape with a slight burden.......... We hope the Legislative Assembly will turn down the proposal to increase the postage stamp on many grounds. The Post Office is not necessarily a commercial undertaking, but is a great public convenience. There are, we think, various ways of increasing postal revenues without an one-anna stamp, and until this is done the increased stamp will stand as a great hardship to the public. The principle which the Finance Minister has laid down that the budget deficit should be met by taxation, and not by the cheap expedient of loans, is eminently sound. We must not pledge the future to secure ephemeral benefits for the present generation. It remains now to consider the effects of this budget on the trade of the country and on prices in general. The income and super tax will make a raid on the already dwindling profits of the Companies which are undergoing very difficult times. It is to be hoped that some modifications will therein be introduced which will exempt certain companies whose profits, though great, absolutely bear no high proportion to the paid up capital. This is essential in the interests of numerous new companies which are just able to stand on their legs. The budget will not affect very much the masses, but it will increase the family accounts of the classes. And though we do not sympathise very much with the man who now will have to pay a rupee or so to his *burra peg* we regret the taxes on sugar, matches, etc., which are absolute necessaries with certain classes whose incomes are fixed and limited. But, on the whole, if increased taxation is unavoidable and a necessary evil, and if there is no way for wide retrenchment we think that the new taxation falls on people who are best able to bear it, although it must not be forgotten that there are still sections of people who do not have a due share of the country's burdens."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Mar.

42. "Mr. Hailey's Budget speech is one maze of inconsistencies or half-truths, the more dangerous in their semblance of truth. In any country except our own, this speech could safely be trusted to work out its author's damnation as a statesman (?)......... If the Government of India desire the people to accept this budget as the first faint ray of hope in regard to their dawning sanity in the matter of our fiscal policy, we would suggest that the best policy is not to impose taxation *ad hoc*, evidencing only the incompetence of its authors, but to frame first a comprehensive scheme for the entire industry of the land, and then impose taxation, or devise any other expedients for the protection of any given industry to the full extent that its weakness may demand. But the Government of India remain unrepentant in this regard. [Here the paper gives an extract from Mr. Hailey's speech and proceeds :—]......... We wonder if the Finance Minister had his tongue in his check when he penned these words. Will no one ask him what exactly is meant by India 'recognising her obligations' to the other members of the Empire? Has she ever received anything but insult and injury from them?......... The greatest blunder of the Finance Minister, however, is in his attempt to tax the people's communications—the Post Office. The Government of India has been long suspected by the people of India of a secret hostility to the spread of education. Is the increased postal tariff to be taken as the first indication of a bold bid for unpopularity?......... If the people's 'representatives' do not wake up, this indirect tax on the circulation of newspapers and trade catalogues will be exploited to thwart industrial progress or political renaissance.......... The additions to the Income-Tax were the one thing in regard to which we would have found it advisable to support the Government; but even there the characteristic fear of a bureaucratic, unpopular Government to attack and displease powerful vested interests is manifest. They dare not tax the Bengal landlord while they will not admit the real people into an effective partnership in shaping the country's policy, civil and military, fiscal and financial. We do not believe that a maximum of 25 per cent. tax on the profits of established industries like the cotton mills of Bombay will in any way discourage the real interests of the industry. And we would not regret if the tax serves to diminish, however slightly, the unwholesome speculation which has latterly characterised industry in India."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Mar.

43. "Both the Commander-in-Chief and Sir Godfrey Fell have been at pains to convince the members of the Legislative Assembly that the military forces and the expenditure in connection with them provided for in the next year's budget are the minimum, compatible with the safety of the country and the requirements of the situation that could be sanctioned......... Neither in Canada, nor in South Africa, nor in Australia, says Lord Rawlinson, have they such turbulent and fanatical tribes on the Frontier as we have, nor a militant neighbour like the Afghan. But would the Commander-in-Chief assert that the responsibilites for national defence—let alone offence—resting on the shoulders of India are in any way greater than those which Great Britain feels called upon to face at the present stage of the world crisis or that India's neighbours are a greater menace to the safety of the country than Great Britain's are to hers? And, yet, what is the total expenditure on the the Army, Navy and Air Forces of Great Britain? The total amount is set at only 230 million pounds sterling in the budget estimates of 1920-21—that is to say only 16 per cent. of the total revenues of the country and not more than 19 per cent. of the total national expenditure in the year, while India in the coming year is called upon to part with 55 per cent. of her total revenues and 48 per cent. of her total expenditure! In this estimate, let it be noted, India's share in the naval burdens is not included. The largeness of the Indian Army is excused on the ground that India makes no adequate contribution to the defence of her seas and that the Imperial Navy is voluntarily undertaking the task for her. But, even granting this, we have seen how unconscionably disproportionate is the military burden of India compared with the joint military and naval burden of Great Britain. The Commander-in-Chief has quoted figures to show that the strength of the Indian Army in the coming year will be somewhat below that of the pre-war year.......... But of what avail are these reductions, if they do not result in any decrease in the military expenditure? On the other hand, the expenditure has risen from 26 million pounds sterling in 1913-14 to 70 millions in 1920-21 and will not fall short of 62 millions in 1921-22, despite the reduction in the fighting strength of the troops.......... The Commander-in-Chief seeks to excuse the costliness of the British troops on the ground that their scales of pay and allowances are fixed by His Majesty's Government, which also is responsible for the maintenance of the relative strengths and distribution of the British and Indian sections of the Army. But it ought to be the duty of the Government of India to point out in most unequivocal terms the iniquity of saddling the poverty-stricken millions of this country with burdens which no humane or civilised Government responsible to God or man will think of imposing."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 11th Mar.

14. The *Dnyán Prakásh* protests against the heavy expenditure on the Army, and points out that whereas in 1913-14 the Army cost 30 crores, in 1919-20, it cost more than double that amount. It complains that Government, while expending a large part of the revenue on the Army, starve such useful departments as Education, Sanitation, etc. It suggests that the European Army in India should be greatly reduced, especially in view of the fact that a British soldier costs four times as much as an Indian soldier, and the savings thus effected devoted to bettering the condition of the people.

New Times (9), 2nd and 3rd Mar.

45. Commenting upon the Indian Budget for 1921-22, the *New Times* remarks :—" This is the financial position which the 'representatives' of the people are asked to face and discuss and vote upon. Not a pie can be decreased from the tremendous military expenditure, *viz.*, 62·2 crores with which India has been saddled,—if the Viceroy so decrees! Is that the beginning of Swaraj or Home Rule? The members have more power to impose fresh taxation than to settle how revenues shall be spent! The members thus become the henchmen of the bureaucracy and, indirectly, the bearers of burdens for satisfying an inflated military expenditure. The budget, specially the item regarding military expenditure, presents a gloomy aspect, and no practical solution is possible unless the Council has full control over the budget. That, however, the 'Reforms' Act has taken full care to prevent; and until control is secured, all budget discussion will be, for all practical purposes, an idle debate." [In the next issue the paper adds :—" It is indeed a ridiculous position for members to discuss the question of 'fiscal autonomy' when the Viceroy practically shapes the whole budget. It is the huge military expenditure which is, in the main, pressing heavily on the taxpayer and which is responsible for the deficit. The new increase in tariff should ordinarily have been welcomed as part of a protective policy which nationalist India has demanded for over a generation; but it is resorted to not for developing India's material sources but for maintaining a strong army. A strongly protectionist policy is what India needs, but under national direction, not under the dictation of so-called 'defence' necessities or as a pawn in an imperial game. The tax on incomes is good, but the proposed increase in postal rates will hit hard all classes of people. It would be better to increase tariffs still further, rather than increase postal or railway rates. Again the reckless increase of expenditure in all departments of Government, except those meant for direct public utilities, needs an immediate check. But what can the members do? They can at best express pious wishes! An effective check can only be imposed by a really representative assembly having a real power of control. And this is impossible until India achieves *swaraj*."

Deshi Mitra (65), 10th Mar.

46. The Budget presented in the Legislative Assembly is a disappointing one and is likely to cause great hardships to the people. When the people are groaning under the weight of high prices they are now made to bear the extra burden of fresh duties. An enormous addition has been made in the military expenditure, but the pity of it is that the members of the Assembly cannot effect any reduction in it. Their mouths have been gagged! This will prove the wisdom of the non-co-operationists. Even the members of the New Councils will now realise that they possess no real powers and that they are mere figureheads inasmuch as they cannot influence the policy of Government.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 7th and 10th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 10th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 10th Mar.

47. The Legislative Assembly should refuse to sanction the increase in the import duty on sugar and lucifer matches and also the increase in Railway freights. They should, instead, press for the raising of the import duty on cotton piece-goods to 12½ per cent. Import of foreign yarn should be similarly taxed and an export duty should be levied on Indian cotton. Import duty of 20 per cent. on silk is a little too heavy. Silk cloth is an article of everyday use and not an article of luxury for the Parsi women; and the import duty of 20 per cent. will press heavily on the community. Jewellery, soap, boots and shoes, and woollen hosiery should have an import duty of 20 per cent. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—The public is not likely to be satisfied with the explanation given by the Commander-in-Chief in the matter of the increase in the military expenditure. Laying aside the Bolshevist menace and the troubles on the frontier, we are inclined to think that the Commander-in-Chief has given free scope to his imagination in raising up the bogey of non-co-operation. The movement is a harmless one and, granting for argument's sake, that it might result in breach of the peace, any disturb-

ance resulting from it can easily be quelled by a force equal to one-tenth of our standing army. Lord Rawlinson's explanation astounds us inasmuch as it positively proves that the officials have not understood the true significance of the non-co-operation movement and that in their panic they are likely to commit mistakes and resort to repressive measures like those adopted by them in the Punjáb. India stands in dread of the military policy of Government and not of the non-co-operation movement. It is, therefore, the duty of the members of the Legislative Assembly to effect a change in that policy. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refuses to be convinced by the statement made by the Commander-in-Chief and remarks :—Has Bolshevism no connection with the Imperial policy of Britain? The Bolshevists have been exasperated by the policy pursued by Britain towards them, and so they are pushing their intrigues in Afghanistan and the middle East. It, therefore, stands to reason that the Imperial treasury should bear the burden of coping with the Bolshevist menace. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes :—The duties levied on Indians by the new budget are heavier than they can bear, and it is feared they will tend to accentuate the grievances of the people and to strengthen the non-co-operation movement. The explanation given by the Commander-in-Chief will not satisfy the Indian people. Everybody is complaining of the extravagance of the military expenditure, and it is high time that Government gave thought to curtailing it. Let us hope that the Committee proposed to be appointed by the Commander-in-Chief will have popular representatives upon it so that they may get an opportunity of making their suggestions.]

Kesari (115), 8th Mar.

48. Just as a cat first of all puts forward its soft paw and then makes its victim feel its sharp nails, the bureaucracy did not for some time display the real character of the Reform Act. But now its hideous aspect is being more and more brought to light. And since the Budget is the most vital part of the administration, its recent presentation shows the utter uselessness of the New Era. The Budget makes it possible for us to understand how terrible is the price we have to pay for the insignificant dole of self-government which is said to have been granted to us. It makes us realise how the bureaucracy, given as it is to fleecing its Indian subjects, eclipses Shakespeare's Shylock. Before considering the bureaucracy's spendthrift finance and the new taxes imposed upon the people, we will deal with the currency policy of the Government. The action of the Government in putting the Reverse Councils on the market at lower than market rates was in the interests of the European merchant community. Mr. Hailey, of course, admits Government's mistake in selling these bills but he does not tell us who inspired their action in the matter. It is obvious that the sale of those councils which have been described as organised loot on the part of Government was inspired by the European merchant community and the British Government jointly. Mr. Hailey altogether avoids the issue raised by the Congress demand for recovering these losses from the British treasury. Nor has Mr. Hailey's Budget a word to say as to the total extent of India's losses owing to this organised loot. It is estimated that the sale of Reverse Councils caused the Indian Exchequer a loss of about 40 crores. Now, with regard to the Budget itself, it shows a deficit of 22 crores which are to be met by fresh taxation. The Finance Member declared that the Vaziristan Expedition ate up 12 crores of rupees. But since members of Councils have not the right of even asking questions with regard to such items, how is there going to be check on the extravagance of Government in such matters? Though a great part of the revenue is eaten up by the army, there are other items as well which make great demands upon the revenues of India. Among these is the increase in the pay of Civilians which has been granted to them as a bribe for giving their consent to the Reform Act. The operation of increasing the salaries of these officials is still going on and we cannot say when it will end. The expenditure on the army is 51 per cent. of the total revenues. Were more than half of the revenues spent upon the army even by a predominantly military nation like the Germans? The cause of this increase of expenditure is the growth of the army and the increasing amount spent upon the luxuries of the white portion of it. The people have absolutely no right to make any changes in this item. Even the Government have no right to decide upon the strength of the army. What the Government has to do is to supply the money; all the rest lies with the British Government. But all the blame does not lie on the British Government. The Indian bureaucracy is not prepared to cut down substantially the numbers of the army as it wants the military to put down all agitation in the country. With regard to the fresh taxation we have no quarrel against increase in the income tax and the import duties on costly articles. But we do object to the increase in the duties on umbrellas and watches. These things have become necessaries. More objectionable still is the duty on matches which comes to about 100 per cent. The increase in the Railway freight charges is also unjust as the increased prices of goods caused thereby will press heavily on the poor people. So also is the increase in the postage rates. This will be a great hardship to poor people. Thus it will be seen that the Budget is a hopeless thing especially as it cannot be materially modified by the Councils.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Mar.

49. "The Government have had pressure brought to bear upon them in regard to the continued depreciation of their recent long term loans, and they propose to make a special provision to arrest the decline in their credit evidenced by this depreciation. Why this special consideration for the war-time investor? He invested his money knowing that it was to be used up in powder and shot, while the older investor in 3 and 3½ per cent. loans really thought of good securities like the Railways when he placed his savings at the disposal of the Government......... If belief in the good faith of Governments must be preserved, it is imperative that all steps taken to prop up the later wasteful loans should be made equally applicable to the holders of the 3 or 3½ per cent. paper. But the Council is dominated by men who obey the impulse of self-interest or who have a weakness for bureaucratic blandishments. What reck they of the implications of such a policy, and what can the country expect from their 'representations' against this budget of inconsistencies?"

Servant of India (10), 10th Mar.

50. "Mr. Hailey wanted to find nineteen crores to balance the two sides of his account in the ensuing year. And in devising means he has tried to cast his net far and wide with a view to reach all classes of the community. An increase in the general *ad valorem* duty from 7½ per cent., to 11 per cent., except in the case of matches and of certain articles of luxury which are specially dealt with, is expected to yield slightly more than 3¾ crores. This will, of course, tend to raise the cost of living; but it is some comfort that there is going to be no increase in the cotton excise duty to counterbalance the effect of the enhancement of the import duty on Lancashire piecegoods. The existing surcharge on railway goods traffic will be increased so as to give an additional 5½ crores. This tax too will fall on the ordinary consumers and will be felt by the middle and the humbler classes. Increased postal rates and the imposition of the high specific duty on matches will produce the same effect, and it is to be hoped the legislature will resist the imposts in the interests of the poor consumers. The taxes upon luxuries and the increased income-tax and super-tax rates, are unobjectionable, and if Government wants more money it must tap the wealthier classes further rather than exact contributions from people who can ill afford them."

Comments on the resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly regarding appointment of a Committee to inquire into causes of the non-co-operation movement.

Bombay Samáchár (61), 9th Mar.

51. It can scarcely be said that the Legislative Assembly was right in rejecting the resolution introduced by Mr. Mahomed Yannikhan for appointing a committee to inquire into the causes of the non-co-operation movement. Had the Committee been appointed, Lord Chelmsford would have been afforded an opportunity to make amends for the wrongs committed during his regimé. The Khilafat question and the Punjáb atrocities are responsible for the present discontent. Attempts are being made to conciliate Moslem opinion in the matter of the peace treaty with Turkey and it is hoped that the Khilafat question will be successfully solved before Lord

Chelmsford's departure from India. People will not forget the Punjáb affairs as long as Government do not express repentance for the misdeeds of their officials and give a guarantee that there will be no recurrence of such atrocities in future. Government are fully aware of the causes of the non-co-operation movement, and let us hope that in spite of their reluctance to accept the resolution referred to above they will take steps to conciliate public opinion.

Comments on the provision for housing accommodation for Government officers in the Bombay Budget.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 8th Mar.

52. We are not a little surprised at the provision made in the Bombay Budget for providing housing accommodation to high paid officials. Government take only ten per cent. from the officer's salary as house-rent and they would have to incur a loss by providing housing accommodation for them. Why should only ten per cent. of the officer's salary be taken as house-rent? Can no change be made in these rules when the salaries of these officials have been recently revised? We do not think it advisable to provide housing accommodation to Government officials in the present circumstances. We would have no objection to a housing scheme for officials on a co-operative basis.

Bombay Chronicle (2), (Sunday Edition), 13th Mar.

*53. 'Atropos' writes:—"In a year of bankruptcy the Government of Bombay had provided as much as Rs. 20 lakhs for the purpose of building houses for these men [*i.e.* I.C.S. men] and it was decided, it is difficult to believe it in these days, not to charge an economic rent. The Government informed the Council that they could not charge the Civilians more than 10 per cent. of their salary as rent. This means that a High Court judge who draws as much as Rs. 4,000 per month is to be provided with a palatial building of which the rent is to be not more than Rs. 400 in these days. While a poor clerk has to pay as much as 30 or 40 per cent. of his income in rent, a highly paid officer of Government was not to pay more than 10 per cent. in rent. If the Government cannot charge an economic rent on cost of construction and land value then certainly the best thing in the interests of the people is to let these officers manage their own affairs. Why should the poor tax-payer have to pay and not the pampered officials? But even this Council turn down the proposals of the Government and cut down the sum to Rs. 7 lakhs or so. It is a pity Mr. Harilal Desai was not more unbending than he showed himself on that occasion."

Question of Ministers' salary in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 5th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23) 7th Mar.

54. The fate which Rao Bahadur Kale's resolution in the matter of reducing the salary of the Ministers has met in the Bombay Legislative Council goes to prove that the new Council is quite unfit to represent public opinion. We are surprised to see that Indian members of the Council supported the contention, which would do credit only to European officials, that the status of the Ministers would be maintained only if they drew salaries equal to those of the Executive Councillors. These Ministers would not have been lowered in public estimation if they drew even Rs. 500 per month instead of Rs. 5,000. The poor ryots of this Presidency will be overburdened by being made to pay Rs. 5,000 per month to their Ministers. It is a sheer waste of public money to pay the Ministers so highly, [The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, on the other hand, congratulates the Council on the good sense displayed in rejecting Rao Bahadur Kale's resolution. It is of opinion that it would be no economy but sheer waste in the long run to curtail the Ministers' salary and thus debar first rate men from occupying these posts.]

Jagaruk (45), 6th Mar.

55. The *Jagaruk* complains that the Ministers did not adopt a more firm attitude in regard to the expenditure to be incurred on reserved departments. It remarks that the Budget would have been a better one if the Ministers had warned the Government that they would not associate themselves with it unless they proposed less expenditure on the reserved departments.

His Excellency the Governor's speech at the opening of the Bombay Legislative Council.
Prakásh (130), 2nd Mar.

56. The ***Prakásh*** expresses its satisfaction at the statesmanlike utterance of His Excellency the Governor on the occasion of the opening of the Bombay Legislative Council and congratulates him on the noble sentiments expressed by him. It tells His Excellency, however, that he is mistaken if he believes that he has convinced the people that the reforms have conferred substantial rights upon the people and that the power of the bureaucracy has now been considerably reduced.

The Reforms and what they have brought in their train.
Hindu (157), 4th Mar.

57. Before non-co-operation was started Lokamanya Tilak and other nationalist leaders had stated in unmistakable terms that the New Reforms would be of no avail and would not help to improve our condition. Lokamanya Tilak had even foretold that the Reforms, instead of doing any good to the people, would result in harm, increased taxation and harassment to them. Those who had eyes to see could see that the Reforms were 'disappointing'. But those who regarded the Reforms as a step towards 'freedom' and were exulting at them had better now open their eyes and see how far Reforms are 'reforms'. How far these Reforms have ushered in a new era and how far they have changed the attitude of the Government is evidenced by the fact that every day new repressive measures are adopted and Indians falling victims to bullets are going to Heaven! How Indian patriots are being thrust into jails and how hardships befall us in this new era is known to everyone, and it is no use repeating the story. Those who are still claiming a change of attitude on the part of the Government have perhaps either become so blind that they are absolutely unaware of the woes of their brethren or do not care if all people are sent to jail. Well, all may not be aware of the sufferings of the people; none but those who are stricken can be aware of them! But we have yet another instance of the harm which the Reforms can do, and this we trust will break the backs of all. The readers must have seen from the papers yesterday how new taxes and new imposts have been put on Bharat. To those gentlemen who have welcomed the Reforms with their mouths wide open, we say, here is an earnest of what the Reforms have in store for us! Before the people are entrusted with any powers, whatever blood remains in them is going to be sucked dry. One does not know what will be the further results of these Reforms.

Reflections on the indemnity demanded from Germany by the Allies.
Sànj Vartamán (32), 9th Mar.

58. The Allies have forgotten the high aims they placed before them at the beginning of the war and now want to overburden Germany to escape from the after-effects of the war. The most objectionable feature of the indemnity demanded by the Allies from Germany is that they want Germany to pay for the pensions of the soldiers killed in the war in spite of their undertaking not to demand any fine for the actual expenses of the war and to take such an indemnity as would cover the expenses of making reparations to the civil population. The economic position of the Allied countries has reached a critical stage and so they have adopted the policy of exacting as big an indemnity from Germany as they possibly can. The Allied armies have occupied German territory. This will create a bad effect on Germany and is likely to result in a revolution and the spread of Bolshevism in that country. Hostility between the Allied countries and Germany will be renewed and the peace of Europe will be endangered. France wants to crush Germany; and the Allies, blinded by selfish motives, and just to please France, are allowing themselves to be dragged into a terrible catastrophe. There is no possibility of peace for Europe for the next fifty years. President Wilson's fourteen points have been thrown to the winds and the policy of the mailed fist continues to predominate in European politics.

Comments on the Near East Conference at London.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 6th Mar.

59. Commenting upon the Near East Conference, the ***Mufid-e-Rozgár*** remarks that those responsible for the final settlement of the Peace Treaty must have observed how the Treaty of Sevres has made the world's horizon cloudy, and destroyed the very foundations of peace and contentment. The paper characterises the Sevres Treaty as a 'scrap of paper', and adds that

it is strange that while France and Italy are inclined favourably towards the Turks, some Ministers of the British Empire, which comprises ten crores of Muslim subjects, are upholding the original Treaty. The paper asks by what right the Greeks want Thrace and Smyrna, and predicts that even in their down-trodden condition the Turks can put the Greeks to shame. It declares that the demands of the Musalmans are based on justice, and that they ask for nothing but justice. It adds that the Musalmans do not demand any territory which is not theirs. After reiterating the Muslim demands, the paper lays emphasis on an injunction of the Prophet which says that the Jews and the Christians should be expelled from the Jazirat-ul-Arab, and concludes by remarking that the Jazirat-ul-Arab is more precious to them than the sovereignty of the whole world. [In another place the paper expresses its satisfaction at the reconcilliation between the representatives of the Constantinople Government and the Kemalist delegates.]

Appeal to England to bring about a satisfactory revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty.
Insáf (69), 4th Mar.

60. Referring to the Near East Conference in London, the *Insáf* remarks :—The modification of the Turkish settlement will remove the discontent among the Hindus and the Muhammadans of India, and the pledges given by Mr. Lloyd George at the commencement of the war will also be kept. The high officials in India should make an attempt to induce England to change her attitude by informing her of the true state of feeling among the Hindus and Muhammadans. It should be made clear that if the Turkish settlement is not made in accordance with Indian demands, it will be a difficult task to remove the discontent prevailing in India and Britain will be responsible for the evil results that might ensue. We hope that His Excellency the Viceroy will correctly represent the feelings of the Indians before England. As the work of the Conference has already begun, the Indian delegates have lost an opportunity of putting forward their arguments at the very beginning. There was a feeling of satisfaction among the Indian Muhammadans when Indian delegates were invited to the Conference. But the obstinacy of Britain has changed their hopes into despair. If she persists in her attitude, she will lose the friendship of eight crores of Muhammadans. We hope that the wise statesmen of England will not lose the opportunity of satisfying her Moslem subjects by a revision of the Turkish Treaty.

Prospects of the modification of the Turkish Peace Treaty.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Mar.

61. "We are told that 'the sort of revision which British Government circles favour, is the granting to the Turks of certain religious guarantees, Adrianople, and the substitution of a more imposing symbol of Turkish nominal suzerainty over Smyrna, while retaining substantially the provision for Greek administration and control.' We have not the least idea what all that means except that in the case of Smyrna it means Greek possession. Whatever concessions they may be prepared to make regarding Thrace, consistently with England's pledge that Turkish sovereignty should be maintained there, the Muslims of the world make no reservations whatsoever with regard to Smyrna. Greece must go from Asia Minor, bag and baggage, and full Ottoman sovereignty must be restored in the Aidin vilayet and every other vilayet of Anatolia......... There is evidence already of a tendency towards conciliation on the part of the Allies, which the Government of India—if, as we hear, it backs the Muslim claim whole-heartedly—should be able, by strong representations, to convert into a policy which will pacify the East for a century to come."

The Press Day in Bombay.
Gujaráti (17), 6th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (21), 5th Mar.

62. The 5th of March is the anniversary of the day on which the freedom of the press was shackled by law. Resolutions were moved in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State to consider the question of either repealing or amending the Press Act. Government have accepted these resolutions and have promised to appoint a committee containing two-thirds of non-official members. But it is well-known what kind of non-official members are generally selected for such committees by Machiavellian administrators of the type of Sir William Vincent. People want the Press Act to be repealed

and not merely amended. Sir William Vincent maintains that the Press Act has been impartially administered. The people in turn ask him which of the papers owned by Europeans, which abuse the Indians, have had to pay securities. The Press Act of 1910 is a revised edition of the Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton. It strangles the liberty of the people and true wisdom lies in deleting it altogether from the Statute Book. [The *Hindusthán* dwells at length upon the freedom of speech and writing enjoyed by people in England and points out that Mr. Horniman would not have received in England the treatment which he received here. It wishes that the Press Act should be repealed now that the New Era has set in. It declares that the British people do not deserve to be called either civilized or lovers of independence so long as the Press Act remains on the Indian Statute Book. It thinks that the order against Mr. Horniman should also be cancelled.]

Gujaráti (17), 13th Mar., Eng. cols.

***63.** Commenting on the proceedings of the public meeting held in Bombay on the anniversary of the Press Day, the *Gujaráti* writes:—"In its present form it [the Press Act] is a most despotic piece of legislation that ought not to remain on the Indian statute book. Lord Morley, who did not exactly understand that the so-called right of appeal to the High Court from the decision of Magistrates was a downright farce, sanctioned the measure. Mr. Gokhale, Mr. Jinnah and other Indian members allowed themselves to be misled by official assurances which the subordinate Magistracy and even Provincial administrations interpreted in their own way to suit their whims and caprices. What is the result? Discontent has gone deeper into the ground. The normal growth of the Indian press has been stifled and the executive have entrenched themselves behind powers the arbitrary exercise of which it is impossible to control even by a resort to the High Court for redress. Sir William Vincent has not yet mentioned the names of the members of the Press Act Committee. He declared that he was going to appoint a non-official majority. But we attach no importance whatever to this assurance, because he knows his men but too well and he can easily convert the proposed Committee into one more farce. Like the Government of which he is a prominent member he does not command the confidence of the country and has lost his moral prestige. The Indian public is in no mood to be content with any tinkering with this oppressive legislation, and the resolution passed by the public meeting not only condemned it but recorded its opinion that 'no possible modification of the Act can safeguard the liberty of the Press to which it is a standing menace.' In the next resolution the public meeting reiterated 'its strongest condemnation of the arbitrary and unjust deportation of Mr. B. G. Horniman and the continuation of the restrictions against his return to India.'......... The Deportation Regulations are a relic of barbarous times, and it passes one's comprehension how His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has made himself responsible for the continuation of an externment order which has made a very large section of the public to express their indignation and resentment on repeated occasions since Mr. Horniman was deported. This policy is entirely opposed to the spirit of the principles His Excellency's government has adopted in allowing other agitations and movements to exhaust themselves by taking no notice of them unless they threatened a breach of the public peace.......... This is certainly not the first time when the Bombay Government have manufactured heroes, patriots and martyrs worthy of worship at the hands of the people. Mr. Horniman is bound to be free one day from the restraints now imposed upon him, and Government will then have the pleasure of witnessing the wondrous fruit of their own righteous and shortsighted policy."

The policy of the new Gujaráti weekly the *Model*.
Model ( ), 6th Mar.

64. In the course of an article in which it defines its policy the *Model* writes:—We believe that so long as India does not secure complete *swaráj*, she will not become an equal partner in the British Empire, her complete political, economic, social and moral development will not be possible and she will not be able to secure an honourable position among civilized nations. On account of our strong conviction on this point, we will always support the fearless fight of our leaders for the attainment of complete *swaráj* for India as soon as possible. Hence we will not hesitate to make any sacrifice for the realization of this object. We will also not hesitate to help as far as we can the social and economic as well as the industrial development of the country. Finally we advise the Indian people to carry on their fight very vigorously but in a constitutional and straightforward manner. But in every fight of theirs and at every stage of each fight, they should, in accordance with the golden advice of Mr. Gandhi, behave non-violently and abstain from the use of abusive language.

Mr. Gandhi's complaint about the stopping of a telegraphic message sent by him.

Young India (14), 9th Mar.

65. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"A message was required by my assistant at Ahmedabad regarding the Duke's visit to Bombay. I sent the following wire: 'Bombay should certainly boycott Duke's visit like other cities.' The message was sent on the 18th ultimo. I received the following reply, dated the 24th ultimo, at the Láhore telegraph office: 'Your telegram addressed to Anandánand, Navajivan, Ahmedabad on the 18th has been held up at Ahmedábád as objectionable under rulings of the Department. A refund will be granted on your applying for same.' Nobody can seriously object to the prevention of the telegraph line being used for destroying a system in whose interest, chiefly, it is run. Only, the embargo further discredits the system. If one man alone thought it evil, the embargo would enable the thinker to hang his theme on the 'atrocious limitation of the liberty of the public.' In a case like the present, it was very like the attempt to stop with a straw an onrushing torrent. In either case the prohibition of bona-fide propaganda, even though it may be objectionable from the Government's standpoint, must be a useless procedure. The present embargo, however, is symptomatic of a Government tottering to its own destruction. Though I consider the embargo to be an exhibition of mere local overzeal, it has a lesson for us. Any day the Government may prohibit the use of the telegraph, the post the rail, and the press by non-co-operationists. Will it stop the struggle for a single minute? I hope not. It has been conceived so as to be independent of Government sufferance; for it depends for success upon its universality.......... But when the spirit of it prevades the whole of India, we need not feel dependent upon the telegraph, the post, the rail, or the press. Our work can be done quite effectively without the aid of these agencies. We can send messages from mouth to mouth with electric speed.......... So long as we have pen and paper, or even slate and pencil, we need not despair of transmitting our thoughts in writing, if we have enough volunteers. I have often been told that the independence of our printing press is a great desideratum. I admit that it is a convenience, but I was able to show during the Satyagraha week in the April of 1919 that it was possible to issue a written newspaper. Given a sufficient number of volunteer writers, we can multiply copies indefinitely. I can foresee many advantages in non-co-operationists being confined to their pens only."

Failure of crops in parts of the Broach District.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 11th Mar.

66. Mr. Dhanvantrai Bhupatrai Desai writes to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*:—Crops have failed in some of the talukas and villages of the Broach District. According to the official report, it can hardly be expected that there will be even a two-anna crop. Although such is the state of things, Government, relying upon an antiquated law, flatly refuse to declare famine and to grant remissions in respect of the land revenue of 1920-21. Mr. Fox, the local Collector, really deserves thanks for having declared the crops to be a failure, after personal inspection, and for having drawn attention to the hard lot of the labouring classes. But I am sorry he has passed over the agriculturists themselves. The last three years have been very bad for the cultivators and, to add to their miseries, this year is also bad. Up to now Government have been claiming to be the *mabap* of the people. But is it in keeping with this claim of theirs, that they should extort their dues from the subjects, who are like their children, at a time when the latter have nothing to eat. If Government

really want to establish their claim to be *mabap* of the people they should keep them satisfied and take only the surplus. The Mamlatdars and Talatis will oppress the people and extract from them the usual revenue in order that they might be thanked and raised to higher posts. Is it just to take the full tax when the crop is only two-annas? Hence it is my prayer to Government to look to the condition of the farmers and not to grind them down by recovering the tax on the crop that has failed.

Protest against the dismissal of about 700 Talatis for taking part in the recent strike.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Mar.

67. Referring to the reported dismissal of about 700 Talatis for taking part in the recent strike the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"Now, if we rightly interpret the action of Government in obtaining the sanction of the Legislative Council for an expenditure of four lakhs for giving an increase to this suffering class of most useful and responsible servants of the State, we shall have to concede that Government admitted the force of the representation made by the Talatis through their district unions and also through the Provincial Conference. During the debate in the Council also, all the official members who spoke, including Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, acknowledged that the Talatis' grievance was a genuine one. Mr. Cadell went to the extent of saying that Government had no right to keep its servants on such a low salary as the Talatis were receiving. In these circumstances, to punish any of those who waited until the last day to see whether their grievances would be considered would be an act of injustice and want of sympathy on the part of the Collectors, who may have, in the first instance, tried to put an end to the strike in the way they thought best. Now that the question of giving an increase in salary has been favourably settled, we sincerely trust the district officers concerned will show kindness and sympathy towards their faithful village officers by taking back one and all into service."

Recrudescence of trouble among Indians in the Fiji Islands.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Mar.

68. "The recrudescence of trouble in Fiji of which a report appears in our telegraphic columns to-day, will, it is to be hoped, induce the Government of India to shake off their supineness in respect of the sufferings of our countrymen in those islands.......... The information which has been issued through the Associated Press of the renewal of the trouble, is of a most meagre and unsatisfactory kind. The Government of India ought to bestir themselves and ascertain and make available to the public without the least delay the fullest particulars about the situation in Fiji as it affects the Indian community and convey an assurance to the public that this time at least they will not abandon our countrymen entirely to the tender mercies of the Fiji Government and the white planters, as they did on the last occasion."

Comments on the conviction of the editor of the *Rangoon Mail* for sedition.

Hindu (157), 4th Mar.

69. Mr. Pahlajrai Chandiramani, a young man of our city who has been sent to jail at Rangoon as a guest of Government owing to the high-handedness and injustice of the Government of Burma and whose offence we cannot make out even now that the Chief Court has given its decisions, was garlanded out of love by several people on his way to jail. A young man who was garlanding him was ordered by the police not to do so; but he did not mind the order of the police. He was thereupon arrested and kept in the lock-up for a day and a half. What is strange is that the magistrate regarding this conduct as an offence sentenced the man responsible for it to a fine of Rs. 5! Mr. Pahlajrai was sent to jail though he had committed no offence, and yet how mean must be the action of those hard-hearted Government officials who marched him handcuffed and barefooted to the jail at a considerable distance. One does not know what they call a new era. An era in which there has been no reform even in the matter of treatment to political prisoners so that they may be treated with humanity may be called a new era by the simple-minded and muddle-headed alone. No other will regard it as such.

A suggestion for amendment of the Co-operative Credit Societies Act.
Kesari (115), 8th Mar.

70. Mr. Bapusaheb Shitole of Patan (Poona) writes in the *Kesari*:—The Registrar of the Co-operative Credit Societies, who is a member of the local Legislative Council, should be moved to get the Co-operative Credit Societies Act amended as follows:—No member of a Co-operative Credit Society should be allowed to mortgage or sell his property without the written permission of that Society. Such an amendment will make it illegal for any one to enter into such transactions without the previous permission of the Society, and, as it will throw all responsibility for meeting the Society's liabilities on him in case he enters into such a transaction without the Society's permission, the bank and the depositors will have good security and the members will not suffer.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The proposed Bombay Municipal address of welcome to Lord Reading.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 12th Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (58), 12th Mar.

71. The address that the Bombay Municipality mean to present to Lord Reading, the Viceroy designate, contains such vague references to the political situation in India that it will scarcely suffice to produce a good impression on the mind of Lord Reading about public opinion in Bombay. The Bombay Municipality is presenting the address in the name of the Bombay public and it was, therefore, its obvious duty to draw the attention of Lord Reading to the discontent prevailing in commercial circles on the exchange question. The Khilafat question and the Punjáb affairs have tended to strengthen the non-co-operation movement and the Municipality could have, if they wished, drawn attention of Lord Reading to these questions in an effective manner. All that we can now say about the address is that the Municipality has lost a good opportunity of voicing public opinion. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* deprecates the protest raised by the citizens of certain wards of Bombay against the presentation of an address to Lord Reading. It dwells upon the high attainments and abilities of Lord Reading and refers to the desire expressed by him to deal justly with India and opines that it is nothing short of folly to resent the giving of an address of welcome to him.]

RAILWAYS.

Alleged deceitful dealings of the G. I. P. Railway with the Pandharpur (Sholápur) pilgrims.
Kesari (115), 8th Mar.

72. The G. I. P. Railway Company has been persistently guilty of refined deceit in its dealings with the Pandharpur pilgrims. As the Pandharpur pilgrimage draws near the Company notifies that there will be no special train service for the pilgrimage and stops issuing tickets from Jeur to Mohol. The natural result of this is that a pilgrim from Dhond buys a ticket for the next station after Mohol and a pilgrim from Hotgi likewise buys a ticket for the station next after Jeur. But they both get down at Kurduwadi and the Company thus gets out of every passenger at least eight annas for nothing. Is this not deceit? The Collector of Sholápur has clearly stated these facts in his report on the Pandharpur pilgrims. But he has not the courage to recommend the stoppage of this deceit. And the *ma-báp sarkar's* sympathy for its subjects melts away before the interests of the European Company.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 18th March 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 19th March 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian matters : Passive resistance against payment of increased assessment in Ghoda (Poona) 59

Bombay Legislative Council :
- Comments on the debate in the — on the subject of exodus to the hills . 39
- Comments on the discussion in the — on the provision in the Budget for the Bombay Development Scheme 40
- Provision for the Police Department in the Bombay Budget . . 41

British Rule :
- Appeal to Government to stop eviction proceedings in connection with the Mulshi Peta project and to publish at once the terms on which compensation is to be made 13
- Comments on Government's intention to abandon the penal settlement in the Andamans 10
- Comments on Lord Reading's speech at the farewell dinner given to him by the Indians in London 7
- Comments on the Committee appointed by Government to consider the nuisance of Sporting Clubs in Bombay 14
- Comments on the Nankana Saheb tragedy in the Punjáb . . . 9
- Comments on the protest of the Lancashire millowners against the increase in the import duty on piece-goods 18
- Comments on the report of the Indian Jails Committee . . . 11
- Comments on the taking possession of Municipal buildings at Nadiad by the Collector of Kaira 15
- Complaints about the oppression practised by Satyashodhaks on the Brahmins in the Sátára District 12
- Government's responsibility for the present trade depression in India . 17
- Mr. J. B. Petit's new political party 16
- What should Government do to make India forget and forgive . . 8

Co-operative Credit Societies : How the — should deal with their members in pecuniary difficulties 60

Council of State :
- Comments on Mr. Shastri's resolution in the — regarding amendment of provisions in the law for the suppression of disturbances . . . 24
- Why Government negatived Sir Dinshaw Wacha's suggestion for a Committee to investigate into the question of the ability of the country to bear taxation 25

His Excellency the Governor : Comments on the His Excellency Governor's speech at the dinner given by the President of the Bombay Corporation . . . . 21—23

His Excellency the Viceroy : Comments on the Viceroy's speech at the Calcutta Club 19

His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught : Duke of Connaught's visit to India 20

B 377—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Indians in the Colonies :

Comments on Sir B. Robertson's statement before the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission 54
Comments on the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission's Report . 52 & 53
Protest against Indian immigration to Mauritius 55

Indian Legislative Assembly :

Civil Marriages Act Amendment Bill to be introduced in the — . . 36
Comments on the adoption by the — of the resolution on the subject of the appointment of passenger superintendents at Junction stations. 37
Comments on the discussion in the — on the subject of the Simla exodus 35
Comments on the provision for New Delhi in the Indian Budget for 1921-22 34
Comments on the speeches of the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Secretary in the — in justification of military expenditure in India 33
The Indian Budget for 1921-22 . . . . 26—32
Indian Reforms : Alleged worthlessness of the — 38
Irrigation : A complaint in connection with Government's — policy . . 58

Non-co-operation :

Advice to Hindus not to attempt to secure cow-protection by law . 4
Approval of the — movement 5
Comments on the alleged repressive policy of the authorities in India against the — movement 2
Exhortation to the Indians to give a greater response to Mr. Gandhi's — movement 3
Need India fear foreign invasion or internal anarchy in the event of her securing *Swarajya* 1
What should be the attitude of the Parsis towards the present political situation 6

Public Service :

Protest against an advertisement in the *London Times* inviting applications for posts of bank assistants for the Imperial Bank of India . 57
There should be an Indian Private Secretary for the Viceroy . . 56

War :

Bolshevist influence in Persia 50
Comments on Lord Curzon's defence of the mandates 51
Comments on the concessions offered to Turkey in connection with the revision of the Turkish Treaty . . . . 42—44
Comments on the indemnity demanded by the Allies from Germany . 47 & 48
Germany and Bolshevism 49
Reported signing of treaty between Afghanistan and the Soviet Government . . . . 45 & 46

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Draft Bill regarding transferring the duties of the Improvement Trust to the Bombay Municipality 61

EDUCATION.

Comments on the proposal of the Committee of the Bombay University Senate for the establishment of Intermediate Colleges . . . . 62 & 63
There should be a rule in the Grant-in-aid Code prohibiting compulsory religious instruction in aided educational institutions 64

MUNICIPALITIES—

Protest against the fixing of a higher franchise for Municipal elections by the Bombay Corporation than that laid down for the Legislative Council . 65

RAILWAYS—

Complaint about increase of fares on the B. B. & C. I. Railway . . . 66

NATIVE STATES—

Alleged persecution of non-Brahmins by the Chief of Aundh . . . 68
Exhortation to Native Chiefs in Káthiáwár not to follow the repressive policy of the British Government 67

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Need India fear foreign invasion or internal anarchy in the event of her securing *Swarajya*?

Young India (14), 16th Mar.

1. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Sir William Vincent was good enough to inform the Assembly the other day that India could not become even like the Dominions because she would fall an easy prey to any Power that chose to attack her, and if that did not happen she would be torn to pieces by internal strife. If it is true, it is the severest censure that can be pronounced upon British rule in India. I have, however, suggested before now that we need not be afraid either of foreign invasion or anarchy within. British rule has certainly emasculated us. Disarmament has reduced our fighting power, and the policy of 'divide and rule' certainly succeeded for a time in keeping the Hindus and Muslims apart. Common misfortunes have, however, made us brothers in distress. We need not fear foreign invasion, if we refuse to wear foreign cloth and exchange with foreign nations only such produce or manufacture as we choose. South Africa has a poor standing army and no navy. It is true that every Boer is a fighter. But it is not the fighting quality that has made South African whites one nation. It is the consciousness of oneness and ability to die for their country that has made them a nation. The consciousness of oneness is with us an evergrowing quality and with it must come the strength to die. This does not require training either in English schools or in Council halls, and, as I feel that India is realising her unity with an undreamt of velocity, I believe there is every probability of evolving sufficent consciousness of unity and strength to make our demand for immediate *Swaráj* irresistible. Let us not fear the bugbear of anarchy. In spite of a Pathan occasionally running amock in a Bombay street and a Mahant turning satan in Nanakana Saheb, we are essentially good and inoffensive by nature. And when the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Rajputs and the Pathans feel as one nation, we have, if we want it, fighting material enough to give battle to any number of bandits who may wish to despoil us without any cause being given by us. It is the poisonous teaching that we are helpless, sedulously instilled into us by our rulers, that makes my soul rise against the system they have heartlessly administered for so many years. It is this belief of ours in our helplessness which makes the clock of progress go so slow. It is strange that we are in bondage. It would be natural for us to feel free to-day."

Comments on the alleged repressive policy of the authorities in India against the non-co-operation movement.

Gujaráti (17), 20th Mar., Eng. cols.

2. Referring to the policy of repression alleged to have been adopted by the authorities in India against the non-co-operation movement, the *Gujaráti* writes:—"We are now concerned with a distinct change in the policy that the Government of India had publicly announced in unmistakable terms. Lord Willingdon's and Lord Sinha's Governments were the first to inaugurate this change. The call made by the latter upon the officials to combat the non-co-operation movement by all lawful and reasonable means in their power was, in our opinion, apt to be abused by over-zealous officials. The local Governments must bear in mind that their subordinate officials are invested under the existing law with dangerously wide powers which are apt to be misused. Besides, the direct interference of officials in politics has been proclaimed over and over again by Government as being most objectionable. We fail to understand why any departure from this sound principle should now be actively encouraged by His Excellency the Viceroy and even insisted upon by the heads of different provinces in India. It is never wise for Governments to preach and act upon grossly inconsistent principles and thus create most awkward positions.......... We quite concede that those who break the law of the land must be prepared to face the consequences of their action. But we do not think that it should be left to local officers to carry on an active campaign against the movement. They have, as a rule, distinguished themselves by over-zeal and done not a little to harm the moral prestige of Government by excessive exercise of their enormous discretionary

powers in season and out of season......... It is not a little significant that even the United Provinces Government have announced their determination not simply to take measures for preventing breaches of the public peace but for putting down the non-co-operation movement itself on the ground that 'it is in itself a subversive and unlawful movement' and that it 'involves a constant risk of extended disorder and bloodshed'...... The Bombay Government has so far shown considerable wisdom in not attaching exaggerated importance to what they must be believing as the effusions of inexperienced enthusiasts. The authorities in Sindh have, however, not shared in this belief but manifested a strong disposition to take full advantage of their discretionary powers. It is to be regretted that the attitude of the various Provincial Governments has undergone a distinct change even before His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught had reached Aden. We hope the Bombay Government will not fan the dying or smouldering embers into a flame but resolutely adhere to the wise policy they have consistently followed so far."

Exhortation to the Indians to give a greater response to Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement.

Lokasatta ( ), 12th Mar.

3. A correspondent, writing in the *Lokasatta*, says that the unjust and tyrannical British rule has completely ruined the country. According to him, every Indian, be he literate or illiterate, knows that the rulers have deliberately reduced the people to a state of dependence and degradation. The writer expresses his surprise that, in spite of this knowledge, people do not give adequate response to Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement started with the object of freeing the land from a foreign yoke.

Advice to Hindus not to attempt to secure cow-protection by law.

Young India (14), 16th Mar.

4. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—" During my wanderings I have come across many instances of Hindus being in a hurry so protect the cow. I would respectfully remind them of the homily proverb, 'Haste is waste.' In several municipalities, Lahore for instance, they have been trying to pass a bye-law prohibiting slaughter of calves and milch cattle. The object is laudable and unexceptionable. But these things cannot be brought about by majorities. It is entirely for the Muslims to take the initiative. Hindus cannot force the pace. And Muslims cannot be expected to take legal steps till we have attained Swaraj. Either we are non-co-operators or we are not. If we are, we cannot seek the assistance of the Government even to protect the cow. I hope, therefore, that Hindu non-co-operators in Lahore as elsewhere will dissociate themselves entirely from any movement to secure legislative protection for the cow. We must recognise that the Muslims are everywhere doing most handsomely in the matter. They are trying their utmost to respect Hindu susceptibilities. Impatient Hindus will actually injure their own cause by forcing the pace. Either we rely upon Muslim nobility or upon the force of arms or law. Having chosen the former, we dare not resort to the latter. Let it be remembered that forces are still at work to destroy the growing friendliness between Hindus and Muslims. Mischief-makers are straining every nerve to break the tie that binds the two. They are already exploiting the Lahore incident. We must not play into the hands of 'the enemy'."

Approval of the non-co-operation movement.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 13th Mar.

5. Writing on non-co-operation in the columns of the *Mufid-e-Rozgár*, His Holiness Hazrat Qudsi remarks as follows:—There was a time when I was against the programme of non-co-operation. [*Vide* paragraph 18 of Weekly Report No. 5 of 1921.] Now some of the Khilafat workers have removed my doubts, and after mature consideration I have arrived at this conclusion, that undoubtedly non-co-operation is absolutely necessary at the present juncture, and that is the only non-violent and peaceful weapon for our success......... I have always approved of the efforts of the Khilafat Committee. But I am sorry some persons had created doubts about it in my mind. I now thank God that after discussing the matter with the Khilafat workers I have uprooted the doubts from my mind. I now call upon my followers to

respond to the appeal of the Khilafat Committee and liberally subscribe to its funds. At the present time it is the moral and political duty of every person to pay subscriptions to it. Whatever work these well-wishers of the country and the community are doing is for our own well-being. It is, therefore, necessary that we too should give practical proofs of our own true love, sincerity and devotion.

What should be the attitude of the Parsis towards the present political situation.

Model ( ), 13th Mar.

6. The *Model* appreciates the enthusiasm for politics shown by the Parsi Central Association. It remarks that the memorial presented by this association to His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the Viceroy and the Secretary of State shows that the Parsi community in general stands shoulder to shoulder with the Hindus and the Muhammadans. It adds that the Parsis are as eager for the speedy attainment of *swarajya* as the other communities but that they are not in favour of non-co-operation as a means to it. It advises them, in the first place, to take part in politics just as the late Mr. Dadabhai Navroji did and to trim their sails to the wind. Secondly, it asks them not to injure the feelings of Hindus and Muhammadans, with whom their fortunes are bound up in many ways. Thirdly, it asks them to give every practical help to the *swadeshi* movement. It points out to them that even now in the Hindu and Muhammadan States the Parsis are enjoying equal rights in respect of high posts and freedom of trade; and, therefore, it warns them not to indulge in such foolish talk as that after the attainment of *swarajya* injustice will be done to the small Parsi community and that the Hindus and the Muhammadans will crush them.

Comments on Lord Reading's speech at the farewell dinner given to him by the Indians in London.

New Times (9), 17th Mar.

7. Commenting upon Lord Reading's speech at the farewell dinner given to him by the Indians in London, the *New Times* remarks :—" At the very moment the Viceroy-Designate talks of India 'marching in partnership' with England, the Indian Government has launched a campaign of repression against the national movement. Lord Reading asks Indians 'at the outset to give faith to him.' But *faith* cannot live without *works*. One easily believes him when he says he is 'animated with the best motives'; but will he impress his 'motives,' his will, on the Administration ? And will he respond to the Indian demands ?......... Lord Reading is silent on these essential demands of the Nation. H. H. the Aga Khan, presiding at the function, referred to the Duke of Connaught's appeal to 'forget and forgive the unhappy events in the Punjáb,' and rightly added that 'the necessary accompaniment to forgetfulness and forgiveness was a sense of equal citizenship in the British Empire.' To 'forget' the tragedy would be a psychological impossibility; to 'forgive' would be a moral mockery unless the party that forgives has also the *power* to punish......... The country's confidence is in the Congress, and the Congress has given its verdict in favour of non-co-operation. Renewed co-operation, for which Lord Reading pleads, is not possible until the three fundamental demands of the Nation are satisfied. When *will* they be satisfied ? The future is in the lap of the Gods. At present the Indian problem is only being intensified by the thoughtless policy of repression; at present the Government is going steadily down the wrong road."

What should Government do to make India forget and forgive.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Mar.

8. "The Aga Khan went to the root of the matter when referring to the Duke of Connaught's appeal to forget and forgive the unhappy events in the Punjáb, he emphasised that the necessary accompaniment to forgetfulness and forgiveness was a sense of equal citizenship in the Empire. And the treatment of Turkey, as he told Lord Reading, would be regarded as the test whether or not India, in a full sense, was to be regarded as a partner in the Empire. Platitudinous assurances in this respect, on the part of British statesmen, have not been wanting. But India is now completely disillusioned. She wants deeds, not words. The recent speeches of Lord Reading show that he is anxious to do the right and just thing by India......... Mr. Spoor's statement that in selecting Lord Reading Government could not have a better man will be endorsed by Indians. But it is as well for the British people to realise that while a dominating and sympathetic personality—as we have reason to believe Lord Reading will prove to be—will continue to count in Indian affairs as in those of any other country, what India needs now and is determined to get is not merely a change of personnel but of system. With the best intentions in the world, Lord Reading will not be able to do anything substantial so long as the main demands of the people remain unsatisfied...... The *Daily Telegraph* says that 'a generous revision of the Treaty of Sevres may have a favourable influence on the events in India'. What India wants is not a 'generous' revision but a revision that both justice and the honour of Britain demand. A revision of the Treaty in accordance with the pledge of the Premier—a pledge given in the name of the Empire—and in consonance with the requirements of Islam will do more than anything else to restore the confidence of India and the East generally in the *bonâ fides* of Britain and, what is more, will be the most effective guarantee of the peace of the Orient. As we have pointed out on previous occasions, British statesmen do not yet seem to have realised the depth of Muslim feeling in regard to the Khilafat as well as the needs of Turkish nationalism. However the Turks are pacified—and a more drastic revision of the Treaty of Sevres will have to be made before such pacification is possible—there is only one way of solving the Khilafat question. Mr. Gandhi has, therefore, done well to make it clear once again that the Khilafat movement is essentially a religious one, that the existence of Islam demands the total abrogation of the mandates taken by Britain and France, that no influence, direct or indirect, over the Holy Places of Islam will be tolerated by Indian Muslims, that, in short, the terms of the Khilafat have to be settled more in consultation with the spiritual leaders of Islam than with the political leaders of Turkey. Granting, however, that all these conditions are satisfied, it cannot be too often emphasised that, so far as India is concerned, it will not be enough. The iron has entered too deep into the soul of India. The war and its aftermath—the Rowlatt Act, the Punjáb, the 'Reforms' diluted with repression and the perpetual threat of repression—have driven this conviction to her mind that the only remedy for her present evils is *swaraj*........ India, in short, wants and is determined to have 'Dominion status' not only in domestic but in all matters, foreign, fiscal and military. If the advent of Lord Reading does not mean the satisfaction of this demand of India, she will not feel that justice has been done to her."

Comments on the Nankana Sahib tragedy in the Punjab.
Kesari (115), 15th Mar.

9. The massacre at Nankana Sahib has caused great excitement among the Sikh community who are openly accusing Government officers of neglect of duty. Is it not strange that the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Curry, should apply for leave just at this time? Of course it may be a mere coincidence. But such coincidences appear to be fairly common in India. For instance, victims of the wrath of European officers necessarily have enlarged spleens and whenever riots take place and officers are charged with neglecting to take steps to prevent them, their failing health comes to their help and sends them off to their homes just in time?

Comments on Government's intention to abandon the penal settlement in the Andamans.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Mar.

10. "The declaration of the intention of the Government of India to abandon altogether the penal settlement in the Andamans at the earliest possible moment will be widely welcomed. From Sir William Vincent's statement in the Legislative Assembly it is obvious that it is the pressure of public opinion much more than the report of the Jail Committee that had induced the Government to entertain the idea of effacing altogether the 'hell upon earth,' as Colonel Wedgwood aptly characterised the conditions obtaining in the Andamans. Probably Colonel Wedgwood's recent scathing denunciation of these conditions had more to do with the Government's resolve to abandon the Settlement than anything else. However, by deciding to effect this reform, the Government of India will be removing a long-standing blot on the administration. We hope there will be no avoidable delay in carrying the decision into effect. The announcement that Government have issued orders for the immediate repatriation of all political prisoners and women convicts will also be welcomed by the public. Is it too much to expect that the occasion should be taken to set at liberty all those who have been convicted for purely political offences ?"

Comments on the Report of the Indian Jails Committee.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 14th Mar.

11. People will welcome the recommendations contained in the report of the Jails' Committee. The suggestion for the appointment of experts to supervise jails is very important. But we hope that these posts will not be reserved for highly-paid Europeans. Government should send Indians to England to be trained for these posts. We do not understand why Military Assistant Surgeons should be appointed as Superintendents of district jails. Men possessing the best qualifications, be they military Assistant Surgeons or Civil Assistant Surgeons, should be appointed as superintendents of jails. [The paper then goes on to express approval of the suggestions contained in the report for providing separate jails for professional criminals, for providing cells of a better type, for providing libraries and for making arrangements for imparting education in jails. It then continues :—] The recommendation that the religious practices of the prisoners should be respected cannot also be too highly praised. But the most important recommendation of the Committee relates to the Andamans. The explanation given by Sir William Vincent at the Legislative Assembly that the Andamans should only be maintained as a colony for the worst of criminals and to ultimately abandon it as a penal settlement will be received with satisfaction. After how many centuries have the officials realized the difficulty of controlling the Andamans from such a long distance ? There will be satisfaction in the country at the recall of political prisoners back to India. We are also glad that Government has accepted the popular demand for immediately relieving the female prisoners in the Andamans from conditions which are more disgraceful than those under which the unfortunate female labourers of Fiji live.

Complaints about the oppression practised by Satyashodhaks on the Brahmins in the Sátára District.

Kesari (115), 15th Mar.

12. The pranks of the Satyashodhaks have been increasing of late in the Sátára District and particularly in the Patan Taluka and it is becoming impossible for isolated Brahmin families to live in villages. An instance of the lengths to which this evil has gone has been brought to our notice. The events that took place on the 20th of February in the village of Gaiwade in the Patan Taluka are not the first of their kind. We have been receiving similar complaints for the last seven or eights months. We, however, did not take any notice of these complaints as we believed that this state of affairs would not last long. But our hopes have been disappointed. It is useless to expect that Government officers will put an end to this evil, as they seem to have gone so far as to threaten the Brahmins with letting the Satyashodhaks loose upon them. Hence our advice to those Brahmins who are exposed to this sort of oppression is that they should make up their minds that there is no British rule in the Sátára District and especially in the Patan Taluka and then take the necessary steps for their own protection. Because, when events such as those referred to above take place near the camps of Government officers, it must be understood that these officers have given up their powers to the Satyashodhaks. Hence what use is there in asking the help of these very officers ?

Appeal to Government to stop eviction proceedings in connection with the Mulshi Petha project and to publish at once the terms on which compensation is to be made.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Mar.

13. "The Mulshi project will shortly come up for discussion before the local Legislative Council and Government will have an opportunity of justifying their policy in regard to it. It is to be regretted that, instead of discussing the scheme in all its details with the representatives of the public, and in particular with the representatives of the villagers who are likely to be affected by the scheme, Government should have hastened with their acquisition proceedings. The villagers are entitled to know the nature and extent of the compen-

sation they are to get for being evicted in so wholesale a manner from their ancestral homesteads. Government have not yet placed before the general public the terms of the agreement with the Tatas. Until their terms as well as the principle underlying the compensation are fully known, it will be impossible for the public to approve of the scheme and the proposal to evict thousands of poor villagers from their houses. The project is doubtless of national importance; but there is no reason why the process of acquisition of the villages should not be subjected to full public scrutiny, since the weal and woe of thousands of illiterate and helpless villagers are involved. The representations of the villagers ought to receive the first consideration and no action should be taken without meeting their legitimate demands. A speedy settlement of the compensation to be given to the villagers is of vital importance, next to the adequacy thereof. So far no steps have been taken to effect this. Is it any wonder that the villagers refuse to put faith in the *bonâ fides* of the offers of the Government under the Land Acquisition Act? These offers may be generous, but let them be first indicated in unequivocal terms, so that the villagers may be in a position to judge of their adequacy. The present topsy-turvy proceedings under which the ryots are evicted first and compensation is declared afterwards is calculated to rouse suspicion and resentment among the people....... .. It would be no exaggeration to say that by their bungling and secret diplomacy the Company and the Government have invited such a movement among the villagers as is now threatened. It is, however, not too late yet to stop all eviction proceedings at once and to satisfy the reasonable claims of the villagers before they are sent adrift. And the demands of the ryots, as formulated through their accredited representatives, are both reasonable and fair.......... They have been told by Government officers that the Act will be interpreted in the most liberal manner. These vague bureaucratic formulas mean nothing. What is wanted is a definite assurance and a clear well-defined procedure which includes an effective representation of the ryots; and, above all, an undertaking that the terms of the agreement between the Secretary of State and the Company would be subject to close security by the public and the Legislative Council.

Comments on the Committee appointed by Government to consider the nuisance of Sporting Clubs in Bombay.
Bombay Samáchár (61), 14th Mar.

14. It is gratifying to note that Government have appointed a Committee to inquire into and report upon the evil of Sporting Clubs in the city of Bombay. It, however, seems rather strange that the attention of Government had not been drawn to the glaring evil of Sporting Clubs till a member of the Legislative Council asked an interpellation about it. We would have liked to see more popular representatives connected with social work appointed on the Committee. Let us, however, hope that the Committee will submit its report at an early date and recommend such steps as would put an end to the evil of Sporting Clubs in an effective manner.

Comments on the taking possession of municipal buildings at Nadiád by the Collector of Kaira.
Gujaráti (17), 13th Mar.

15. The steps that the Collector of Kaira has begun to take in the matter of certain municipal buildings at Nadiád go to show that Government have lost their patience. The question has now arisen as to who are the rightful owners of two out of the three municipal buildings at Nadiád. Even if the buildings belong to Government it would not be advisable to take possession of them by force. The Collector could very well have given a longer notice than one of only seven days about his intention to take possession of the buildings. He should have waited to see what steps the Municipality of Nadiád was taking to stand on its own legs. Municipalities have been constituted by Government under their laws, and no Government can tolerate the idea of any Municipality defying these laws. The Municipality in question and its rate-payers should bear it in mind that it is one thing to agitate for reform and quite another to participate in a movement that would subvert Government and make its task impossible. It was not creditable on the part of the President of the non-co-operating municipality to try to conciliate the officials. Why should the non-co-operationists ask for respite or mercy from Government? The question now arises as to whether it is lawful on the part of the Municipality to take up educational work. Can the Municipality levy any educational cess? If the Municipality refuses to take any educational grant from Government, they would be justified in refusing the use of their buildings to the Municipality. The people of Nadiád should bear this in mind that boys from the municipal school will have the doors of higher education closed against them as boys of Government primary schools will be given preference in the matter of admission to Government schools. The quarrel between Government and the Municipality is likely to prove harmful to the people and so some compromise should be arrived at.

Mr. J. B. Petit's new political party.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 12th Mar.

16. Commenting upon Mr. Jehangir Bomanji Petit's letter to the press expressing his views on the present political situation and announcing the formation of a new party called the Indian Progressive Party, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—We must congratulate Mr. Petit upon the independence he has displayed in examining the present situation. He is, however, acting in an unpractical manner in suggesting remedies to meet the situation. No special programme has been outlined for the new party, which has in fact copied Mr. Gandhi's programmes with this alteration that it substitutes opposition to Government in place of non-co-operation. There is ample field for political work under the banner of the Indian National Congress and there is, therefore, no necessity of bringing a new party into existence. Let us hope the new party will not meet the fate of the National Home Rule League.

Government's responsibility for the present trade depression in India.
New Times (9), 11th Mar.

17. "The Government has muddled by artificially handling its exchange and currency; and Mr. Hailey did not state the position correctly when he said in his budget speech that 'the Government were allowing national forces to work.' He made a lengthy statement to explain away and justify the position of Government and tried to show that the future would automatically adjust itself! We believe if only the Government had the mind they could resort to a temporary remedy. Indirectly, it is admitted, the recommendations of the Currency Committee have led to the present extraordinary position; and it behoves Government to seek extraordinary remedies of a temporary character. Mere explanation—and Mr. Hailey did not even offer a satisfactory explanation—is no justification of an economic, or, for the matter of that, of any other, policy. When the Finance Member is faced with a deficit in the budget he is quick and expedient enough to resort to new sources of taxation; but when he is asked to face a crisis in which practically the whole trade of the country is involved, he confesses failure and shows only a vista of international credits! The broad fact is there that the fluctuations of exchange banned our exports when exchange was high and our imports when it was low. And the Administration has no courageous policy to save Indian trade from its present state of strangulation."

Comments on the protests of the Lancashire millowners against the increase in the import duty on piecegoods.
Mahrátta (8), 20th Mar.

*18. "No sooner has the Indian budget been out than representations after representations are being heaped upon Mr. Montagu with an urgent demand that the proposed increase in the tarff be vetoed.......... We are not surprised at these struggles of the English merchants to keep their interests intact. We rather wonder at the fantastic arguments which are advanced by them. It is said, among many other things, that 'the tax would fall heavily upon the Indian consumer.' So, it is after all pity for the Indian consumer that has moved the Lancashire and Manchester traders to such a furious endeavour to get the increase in the tariff cancelled! Benevolent are the sons of Christ indeed! Why should not the Indian Legislators call into exercise a similar benevolent feeling of pity and ask Mr. Vincent to increase the duty not to 7½ per cent. but to cent per cent. so that British goods would never be sent away to India and the sons and daughters of 'old England' would be doubly clad and protected against the unbearable cold of the island?"

Comments on the Viceroy's speech at the Calcutta Club.

Prabodh ( ), 6th Mar.

19. Commenting upon the speech made by His Excellency the Viceroy on the occasion of the dinner given to him by the Calcutta Club, the *Prabodh* remarks that in saying that the non-co-operation movement had failed, and that an attempt should be made to combat it, His Excellency made statements which are self-con-contradictory and it asks His Excellency whether the need for combating a movement does not cease to exist with its failure. The truth is, remarks the paper, that the Viceroy knows that the movement is neither dead nor is his ridicule going to kill it. The paper concludes by saying that if the people are not given *swarajya* they are determined to take it by all peaceful means.

Duke of Connaught's visit to India.

Chitramáya Jagat (83), (Marathi) Jan.

20. Mr. Damodar Vishwanath Gokhale writes in the *Chitramáya Jagat*:—The non-co-operators rely upon their own efforts. They never expected to receive any benefits from the visit of the Duke of Connaught. The Moderates alone were expectantly awaiting his arrival, but the Duke completely disappointed them. Mr. Shastri urged the non-co-operators to wait until the Duke made his speech at Delhi; but the Duke's speech proved to be absolutely barren. In the first place, the King of England himself has no power. The people there have made him a mere puppet in their hands. And the Duke is uncle to such an Emperor! What can the uncle of an Emperor give when the Emperor himself has nothing to give? But our Moderates expected favours even from such a quarter? In one way it was good that this uncle disappointed them. Perhaps this disappointment itself may lend support to the non-co-operation movement and help forward the cause of *swarájya.*

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech at the dinner given by the President of the Bombay Corporation.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Mar.

21. In the course of its comments on His Excellency the Governor's speech at the banquet given by the President of the Bombay Corporation, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"His Excellency's chief claim to the applause of his audience lay in the assumption that he had done his duty by launching the Bombay Development Scheme. The scheme, or rather the manner in which it is being carried out, has formed the subject of well-informed criticism, and definite allegations have been made against Government of acting autocratically in a matter of vital public interest, of throwing a damper on Indian talent and enterprise, of untold extravagance, irresponsibility and partisanship. The record has been, in fact, one of promises made but not fulfilled. That is the substance of the criticism of which he complains. It needs an answer. We very much wish he had told us what had been done to remove public discontent in the directions that have frequently been pointed out in these columns. Why was he silent in regard to the protest against the Hepper dispensation or the demand for the appointment of an Indian Director; the reckless extravagance that has characterised the administration of the scheme so far, and the undue preponderance allowed to British talent and enterprise at the expense of indigenous talent and industries? The allegations that have publicly been made against the Department are serious enough, and we can only regret that Sir George Lloyd made no attempt to meet them. He referred to the hearty response of Bombay to the Development Loan as being 'a mark of confidence in our schemes and a testimony of the public spirit of the citizens of Bombay.' But he omitted to say how that confidence has been abused by a breach of faith. Who will not remember how his Government in their anxiety to ensure the success of the Development Loan resorted to the most specious appeals to the civic patriotism of the citizens, by dinning into their ears that every pie raised would be spent in Bombay for Bombay by Bombay, and who will also not recall how Government have failed to keep their troth with the public? His Excellency mentioned various schemes that have been, or are about to be, begun. Excepting, perhaps, the Back Bay scheme, to which even so pronounced a pro-official as Mr. Dabholkar would not attach as much importance as to the Salsette development, and which is admittedly not urgent, the rest of those outlined by the Governor belong to the domain of the Improvement Trust and cannot be treated as an excuse for the Departmental extravagance that is going on. It seems to us, now that the transfer of the Improvement Trust to its legitimate owner has been decided upon, the Government would hand it over to the Corporation in a truncated form and exploit the schemes with a view to give the plausibility of justification to the creation of the Development Directorate with its costly personnel. Sir George Lloyd spoke with delight regarding the decision to allow, pending the transfer of the Trust, two more representatives of the Corporation on it. We fail to notice in it any generous concession in view of the encroachment on the Trust's function and having regard to the fact that the Advisory Board to the Director of Development has cleverly been rendered infructuous by the terms of reference. It would have been far more to the point if Sir George Lloyd had also said how far any attempt had been made to remedy the numerous grievances of property-owners and residents in the area comprised within the Salsette division, which has been occasioned by the erratic methods and manners of those placed in 'a little brief authority.' The discontent will not be the less for the assurance of Sir George that 'we shall need no statue to our memory such as you have at the end of this hall, but shall be content and have our reward in the increasing fame and lustre of this great city.' The fact remains that alluring promises were made of an earthly paradise that was going to be created for the teeming 'masses' on the city, and that these promises have been lost sight of, or thrust into the background, bringing discredit on the Government and causing disappointment to the people."

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 19th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 17th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 19th Mar.

22. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd is a very painstaking and conscientious Governor and never arrives at any conclusion without a careful study of the questions placed before him. We admire his industrious habits, but all the same we do not think that the speech he delivered at the annual dinner of the Bombay Corporation in respect of the development of Bombay will in any way satisfy the general public. His Excellency has not supplied us with full details about the scheme, and we hear inquiries being made in all quarters about the functions of the Development Board. How is the Development Loan going to be expended? Will Government invite suggestions about the housing scheme from the public or will they follow their own whims? People have now begun to think well of the Bombay Improvement Trust, which submits to them its plans and annual budgets and gives them an opportunity to express their opinion and to consider it far better than the Development Board that seems to be working in the dark. Much misunderstanding prevails in the minds of the public about the Development Board, and it would, therefore, do well to take the public into its confidence by publishing its schemes and plans. We are grieved to know that co-operative housing societies have made little progress in the city and we hope the Development Board will take steps to provide these societies with building materials at rates cheaper than those prevailing in the market. His Excellency has undertaken a mighty scheme for providing housing accommodation for the poor classes, and we hope that he will not fail to take the people into his confidence, so that the Development Board may not be guilty of committing mistakes that could easily be avoided. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We share the hope expressed by His Excellency that he may be able to see the practical results of his scheme before the end of his regime. We must thank His Excellency for the help he has promised to the co-operative building societies. We would like to suggest that the Development Board, instead of merely paying a fixed sum of compensation to the owners of houses that will be pulled down, should undertake to give them ready-made houses in good localities on the condition that they will not charge more rent than they were charging for their old tenements. Now that the several departments have been placed in the charge of Ministers, they should also be invited to the Municipal dinner and given an opportunity of taking the people into their confidence in the matter of their policy. The *Bombay Samáchar* remarks:—There was some

delay on the part of His Excellency in explaining his scheme to the public; but the latter will be pleased at the reasons that actuated him in his policy of secrecy. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the Development Scheme has proved a success and that the work that has been achieved under it during the last two years is very creditable. The public will be glad to hear that a considerable portion of the Development Loan will be expended in providing housing accommodation to the poor classes. His Excellency has done well in pointing out the defects of the co-operative housing societies, and we hope these societies will make no delay in placing themselves on a working basis by entrusting their management to qualified businessmen who can command public confidence. The Bombay public will be gratified to note that the question of transferring the Improvement Trust to the Bombay Municipality is nearing settlement.]

Indian Social Reformer (7), 20th Mar.

***23.** Commenting upon His Excellency the Governor's speech at the Bombay Corporation banquet, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes :—"Nobody wants the Governor to promise what he is not sure of being able to do, but, where a large scheme involving a vast expenditure and, as His Excellency admitted, inconvenience and hardship to a few (thousands, we take the liberty of adding), is concerned it is no use pleading like Cordelia that one would rather leave the history unspoke that one intends to do. His Excellency is engaged on a great work of social reform and every social reformer should make his work educative at every step and stage in order to avoid violent reaction. The bolt from the blue method is peculiarly ill-suited to social reform, and, indeed, whatever comes that way cannot be social reform. Anything pertaining to social reform has necessarily a compelling claim on our support, but unless the public are given a connected and intelligible view —the tons of earth removed and the number of workmen employed do not give this—of the whole plan, it is obviously unfair to ask for constructive criticism. In a vast scheme like this many valuable (?) mistakes must be made, and the employment of English agency at the strategic points deprives Indians—and India—of the experience and expert knowledge which only a study of such mistakes can impart. Administration in these days cannot be regarded as a gladiatorial exhibition in which the part of the public is to applaud or hiss at appropriate moments. To cherish such an idea of the relative parts of the public and Government is, apart from everything else, inconsistent with the professed spirit of the Reforms. By the way, the Development Department should be a 'transferred subject' according to the clear directions of the Reform regulations, and its retention as a 'reserved' one has not been explained and is indefensible. To say this is not to be lacking in appreciation of the vigour and energy that Sir George Lloyd is bringing to bear on his great task. As regards co-operative housing, its failure may be due to the causes which His Excellency mentioned. It is desirable, however, to have an investigation made as to the extent to which co-operative housing is practicable in a city nearly 80 per cent. of whose population have their homes elsewhere, and do not intend to remain in Bombay longer than they can help."

Comments on Mr. Shastri's resolution in the Council of State regarding amendment of provisions in the law for the suppression of disturbances.

Baroda Vartamán (60), 14th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (21), 12th Mar.

24. Scarcely has the back of the Duke of Connaught been turned on India, when the hollowness of the new reforms is coming to light! The speech made by Sir W. Vincent in opposing the resolution moved by Mr. Sastri in the Council of State for the repeal of certain measures with a view to bringing the Indian law about disturbances in line with that prevailing in England goes to show that he apprehends grave disturbances in India in the near future and that Government are determined to use brute force to put down non-co-operation. It shows bankruptcy of statesmanship on the part of Government to indulge in such threats instead of resorting to conciliatory measures. Let Government do what they like; the people will continue to pursue the path of non-violent non-co-operation chalked out by Mr. Gandhi with a view to securing independent Swarajya. [The

Hindusthán deplores the attitude taken by Government towards Mr. Shastri's resolution and asks Mr. Shastri to join the non-co-operation movement.]

Why Government negatived Sir Dinshaw Wacha's suggestion for a committee to investigate into the question of the ability of the country to bear taxation.

Sind Observer (12), 23rd Feb.

25. "To Sir Dinshaw Wacha's question whether Government are aware of what may be the existing ability of the country for purposes of taxation, and if not, whether they propose to consider the expediency of appointing a committee to investigate the question and report thereon, Government have vouchsafed the familiar reply. The answer contains a platitude which shows Government are fighting shy of the matter. .... This is clearly an ostensible dodge to burke the issue. The real reason for this, we fear, is not far to seek. No one knows better than the Government what the economic staying power of the Indian tax-payer is, particularly of the ryot whose life is a long drawn out struggle between harvest and harvest, and whose average annual income is not more than Rs 50 putting it at the highest computation. On the other hand, a committee if appointed would prove a very embarrassing thing. It would pierce all the veils and probe into the mysteries of bureaucratic finance and suggest drastic alterations and reductions in figures such as the enormous expenditure on the Military, the Police, the Civil Service and similar other over-fed departments, if the tax-payer were to be taxed no further. This is what exactly Government do not like. Further, the committee may suggest also some constructive proposals as the building of a tariff wall and the levying of customs duties on imports and exports to augment the sources of revenue. This is equally unpalatable to Government, whose 'duty' it is hereafter to protect minorities and the privileged classes and who have to maintain inviolate 'imperial obligations'. Frankly, this is the only explanation. We regret this decision, the more so, in view of the fact that Government have protested in most pronounced accents that they will co-operate whole-heartedly with the people's representatives in the new era, and have given a distinct proof of their changed attitude of mind by consenting to the appointment of a committee to report on the abolition of some repressive laws on the Statute Book."

The Indian Budget for 1921-22.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (164), 13th Mar.

26. Commenting upon the enhanced duties on imports in India, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* invites the attention of Government to the profiteering business of the shop-keepers, specially in the case of match-boxes, and thinks that if Government want to find out means to defray military expenditure, then the best course for them is to increase the taxes on cocaine, opium and wine and to keep the necessaries of life absolutely untouched so that the people might prosper. It warns Government of the evil effects of the curses of people if the prices of the necessaries of life rise higher.

Lokasangraha (118), 12th Mar.

27. The first budget of the 'New Era' shows a deficit of 19 crores. The taxes imposed with a view to cover this deficit are such that they will affect the rich and the poor alike. This year's budget will incessantly remind all persons, from the illiterate woman who lights a match for her morning fire to the educated man drinking his morning tea, of the New Councils. Since all sorts of articles have been taxed, it was natural that the budget should have been attacked from all sides. It was attacked from various points of view. But the main points of attack are the Exchange and the Military expenditure. The attacks were respectively met by the Finance Member and the Commander-in-Chief. The defence of the Commander-in-Chief smacked more of the soldier than the statesman. The non-official Indian members put forward various arguments in condemnation of the military expenditure, but the Commander-in-Chief immediately replied that the army had been reduced by some 13 or 14 thousand. He also said that the difference between the military expenditure of India and that of the British Colonies was due to the fact that India has dangerous borders while they have none. He gave the Council to understand that the Indian Army was for the defence

of India and that in case it was required abroad its expenditure was met by the Home Government. To the proposal that the Army should be mainly Indian he replied that European soldiers were necessary to put down religious riots if they occurred. Finally, he said that he would never think of reducing the strength of the army until they arrived at a satisfactory understanding with the Afghans, until the danger from the Bolsheviks had subsided, until conditions in India become normal, and until the non-co-operators ceased to incite the ignorant masses. All this means that there will be no reduction in the army expenditure until there is contentment in India. And there will be no contentment in India until India gets *Swardjya*. The Commander-in-Chief was of opinion that the proposed army budget was the lowest that could be devised. Yet the proportion of military expenditure to revenue in India is 51 per cent., whereas in England it is 20 per cent. and in the Dominions 5 per cent. The Commander-in-Chief's reply put the Councillors to silence. What stronger proof of the futility of the new Councils?

Kamgar Mitra ( ), 14th Mar.

28. When the Imperial budget came before the Council almost all the members protested against the increase in the postal rates. The huge expenditure on the army—more than 50 per cent. of the revenues—is due to the vast increases in the salaries of European officers. Sometimes it happens that the same officer holds 2 or 3 different posts and is paid accordingly. There is the question of allowance besides. No wonder the expenditure comes to such huge figures! Though the military expenditure is so large the Indian workmen in the military workshops do not even get a gratuity though they work hard and have faithfully served for a long time. Their pay is small and whenever they go on strike the workshops are closed and they are threatened with starvation. The Councillors paid no attention to this flagrant injustice when criticising the budget. The same is the case with the Indian soldiers. Not only is their scale of pay very much lower than that of European soldiers, but it is doubtful whether they get the various allowances their white comrades are given. To accord this unequal treatment to the same class of the Emperor's servants is to deceive the Emperor. We are quite sure that there was ample room for reductions in the army budget. The real cause of the increase in the military expenditure is the increase in the higher posts. We hear that whereas formerly there were only 90 colonels in the Indian Army, there are 400 at present. The working classes are the real producers of the country's wealth. But there is not one item in the budget which may be said to promote the interests or the welfare of those classes. Government are prepared to tax them for revenues but are quite unwilling to spend a pie for their welfare. If Government want money, why should they tax the poor people and leave untouched such wealthy capitalists as the tea and indigo planters and the European-owned industries? Government are prepared to raise the Postal rates but positively refuse to give the overworked postmen even a living wage. We strongly protest against Mr. Hailey's policy of taxing the poor rayats. If postmen are still refused increase of pay after the raising of the Postal rates we will be compelled to say that Government are simply looting the people. Our suggestions to Government on behalf of the working classes are that they should increase the wages and raise the scale of pay of their low paid servants and free the necessaries of life from Customs duties. The military expenditure must be reduced. The contentment of the rayats is the strength of the Government. Hence these suggestions.

Rájakáran (131), 13th Mar.

29. In the course of an article headed 'Benefits accruing from the reformed administration' the *Rájakáran* says that the duty on matches, cotton goods, sugar, etc., will completely impoverish the country. As nearly half the revenue of the country is consumed by the army, remarks the paper, local Governments will have no alternative but to encourage the drink habit with a view to obtaining additional revenue to carry on the administration. It gives expression to its opinion that shortage of money and diminished credit are the two sure signs of the decline of a State. It warns Government that if they go on spending money on the Army and the police at the present rate,

and continue the process of squeezing the poor, there will not fail to be an upheaval at some future date.

Sind Vási (162), 2nd Mar.

30. There are some advantages from the duties which have now been imposed on imports in this country. One of these lies in the raising of the duty on foreign piecegoods from 7 to 11 per cent. This will give an impetus to the textile industry of the country. We are afraid, however, that while our textile industry will prosper, cloth will be dearer than before, owing to the rapacity of the manufacturer. The increased duty on cloth has done another benefit to India. Hitherto, owing to the trouble of exchange, importers have hesitated to take delivery of their goods. Now that the prices of imports have risen owing to the imposition of increased duties thereon delivery will be taken readily of the goods that now lie undelivered. We must congratulate Government on this measure of taxation; at the same time we must start a powerful campaign with a view to pursuading owners of mills to be satisfied with reasonable profits and give up profiteering.

Frontier Gazette (51), 5th Mar.

31. It will not be a happy omen for the new Council to impose additional taxes on the people. What good can the people see in the Reforms which, while giving increased representation to them in the Councils of the country, have, instead of lightening, enhanced their burden of taxation? If the expenditure instead of being adapted to the income is always allowed to increase and new taxes imposed to meet the deficit, it will be very difficult in these hard times for the people to live. Government had better practise economy in such times.

Jágaruk (45), 13th Mar.

32. The huge expenditure on the Army is being attacked by everyone of the elected members of the Legislative Assembly. This is quite natural. As a matter of fact, much of the expenditure on the Army can be reduced without in any way impairing its efficiency. A European soldier costs more than four times as much as an Indian soldier and a European officer costs twelve times as much as an Indian officer! Evidently, therefore, if the European Army is reduced a little and a corresponding increase made in the Indian Army, much of the burden on this unhappy country will be reduced without affecting its security. But, since Government insist upon maintaining a large European army in spite of popular discontent, we suppose they apprehend danger more from within than from without. The increasing discontent in the country is apparently causing them fear. But in our opinion they are acting foolishly in this respect. The increasing expenditure on the army will only have the effect of feeding the discontent, and this in its turn will lead to still more expenditure on the army! Again, why do the Government so much distrust the Indian soldiers? As a matter of fact, they should have more faith in them than in the Europeans. The European soldiers will certainly not be of so much use to Government as the Indian soldiers when the Indians themselves are to be fired upon!!

Comments on the speeches of the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Secretary in the Legislative Assembly in justification of the increases in the military expenditure in India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Mar.

33. "The Indian bureaucracy, like the French Bourbons, will learn nothing and forget nothing. Listening to the speech of the Finance Member the unsophisticated members of the Legislative Assembly would probably have felt that, despite all the vehemence of the non-co-operators, 'India was entering upon a new age, in which the Government would take no action except with the consent and support of the councillors'. But the explanations about the increases in the military burdens that the Commander-in-Chief and the Military Secretary have chosen to place before the Council are an insult to the commonsense of the Councillors and a proof of this fact is afforded by the praise which they have evoked from the *Daily Telegraph*. The reason by which the Government of India seek to justify their military finance are as old as the bureaucracy itself..........

The advocates of Indian democracy have, therefore, no alternative but to reiterate their protest against military expenditure *et hoc genus omne*; nor have they any reason to feel that their protest will meet with any other fate than that which has befallen similar protests in the past sixty years. We would note, however, for the benefit of our 'representatives' the ridiculous effrontery of some of the reasons adduced by Lord Rawlinson as well as by Sir Godfrey Fell. They make much of the dangers of a discontented, inefficient army. But what is discontent? What is inefficiency? Do the Government of India really fear a repetition of the history of the Pretorian Bands or of the Janissaries? The world knows nothing of the internal causes of discontent, if there are any. Has the Indian army begun to feel the call of nationalism? Are the authorities alarmed at the growth of national sentiment in all classes, not excepting their hired soldiers? If so, the Indian councillors or the Indian critics of the Government will find no reason for a special grievance. The only way to remove such discontent—and it is much to be desired that the army should feel the call of patriotism just as keenly as all the other sections of the nation are feeling it—is to accede to the full demands of Indian nationalism. Increases in pay or equipment will not blind the Indian soldiers to their true duty, and money spent in such matters will, from the point of view of the Indian Government of to-day, be little better than thrown away. And what is efficiency? Do they want to reach that degree which characterised the Prussian model in 1914, and which was beaten by the French model of 1918? There was a war with Afghanistan in 1919, as there was in 1879 and in 1839; but the results in every case had a strong family likeness. Has the Indian army made no progress in efficiency since 1839? Or, have all the crores and crores of money spent in the interval upon the army under the pretext of increased efficiency been wasted? We have had in the interval Commander-in-Chief of the type of Roberts and of Kitchener? Are we to conclude that they left our army in such a state of inefficiency as to make the present demand for increased expenditure a veiled condemnation of these military geniuses of the past? The Indian army has fought in China and in the Soudan; in France and in the Transvaal; in Egypt and in Mesopotamia, as well as on the frontiers of India itself. Was it an inefficient army which won encomiums from good judges of military efficiency in these different theatres of war? Was it a disaffected army which conquered Burma, coerced the Boers and massacred Indians in the Jallianwalla Bagh? The truth is, efficiency is a relative term—relative not merely with reference to our knowledge of military requirements and of military equipment at the date in question, but relative also with reference to the political environment of the country concerned, and of the ability of its population to bear the burden. In spite of the statements of Sir Godfrey to the contrary, we see no immediate danger on our North-Western frontier, unless it be manufactured by the alarmists of Simla.......... The Indian army is, we are solemnly assured, for India only; yet there were more than 1,00,000 Indian troops outside the frontiers of India last month, and more than 50,000 will still remain outside India on the last day of this month. But apart from this, we wish some census-compiling genius would tell us the exact fighting strength of the tribes men on our N. W. frontier. The Government of India maintain more than 3,00,000 fully equipped troops, with machine guns and Martinis, aeroplanes and armoured cars, long-range guns and poison gas to fight or frighten—how many tribesmen? If India requires 3,00,000 troops fully-equipped to keep in check 2,50,000 tribesmen, how many men will the Allies need to overawe the German people numbering 45 million souls, or 4,00,000 fighting men? But there is no room for chaff or banter in the grim suggestion about the army being needed to quell domestic riots. Would Sir Godfrey tell us how many riots he fears every year, and what sort of fighting he expects this huge machine of terrorism to meet? Do the Government of India still think the people of India will support them in the use of the armoured car and the machine gun against an unarmed, unruly, undisciplined crowd? Or is this a deliberate affront to those who, still believing in official sanity and solemn pledges, have set their face against non-co-operation? Nothing drives home the plea for non-co-operation quite so effectively as the insane actions of our indefensible, incorrigible, impossible Government. They talk of religious riots at a time when the world, fed on the writings of interested Anglo-Indians, wonders at the newly-cemented Hindu-Muslim unity. But even admitting the possibility of riots, it is only an official admission of our police inefficiency, not a plea for addition to military strength. Given the temper of our unrepentant bureaucracy, given the constitution of the Indian Government, given the wire-pullings of the War Office, we must not expect any reforms in the right direction which would reduce the military incubus without undermining, even in the eye of the most zealous militarist, the efficiency of the army....... The Indian Government dare not introduce conscription to create a territorial army, with an adequate reserve, and with relatively much lower cost per unit maintained, and yet with a much greater insurance against aggression. We will not condescend to reply to the pitiful juggling in figures and percentages, as it will not blind even the most incompetent councillor. There is nothing for it but despair about the sanity of the Government. There is no remedy but the immediate attainment of Swaraj."

Comments on the provision of New Delhi in the Indian Budget for 1921-22.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Mar.

34. "The army expenditure is not the only item of reckless extravagance of which the budget framers at Delhi are guilty. A glance at the sums which are being voted year after year on New Delhi will show that even when the finances of the country are on the verge of bankruptcy and the people are being subjected to intolerable burdens, the authorities cannot put a stop to the wastage of crores which goes on in feeding that white elephant, namely, Imperial Delhi. Mr. Hailey, in the course of his speech on the budget, gave the assurance that 'we are making provision for ordinary civil expenditure on the lowest possible scale.' But this assurance is completely at variance with the facts as disclosed in the budget itself. As much as a crore and ten lakhs are voted in 1921-22 for expenditure on New Delhi. Now, what is the necessity of laying out such an enormous sum on an item of luxury, which the erection of palatial buildings at Raisina truly is, at a time when every pie of the national income ought to be conserved? .... Is India, in its present critical condition, in a position to afford to spend such a fabulous sum as voted in 1921-22 for the building of offices and residential quarters for highly paid officers of Government? The Finance Member is obliged to raise the prices of even necessaries of life in order to make both ends meet, yet it does not strike him to call a halt, temporarily at least, in the reckless extravagance that goes on at the capital. The bureaucracy, in instances of this type, lays bare the utter poverty of its heart and its total incapacity to promote the welfare of the millions whom it professes to protect."

Comments on the discussion in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the subject of the Simla exodus.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Mar.

35. "The Indian Legislative Assembly, by its vote on the Simla exodus, has once again demonstrated how little representative it is of the voice of the country. Be it said, however, to the credit of some members of the Moderate party that they made a stand against hill-top Government. Mr. Sarma, on the other hand, out-bureaucrated the bureaucrat in his defence of the annual exodus. In spite of the declared intention of the other official members to maintain a neutral attitude on the occasion, Mr. Sarma could not refrain from telling the Assembly, from his own experience of life on the Elysian heights that 'it would be truly democratic to walk in the nice climate of the Simla, hills.' And yet as the House was reminded by Mr. Rangachari, this was the very same Mr. Sarma, who, as President of the Madras Mahajan Sabha, 'had drafted telegram after telegram in vilifying the wicked bureaucracy for going up to the summer residences.' Delicious, indeed, are the fruits of co-operation with the bureaucracy!......... Apart from this feature of the debate, the futility of the whole proceedings was demonstrated when Government sought to confuse the issue by declaring that the vote on the grant for the completion of the building for the Council Chamber at Simla would be considered also as a vote on the Simla exodus. This was, on the face of it, an unfair dodge. It put the Assembly on the horns of a dilemma.......... It is impossible to consider that the question of the Simla exodus is closed because of the present verdict of the Assembly. The majority of the members of this body have proved themselves to be totally unworthy of the trust reposed in them by the public and to be representative of no one but themselves. Those who opposed the exodus in the present session should leave no stone unturned to put an end to this longstanding scandal at the earliest possible moment."

Civil Marriages Act Amendment Bill to be introduced in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Praja Bandhu (29), 13th Mar., Eng. cols.

36. "Dr. H. S. Gour, Member of the Legislative Assembly, has given notice of a Bill to amend the Civil Marriages Act III of 1872.......... We hope this time Dr. Gour's efforts will not meet with an adverse fate. The Law of Civil Marriages in India constitutes an outrage to all right-minded persons. It sets a premium on intellectual dishonesty. It compels the parties to the marriage contract to declare that they are neither Hindus, nor Muhammadans, nor Christians. We can readily imagine the twings of conscience one must feel when put to the temporary necessity of disowning the religion which he may be professing and cherishing with his life-blood. In all European countries a Civil Marriage Law without reference to race, religion, or social distinction exists, and there is no reason why an Indian cannot contract such a marriage in his own country. The number of such marriages is likely to increase in future, as the sentiment of Nationalism and Internationalism spreads, and the cult of culture and civilization progresses in all directions."

Comments on the adoption by the Indian Legislative Assembly of the resolution on the subject of the appointment of passenger superintendents at junction stations.

Servant of India (10), 17th Mar.

37. "On the motion of Rao Bahadur T. Rangachariar the Legislative Assembly has recently recommended the appointment of responsible passenger superintendents at junction stations and also travelling passenger superintendents for important passenger trains whose sole duty should be to look after the comforts and convenience of passengers, especially third class.......... Training will no doubt make the superintendents more efficient, but unless there is a change in the spirit of railway administration no real improvement will take place. Third class passengers are as much victimised by Indian railway officials as by others. They should be made to realise that unless they show the same solicitude for the comfort and convenience of third class passengers as for that of the higher class passengers, serious notice will be taken of their conduct. A change is primarily wanted in the attitude of the highest authorities."

Alleged worthlessness of the Indian Reforms.

Kesari (115), 15th Mar.

38. The fact that to attain to our goal of self-government we must first be self-reliant is becoming clearer day by day even under the new regime. A month has now passed since the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State commenced their work. Since then not a single resolution tending to the welfare of the public has been passed. On the contrary, the debates that took place in these Councils clearly show how utterly impossible it is to expect a real change of heart in the bureaucracy. The fate of Mr. Shastri's resolutions as well as that of Sardar Jogendrasingh's resolution demanding the release of political prisoners tell the same tale. The discussion on the military expenditure brings out the same point in a still more forcible manner. The white soldier in India costs five times as much as the Indian sepoy. But the bureaucracy have no confidence in the Indian soldiers even after their splendid services to the British Empire in the Great War. The Commander-in-Chief bluntly told the Council that Government could not depend upon the Indian regiments to put down riots. This shows that Government is not only partial but ungrateful as well. The number of British military officers has been vastly increased. The truth is that the Reforms Act was passed in spite of the bureaucracy. Their unsympathetic attitude towards the Reforms can be seen from what they are doing in the case of Burma. They have done their best to prevent this Reform Act being applied to Burma. It was only when the Burmese threatened to boycott Government institutions that Mr. Montagu framed a fresh scheme for Burma similar to that embodied in the Indian Reforms Act. From this it is evident that the bureaucracy is no sympathiser of the New Era and is bent on wrecking the reforms at any cost. But after all it is something that these discussions have revealed the real feelings of the bureaucracy.

39. "We have been told that it was the 'non-Brahmin' phalanx in the local Legislative Council that was in the main responsible for the rejection of the resolution calling upon Government to put an end to the scandal of the periodical exodus to the hills. It is saddening, indeed, to reflect that members claiming to represent the voiceless millions of the labouring and backward classes toiling in the plains all the year round should abet officialdom in the indulgence of costly luxuries and in absentee administration. These gentlemen have evidently forgotten the serious crisis which arose from the absence from Bombay of the Governor and other responsible officials at the time of the influenza epidemic. We cannot for a moment believe that the attitude of these members represents the true sentiments of the community whose 'representatives' they claim to be. When the working classes and the backward communities are in a position to assert themselves, we are certain they will emphatically repudiate the part played by these gentlemen and refuse to be taken in by the plea that absentee Government, engendered by these annual exoduses to the Olympian heights, conduces to more efficient administration. It is not surprising to find also that the 'popular' Ministers, including the late Principal of the Fergusson College, voted solidly for the exodus, though it was open to them, if they deemed it proper, to remain neutral, as the official members of the Government of India did when the Simla exodus was debated upon. Evidently the siren voices of the Elysian groves have proved too alluring for these gallant knights of 'democracy'."

Comments on the debate in the Bombay Legislative Council on the subject of exodus to the hills.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Mar.

40. The Bombay Development Scheme has given rise to many intricate and controversial questions and it was expected that the members of the Bombay Legislative Council would be given an opportunity to discuss them while sanctioning the grant of two crores and a half provided for the scheme in the Budget. We are, therefore, grieved to see that the discussion on the subject was hurried through and the grant was sanctioned practically without any discussion. It is the duty of Government to ascertain the opinion of the Legislative Council in the matter of Transferred Subjects and to give full weight to that opinion. But they have shown themselves lacking in the performance of their duty as can be seen from the hasty manner in which the grant towards the Bombay Development Scheme was sanctioned.

Comments on the discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council on the provision in the Budget for the Bombay Development Scheme.
Sánj Vartamán (32), 15th Mar.

41. Who can say that in spite of a large deficit the additional provision by Government of more than a quarter of a crore of rupees for expenditure on the Police Department does not betoken their particular regard for that department? No sensible man will object to an increase in the pay of the lower grades of the police in these days of high prices; nay, it is absolutely necessary to give the police adequate remuneration if we want them to be more efficient and more honest. A charge of corruption is generally levelled against the police, but if they get a living wage and some education, they will be less open to this charge. The provision made in the budget for this purpose, therefore, will meet with the approval of everyone. The same thing, however, cannot be said about the sum of two and a quarter lakhs of rupees provided for increased salaries to superior officers. No one would have objected to increased expenditure on the police if it were accompanied by

Provision for the Police Department in the Bombay Budget.
Dnyán Prakásh (41), 13th Mar.

increased efficiency. But, according to our past experience, the efficiency of the police is always in inverse ratio to the expenditure on them.

Comments on the concessions offered to Turkey in connection with the revision of the Turkish Treaty.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Mar.

42. "The Turkish Delegation, *i. e.*, the delegation from the 'co-operating' Government of Constantinople, we are told, is very delighted with the concessions which the Allies propose to make to Turkey and 'has expressed deep gratitude to Mr. Lloyd George who is responsible for them.' The concessions are substantial, we admit, but they still fall short of Mr. Lloyd George's solemn pledge given to British Muslims in the name 'of the Empire as a whole,' and, therefore, cannot be accepted as sufficient by British Muslims or by Englishmen. The depth of gratitude expressed by the 'official' Turkish delegates to 'boons' which, though acceptable, fall short of justice, is reminiscent of our own co-operators. We may be certain that the non-co-operating Turks will not express deep gratitude on this occasion, though very possibly they may be tempted to accept the offered modifications of the Treaty for the sake of peace.......... The patriots now fighting under Mustafa Kemal are the last army that the Turkish race can raise. If that army is destroyed, the race of the Osmanli Turks will be extinct politically. In these circumstances, it will be small wonder if the Turkish patriots are tempted to accept concessions which secure them peace with a fair show of honour, since the fact that any concessions at all are offered is due almost entirely to their valiant efforts. But the Allies are not their only hope, as they are the only hope of the 'co-operating' Turkish Government, who shut their eyes obediently when they face north-eastward from Constantinople. The Bolsheviks have been their helpers in the past, and at the present juncture they cannot ignore them.......... But whatever the Angora Government or the Bolsheviks may do is no concern of ours.......... What every Muslim, every human being who possesses generous instincts and a sense of honour must demand is justice for Islam in Turkey and the Arab countries—full justice which has been so long withheld that the whole East has come to question whether the idea of justice is not to-day extinct in English minds. Whatever the Turks may decide, the Government of India, which to-day stands as the representative of Asiatic feeling on this subject, must see to it that this Heaven-sent opportunity of settling the whole Eastern question once for all on lines of justice is not lost through any lack of generosity towards a nation which the late Sir William Russel, Crimean War Correspondent of the *Times*, described as 'the most loyal and patient Ally that England ever had'—a nation which has now been nearly exterminated as a result of England's sinister and ill-fated alliance with the enemy of Crimean days."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 15th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 15th Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (32), 16th Mar.

43. We are sorry to say that the terms offered by Mr. Lloyd George for the Turkish settlement will disappoint the Moslem world. The disputed question of Thrace and Smyrna is almost left untouched. The only important change made in the settlement is that the Allied armies will be withdrawn from Constantinople and the Dardanelles will be controlled to a great extent by Turkey. But this is not really a substantial concession. As the Straits will be controlled by foreigners to some extent and Gallipoli will be in the possession of the Greeks, the capital of Turkey will not be able to enjoy real independence even if the Allied armies are withdrawn. If Gallipoli is handed over to Greece, it will mean that Turkey will be entirely at the mercy of Greece. It is difficult for us to believe that the Turkish delegates thanked Mr. Lloyd George for this revision. But we are anxious to know the opinion of the delegates sent by Mustafa Kemal Pasha on these terms. France has consented to evacuate Cilicia. We hope that Britain will follow her example by taking similar action with regard to Mesopotamia. **[The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses satisfaction at the new arrangement proposed, and adds that this will not be relished by those people in England and Europe who are of opinion that the Turks should be permanently driven away from Europe. It remarks that Turkey will not like the division of Smyrna into two parts, and adds that**

this might give rise to future trouble. It fears that the Turkish Nationalists will ask for more. It finally hopes that the Allies should take into consideration the huge contribution of the Muhammadans towards the winning of the war and secure the revision in such a way as will satisfy them and thus ensure lasting peace. The *Sânj Vartamân* remarks that Great Britain has at last found it necessary to change her policy and to take the lead in getting the Turkish Treaty revised. It adds that the changes proposed are no doubt substantial, and it thanks Mr. Lloyd George for taking the lead in the matter, but it fears that they are quite indequate. It says that more generosity should be shown towards the sentiments of Indian Muhammadans, and adds that the solemn pledges to Indians should be observed by respecting the demands of Indian Muhammadans regarding Turkey. It points out that Great Britain does not seem to be prepared to make any concessions with regard to Mesopotamia and Palestine where the holy places of the Muhammadans are situated. It urges Government to concede the demands of the Moslem members of the Indian Legislative Assembly and Bombay Legislative Council in regard to Turkey. It is of opinion that Great Britain will permanently lose the confidence of the Muhammadan nations within the British Empire if an hostile attitude is adopted towards their religion. It advises Great Britain to utilise this opportunity of winning their confidence. In conclusion, it remarks that if the Indian Muhammadans are to be satisfied, the entire possession of the holy places of Islam which are within the Turkish Empire should be given over to the Khalif.]

New Times (9), 15th Mar.

44. "Turkey has again been treated as a pawn in the game of European politics. The London Conference has offered some concessions to Turkey, but the wrongs to Islam remain. British Imperialism has compromised with the policy of France without abandoning the essential features of its programme which aims at an economic exploitation and a strategic dominance of the East. It must not be forgotten that France has been anxious to play Turkey against Russia; and some of the concessions offered to the Turkish Nationalists aim at averting the danger of an alliance of the Young Turk with the Bolshevist. France, too, has been anxious to break the force of Greece, and the restoration of Constantine has made it necessary that England's Turkish policy must no longer be subservient to Greek intrigues. Some of the acquisitions of Greece have, accordingly, to be made over to Turkey. The concessions offered to the Turk check the ambitions of Greece; but what about the ambitions of British and French Imperialism? There is not a word in the cabled report to indicate that England and France are prepared to give up their 'mandates' in the East! That France would evacuate Cilicia was talked of months ago in the French Senate and Chamber; but what about French ambitions in Syria? The Syrians do not want France as a 'mandatory'......... And what about the British 'mandates' in Mesopotamia? That, too, is believed to be a 'paying affair', and it is required also for 'strategic' purposes by British imperialism! The 'Near East Settlement' must not disturb those 'mandates'. The Allies promise to evacuate Constantinople; but the 'Straits' and 'Thrace' are to be 'internationalised'—which would mean, in practice, dominated by Britain and France......... The concessions of the London Conference will not satisfy Indian Muslims; and if Mr. Lloyd George thought he could conciliate Muslim sentiment thus and then break the force of non-co-operation by detaching the Muhammadans from the movement, he would be deeply disappointed. The Muslim sentiment cannot be conciliated until the integrity of the Khilafat is secured; and Muslim India will not leave the Hindus alone in the national struggle; for Muslims know to-day that the one safeguard of Islam and the one guarantee of national progress and prosperity is *Hind Swaraj*."

Reported signing of treaty between Afghanistan and the Soviet Government.

***Bombay Chronicle* (1), 15th Mar.**

45. "While the Government of India have shrouded the entire subject of negotiation with Afghanistan in a heavy veil of mystery, the report comes from Moscow that a treaty has been signed between the Soviet and Afghanistan so recently as February 28th. Since we have not been told that the Mission which proceeded from this country to Kabul has come back, we can only conclude that the Russo-Afghan Treaty was signed while the Mission was still in Afghanistan. If this is so, the question arises whether the new alliance between Russia and Afghanistan spells the failure of our own Mission, or whether the door is still kept open by Afghanistan for an alliance with India on terms similar to those of the Russo-Afghan Treaty. We are inclined to believe that by his readiness to conclude a treaty with the Soviet Government of Russia the Amir has given a clear hint to the Indian Government that he will be no party to any agreement which will restrict his country's freedom of action in his own foreign affairs. The Government of India have, it is true, given the present Amir an assurance of non-intervention in the foreign policy of Afghanistan, but the adverse criticism in Parliament and in the British press of this 'concession' on the part of the Government must have naturally raised apprehensions in the mind of the Amir regarding the present attempt at rapprochement. The representatives of the Government of India, therefore, ought to neglect no opportunity to dispel from the mind of the Amir and his advisers all suspicion regarding the true aims of the present Mission. If the Amir, for whatever reasons, is disinclined to regard and treat us as his particular friends, there is no reason why we should not be content to live with him on terms of perfectly amicable neighbourliness. That is, after all, all that we want. Unfortunately, the attitude of some of our own statesmen, both official and non-official, has not been above suspicion, at least from the point of view of the Amir.......... The best way of exorcising the Bolshevik bogey would have been for us to meet it in the light of day, inviting delegates from Moscow to be present at the London Conference."

Hindusthán (21), 17th Mar.

46. The manner in which the Government of India refuse to take the people in their confidence with the result that false rumours are set afloat is illustrated by the secrecy they maintained in the matter of the negotiations that were concluded between Afghanistan and Russia on the 28th February last. We have been kept in the dark about the movements and activities of the Afghan Mission. Still the declaration made by Lord Rawlinson at the time of the discussion of the Indian Budget leads us to the conclusion that the Afghan Mission has not proved successful. The news about the Russo-Afghan treaty comes to us from Moscow while the Government of India maintain silence about it! It is the duty of Government to keep the people of India informed about the success or failure of their political missions. Afghanistan does not like any more to be under the control of the Government of India. In these circumstances, India and Afghanistan should live like good neighbours in their own interests. But doubts are being expressed both in official and non-official quarters about the continuance of friendly relations between these two countries. The peace of the world is being sacrificed for maintaining secret diplomacies. If Bolshevist representatives had been invited to the London Conference many misunderstandings would have been cleared up and the Bolshevist or the Afghan menace would have been understood in its true aspects. But secret diplomacy rules supreme and the fate of the world may be said to be now hanging in the balance.

Comments on the indemnity demanded by the Allies from Germany.

New Times (9), 12th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 18th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (21), 16th Mar.; *Hind Vijaya* (67), 6th Mar.

47. "The Kaiser and his counsellors, it is true, plunged the world into the War; but is it fair that their sins should be visited upon the Germans of the next generation? The German people should be allowed opportunities to recuperate and reconstruct their national life. As it is, as the German message states, the Allied demands are 'unprecedented,' and are imposed not alone on the German people responsible for the war but on 'their children and grandchildren'. 'Work of generations', says the German Proclamation, 'would not suffice to execute the demands.' And if the Allies persist in their peesent attitude, they may unconsciously prepare the field for 'the Bolshevik agitotor' who, according to the Berlin correspondent of the London *Times*, 'is to-day more insolently active in Germany than anywhere else in Europe.' Nor can the Allied policy be defended in the name of humanity and higher justice." [The steps the Allies are taking to compel Germany to accept the terms of the indemnity imposed upon her by them are not, in our opinion, practicable, and are calculated not only to intensify the difficulties under which trade and industries all over the world are labouring but will also involve the Allies themselves in great hardships. Before it is too late, the Allies should retrace their steps and show the wisdom of restoring, in the interests of world peace, the freedom of trade and communication which existed before the war. Any other line of action will set the world in a blaze and will help to spread wider that Bolshevism of which they are so very much afraid. The *Hindusthán* characterises some of the demands of the Allies as impossible, and thinks that it might lead to a fresh war. It adds:—The power of endurance of the masses in India is exhausted. The true causes of the present discontent can be found in the crushing burden of high prices and poverty. Would there be any wonder if this new chapter in the enmity between England and Germany should add to the dangers of the situation in India? Should there be another war now, there is no doubt, in view of the above circumstances, that there would be a revolution in India. Our prayer, therefore, is that Government may make no delay in putting an end to the sufferings of the Indians and may realise that the more the grant of *swarájya* is delayed the more the position of Government is weakened. The *Hind Vijaya* doubts if any of the Allies are in a position to launch upon a fresh war, however much pressure they might bring to bear upon Germany.]

Gujaráti (17), 13th Mar.; *Praja Bandhu* (29), 13th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 14th Mar.

48. The people of India have come to realise that the Allies were actuated by selfish motives in their war against Germany and that they wanted to crush a rival power and to keep the coloured races of Asia in subjugation thereby. Russia has practically disappeared from the political arena and the rivalry between Germany and France is likely to disturb the peace of the world. The main object of imposing high duties on German exports and exacting an enormous indemnity from her is to keep that country out of the markets of the world. A heavy indemnity from Germany means practically a tax upon the whole world. The Allies have taken possession of German territory and some people are led to believe that it will give rise to the cancellation of the treaty of peace and the outbreak of a new war. We are, however, of the opinion that there is no possibility of a war in the present circumstances. How can a poverty-stricken, starving and disarmed people fight? Will France that has lost thousands of its men fight? Will England, with the slump in its industries and with its enormous financial burden, fight? What nation has the men, money and munitions to carry on a war? We feel sure that the people of England will refuse to participate in a fresh war. We believe the French people will also do the same. We hear that even the French are against putting too much pressure on Germany and that they are merely playing a game of chance. There is, therefore, likelihood of a compromise being arrived at. We refuse to believe that a war in right earnest will break out in Europe. [The *Praja Bandhu* writes:—Germany possesses no munitions of war and is, therefore, not likely to offer armed resistance to the Allies. It must, however, be said that the Allies have not profited by the lessons of the late war. France, by its action, will keep the feeling of revenge smouldering in the hearts of its enemy and eventually endanger the peace of the world. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks:—It is to be regretted that the London Conference has broken down. The counter proposals made by Germany in the matter of the indemnity are so ridiculously low that one can scarcely believe that Germany is sincere in her desire to bear the share of her responsibility. Now that Germany is being pressed hard she might see the wisdom of bending her knee; but it is quite evident that she will avail herself of the first opportunity to retaliate against the Allies. The establishment of the Soviet Government in Russia and the election of Mr. Harding as President of the United States of America will go a great way in stimulating German ambitions. England has had to make heavy sacrifices in standing by France and she is now anxious for the economic regeneration of Germany

in her own interests. British public opinion is against the occupation of German territory, and it leads us to hope that the present trouble with Germany will soon be settled in an amicable manner.]

Germany and Bolshevism.
Bombay Samáchár (61), 16th Mar.

49. The Allies have done all in their power to save Poland from the Bolshevist menace and to cripple the power of Germany. Germany, however, does not seem to have been outwitted. A Turkish nationalist some time back created a stir by his announcement that Germany has entered into secret negotiations with Russia and Turkey. If there is any truth in this rumour the motives of Germany in refusing to carry out the terms of the Peace treaty can easily be imagined. [The paper then gives extracts from an article appearing in the London *Times* about the intrigues of Germany with Bolshevist Russia, and remarks :—] It seems British statesmen have been unaware of German machinations in Russia. At any rate, had they knowledge of them they would have avoided giving offence to France as has been done several times recently. The correspondent of the *Times* deserves to be congratulated for bringing facts to light about which England seems to have been kept in the dark. It is perhaps this knowledge on the part of England that has led to negotiations about revising the treaty with Turkey and Germany. The Allies are on alert now and they will make Germany suffer all the more for its intrigues.

Bolshevist influence in Persia.
Bombay Samáchár (61), 15th Mar.

50. The *Bombay Samáchár* traces the progress of Bolshevism in Persia and after quoting the opinion expressed by Colonel Lawrence to Press representatives remarks:— Colonel Lawrence's experiences confirm the opinion shared by the public that Bolshevism spreads like a virulent epidemic. If Bolshevism spreads thus without the aid of armies it will not fail to prove a menace to England. According to our latest information the Bolshevists have come into power in Persia and they mean to effect political reform in that country without foreign aid under the monarchical form of Government. The rumour about the abdication of the Shah has thus been proved to be false, but it is to be seen how long Persia that has now come under Bolshevist influence will uphold his power.

Comments on Lord Curzon's defence of the mandates.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Mar.

51. Adverting to the recent discussion in Parliament and to Lord Curzon's defence of the mandates, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—" Lord Curzon has the effrontery to speak of pledges and principles when he knows that the policy of himself and his French associates has been to break the former and to bring the latter into ridicule. The principle on which the destiny of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine was to be disposed of was stated to be that of self-determination. Where is that principle now, when the mandates have been framed in direct violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations which demands that the wishes of the people concerned should be the prevailing consideration? Apart from this, there are other directions in which the mandates violate the principles of the Covenant......... Mr. Lloyd George said that 'the Mesopotamian State would succeed automatically to the position of the Ottoman Government with regard to the ownership of minerals in Mesopotamia and no special provision was required in the mandate or elsewhere to safeguard this succession.' Hypocrisy could no further go. Mr. Lloyd George omitted to mention that the real reason why no provision has been made in the mandate, in this respect, is that the ownership of the minerals has already been virtually transferred to themselves by Britain and France in the proportion of three to one. The Mesopotamian State, if the Allies have their way, will merely have the nominal ownership of the minerals, as it will be, in other respects, the puppet of Britain. If Britain is in earnest in setting up a genuine Arab State, she must first withdraw all her forces and leave the Arabs to determine their own destiny. That is the only way in which Britain can redeem her honour."

Comments on the South African Asiatic Enquiry Commission's Report.

Servant of India (10), 17th Mar.; **Mahrátta* (8), 20th Mar.; **Indian Social Reformer* (7), 20th Mar.

52. "The Asiatic Enquiry Commission's Report, to judge from the summary cabled to the *Times of India*, is an extremely disappointing document. The right to own land in the Transvaal, which the Indian community exercised without challenge till 1919, seems to be left in doubt, the law of 1885 not being repealed and no mention being made of the indirect methods of ownership which were in use till recently. The Commission has, on the contrary, recommended an extension of this law to some parts of Natal! Again, the Gold Law of 1908 which, with the Townships Act of the same year, has the effect of prohibiting Indians from occupying any proclaimed ground, is to be retained, and it is not clear that Government will not be allowed to make illegitimate use of this law to prohibit Indians from trading in mining areas. The law relating to the issue of licenses is to be modified, but on what lines it will be framed we are not told. The Commission has also recommended a system of voluntary segregation for Asiatics. The municipalities are to have the right to lay out residential areas for Asiatics and presumably to require the latter to reside in those parts. If so, we cannot understand why this is to be called voluntary segregation. The same holds good of business quarters to which existing license-holders are to be 'attracted' but to which those who will acquire licenses in future are, it must be likewise presumed, to be compulsorily restricted. If we remember that the municipalities are for the most part composed of trade rivals of Indians, we can easily say how this racial segregation will work in practice. But the principle itself must be strongly condemned. The application of the segregation policy to the Coast belt in Natal which the Commission recommends is open to the most serious objection and will no doubt be sternly resisted. Sir B. Robertson says in this connexion that 'it would be advantageous to attract the Indian population as far as possible to the Coast belt, provided that their existing right to acquire, own and occupy land elsewhere was in no way diminished.' But it is precisely such an abridgment of the existing right that the Commission suggests." [The *Mahrátta* writes:—"It is with the deepest disappointment that we have heard of the recommendations contained in the Report of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission.......... When the Asiatic Inquiry Commission began its work, the Government of India had definitely given it to understand, through Sir B. Robertson, that complete justice must be done to the Indian claims and interests. But the Commission has done almost nothing to ease the Indian unrest in South Africa. Neither the Transvaal Law of 1885, nor the Gold Law of 1908, nor the Union Act of 1919 has been recommended for repeal. Not only is every one of these laws unjust and degrading but the way in which they are applied and executed is most inhuman and dishonourable.......... Again, as regards the segregation contemplated by the white colonists, the Commission has only quibbled....... .. The Commission drives the evil by the door and takes it in by the window. No Indian can be satisfied with the Commission's work, for it has given us a stone when we asked for bread." The *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"The policy seems to be to make South Africa a hell on earth for Indians while keeping up the appearance of acting in a civilized manner. The anti-Semitic outbreaks in Poland where Jews are murdered out of hand, are, in our opinion, more honest and humane than the death by inches which the South African Commission has elaborated into a policy for Indians. We should have lost nothing by having doggedly stuck to our rights, while we would have had at least the satisfaction of going down with our flag flying, had we not entered into this game of futile compromise which has encouraged the Colonists to their present course. Let not this lesson be lost upon us."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 17th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchar* (61), 18th Mar.

53. Our fears in the matter of the recommendations of the Asiatic Inquiry Commission appointed by the South African Government have come true. Most of the members of the Commission were hostile to the aspirations of Indian residents in South Africa and so the recommendations made by them are absurd and prejudicial to the interests of India.

These recommendations, instead of doing justice to the Indians, are aimed at doing them more injustice and insulting them. We cannot possibly hope that the Union Government will take a more honourable and equitable view of the Indian question and so the Council of State and the Imperial Legislative Council will do well to bring forward legislation at an early date with a view to accord reciprocal treatment to the residents of South Africa in India. [The *Bombay Samáchár* is inclined to think that it was due to the good offices of Sir Benjamin Robertson that the recommendations of the Commission were toned down and were not allowed to be as harsh as they were expected to be. It, however, considers the recommendations as unjust to the Indians, and expresses the hope that Lord Reading will take an early opportunity to get the grievances of Indians in South Africa redressed.]

Comments on Sir B. Robertson's statement before the Asiatic Inquiry Commission.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Mar.; *Servant of India* (10), 17th Mar.

54. "It may be declared without hesitation that Sir Benjamin Robertson's statement before the Asiatic Commission, which is just published, is, on the whole, a fair representation of the Indian case; and the sincere thanks of our countrymen, both in South Africa and here, are due to him for the same. It will be seen that Sir Benjamin knocks the bottom out of every one of the 'grievances' of the South African whites against our countrymen domiciled there. He cleverly turns the tables on them and condemns them out of their own mouths.......... The root of the antipathy of the whites towards Indians lies not so much in the former's superior civilisation and culture as in their utter selfishness.......... They want the Indians to remain in the Union, but only as hewers of wood and drawers of water for themselves. That is the sum and substance of the agitation against the Indians. It is downright slavery, no doubt, but the whites are making it appear as if the system is justified on economic, social and sanitary grounds, and as if it were beneficial to the Indians themselves.......... We hope the rebuke of Sir Benjamin in this respect will go home to the Union Government and that the latter will see to it that the law, whatever it is, conforms to policy and the administration conforms to law. The recommendations of the Asiatic Commission, which are kept dark, ought to be made known without delay, so that the Indian community may know where they stand." [Referring to the recent publication of Sir B. Robertson's statement before the Asiatic Inquiry Commission, the *Servant of India* remarks:—"We cannot understand why this statement should have been withheld so long from publication. But now that it is made known, it ought to satisfy the public that, in all essential respects, Government have completely fallen in with the view of the people on this momentous question. It is a comforting reflection that, amidst the great divergence of opinion which exists between the Government and the people of India on internal matters, there is at least one subject on which there is and has been complete unanimity, *viz.*, the position of Indians in South Africa and East Africa. Those who peruse Sir Benjamin's memorandum will be convinced that the Government have pressed the Indian view of the question upon the Commission with the utmost emphasis, and it is only to be hoped that this forceful and yet reasoned statement of the case will commend itself to the Commission and will eventually result in placing the Indians resident in South Africa on a proper basis which a self-respecting people can accept without demur."]

Protest against Indian emigration to Mauritius.

Young India (14), 16th Mar.

55. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I have the following cable sent by Mr. Budhan, a practising barrister of Mauritius:—'Indians Mauritius request intervention attempt reintroduction immigrants. Governor Mauritius proceeding Ceylon thereanent protest sent Viceroy.' I can only draw public attention to the scandal and urge redoubled effort to gain Swaraj. Immigrants can only mean indentured immigration or stimulated immigration. The first will be almost illegal and I can hardly conceive the possibility of a Viceroy agreeing to resumption of indentured emigration. The second is a possibility fraught with great mischief, for under it emigrants will go under the pretence of freedom. I hope, however, that workers in the labour districts of Madras and the United Provinces will warn the labour class against temptations that might be held out to them, *i. e.*, if the Government foolishly permit any recruiting for the so-called re-emigration."

56. "The Maháráját of Cossimbazar wants an Indian Private Secretary to be appointed to Lord Reading to keep him in touch with currents of Indian political thought. The suggestion is a very good one and ought to have been acted upon long ago.......... A trusted secretary keeps very intimate relations with his master and could do a good deal to enlighten him on many things. Moreover, on account of the political situation, and the extra amount of work likely to be entailed on the Viceroy's Private Secretary owing to the new era, the time has come to appoint a Joint Private Secretary who should be an Indian. The Prime Minister of England have several secretaries and the position of a present-day Viceroy is as onerous as that of the Premier. We think if all these considerations are placed before Lord Reading he will act as the Maháráját wishes instead of having a full dress debate on the subject in open Council."

There should be an Indian Private Secretary for the Viceroy.
Sind Observer (12), 20th Feb.

*57. "The *Hindu* has drawn the attention of its readers to an advertisement in the columns of the London *Times* calling forth applications for the posts of bank assistants for the 'Imperial Bank of India,' with a salary of Rs. 500 rising to Rs. 1,250 in twelve years. The advertisement is obviously a surprising one. Competent bank assistants can certainly be found in this country and if the Government is under the impression that it is only in England that the crops of banking people grow, there is no impression more false and mischievous than this. Mr. Bomanji has already exposed how the whole show of the Imperial Bank of India is being managed and staged simply with the object of feeding, probably over-feeding, some Europeans.......... And now here is an advertisement which proves how every post of honour and emolument is being filled with Europeans. This is a thing which must meet with condemnation at the hands of all Indians not only by way of words but in the shape of a complete boycott of Government Banks."

Protest against an advertisement in the London *Times* inviting applications for the posts of bank assistants for the Imperial Bank of India.
Mahrátta (8), 20th Mar.

58. Even God himself cannot create anything out of nothing. But the bureaucracy, being cleverer than God, is capable of performing this miracle. Of the irrigation works some are considered to be productive as they yield a profit to Government. But there are others which are classed as unproductive. But the bureaucracy, capable of beating Shylock on his own ground, makes a profit of no less than 4 lakhs a year on these unproductive works. Government ought to reduce the water rates and should cease to make profits on works that were mainly intended for the benefit of agriculturists.

A complaint in connection with Government's irrigation policy.
Kesari (115), 15th Mar.

59. 'An Agriculturist' writes in the *Lokasangraha*:—As Government has increased the land assessment at the rate of 9 annas per rupee in Ghoda and thus done an injustice to us (agriculturists) we are already making all constitutional efforts at getting redress. The Collector would not even listen to the grievances of the agriculturists, who have, therefore, resolved not to pay the assessment unless their wrongs are redressed. The officers advise us not to follow our leaders; but there are no leaders here worth speaking of and it is our poverty and our sense of injustice that is driving us to passive resistance. Meanwhile the work of attaching the movable property of the agriculturists is going on with the help of the police and in the tyranny that has ensued all sorts of petty Government officers have their share. We are reduced to such terrible straits that we have no food to eat, no clothes to cover our nudity, and

Passive resistance against payment of increased assessment in Ghoda (Poona).
Lokasangraha (118), 12th Mar.

have to put up with calamities of various sorts. There is a limit even to our patience. Our prayer to Government is that they should not do any injustice to us and thus spread discontent among the agriculturists who are the backbone of the nation. A contented peasantry is the strength of the Government. We, therefore, hope that Government will redress our wrongs and thus be kind to us.

How the Co-operative Credit Societies should deal with their members in pecuniary difficulties.
Lokasangraha (118), 13th Mar.

60. A correspondent writes to the *Lokasangraha* :—The Co-operative Societies have been started by Government mainly to improve the economic condition of agriculturists. It is, however, doubtful whether they are of any benefit to them. The general opinion seems to be that they do not serve any good purpose. As payment of assessment has been suspended in the Sholápur district owing to famine, the ignorant agriculturists who are members of co-operative societies request that payment of societies' debts should also be suspended. The members of these societies are mainly agriculturists. They believe that these societies are Government institutions. Whenever, therefore, the executive committees ask them with some firmness to pay their instalments in time they borrow the necessary amount from money-lenders at the rate of 5 to 6 pies (sometimes more) per rupee to meet the societies' demands. Later on they take larger loans from the societies in order to pay the money-lender. The same thing is likely to happen this year owing to famine. The Executive Committee are telling the members to pay the instalments in time. The reason for this is that they are so pressed by the Registrar and organisers. Therefore, they take a stern attitude and thus neglect the chief object with which the institution was started. Hence when deciding the dates for the payment of the instalments the committee must ascertain in what manner the members are likely to meet the societies' demands. And whenever it is found that members are unable to make the payments, facilities must be given to them. We hope consideration will be given to these suggestions.

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Draft Bill regarding transferring the duties of the Improvement Trust to the Bombay Municipality.
Praja Mitra and Pàrsi (30), 19th Mar.

61. It seems to us from the draft of the Bill for the transfer of the duties of the Improvement Trust to the Bombay Municipality, which was sent by the Government of Bombay to the Bombay Corporation for opinion, that the proposed Improvement Committee is to be made independent of the Corporation and the right of not accepting the improvement schemes suggested by the Corporation seems to have been conferred upon it. It is difficult for us to understand why more power should be given to this Committee than either the Standing Committee or the Municipal Schools Committee. Why should we follow a different practice from the one followed in England and other civilized countries? We draw the attention of His Excellency the Governor who is anxious to be counted among the advocates of democratic institutions to this arrangement and would tell him that it does not seem to be in consonance with democratic ideals. The final authority over the Committee should be the Corporation, and it is the Corporation and not this Committee that should be responsible to Government and the public. It is also provided in the draft Bill that any scheme framed by the Committee will require the sanction of Government. Really speaking, the aims of both these above arrangements seem to be to perpetuate the administration of the present Trust, and, in the light of past experience, they do not seem to be characterised by much wisdom. The schemes approved by the Committee should be submitted to Government by the Corporation with such changes in them as may be deemed necessary by it, and Government, in accordance with the practice prevailing in England, should, before making any further modifications, give a hearing to what the Corporation as well as all the parties affected by the schemes have got to say. As City Improvement is one of the transferred subjects and placed under ministers and the Legis-

lative Council, it is our natural right to claim that the practice followed in England should be introduced here. We trust that the Corporation will insist upon Government embodying in the draft Bill the improvements suggested above.

EDUCATION.

Comments in the proposal of the Committee of the Bombay University Senate for the establishment of Intermediate Colleges.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 20th Mar., Eng. Cols.

***62.** "Now what does this proposal to establish intermediate colleges practically amount to ? It really means that whereas at present there is only one set of high schools, in future there will be *two* sets of high schools—upper and lower,—the proposed intermediate colleges being nothing more than upper high schools. It really means that whereas a student has at present to spend six or seven years in finishing his high school education, in future he will have to spend ten years in high school training before he can hope to reach the portals of an arts college. In other words, the present scholastic and collegiate course of an Indian student will be lengthened by no less than three years. This proposed additional burden on the Indian student raises such misgivings in our mind regarding the future of higher education, that we think it is the duty of every educationist to strongly protest against this most undesirable innovation. Instead of making higher education cheaper and more accessible, this proposal will in effect bar the doors of higher education to many a poor young student, who will find it hopelessly difficult to enter the portals of an arts college. High school fees have risen, the expenses on text-books and educational requisites have also risen, and the parents and guardians of students belonging to the middle-class are finding it more and more difficult to pay for the education of their sons and daughters. Now if the scholastic and collegiate course is to be lengthened by three years, it will only make education dearer and effectually prevent many a young man from going in for collegiate studies.......... The whole proposal for the establishment of intermediate colleges is based on a wrong hypothesis. The supposition is that the quality of secondary education in this country is very defective. No doubt it has its defects, but these are due to the various natural disabilities under which the Indian student and his teacher has to labour. And how are these defects going to be cured by increasing the burden of the Indian student ? If the teaching is defective, more money should be spent in training the teachers and improving their prospects instead of spending lakhs of rupees in building new colleges where the teaching will be just as defective and more expensive."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 20th Mar.

***63.** "The Committee appointed by the Senate of the Bombay University has improved upon the Sadler Commission, and recommended that, in addition to the two Intermediate classes from the Arts Colleges, the highest class in the High Schools also should be lopped off and transferred to the Intermediate College. This proposal if carried out will have the immediate effect of confining to some 50 institutions the instruction now available in 250 High Schools in this Presidency in the School-Leaving class. On this ground alone, the proposal deserves to be unequivocally condemned. But it does not stand alone. The proposal is calculated to reduce the status of the High Schools and thus make the education imparted in them even less efficient than it is at present. Instead of the Arts Colleges, the Intermediate Colleges will complain a few years hence that the middle schools, as these truncated secondary schools are to be called, do not send them the right kind of entrants. Such proposals to re-grade educational institutions merely obscure the real defects without remedying them. What is wanted is not a change of labels, but concerted effort to attract a better type of teachers to the High Schools. At a much less cost than these new Intermediate Colleges, our High Schools can be made more efficient, and our Colleges better equipped to deal with the students whom the Schools turn out. The proposals of the Senate Committee deserve careful scrutiny at the hands of all interested in educational progress."

There should be a rule in the Grant-in-aid Code prohibiting compulsory religious instruction in aided educational institutions.

Mahrátta (8), 20th Mar.

***64.** Commenting on the statement issued by the Educational Board of Bombay Representative Council of Missions, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"The statement definitely tells us that the very ideal of education entertained by the Missionaries is such that if they engage in education at all, it is to offer to all who will receive full Christian religious education.......... Now that education is a transferred subject, the grant-in-aid rules may be revised and a definite rule against compulsory religious instruction may be laid down. In case that happens, what will the Missionaries do? The statement which has been issued says, 'If any conditions attached to grant-in-aid were such as to prevent educational Missionaries from giving a full Christian education with a clear conscience, they would renounce the grants for institutions affected by the conditions.' Thus the Missionaries have made their own position quite clear. They are not ready to alter their ideal or methods. They would give up the grants if they obstruct their attempt to spread Christian knowledge; and if some students find it against their conscience to attend the Missionary schools or colleges they are asked to seek admission in other institutions. Now it remains with the non-Christian students and the public to define their attitude towards the Missionary institutions. The new Minister of Education ought to remove all vagueness from the present Grant-in-aid Rules. It must be definitely laid down that no institution receiving the Government grant can impose any kind of religious instruction on the pupils. We believe that Mr. Paranjpye is utterly against all religious instruction. He can, therefore, be legitimately expected to make the necessary changes in the grant-in-aid conditions. Non-Christian students should make it a point not to receive education at Missionary schools or colleges which insist on imparting Christian education. And lastly the public should stop giving pecuniary help to these Missionary institutions.......... If Government does its duty of withholding grants from educational institutions conducted by Missionaries with religious aims, and if the non-Christian students and public cease to have any connection with Missionary schools and colleges, there will be absolutely no room for any friction."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against the fixing of a higher franchise by the Bombay Corporation than that laid down for the Legislative Council.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Mar.

65. "How unrepresentative of the citizens and unworthy of their confidence the present Bombay Municipal Corporation is was well illustrated by its betrayal of the former in the matter of franchise on Monday last. Our 'democratic' City Fathers have chosen to fix the municipal franchise at a monthly rental of Rs. 20, whereas a rental of Rs. 10 only had been considered sufficient for the exercise of the franchise in respect of the local Legislative Council. One of the *soi disant* 'democrats' in the Corporation had the hardihood to tell his colleagues that the lowering of the franchise would cause Bolshevism to appear in our midst, but these self-constituted pillars of society do not seem to be aware that the advent of Bolshevism would be materially hastened, rather than delayed, by their own foolish actions, such as that which the Corporation was guilty of on Monday. Another 'democratic' corporator does not believe that any large section of the public resents the raising of the franchise......... It is time the citizens of Bombay gave these pseudo-representatives of theirs to understand that they have wholly forfeited the confidence reposed in them and that they are no more their representatives than were the 'biryaniwalas' who came to demonstrate in favour of voting a public address to Lord Willingdon. The Corporation, as we have stated, has become the stronghold of reactionary capitalism and landlordism at present, and it is resisting by every means, fair or foul, within its power, the advance of democracy in our midst.......... We cannot recall any period in the past career of our Corporation when it could have fallen so low as it has at present.......... We hope, however, the incongruity of Bombay's citizens enjoying a lower franchise for Council elections while a higher one is proposed for the Corportion, will be at once apparent to the legislators and that these latter will put an end to it by refusing to accept the unworthy recommendation of the Corporation when the Bill for amendment of the Municipal Act comes before them for consideration."

RAILWAYS.

Complaint about increase of fares on the B. B. & C. I. Railway.

Praja Pokár (75), 16th Mar.

66. *Apropos* of the proposed increase in the first and second class fares on the B. B. & C. I. Railway, the *Praja Pokar* writes:—The fare has during recent years gone on increasing with the result that the second class fare from Surat to Bombay which was formerly about Rs. 5-8-0 will now be between Rs. 10 and Rs. 10-8-0. With the discontinuance of cheap return and week-end tickets and the doubling of the platform ticket charge the travelling public are put to great expense, and their hardships increase when they are prevented from travelling from Bombay to Surat by the Punjáb Express, the Gujarát Mail and the Káthiáwár Express. The people have been greatly dissatisfied at this and it, therefore, behoves the members of Council to bring these hardships to the notice of the Railway Board and to urge for the removal of the existing restrictions and the reduction of high fares. The reserved accommodation provided for Eurasians and Anglo-Indians should be completely done away with and arrangements should urgently be made for providing third class and inter-class carriages on every train. It is unjust that the railway companies should go on increasing the fares without paying any heed to the comforts and conveniences of the passengers.

NATIVE STATES.

Exhortation to Native Chiefs in Káthiáwár not to follow the repressive policy of the British Government.

Sánj Vartamán (32), 18th Mar.

67. It is an open secret that the Native Chiefs are absolutely in a state of dependence upon the British Government and that they have *nolens volens* to adopt the laws and policy of the Government of India. They have, moreover, to respect the wishes of the Political Agents placed over them. Loyalty to the British Government is naturally to be expected from the Native Chiefs, but some of them are short-sighted enough to over-do their part. The Chiefs of Jamnagar, Porbander and Rajkot have adopted a repressive policy towards popular movements, and it is feared that other States in Káthiáwár will follow suit. Peace and tranquillity reign supreme in the Káthiáwár States. Why should then these States adopt a policy of repression against their subjects? They are merely causing discontent and excitement among their peaceful subjects by their undue anxiety to imitate the high-handed policy of the Government of India. We hope the Indian Chiefs will give the question careful consideration and refrain from following their present policy.

Alleged persecution of non-Brahmins by the Chief of Aundh.

Vijayi Marátha (147), 12th Mar.

68. A correspondent writing in the *Vijayi Marátha* complains that the Chief of Aundh (Sátára) has been persecuting the non-Brahmins for such 'offences' as not willingly surrendering their lands for the Kirloskar Brothers' factory at Kundal, subscribing to newspapers conducted by non-Brahmins, and accepting the principles of the Satya Shodhak Samaj. The writer says that complaints made to Government meet with the reply that they decline to interfere in the internal affairs of a State. [Commenting upon the above communication, the paper says that the non-Brahmins should take the law into their own hands if the Collector of Sátára, under whose jurisdiction Aundh is, declines to take any notice of their complaints. It advises them at the same time to refrain from any acts of violence. The paper asks the elected members of the Sátára District to obtain justice from

His Excelleny the Governor for the people who are being persecuted in Aundh. Elsewhere the paper writes that non-Brahmins are being subjected to persecution also in such other Brahmin States as Miraj, Sangli and Ichalkaranji.]

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 23rd March 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 26th March 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council :

Anti-Brahmin tendencies in the — 42

Comments on Major Fernandes' resolution in the — for a Committee to inquire into the forest grievances in Kánara 41

Comments on the debate in the — on the subject of giving compensation to the agriculturists of Mulshi Peta (Poona) affected by the Tata Hydro-Electric Scheme . . . . 39 & 40

Comments on the resolution in the — regarding franchise for women . 43

British Rule :

Alleged persecution of Brahmins in the Sátára District by members of the Satyashodhak Samáj 17

A plea for the release of the Sávarkar brothers 12

Appeal to the Bombay Government to cancel the order against Mr. Horniman 13

Comments on Government's decision to abandon the Andamans as a penal settlement 11

Comments on Lord Amphtill's reply to the European non-official members of the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly in connection with the Indian Emergency Committee . 22 & 23

Comments on the activities of the Committee appointed to advise the Director of Industries in Bombay 18

Comments on the proposed establishment of a Labour Bureau for the Bombay Presidency. 25

Comments on the resolution of the Government of India permitting Government officials to defend the Government policy 20

Complaint about continued shortage of coal in Bombay . . . 24

Complaint about the defective nature of the recent census operations . 15 & 16

Government are to blame if the people lose control over themselves . 10

Government's policy of repression cannot remove the unrest among the the people which is due to economic wrongs 9

Protest against the compulsory acquisition of land in the Násik and Ahmednagar districts for the Tata Sugar Corporation . . . 19

Protest against the withholding of Government advertisements from influential papers which are not in the good graces of Government. 14

The Irish situation and its lesson 21

Congress: Approval of the suggestions of the — Committee on the Exchange question 56

Council of State :

Comments on Professor Kale's indictment of the exchange policy of Government in the — 26

Comments on the discussion in the — on the subject of postal rates . 27

Comments on the ignorance professed by the Government of India in regard to the public demand for the return of Indian troops employed overseas 28

H 405—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission . . . . 48 & 49

Indian Legislative Assembly:
- Comments on Sir W. Vincent's statement in the — regarding Government's policy towards the non-co-operation movement . . . 30 & 31
- Comments on the composition of the two Committees appointed to consider repressive laws and the Press legislation 36
- Comments on the discussion in the — on the subject of increasing the postal rates 35
- Comments on the new Emigration Bill introduced in the 38
- Comments on the report of the Committee of the — on the Esher Report 37
- Reflections on the failure of certain resolutions in the reformed Councils. 29
- The Indian Budget for the year 1921-22 . . . . . . 32 & 34

Judicial Matters: Comments on the conviction of certain petroleum workers in Bombay 57

Non-co-operation:
- Adverse criticism of the — movement 2
- Comments on the order passed by the District Magistate of Aligarh under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. 3
- How Indians can secure full *swarajya* under the British Government . 1
- Mr. M. K. Gandhi's open letter to the Pársis 8
- Non-co-operators should endeavour to lay the Indian case before Lord Reading at an early date 4
- Protest against the attitude of the authorities towards the temperance activities of non-co-operators 5
- Threat received by the editor of the *Bharat Seva* for opposing the — movement . . . . 6 & 7

Police:
- Complaint about the manner in which — prosecutions are conducted . 55
- Government should increase the Bombay City — Force in view of the increase in the number of thefts, robberies and armed dacoities . 54

Public Service.
- Appeal to Indians not to prejudge the Viceroy-designate . . . 50
- Approval of the appointment of Mr. M. L. Tannan as Principal of the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay 53
- The outgoing and the incoming Viceroys . . . . . . 51 & 52

Revenue Matters: Protest against an early revision of revenue settlements in Sind 58

War:
- Comments on the concession offered by the Allies to Turkey with regard to the revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty 45
- Comments on the proposed modifications in the Turkish Peace Treaty. 44
- Reflections on the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement 47
- The attitude of the Egyptians in regard to Turkish peace terms in no way differs from that of the Indian Muslims 46

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the passing of the Finance Bill in the Indian Legislative Assembly 59

MUNICIPALITIES—

Protest against the high qualification for Municipal franchise proposed by the Bombay Municipal Corporation 60

RAILWAYS—

Comments on the proceedings before the Railway Inquiry Committee . 61

Protest against the increase in fares for season tickets on the G. I. P. Railway. 62

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

How Indians can secure full *swarāj* under the British Government.

Gujarāti (17), 20th Mar.

1. One school of political opinion in India is in favour of securing *swarāj* without British connection while the other advocates *swarāj* within the Empire. The British Parliament has passed the Reform Act of 1919 and has undertaken to revise the Act after it has been in operation for ten years. This means that England will not refuse *swarāj* to India after about twelve years if India takes full advantage of the new reforms and works them in such a manner as to be considered fully entitled for *swarāj*. In other words it might be said that after great exertions we are sure to secure *swarāj* in about twelve to fifteen years, though not in twelve months. It is to be regretted that the followers of the non-co-operation movement have set aside their principles of non-violence and self-control, and so the movement has lost its force and the people in general like to keep themselves aloof from it. The official classes have come to think that the non-co-operationists have of late exceeded all the bounds and they have, therefore, begun to take legal steps against them at various places for the last month and a half. Men of high character like Mr. Yakub Hasan, Lala Lajpatrai, Mr. M. Haq, Mr. Rajendra Prasad, Mr. R. Chowdhari, Dr. Kitchelew and Mr. C. R. Das have become victims of the law. The total number of people who have been so victimised has reached about one hundred and twenty-five. The measures adopted by officials against the non-co-operationists will put the non-co-operation movement to the test. Pronouncements made by Sir William Vincent, the speaker of the House of Commons and Lord Reading lead us to the conclusion that the more use we make of the new Councils the nearer will we approach to *swarāj*. It is our belief that the defects that we see in the present councils are mainly due to the absence of experienced popular leaders in them. The days of reciving *swarāj* as a gift are gone and the strength of the people can now be shown by taking as much of it as they possibly can. It seems to be the policy of Mr. Montagu and the Government of India to give up as much of their power as the people of India can draw to themselves by the weight of the majority in the councils. Mr. Montagu has declared that Lord Reading is coming to India with a view to granting it full *swarāj* and a status of equality with the other parts of the Empire. This means that India should be prepared to receive responsible self-government—its highest weal—from Lord Reading in the course of five years.

Adverse criticism of the non-co-operation movement.

Gujarāt Vartamān (new), 23rd Mar.

2. The attempts that are being made to bolster up the non-co-operation movement and to prove that is has attained success serve to show the hollowness of the movement. Mr. Gandhi lacks the far-sightedness that is essential in a political leader, and he seems to have been inoculated with an inordinate dose of egotism. His followers have chosen to admire him in a blind fashion and never tire of crediting him with miraculous powers. These are the prominent defects of the non-co-operation movement and they will ultimately lead to its failure. [Elsewhere the paper writes:—The talk about resolutions about passive resistance and refusing to pay taxes to be introduced at the ensuing special sessions of the Congress in April next affords proof positive that the movement has proved a failure, The nation is now convinced that the movement has done nothing beyond creating disorder in the country. Asking people to refuse to pay taxes to Government is tantamount to encouraging them to resort to robbery and introduce chaos in the country.]

Comments on the order passed by the District Magistrate of Aligarh under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Mar.

3. Referring to the order issued by the District Magistrate of Aligarh against Mr. Mahomed Ali, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"It is plain to the meanest understanding that the authorities have begun to persecute the non-co-operators, not because they are really apprehensive of the disturbance of public tranquility at the hands of these non-co-operators, but because they have resolved not to tolerate the propagation of the gospel of non-co-operation. The bureaucracy thus is carrying the war really against ideas and the freedom of conscience and does not hesitate to suppress them by the armoury of repressive weapons with which it has been arming itself these years. We challenge the supporters and admirers of Sir Harcourt Butler's Government to produce a tittle of evidence to show that there really could have been any apprehension of disturbance in the villages which Mr. Mohamed Ali was visiting as a result of his speeches. On the other hand, the villagers were only too eager to hear him and honour him. The section 144 in these circumstances is sheer abuse of power and constitutes a barefaced attempt to put down freedom of speech by executive fiat. The bureaucracy by such demonstration of force is setting a bad example to the masses of this country."

Non-co-operators should endeavour to lay the Indian case before Lord Reading at an early date.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Mar.

4. "The new Viceroy is already on his way to India. The report of his farewell speeches, especially his expressed wish to do justice in this country, has made a good impression upon Indians generally, and even revived a hope of a genuine 'New Era'. That such a hope is not without foundation we opine from the fear evinced by the Sydenham reactionaries and the Anti-Semitic campaign against his lordship in certain newspapers known as organs of reaction.......... To a man of Lord Reading's high judicial faculty, arriving straight from England and devoid of the Anglo-Indian tradition of racial prejudice, the demands of the 'extremists' laid before his eyes in black and white, would not appear unreasonable, much less dangerous......... The non-co-operators wish to give him a fair chance; but we have not yet heard of any preparations on their part to place their views before him in a clear and reasoned form upon his first arrival in India, before he has had time to fall under the influence of the Anglo-Indians and Indo-Englishmen who, for our sins, compose the Viceroy's usual entourage.......... It will, in our opinion, be a grave, perhaps irreparable error if the non-co-operators fail to lay their views before Lord Reading. He is landing in Bombay—a Presidency where repression has not done its devil's work of embittering the relations of the non-co-operators and co-operators so much that conversation has become impossible; where political opponents still can argue in a friendly way, and non-co-operators still expect fair treatment from the Government as we noticed in the Nadiad School affair. Surely here it should be possible to lay the Indian case in its entirety before Lord Reading either in the form of a statement or, still better, in a quiet conference, before his Lordship is caught up into the clouds of Simla......... Lord Reading lands near Gujerat, and Gujerat is Gandhi's country which to-day leads India. He ought, we think, to have at least the offer of a talk with Mr. Gandhi."

Protest against the attitude of the authorities towards the temperance activities of non-co-operators.

Servant of India (10), 24th Mar.

5. "We are much concerned at the Governments in some provinces repressing the attempts of non-co-operators to reduce the excise revenue. In the eyes of some over-zealous officials temperance activities become illegal and a danger to the public peace only because they are engineered by non-co-operators.......... The drink evil is growing so fast that the Indian Government cannot afford to refuse help from any quarter, and the ministers cannot certainly refuse it from non-co-operators. In the city of Poona in one year alone the abkari revenue has increased by 80 per cent. We know that the non-co-operators are themselves often inspired by mixed motives. The Bilaspur District Conference, *e. g.*, the other day unabashedly recommended the movement of temperance to the people of the district 'with a view to cripple the resources of ministers.' Even so, their help may be welcomed; at any rate their activities must not be put down so long as they remain non-violent."

Threat received by the editor of the *Bhárat Seva* for opposing the non-co-operation movement.

Bhárat Seva (16), 25th Mar.

6. Commenting upon the threat of assassination contained in an annonymous letter received by Mr. Harjivan Kalidas Mehta, the editor of the *Bhárat Seva*, for its opposition to the non-co-operation movement, the paper writes:—The bureaucrats have enacted repressive laws and have very often made wrong use of them, but they have never advanced threats of murder to any one. But the non-co-operationists stigmatise those who differ from them as traitors and do not hesitate to threaten them with murder. The opponents of the non-co-operation movement have as much right to advise students not to boycott schools and colleges as the non-

co-operationists have to exhort them to boycott them. Mr. Gandhi takes delight in calling his movement a just and righteous one, but with rare exceptions the movement is conducted on just the reverse lines and we have heard many people complaining that they have received threats of murder. Now it is the turn of the editor of this paper to be threatened with murder, tomorrow it might be someone else's turn. Such incidents should set non-violent non-co-operationists a-thinking.

Gujaráti (17), 20th Mar.

7. The Government of India have been convinced that sweet words of hope are no longer able to put a stop to the non-co-operation movement. They have, therefore, betaken themselves to their legislative armoury. Government could not possibly interfere with the movement as long as it maintained its non-violent character. Things would have gone hard with the officials if Mr. Gandhi's followers had continued to tread the path laid out for them by their leader. But Mr. Gandhi's followers did not act up to his precepts and he had very often to denounce their actions and to declare that *Swaráj* would not be secured in a year if violence, either physical or moral, was used. We are of the opinion that Mr. Gandhi fixed upon the period of one year for the attainment of *swaráj* with a view to stimulate the enthusiasm of his followers and that he did not mean it literally. People did not understand Mr. Gandhi properly and took advantage of the inaction of the officials to indulge in wild talk and action just as they liked. They harassed those who did not join the movement and indulged in lawlessness. In advocating the temperance movement people looted liquor shops in Nagpur and created breaches of the peace in the United Provinces. This means that non-co-operation is good in theory but faulty in practice owing to the various diversities of human nature. The followers of the non-co-operation movement do not understand Mr. Gandhi and resort to measures that do harm to the movement. On the other hand, the officials misuse their powers and are found to make a wrong use of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code. They have forcibly taken possession of the municipal buildings at Nadiad. The officials should bear in mind that any wrong step on their part creates a bad impression on the people. They should not make a wrong move if they mean to put down the movement and should be prepared to make sacrifices in the interests of justice with a view to bringing the movement to an end. It must be noted that while the non-co-operationists ascribe all the faults and mistakes of Government to their decadent condition and their injustice, the officials, on the other hand, hold the non-co-operation movement responsible for the popular complaints against the administration. The officials fail to discern the clear path of justice and find it easy to make use of section 144. They seem to lose sight of the fact that the non-co-operation movement will gain double force if the incident of the Jhallianwalla Bagh is repeated. Every officer who means to put down the non-co-operation movement should first learn to respect law and justice. If the parties intend to fight the battle to the finish both of them should organise themselves and keep their forces in good order. [Elsewhere the paper, in referring to the pronouncements made by Government about the use of force to put down lawlessness, remarks :—The officials should now bear in a mind that they will no more be able to make use of the repressive measures according to their whims and that they will have to be held answerable to the people and that the people will not allow them to behave in an autocratic manner now that they have secured new powers under the reforms.]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi's open letter to the Parsis.
Young India (14), 23rd Mar.

8. In the course of an open letter addressed to the Parsis, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"You are a very cautious community. You are compact, and you rightly insist on abundant proof of the stability and the morality of any movement before you would take to it. But there is now danger of your becoming over-cautious, and your success in trade may make you oblivious of the wants and aspirations of the multitude of your countrymen. I dread the Rockfeller spirit that seems to be overtaking the great house of the Tatas. I dread to think of the consequences of their appropriating poor people's properties for

the doubtful benefit of making India industrial. But I do believe that this is a passing phase. Your shrewdness will show you the suicidal nature of such enterprises. Your quick wit will tell you that what India needs is not concentration of capital in a few hands, but its distribution so as to be within easy reach of the 7½ lakhs of villages that make this continent 1,900 miles long and 1,500 miles broad. I know, therefore, it is a question of time when you will throw in your lot as a community with the reformers who are hungering to free India from the curse of an Imperialism which is bleeding her to death. But there is one thing for which it will be criminal to wait. A temperance wave is passing over India. The people want voluntarily to become teetctallers.......... Many Parsis make a living by running liquor shops. Your whole-hearted co-operation can sweep out of existence many of these plague-spots in the Bombay Presidency. The Local Governments almost all over India are making a discreditable attempt to thwart the movement which bids fare to succeed even to the point of destroying the whole of the Abkari revenue. Will you help the Government or the people? The Bombay Government has not yet been seized by panic. But I can hardly imagine that it will have the courage and wisdom to sacrifice the drink-revenue. You have to make your immediate choice.......... I shall hope that you as a practical community of India will actively and thoroughly associate yourselves with the great temperance movement which bids fair to outshine every such movement in the world."

Government's policy of repression cannot remove the unrest among the people which is due to economic wrongs.

Hindusthán (21), 22nd Mar.

9. The *Hindusthán* points out that the hardships of the people were heavy enough owing to the conditions created by the war, the prevalence of high prices, and the exchange policy of Government. It then continues:—As if all this were not enough, the already unbearable burden of taxation has been increased during the current year. The already high prices of cloth, matches, sugar and rice are rising still higher, and there is no wonder if the prices of all the necessaries of life also rise by leaps and bounds. All this puts us in mind, in an ominous way, of some serious crisis; and if Government and the people, warned betimes, do not take steps to cope with the serious situation and to alleviate the economic sufferings of the people with a view to allaying the prevailing unrest and discontent, we are afraid that there will be such a terrible upheaval as the country has never witnessed before. The present dacoities are also probably due to economic causes, and we do not think that it is proper to try to check them by means of the police and the application of the sections of the criminal law. This is not the remedy for grave economic diseases, which, on the contrary, are likely to be aggravated thereby. For our part we see signs of an upheaval everywhere. But Government seem to have closed their eyes. Or, is it that they want to put down the coming upheaval by means of the terrible weapon of repression they possess? This attitude of Government is contrary to lessons to be learnt from the history of the world. It cannot remedy the economic wrongs of the people.

Government are to blame if the people lose control over themselves.

Gramya Swarajya (new), 22nd Mar.

10. Mr. N. C. Bodiwalla writes to the *Gramya Swarajya*:—The Moderates might ask us as to whether Government should sit with folded hands and refrain from using arms when the people are guilty of breaches of the peace and when they resort to loot and incendiarism and commit outrages on a foreign woman or two. The unthinking will at once say that Government should, in such circumstances, restore peace at any price. But those who are reasonable will first inquire about the causes that have led the people to lose control over themselves. The authorities became intoxicated with pride, lost all sense of proportion, imposed new laws and taxes upon the people, and placed restrictions upon the movements of their leaders and insulted the public. When the authorities behave thus who is to be blamed if the people lose their temper? What more pitiable sight can one witness than the use of fire-arms by the soldiers against the people under the British administration? None but the Moderates would defend such a step on the part of Government. The history of India affords ample proof that the Government that means to maintain its power over the people by the use of fire-arms and bombs cannot endure. The whole of India is telling Government in a loud voice that they will never succeed in their policy of keeping the people in check by the force of arms and that they should give up the use of arms against the people if they want to safeguard the British administration against danger. It is further asking Government to love the people, to repeal the new laws, and to do away with colour prejudices if they want Indians to be loyal and to honour them; and have warned them that if they adopt a policy contrary to its wishes the people might be disloyal to them, and the responsibility for it will rest on the shoulders of Government. [Elsewhere the paper writes:—Why should any hitches be thrown in our way when we have resorted to non-co-operation with a view to securing justice? We would have nothing to say if opposition was shown to us in a fair manner. But Government want to crush us down by the show of their power. We should, however, continue to follow the non-co-operation movement. We should not lower ourselves by seeking justice from a hypocritical nation like the British. We should unite and practice non-co-operation with a view to securing *swaraj*.]

Comments on Government's decision to abandon the Andamans as a penal settlemnt.

Gujarâti Punch (19), Eng. cols., 20th Mar.; *Kesari* (115), 22nd Mar.

11. "The decision of the Government of India to abolish the Andamans as a penal settlement will receive an all-round welcome.......... Certain it is that after the shocking disclosures made by Colonel Wedgwood on the testimony of an Indian Professor who was himself once an inmate of that 'hell on earth', the Government of India had no alternative but to abolish it as a penal settlement and the recommendation of the Jails Commission coming in the nick of time and affording a wide loophole for honourable retreat must have appeared to the Government as a veritable God-send. All the same, it is a little gratifying to note that the Government of India have, for once, given a go-bye to their usual sluggishness and have already issued orders for the repatriation of political prisoners and women convicts in that hellish island. But there is yet another point which is equally striking and must have attracted the attention of all who carefully peruse Council proceedings. It is that Sir William Vincent seems to have been so overwhelmed by his new role as a 'responsive' administrator that he has clean forgotten that public feeling is equally strong on the matter of the release of political prisoners and that their release rather than repatriation will be more in conformity with this 'responsible' character of the Government of India which has suddenly dawned upon them with the advent of the 'New Era'. May we, therefore, remind him of that fact and ask him to correct the mistake which, in this 'New Era', cannot but be the result of oversight?" [The *Kesari*, while generally approving of the recommendations of the Indian Jail Committee, and especially, the suggestion for the partial abandonment of the Andamans as a convict settlement, suggests that Government should take advantage of this opportunity to release political prisoners. It, however, seriously doubts whether the Bombay Government will change its policy in this matter.]

A plea for the release of the Savarkar brothers.

Sandesh (134), 22nd Mar.

12. The continued incarceration of the Savarkar brothers is a permanent stain on our Government's reputation for humanity. The charge against one of the brothers was that he published a book of poems. The other brother, Vinayakrao, had nothing to do with the Nâsik murders. The charge against him was that the murders were committed with the revolver sent by him. The Duke has come and gone, but the Savarkar brothers are still rotting in jail. Is this fair?

Appeal to the Bombay Government to cancel the order against Mr. Horniman.

Model (new), 20th Mar.

13. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's Government have deported Mr. Horniman from India without a trial. Government still persist in their policy. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has not accepted a resolution concerning this matter in the local Legislative Council. When the same matter was discussed in Parliament, Mr. Horniman challenged the

authorities to hold an open inquiry. In spite of this, Mr. Montagu left the final decision in the matter to the discretion of the Governor of Bombay. But His Excellency refuses to cancel the order of deportation. We once more raise a strong protest against his obstinate and autocratic policy and pray that he should no longer flout public opinion. We do so because this question does not concern Mr. Horniman alone, but the essential principle of the freedom of the people is involved in it. Will the Indian members of the Bombay Executive Council and the Ministers make use of their so-called strong influence with His Excellency the Governor to obtain justice in accordance with the wishes of the people?

Protest against the withholding of Government advertisements from influential papers which are not in the good graces of Government.

Praja Bandhu (29), 20th Mar., Eng. cols.

14. "For some time past we were surprised to note a sudden disappearance of Government advertisements from our columns, and some Government officials abruptly refusing to accept copies of our paper.......... Personally we do not grudge our being deemed unfit for Government patronage in the shape of Government notifications at the dawn of the New Era of 'political liberty'. But at the same time it is quite pertinent to question the right of Government to withhold or extend their arm of patronage at their sweet will or whim. The purpose of publishing official advertisements is to give the widest publicity to the subject matter of the notifications, and this cannot be done without resorting to influential papers commanding the largest circulation. But when Government decide to depart from this obvious policy and resort to patronising papers irrespective of their circulation, there is the criminal waste of public money and a shrewd suspicion of their fostering servility of the Press. We are, however, sure the day of reckoning must come when Government will repent for their accummulated acts of injustice and high-handedness. Our only regret is that the Government of Sis George Lloyd should at last raise their hand and laying it on the independent Press of the Presidency mar their past record of sweet reasonableness. But we forget they have already dealt a blow to the independence of the Press by deporting its brightest jewel—Mr. Horniman of the *Bombay Chronicle* without a trial, and refusing to rescind that lawless order even after the lapse of so much time, and anything they may subsequently do to stifle the freedom of the Press is not inexplicable."

Complaint about the defective nature of the recent census operations.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 21st Mar.; *Arya Prakash* (15), 20th Mar.

15. Is it a fact that the Bombay Census operations have not been properly carried out? The rough figures seem to show a population of 11 to 11½ lakhs for the city. Was the statement that Bombay was teeming with a population of over 15 lakhs then an exaggeration? We have some doubts in the matter. Some say that this is the result of non-co-operation. We do not believe in this because Mr. Gandhi has advised the people to co-operate with Government in this matter. This time no special interest was displayed in the census. The co-operators and the non-co-operators were busy putting down each other, and the attention of the officials was concentrated on putting down the so-called increasing sedition. A notice appeared in a Bombay English paper as late as on Friday last telling people what they had to do in regard to the census. Why were not such notices published in the Vernacular papers? Formerly census officers used to call meetings of the public leaders and induce them to explain the importance of the census to the common people, and the educated used to be busy removing suspicions and fears prevailing among the ignorant. This time the census has been taken in extraordinary silence, and there are many complaints regarding it. If the final figure of the population of Bombay really comes to eleven lakhs, we shall have to conclude that the work was done carelessly and not with the precision demanded by the importance of the work. If such proves to be the case, it will be necessary that there should be another census for the city of Bombay after some time. [The *Arya Prakásh* writes:—We have received many complaints. In the villages the Patels and Talatis did the enumeration while sitting in their homes. At some places no details were asked for with regard to several columns. For instance in the fourth column of the prescribed form about religion, they wrote down "Hindu" without asking anything. Some people told the enumerators that they belonged to the Arya or the Vedic religion. But the enumerators did not put this down. Hence in spite of the efforts of the Arya Samaj and other similar institutions and the instructions issued by Government, the census work will remain incomplete in this respect.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 26th Mar., Eng. cols.

16. "Some people have little faith in the census operations carried out on the night of the 18th of March. We have heard of people who on the night in question never saw the face of a census-officer, except in a nightmare. Many citizens say that they never filled in and returned the form, for the simple reason that they never received one. If this be true then the estimated population of Bombay at eleven lakhs and odd is only a figurature fact. Excluding naval and military men and railway passengers, *i.e.*, birds of passage, the population is shown at just over eleven lakhs. But for a generation we have been hearing that the population of Bombay is ten lakhs. Then what is to account for the apparent overcrowding, the house-famine, high prices, and the scandalous shortage of tram and railway service?......... Is it quite imaginary, and has it no foundation in fact? Why do we then want the 50,000 new tenements which His Excellency the Governor is pledged to provide immediately?......... It is all rather perplexing, and most people would prefer to go by their own impressions and experiences rather than by official figures. The official figure would have been explicable if the non-co-operationists had resolved to boycott the census. But Mr. Gandhi expressly told his followers not to do so."

Alleged persecution of Brahmins in Sátára District by members of the Satyashodhak Samaj.

Rájakáran (131), 20th Mar.

17. Mr. Vinayak Dattatraya Kulkarni of Erandol writes to the *Rájakáran*:—The Satyashodaks are giving advice to the illiterate agriculturist of Erandol in Tasgaon Taluka, District Sátára, which is calculated to provoke the Brahmins and incite them to violence. They are indulging in a regular compaign of boycott and insult against the whole class of Brahmins. As a result of this compaign, serious offences, such as house-breaking and arson, have been committed against the Brahmins, which resulted in damage amounting to Rs. 3,000 in the course of the last six months. The worst of it is that, as the police patil connives at these offences, no case is made out against the offenders. The Brahmins of Erandol are thus in a sorry plight, as they find it hard even to get water and as Government officers give them no protection against this sort of ill-treatment and persecution.

Comments on the activities of the committee appointed to advise the Director of Industries in Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Mar.

18. "An interpellation in the local Legislative Council has elicited the queer fact that during the whole of 1920 the Committee appointed by Government to advise the Director of Industries, Bombay, met only twice and that on one of these two occasions no proceedings were held for want of a quorum! We are told that the business of the abandoned meeting was disposed of after consulting the members by circular. It would be interesting to know what this 'business' was which could be so easily disposed of by a circular. Light on the work done at the meeting with a quorum would also be welcome. Unfortunately this is not available in either the reply to the interpellation or the annual report of the Director of Industries. In any event, it is obvious from the above that the majority of the members nominated on the Committee are either not sufficiently interested in their duties, or incompetent, to offer any useful advice to the department. A glance at the personnel of the Committee would show that most of them are very busy men who would hardly be able to spare the time needed to attend the meetings or for a patient study of the problems of industrial development. But, even more than this, the Committee is sadly lacking in the technical knowledge, which alone would enable them to offer any advice worth having. If Government are really anxious that the Director of Industries should profit by extraneous advice,

they should make a better selection of the members of their Committee. They should see that the members are real experts in their own lines and not mere amiable notabilities of the ornamental type."

Protest against the compulsory acquisition of land in the Násik and Ahmednagar Districts for the Tata Sugar Corporation.
Lokasangraha (118), 20th Mar.

19. Mr. Chintaman Mohini Saptarshi, chairman, Land-holders' Committee, Ahmednagar, writes to the *Lokasangraha* :—Government have resolved to acquire about 6,000 acres of land under the Land Aquisition Act in certain villages of the Násik and Ahmednagar Districts for the Tata Sugar Corporation. The Tata Corporation will grow sugar-cane there and water will be supplied to these plantations from the Godavri Left Bank Canal. As the Chairman of the Committee appointed by the residents of those villages I, along with another members of the same, called upon Mr. Turner and placed the villagers' case before him. It is pleaded on behalf of Government that they have incurred enormous expenditure in constructing the Deccan Canals and that as they do not at present get even one per cent. interest on the capital sunk in these canals, it would be impossible for them to continue constructing canals unless lands are compulsorily acquired and handed over to big planters in this way. Our Committee's demands were: Land should not be compulsorily acquired, but the Company and the villagers should arrange matters between themselves. The villagers were prepared to give their lands to the Corporation provided they were offered a share in the business and their rights of ownership in the lands acknowledged. We sent a petition to Government through Mr. Turner but have received no reply from them. The work of surveying the land is going on. The public is quite ignorant of the terms on which the Corporation is to take possession of the land. The villagers having failed in their efforts to obtain redress from Government, they are now refusing to accept compensation. Moreover, this is a question of principle. The Tata Corporation is Indian in name only, most of the capital and management being European. We must not allow Government to treat the public in a high-handed manner and to turn independent peasant-proprietors into wage earning labourers. We must agitate until we gain our end. [On this the paper makes the following comments :—While the grievances of the people in connection with the Mulshi scheme are still fresh, the Tata Company's new adventures in the Násik and Ahmednagar Districts must, no doubt, have struck terror into the hearts of the agricultural population of those parts. If Government thus continue to take land from the agriculturists by force for purposes such as those mentioned by our correspondent, we are afraid it will not be long before the agricultural population of Maharashtra is reduced to the condition of perpetual slavery. Mr. Turner, Collector of Ahmednagar, justified the action of Government on the ground that the return on the capital invested on the Canals was insignificant and could not be increased unless large planters took over the lands irrigated by them. Did Government undertake the irrigation works with a view to exact interest from the poor ryots like miserly money-lenders, or to save them from famine? Maharashtra bids fair to become, before long, a second Mauritius. And our only hope for averting the slavery that is in store for us lies in passive resistance.]

Comments on the resolution of the Government of India permitting Government Officers to defend the Government policy.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 27th Mar.

20. "It is now clear, what we suspected at the time, that the Bihar Government's circular giving officials *carte blanche* to combat non-co-operation but reproduced a similar resolution, since published, of the Central Government. The resolution says that Government officers will be allowed to explain and defend in public the policy of Government. But suppose an official does not approve of that policy.......... If officials are free to criticise the mistakes, in defending the policy of Government, they may do some good. But merely defending Government by men who depend for their livelihood on it, will carry no weight with the people, and Government may even find it necessary to pray to be saved from some of their official defenders."

The Irish situation and its lesson.
Kolába Samáchár (117), 19th Mar.

21. Our readers will perhaps find it difficult to believe that last month an Irishman was hanged simply because a loaded pistol was found in his possession. Yet it should be remembered that this is only a single instance of the fearful atrocities that are being committed in Ireland at this moment at the bidding of Mr. Lloyd George. The life and honour of every devoted son of Ireland is in danger, and only Mr. Lloyd George and his Ministers can tell what worse things are still in store for that unhappy country. Indians should carefully note this treatment that is meted out by Englishmen to people of their own race and religion, and should not fail to take a lesson from it regarding their own case. The British Empire is like a crocodile which has swallowed a jewel, and it will be as easy to get *swaráj* as a free gift from England as to recover the jewel from the crocodile. But the Englishman is a shrewd and clever fellow, and as soon as he finds that he can no longer withhold the grant of *swaráj*, he will make a show of giving it of his own accord. It is, therefore, the foremost duty of Indians to impress upon the minds of the British people that India is determined to have *swaráj*. Every Indian should, therefore, adopt non-co-operation and take a vow that he will not help the British directly or indirectly in the enslavement of his motherland.

Comments on Lord Ampthill's reply to the European non-official members of the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly in connection with the Indian Emergency Committee.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 27th Mar.

***22.** "The *London Times* has done well in administering a sharp rebuke to Lord Ampthill for his discourteous reply to the telegraphic message sent by the European non-official members of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. By giving such a grossly impertinent reply to the moderately-worded message sent to him, the ex-Governor of Madras has, as a Briton, set a very bad example to his own countrymen, and to Indians also, with regard to intemperate and ill-judged views. The Emergency Committee, which has been formed in England under the chairmanship of Lord Ampthill, proposes to enlighten the people there about the dangers of the present situation in India and to suggest ways and means in order to avert those supposed dangers. Now this is nothing but an unnecessary interference in the affairs of India, and the European non-official members of the two Legislatures were quite mindful of their business when they communicated their emphatic protest to Lord Ampthill that the Committee would serve no useful purpose and would rather exasperate public opinion and prejudice the effect of harmonious working in this country. Yet Lord Ampthill had the discourtesy to reply to the responsible representatives of English opinion in India that they should 'mind their own business'—an advice which he could very well have adopted himself for the good of his own reputation........ No one can deny that the situation in India is serious, though not dark. But the Government of India have adopted a certain policy, and they are faithfully adhering to that policy as far as consistent with the maintenance of law and order.......... Meanwhile Earl Reading is on his way to India to take the reins of Government in his hands, and it is essential that he should be left quite free to deal with the situation as he pleases. Any interference from irresponsible parties in England, who have probably their own axe to grind, must be strongly deprecated."

Gujaráti (17), 27th Mar.

***23.** "'Mind your own business'. That is, indeed, a very splendid specimen of courtesy as between Anglo-Indians themselves. We are not surprised at this outburst of resentment. Lord Ampthill and his supporters, trained in the peculiar political atmosphere of India, cannot rid themselves even in England of the manners they cultivated in this country and the self-centred views and the autocratic methods that they loved to practise with the approval of their countrymen as Governors, exalted bureaucrats or money-making business men in happy enjoyment of all the good things that they could easily secure for themselves in this land of plenty. For our own part we are not sorry over the exhibition that the ex-Governor of Madras has made of himself. Tenth-rate men like him, who were extolled as statesmen or even got memorials in their honour as Governors or exalted officials in defiance of Indian feeling, naturally think very highly of their performances in this country, especially when they are so regarded by their admiring countrymen.

.... But after all Lord Ampthill is not so much to blame as his countrymen in India and the Anglo-Indian press. It is their lamentable attitude in the past that has brought into existance the school of Sydenhams, Yates, Ampthills, O'Dwyers and Dyers who are now playing a conspicuous role on the political stage."

Complaint about continued shortage of coal in Bombay.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Mar.

24. "The industrial public in Bombay is much alarmed at the continued shortage of coal in the city. Owing principally to the insane proposition in the budget to levy a surtax on the coal carried by the railways, the price of this prime necessary of industry has been rising within the last fortnight till it threatens an absolute famine, greater in intensity and degree than even that during the war period. In Ahmedabad the entire mill industry has apparently felt the pinch, and judging from the position in Bombay to-day there is every reason to apprehend a much more serious shortage here. The policy of coal control leads to favouritism and discriminations, not to mention more culpable defects—a fact which condemns it beyond redemption though there are not wanting shrewd industrialists who opine that the present trouble has been intentionally created to obtain a further lease of life for the policy of control with its concomitant of rationing. The public is unable to understand the reasons for the continued shortage of waggon-supply and is consequently apt to believe all sorts of rumours about Frontier troubles developing into a great war, and what not. It is highly desirable, therefore, as much in the interests of the industrial life of the city as in that of the Government Department concerned that the earliest possible opportunity be taken to explain to the public why the waggon-supply, after two years of demobilisation, is still so limited, why the policy of control operates so as to prohibit practically the landing, without license, of coal actually in the harbour of Bombay."

Comments on the proposed establishment of a Labour Bureau for the Bombay Presidency.
Kamgar Mitra (new), 21st Mar.

25. In the opinion of the *Kamgar Mitra* the proposed establishment of the Labour Bureau will not benefit the workers unless its head is an Indian who enjoys their confidence. It protests against the alleged intention of Government to determine the wages that would suffice to keep the workers alive and asks whether it is just that while officials draw fat salaries the workers should be asked to be satisfied with only a living wage. The paper declares that the right of determining the wages that a worker should receive belongs to him and to him alone and that Government need not have requisitioned the services of an expert from England for this purpose.

Comments on Professor Kale's indictment of the exchange policy of Government in the Council of State.
Servant of India (10), 24th Mar.

26. "The representatives of the Government of India, we dare say, had an uncomfortable hour when Professor Kale levelled his attack upon its exchange policy in the Council of State on the 17th inst.......... Professor Kale's indictment of the exchange policy pursued by the Indian Government during the last few years was simply crushing, and the Honourable Mr. Cook could only give a feeble reply, pleading abnormal economic conditions. Unfortunately, Government does not realize the strong feeling in the public mind against its financial and exchange policy. But we hope the debate in the Council of State will open its eyes to the gravity of the situation and will persuade it to take suitable measures in time. India, it may rest assured, is no longer going to be satisfied with the existing currency system, and a true gold standard, accompanied by a gold currency, ought not to be withheld from it."

Comments on the discussion in the Council of State on the subject of increase in the Postal Rates.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 25th Mar.

27. While congratulating the Honourable Mr. Sethna and the Honourable Mr. Khaparde on the success they have achieved in the Council of State in moving their amendments about postal rates we would draw their attention to the glaring injustice to which Indian newspapers are being subjected under the present postal regulations. One pice is charged for the carriage of newspapers up to eight tolas and two for twenty tolas. It will be seen that these rates give special concessions to English newspapers, which are as a rule bulky at the expense of the Indian newspapers. English newspapers enjoy a large circulation and their rates of subscription are high. Indian newspapers, on the other hand, command poor circulation and their rates of subscription are also low. These newspapers stand in need of special concessions from Government. It is the Indian newspapers that would help to establish amicable relations between the rulers and the ruled. Subsidised newspapers have proved a failure and Government should therefore afford all facilities in their power to Indian newspapers. We would, in these circumstances, suggest that only one rate should be charged for newspapers up to ten tolas. We do not think that Government would be much the loser if the rate of letter-post were to be fixed at two pice for half a tola. Let us hope that the Honourable Members will move in the direction indicated above.

Comments on the ignorance professed by the Government of India in regard to the public demand for the return of Indian troops employed overseas.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Mar.

28. "For the Government of India to pretend—as evidenced in Sir William Vincent's reply to a question in the Council of State—that only from the notice of a resolution in the Legislative Assembly they are able to infer that there is 'a school of public opinion' (*sic*) in this country demanding the return of Indian troops employed overseas, shows that either they are wholly out of touch with public opinion in India or they deliberately seek to minimise the strength of the demand. Ever since the close of the war, and especially during the last one and a half years, the Indian public, through the press and the platform, have been incessantly demanding the immediate recall of Indian troops stationed abroad. Not only has the Indian National Congress passed resolutions making such a demand, but public meetings have been held in many places in India, including Bombay, endorsing this demand. The Indian Press too has also been agitating unceasingly for the withdrawal of troops. A great demonstration of Indians was also held in London towards the end of 1919, when the Indian deputations were there, and His Majesty's Government and the Secretary of State were apprised of the Indian feeling on the subject. If the Government of India are unaware of all this agitation in India and abroad, that is because they have pursued the ostrich-like policy of ignoring passing events. There are none so blind as those who will not see."

Reflections on the failure of certain resolutions in the reformed Councils.

Swarájya (143), 17th Mar.

29. The debates that took place in the reformed Councils on the resolution regarding the slaughter of milch cattle and their export to foreign countries, and the circular issued by the Phaltan State on this subject, show the vast difference between the shadow of *swaráj* and the substance of it. The State of Phaltan has issued a circular that no milch cattle should be sold to a butcher or his agents and that anyone transgressing the law is liable to a fine of Rs. 25 or to eight days' simple imprisonment. Our Councils, on the other hand, after so many debates and much waste of time, came to the conclusion that there was no harm in slaughtering milch cattle. This is why we do not value the reforms and demand *swaraj*. Similar has been the result of the agitation against the drink evil. A resolultion on this question came before the U. P. Council, but it met with the same fate. Whatever may be the case elsewhere, before the coming of the English Indians could live without liquor and Indian statesmen had no difficulty in meeting the national expenditure without the excise revenue. Those who cannot administer a country without encouraging dangerous habits among the people are unfit to rule over them.

Comments on Sir W. Vincent's statement in the Indian Legislative Assembly regarding Goverment's policy towards the non-co-operation movement.

Mahrátta (8), 27th Mar.

*30. "Sir William Vincent in the Legislative Assembly tried to outline the policy of Government in regard to the Non-co-operation movement and admitted that the Central Government issued instructions to local Governments to keep the closest watch over the Non-co-operation movement and to prosecute under ordinary law all those who would break or who are likely to break it. He spared no art or device of political shibboleth to enlist the sympathy of the Assembly in the nefarious task of throttling a non-violent National movement of self-purification and self-help.......... The mailed fist was also in evidence as he told the Assembly that the movement could have been suppressed by force long before.......... The Assembly regaled itself by abuse of Non-co-operators and many a member was able to lay an unction to his soul of having done his duty to his Motherland. Every one seemed to have been duly satisfied with himself, the Government having got a cat's paw in the members and the members justifying their spirit of co-operation by the destruction of opponents in an indirect manner.......... Sir William Vincent, however, enunciated a proposition which goes to the root of the whole question and which has been made an excuse and a stock argument by the opponents of the Indian freedom.......... What he meant to convey by the above statement was that India cannot hope to have freedom till she is able to protect herself. Capacity to protect seems to be in their opinicn *sine qu non* of freedom. This capacity is of course comparative. There is no nation including even England, that can effectively defend itself in all cases of aggression, say by a combination of all first class powers. What then does self-protection connote? It connotes, in our opinion, one thing and one thing alone, that the people must be ready to sacrifice every thing in defence of their Motherland. Because if any other meaning of the term is accepted, there would be scores of nations which would deserve to lose their independence. On the other hand we feel that India can protect herself if she has the will to do so and we believe she has that will. It is no use denying her right to freedom by such fallacious arguments as used by Sir William Vincent. Sir William threatens that if the British people withdraw there would be nothing but anarchy. Mahatma Gandhi dealt with both of these questions viz., anarchy and British protection, and we need not make any apology to quote the same for the edification of these reactionaries.... ...... But what would be the verdict of history upon the Nation that emasculated the nation first, and then made this emasculation an excuse for parmanent slavery? For, political, physical, ecomomic emasculation is the key-note of the present British rule in India."

Sánj Vartamán (32), 25th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 26th Mar.

31. We have no objection to the policy laid down by Sir William Vincent in the Indian Legislative Assembly in respect of the non-co-operation movement. Government mean to say that they will not adopt any repressive measures against the movement unless its followers transcend the bounds of law or give direct or indirect incitement to treason or lawlessness. But the policy as laid down is open to grave danger inasmuch as we have no guarantee that the provincial officials will not misinterpret the instructions given to them and take steps against harmless men. It was brought out during the discussion that up till then steps had been taken against 125 men. Will Sir William Vincent make bold to say that all these men can be proved to be guilty? Can the orders against Mr. Yakub Hassan and Lala Lajpatrai be justified? What was the necessity of asking the provincial Governments to keep an eye on the non-co-operationists? All repressive measures against the movement should be suspended till the new Viceroy assumes office. Excitement among the people is caused not so much by the non-co-operationists as by the repressive measures adopted by Government officials. The only way to put down non-co-operation is to conciliate the people and to give them justice. Repression is not likely to improve the present situation. [The *Prja Mitra and Parsi* on the other hand writes: How can we sympathise with those who resort to unlawful methods in their activities? How can we justify force and terrorism exercised by our own people against their brethren for holding different opinions? It is to be regretted that false rumours about a foreign invasion are being circulated among ignorant Moslems and they are being asked not to help Government in such a contingency. No true Indian will have a word to say against measures adopted to close the mouths of those who circulate such rumours. Sir William has declared that the Provincial governments have been instructed to prosecute the evil doers in courts of law. Mr. Gandhi should now lay aside his dictum about boycotting the courts and ask such men to defend themselves so that their innocence or guilt may be clearly proved. It is a matter for gratification that Sir William has announced that steps are being taken to remove the legitimate grievances of the agricultural classes. Government have made a beginning in the right direction and we firmly hope that many of our grievances will be removed on the advent of Lord Reading. The non-co-operationists should, on their part, take care not to provoke those who advocate repressive measures.]

The Indian budget for the year 1921-22,
Shubhasuchak (141), 18th Mar.; *Rájakáran* (131), 7th, 20th Mar.

32. For 20 years before the Mutiny, India's military budget amounted to about 11 crores a year. Since then it has been steadily going up. In 1890 it stood at 21 crores. In 1915 it was 32 crores and this year it exceeds 60 crores. This year's military expenditure represents about 50 per cent. of India's total revenues. Now, nobody objects to Government maintaining an army sufficiently strong to protect the country against external and internal troubles. But the real difficulty lies in deciding what should constitute a sufficient army, how much the country should spend upon it and with whom should lie the ultimate decision? The reforms have given us no power over the military expenditure and the only thing we can do is to criticise the budget as much as we like. India does not require such a large army for its protection. So decisive has been the Victory of the British Empire in the late war that a German or a Russian or any other invasion is inconceivable. Nor does internal discontent and fear of the Bolsheviks warrant such a large force. Where then is the necessity for this burden? The solution is to be found in the Esher Committee's Report. And that solution is that India must maintain as its own expense a large force to secure England's politico-economic domination over the East. The direct result of this large military expenditure is the starvation of education and sanitation. Unless India gets fiscal autonomy and the control over her military affairs, there is no hope of her making any progress in any direction. [The *Rájkáran* makes similar comments on the military expenditure and adds:—We wonder why all the Councillors did not leave the Council Hall in a body as a protest against Government's extravagance at a time when bankruptcy is staring the country in the face.]

Lokasatta (new), 19th Mar.

33. Mr. Hailey's sermon to the Indian merchants during the discussion on the Budget was quite out of place. Indian merchants have been put to great loss by the recent fluctuations in the rate of Exchange. And they believe that the bureaucracy and the Secretary of State are at the root of all their misfortunes. As usual the bureaucracy has manipulated the rate of Exchange with an eye to the interests of the British merchant and a callous disregard of those of the Indian merchant community. There is only one way of redressing this wrong. Indian merchants must practice non-co-operation with foreign merchants by boycotting all foreign goods until the exchange becomes normal.

Arya Vaibhav (95), 17th Mar.

34. A man whose expenses exceed his income is on the path to bankruptcy. Such a man, therefore, takes care to cut down his expenses. But quite the reverse is the case with statesmen dealing with public finance. Instead of curtailing their expenditure, they try to meet it by fresh taxation. If, however, these statesmen belong to the country whose finances they control, they will keep the incidence of taxation as low as possible and will not waste public money on unnecessary projects. This year's Indian budget shows a deficit of 18 crores. Of the many reasons which have contributed to bring about this result, the military expenditure is the most important. Another important item of expenditure is the New Delhi project. This is a costly luxury for which more than a crore of rupees have been sanctioned by Government. A responsible Government would have found in impossible to go on with such a project. That Government should indulge in such a luxury at a time when a deficit of 18 crores is staring it in the face is really amazing.

Comments on the discussion in the Indian Legislative Assembly on the subject of increasing the postal rates.
Praja Mitra ,and Pársi (30), 21st Mar.

35. We congratulate the Legislative Assembly for not allowing the rate for post cards to be increased, but we are sorry to say that it has failed in making its voice heard in regard to the increase in the postal rates for letters. It has been urged on behalf of Government that the Department cannot be allowed to work at a loss, and that the great increase which has been made in the salaries of the postal employes must be made up by an increase in the postal rates. People are in favour of increasing the pay of the postal employees, but we would like to know the increase per head in the case of higher and lower officials of the Department. We are of opinion that owing to want of tact in the handling of the pay of inferior officers, there is a marked deterioration in the efficiency of the Department. We will only hope that the high reputation for efficiency which the department enjoyed with pride before will be restored without delay. The arrangements proposed for meeting the increased expenditure do not seem to us at all to be characterised by farsightedness. There is no wisdom in fixing a higher minimum rate for postal letters than half-an-anna. When it serves the purpose of officials, they hold forth the example of Britain and other countries before us; but when the people point to the example of the same countries in support of their demands for freedom and other natural rights, they cooly say that India is not like other countries. [The paper then goes on to declare that the question of postal rates for newspapers also has not been wisely handled. It expresses the opinion that Government should not waste large sums of money on subsidising papers which do not enjoy the confidence of the public. It thinks that the savings thus effected should be utilised towards reducing the postal rates for newspapers so that the circulation of well-conducted and independent organs in the districts might thereby be fostered.]

Comments on the composition of the two committees appointed to consider repressive laws and Press legislation.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Mar.

36. "The compositon of the two committees that have been appointed to consider the question of repressive laws and Press legislation is far from satisfactory. The omission of Mr. Khaparde's name, for instance, from both the lists is no doubt significant. But, perhaps, we are expecting the thistle to grow figs. It would be a miracle if these committees are able to achieve anything in the way of mitigation of repression in this country. We would, therefore, only express the hope that those who have long been posing as champions of popular rights will not betray their countrymen and will labour with all their might to secure a repeal of all repressive legislation.......... In regard to the Press Act and the Rowlatt Act, especially, an entire repeal of the measure is what is urgently called for. But it remains to be seen if the Indian members of the Committee prove themselves to be patriotic enough not to be beguiled into acceptance of compromise by bureaucratic blandishment and diplomacy."

Comments on the report of the Committee of the Indian Legislative Assembly on the Esher Report.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Mar.

37. "The report of the Committee of the Legislative Assembly on the Esher Report, while satisfactory in some respects, is characterised by an unfortunate spirit of timidity and vacillation and betrays a too great readiness to compromise even where important issues are at stake that the members of the Assembly have displayed in their brief career. Some of the recommendations of the Committee lose their value because they do not go far enough. The Committee has done well, however, to repudiate emphatically the assumption that the army in India should be regarded as part and parcel of the Imperial military machinery and that it should be developed in a manner suited to Imperial necessities rather than with an eye only to the needs of external and internal defence of India itself........ The Committee of the Legislative Assembly has recommended that Indian troops may be employed on garrison duty overseas at the expense of His Majesty's Government and with the consent of the Government of India. Such a recommendation is uncalled for. Why should Indian troops alone be selected for garrison duties and why should the services of Dominion troops also not be requisitioned by the Mother country?......... The Legislative Assembly ought to refuse to acquiesce in the gratuitous suggestion of its Committee. The proposal that a Civilian ought to be in charge of the portfolio of Defence and that the Commander-in-Chief should cease to be a member of the Viceroy's Council is the only reasonable solution of the problem of effective control of the army by the Indian legislature. The highly objectionable proposal of the Esher Committee that the Commander-in-Chief should be immediately under the orders of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff can never be accepted, as that will remove the last shred of control of this country on its own troops and vest it in the Imperial General

Staff.......... The recommendation of the Assembly's Committee with regard to the Indianisation of the commissioned ranks is entirely disappointing. Instead of demanding that at least 50 per cent. of the Commissions should at once be thrown open to Indians, the Committee ask for a bare 25 per cent.! It also suggests the 'desirability' of establishing a college similar to Sandhurst in India, instead of demanding that it should be founded without any further delay and that the institutions at Quetta and elsewhere, which are maintained out of Indian funds, should be thrown open to Indians without any distinction of caste or race. The Committee's recommendations with reference to the Territorial Force, the interchange of officers, the reduction of the number of the British troops and the size of the administrative staff at Headquarters are also somewhat disapponiting in that they are not emphatic enough. As for the proposed committee of enquiry, its usefulness can only be judged by its terms of reference and its personnel. For that we have to see how the Assembly discharges its task. Apart from the specific defects of the recommendations of the Committee, it is necessary to point out that the country cannot accept them as its own considered demand. What the needs of the country demand, and demand immediately, is full control by legislature over the composition and character of the Indian Army, its uses, and the expenditure that may be incurred on its account. What India needs is an Indian Army, in the true sense of the word—that is, an army manned, officered and controlled by Indians, among whom we include Europeans and others who have made India their home. Nothing less will be fair to India or will be acceptable to her."

Comments on the new Emigration Bill introduced in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

Mahrátta (8), 27th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (30), 24th Mar.

*38. During the last week a new Emigration Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, and Sir George Barnes, speaking on the Bill, outlined the future policy of Government towards the question of Emigration.......... We do not know how far public criticism of the Bill will weigh with those who have introduced it, but we think it our duty to point out how the very principle and policy underlying the Bill are mistaken. What will the Bill do if it is passed as it stands to-day? .... In the first place, it will, in the future, be within the power of the two Houses of Legislature to refuse approval to any scheme of emigration of unskilled workers to any country where Indians do not enjoy the same political rights as other classes of His Majesty's subjects. And, secondly, there will be agents of the Government of India overseas who will keep the Government informed of all matters which affect the welfare and status of the Indians, and who will be at the service of any members of the Indian community who wish to seek their advice. That is all the Bill will do; and if so, can we say that it will materially improve the position which Indians occupy in places like Natal and Transvaal where the white colonists deny all political, social and even human rights to emigrants from India? The powers which the two Houses of Legislature will have of preventing Indians from emigrating to countries where they can not enjoy sufficient political rights will have no effect whatever on the status of the Indians abroad. To prevent Indians from visiting and residing in South Africa is surely no remedy for the dishonour, contempt and race-hatred with which the Natal and Transvaal Government is suffered to treat Indians. If the British Government has any influence left over the dominions and if the Government of India is sincere about the Indian interests, the dominions must be compelled to repeal all laws that deprive Indians of their legitimate rights. To prevent Indians from going to places like South Africa and to spread agents who will only 'report' matters, is only an indirect confession that the dominions cannot be brought round to do justice to Indian claims. Even supposing that the British Government are not willing, for one reason or other, to press the dominion Governments to reasonable settlement, prevention of emigration is not the only alternative that remains.......... Reciprocity of treatement will quickly open the eyes of the Dominion Governments which seek to drive out the Indians.......... Sir G. Barnes read to the Assembly a 'long sermon on the disadvantages of a policy of retalliation. He said, History tells us that retalliation is seldom a successful weapon'. Yes! Perhaps there is a grain of truth in these words. But let him give that sort of advice to those who want to supress Non-co-operation by repression and retalliation: and let the Honourable Members guard themselves against being misled.

Their plain duty is to reject the Bill as it stands and to insist upon formulating another Bill which will impose restrictive laws on British visitors and residents of India and which will be in complete agreement with the policy of reciprocity of treatment recommended by the War Conference of 1918." [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Emigration Bill introduced by Sir George Barnes in the Indian Legislative Assembly is of a worthless nature and the speech made by him in introducing it will add insult to the injury inflicted upon the Indians by the Colonies. Sir George does not favour the principle of reciprocity. Will not colonists be encouraged by the speech to maintain their unjust policy towards Indians? The outgoing Viceroy has no right to bring such a Bill in the Assembly. It will place the new Viceroy in an awkward position. Let us hope Lord Reading will refuse to commit himself to the policy outlined in the Bill and the speech made by Sir George Barnes in its favour, and will adopt a firm policy that will preserve the self-respect of India.]

Comments on the debate in the Bombay Legislative Council on the subject of giving compensation to the agriculturists of Mulshi Peta affected by the Tata Hydro-Electric scheme.

Gujaráti (17), 27th Mar.

*39. "Another illustration of bureaucratic solicitude for the welfare of poor agriculturists was supplied by the debate on Mr. Gupte's resolution recommending the stoppage of the Tata Hydro-Electric Works in the Mulshi Peta until the Council had an opportunity of examining the agreement entered into by Government with the Company. The mover described the various steps that had been taken for obtaining redress of their grievances by the inhabitants of the 37 villages, which will be submerged under water. .... Mr. Gupte's resolution was somewhat drastic as it recommended the stoppage of costly works now in progress. That was not a course which the Council was inclined to approve. Rao Bahadur Kale, therefore, moved an amendment recommending that prompt steps be taken by Government to compensate the villagers in the Mulshi Peta in kind or money. That was unanimously accepted by the Council as a substantive proposition. The debate, on Mr. Gupte's resolution and its final outcome were a splendid demonstration of the success of non-official opinion and of the service done by the representatives of much maligned upper classes and other councillors to the cause of the suffering agricultural population of the Andhra Valley and Mulshi Peta. The bureaucrat is all supreme in the Districts but not so in the new Councils. He cannot afford to ignore the claims of logic, justice and humanity in the presence of the outspoken representives of the people, though he can choose to be impervious elsewhere to all appeals and applications for redress by helpless and suffering peasants, even when they are bereft of their beloved homes and lands or oppressed by the Forest Department."

***Mahrátta** (8), 27th **Mar.**

40. Commenting upon the debate in the Bombay Legislative Council on the resolution regarding acquisition in Mulshi Peta for the Tata Hydro-Electric works the *Mahrátta* writes:—"The debate was not only ridiculously tame but was grotesque in the extreme. The proceedings showed that the Council was hopelessly out of touch with the sentiments of the people and it had lost its credentials, if it had any, to represent the people of the province. There was not a single member in the Council except perhaps the mover of the resolution who had any first-hand acquaintance as to the exact situation in the Mulshi Peta. The members who represented the Government, seem to have never cared to acquaint themselves with the facts in the case. Mr. R. P. Paranjpye, one of the ministers, who had a bit of knowledge of the working of the Land Acquisition Act in this part of the country, observed 'discreet' silence. And the result was that an Assembly of the opportunist politicians, altogether innocent of any insight into the problems involving the weal or the woe of thousands of their countrymen, decided to deprive the people of Mulshi of their ancient lands, homesteads, and temples by a single stroke of a resolution....... .. Mr. Gupte and the people of the Mulshi valley asked literally for bread by letting them remain on their lands, and Mr. Kale and the Council gave them stones by driving them out of the stony plane....... We confess we remain unconvinced by the specious arguments of Sir George Curtis.......... We admit that the saving of coal is of utmost importance to India because the coal resources of the country are limited. But at the same time it must be remembered that in order to save 2½ per cent. of the coal produced we are paying a price too great to enable us to call the scheme a scheme of public utility. We cannot understand why the sponsors of the scheme do not take into consideration the yearly loss of 7,000 khandies of rice produced in the Mulshi valley. Especially in these days of recurring famines we do not afford to lose such a valuable amount of crops. If coal is to be saved some other means of saving it must be devised. To rob fifteen thousand people of their homes involves a loss in affection towards the Government and the Company and a wrench of heart which cannot be estimated in rupees, annas and pies. Under the circumstances, especially when the scheme enriches more those that are already rich and makes poorer those that are already poor, it cannot be said to be of public utility in any sense of the term......... Sir George Curtis makes much of judicial inquiry in cases of compensation, but the argument is as unfair as it is unscrupulous. Sir George knows that the poor peasantry cannot afford to fight the Government, backed as it is by the resources of a big country, and we ask him and, for the matter of that, any Judicial and Revenue officer to lay his hands on his heart and swear that due and impartial justice is done in the cases under the Land Acquisition Act. .... Lastly we have to say only one word regarding the whole scheme. We seriously ask the Government and the apologists of capitalism whether sentiment does or does not play any part in the affairs of the country. Is not violation of sentiment and consequent wounding of the feelings of people too great a price for the doubtful industrial advancement of the country? And is it not out of proportion to the gain?......... The Mulshi scheme drives thousands out of their homes. And it is not at all surprising if the Mulshi people determined not to submit to this financial piracy." [Elsewhere in the paper, V. M. Bhuskute writes:—"I humbly say that both the Poona District Conference and the members of the Legislative Council have misunderstood the Mávalás. The Mávalás want nothing less than abandoning the tank project. They are not willing to give up their dear lands. They have fearlessly expressed their wish in the interview taken by the Collector of Poona in February; the Collector not only promised them ample compensation, but also requested them to demand lands in other districts. From the first to the last there was one cry from the Mávalás, and that was 'Má-báp Sarkár, we want no compensation, no lands save our lands, and if the Sarkár is not willing to comply with our request, shoot us down; we will rather die than abandon our dear lands.' I was present at the interview. It was a very pathetic scene. The Collector also seemed to be moved. His heart also was melted. He also with a throbbing heart said: 'Kill me. I will never kill you.' This scene is still before me and I will not forget it in my whole life; for the last three months I have been touring in the Mulshi Peta. I have seen every village. I have met every Mávalá. .... They have opened their heart to me. I have seen tears fallen down from the eyes of old Mávalás. They invoke God's favour to save them from this danger. They think nothing else. They think neither of the compensation nor of the lands in exchange. Even in a dream the Mávalá will not think to part with his land. Some will think that this is only a sentimental side of the question. From the utilitarian point of view the compensation will not give least relief to the Mávalás. The sowkars will be highly benefitted. The sowkars will get thousands, while most of the Mávalás will have to leave their Motherland without a single pie. It is true that there are some small land-owners among the Mávalás, but the amount of compensation will not help them to live honourably as in the case of the Sowkárs. .... The Mávalás resolved to resort to Satyagraha, not for the sake of getting compensation, however ample it may be, but for the sake of saving their lands. The Mávalás want *status quo*, and in that case only the Mávalás will be saved......... The more the compensation, the more the sowkárs will be benefitted. If Government will agree to give ample compensation the Mávalás will no doubt get some more money, but it will not help more than delaying for some days their slavery......... The Mávalás have determined to resort to Satyagraha to save their Motherland and they will not be satisfied until Government will assure them to stop the works and to keep their lands with them."]

Comments on Major Fernandes' resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council for a Committee to inquire into the Forest grievances in Kanára.

Gujaráti (17), 27th Mar.

***41.** "Major C. Fernandes moved on Tuesday last that in view of the discontent widely prevalent in Kánara as a result of the operations of the Forest Department, 'a Committee consisting of two officials and two non-officials with a non-official president be appointed to inquire into grievances of the people and to indicate ways and means to fully and adequately meet all legitimate grievances.'......... Any further discussion of the resolution was stopped by the praiseworthy promptitude and spirit of fairness and sympathy with which the Honourable Mr. C. V. Mehta, Minister in charge of Forests, accepted the resolution on behalf of Government. We are very glad, indeed, that Government came wisely to the conclusion that the light of non-official opinion should be thrown upon the one-sided investigations that had so far been made into the grievances of the people.......... He assured the Council that it would be the policy of Government to treat agriculture and forests from the public point of view, that 'every effort would be made to see that the agriculturists did not suffer on account of the forest revenue and that Government would give the fullest attention to the recommendations of the Committee.' We hope its personnel will be such as to command public confidence and that there will be a thorough investigation into what has been an intolerable grievance of long standing. The acceptance by Government of Major Fernandes' resolution as a result of the sympathetic inquiries made by the Minister in charge of Forests is a gratifying and notable illustration of the salutary influence of non-official opinion and sympathy upon the deliberations of Government."

Anti-Brahmin tendencies in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 26th Mar.

42. Bombay has so far been free from sectarian bitterness. There has been less of disunion between Hindus and Moslems amongst us than in other provinces and these communities are showing increasing respect for the sentiments of each other day by day. While sectarian differences are thus on the wane in our presidency, a new danger has arisen and evidence of it was clearly manifested at the recent sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council. Officials in the Madras Presidency have fostered differences between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins and Bombay seems to have caught the infection. Backward classes in the Deccan have been stirred up against the Brahmins by certain evil-minded persons and some undesirable men belonging to the backward classes have found their way to the Legislative Council owing to the non-co-operation movement. An Indian Chief is playing a prominent part in the agitation against Brahmins in the Deccan and we cannot refrain from raising our voice against the manner in which the agitation is being carried on so as to cause excitement throughout the country. Fancy objections being raised against the raising of the salaries of Talatis and primary teachers on the score of their being Brahmins! Some members of the backward classes showed a marked tendency towards opposing Brahmin members and blindly supporting the officials. The backward classes should, no doubt, improve their own status, but they should on no account be actuated by feelings of hatred towards the Brahmins.

Comments on the resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding franchise for women.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 23rd Mar.; *Hindusthán* (21), 23rd Mar.

43. We fail to understand the reasons for which the resolution regarding franchise for women was ruled out of order in the Bombay Legislative Council. It is to be regretted that the Home Member raised the point of order at the eleventh hour and thus brought a few hours' discussion in the Council to naught. Why was the resolution not split up in parts and placed before the Council for its opinion, as was done in several other cases? The President owes us an explanation in the matter. The Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee clearly lays it down that the question of franchise for women is left to the newly elected Legislative Council of each province. In such circumstances, therefore, the resolution, if it had been passed by the Council, could have been sent to the Government of India, the

Secretary of State and the Parliamentary Committee and could have been embodied in the electoral rules for our province at the next elections, if no objection was raised to it in any quarter. [The *Hindusthân* deprecates the opposition shown in the Council to Mr. Trivedi's resolution regarding franchise for women and declares that the opinion expressed on the question in the Council goes to show that the Councillors hold a very low opinion about women and that they themselves are unfit for *Swarâj*.]

Comments on the proposed modification in the Turkish Peace Treaty.
Young India (14), 23rd Mar.

44. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Young India*:—"The proposed change in the Treaty of Sevres cannot satisfy Indian Muslims. And that is saying a great deal. It is not Turkey merely that Great Britain has to placate. It is India that has to be pacified. In my opinion, if the demands of the Muslims of India are conceded it will not much matter whether Turkey's demands are satisfied or not. And this for two reasons. The Khilafat is an ideal and when a man works for an ideal, he becomes irresistible. The Muslims, who represent the ideal, have behind them the opinion of the whole mass of the Indian people. It is wrong to say that Muslims are fighting merely for Turkey. They will abandon her today, if she went wrong, if, to take a foolish illustration, she demands her restoration to the status that she occupied during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent. Similarly, the Muslims cannot abandon a claim based on the Koranic injunctions because a weak and helpless Turkey cannot sustain it. Whilst every good Muslim must strive to retain the temporal power of Turkey, it is obligatory on him to see that unequivocal Muslim control is retained over the 'Island of Arabia' which includes Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine as well, and the spiritual sovereignty over them of the Caliph whoever he may be for the time being. No other terms, however good otherwise they may be, can possibly satisfy Muslim opinion. They will not tolerate any non-Muslim influence direct or indirect over the holy places of Islam. The most thorny part of the question is, therefore, Palestine. Britain has made promises to the Zionists. The latter have, naturally, a sacred sentiment about the place. The Jews, it is contended, must remain a homeless wandering race unless they have obtained possession of Palestine. I do not propose to examine the soundness or otherwise of the doctrine underlying the proposition. All I contend is that they cannot possess Palestine through a trick or a moral breach. Palestine was not a stake in the war. The British Government could not dare have asked a single Muslim soldier to wrest control on Palestine from fellow Muslims and give it to the Jews. Palestine, as a place of Jewish worship, is a sentiment to be respected and the Jews would have a just cause of complaint against Musalman idealists if they were to prevent Jews from offering worship as freely as themselves. By no canon of ethics or war, therefore, can Palestine be given to the Jews as a result of the war. Either Zionists must revise their ideal about Palestine, or if Judaism permits the arbitrament of war, engage in a 'holy war' with the Muslims of the world with the Christians throwing in their influence on their side. But one may hope that the trend of world opinion will make 'holy wars' impossible and religious questions or differences will tend more and more towards a peaceful adjustment, based upon the strictest moral considerations. But whether such a happy time ever comes or not, it is clear as daylight that the Khilafat terms to be just must mean the re-salvation of Jazerat-ul-Arab to complete Muslim control under the spiritual sovereignty of the Caliph."

Comments on the concessions offered by the Allies to Turkey with regard to the revision of the Turkish Peace Treaty.
Political Bhomiyo (74), 25th Mar.

45. Not only the Muhammadans but even the whole world will be disappointed at the new terms offered for the revision of the Turkish treaty. It was expected that this time the drama enacted at the Paris Conference would not be repeated and the peace of the world would be really secured. The world has not been unaware of the undesirable attitude of protecting Greek interests adopted from the beginning. All will be pleased if the Khalifat-ul-Muslemin gets more independence. No Muhammadan can tolerate the slightest dependence of the Khalifa on any other power, be it direct or indirect. Turkey should be given complete independence in financial matters and not "more" of it as is provided in the terms. Turkey should be given complete control over the Straits and not "more" of it, as is stated in the terms. We do not understand why foreigners should be given command of the Turkish Army. The handing over of Gallipoli to the Greeks is undesirable, but we welcome the evacuation of Constantinople by the Allies. Turkey will not agree to the internationalization of Thrace. There could be no more harmful arrangement than the declaration of the independence of Smyrna with the predominance of Greek authority. England should take the lead in arriving at a satisfactory agreement with Turkey by respecting the feelings of her Muhammadan subjects. It is necessary for the British Government to take fully into consideration the great services rendered by the Indian Muhammadans. It should also note that the Government of India has sympathised with Indian Muhammadans and supported their claim. We are glad that Kurdistan is to be handed over to the Turks and Turkey admitted to the League of Nations. We hope that the Allies will further revise some of the concessions offered so as to make them free from objection. The success of the attempts to check the spread of Bolshevism can be ensured and the dream of a world peace realized only by satisfying Turkey and the Muhammadans.

The attitude of the Egyptians in regard to Turkish peace Terms in no way differs from that of the Indian Muslims.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Mar.

46. "The latest rumour which has reached us concerns Mr. Churchill's visit to Egypt. It is said that he has been sent there for the purpose of certifying after some show of investigation, that Egyptain Muslims do not make the same demands as Indian Muslims, and that consequently those demands are not to be regarded as Islamic, but merely Indian, therefore to be disregarded. We say at once disbelieve this rumour. If such a piece of camouflage had been designed by Mr. Lloyd George—and we believe him to be capable of anything—Mr. Churchill is emphatically not the man who would be chosen for such a purpose by anyone at all acquainted with his character. For Mr. Churchill is a disconcerting person, who tries to get at the root of any problem set before him, the only trouble being that he is impulsive, and apt to be deceived by the credentials of the so-called expert. He might have been decieved in England, as many people were, by Zaghlul Pasha's politic suppression of the chief cause of Egyptian discontent in the interest of Egyptian nationalism. But in Egypt he can hardly be the victim of a like deception; for the whole Egyptian Muslim Press, despite the censorship, is manifestly pro-Turk as far as Thrace and Smyrna are concerned, and pro-Arab in the case of Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine.......... The feeling in Egypt upon the subject of the Turkish Treaty is such that no man endowed with an average measure of perspicacity could fail to see that the Egyptian Muslims and the Indian Muslims are at one in feeling and demands, though the Egyptians may not express themselves in precisely the same terms which Indians use. If Mr. Churchill is to be in charge of British policy with regard to Arabic-speaking peoples, it is only natural that he should proceed to Egypt, the literary and political centre of the Arabic-speaking world, for information.......... The rumour we have mentioned only shows the strong distrust which has been sown in Indian minds making them suspect a hostile purpose towards Islam in every movement Eastward of a British Minister. Even the late attempts at reassurance and propitiation are distrusted, and Indian Muslims are inclined to see in them merely a cloak for some new sword-thrust, some new treachery.......... It is for the Government of India now to force the British Government to do tardy justice, as well to the Arab as to the Turkish peoples in accordance with the solemn pledges given by England to those people and to India; and so begin to earn the right to be regarded as the Indian Government. They surely must perceive how much depends on it, for England, India and the world at large."

Reflections on the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement.
Hindusthán (22), 25th Mar.

47. Commenting upon the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement, the *Hindusthán* writes :—The Allies encouraged the civil war in Russia and tried to starve its people by means of economic measures, but it all came to nothing. The Russian authorities remained as powerful as ever; and, really speaking, their power has increased much more now than it ever was before, and the Allies and the Prime Minister of England have been left in blank astonishment. In spite of this, the oppression exercised by the Allies on the children of this fallen nation will hardly ever be forgotten. For those same Allies who at one time considered Russia as their friend proved treacherous towards it, and showered innumerable sufferings on it; and England played the most prominent part in this. But today that same England has shown the wisdom of coming to an agreement with Russia; and in this, in our opinion, seems to be involved the welfare not only of these two nations but also of all mankind.

Comments on the report of the South African Asiatic Enquiry Commission.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Mar.

48. "The spirit of the Commission's report is entirely at variance with the tone of sincerity and fairness which characterised the statement of Sir Benjamin Robertson before the Commission. Not one of the unjust and repressive laws against which Indian community have been bitterly complaining have been recommended for repeal. On the other hand, fresh restrictions on domicile, trade and ownership of land by Indians are sought to be imposed, rendering the lot of our countrymen even harder and more humiliating than it is at present. It is thus obvious that the Commission has chosen entirely to ignore the Indian view and Indian representations, and to recommend the ruthless pursuit of the policy of racial exclusion and subordination of Indian interests to the greed of the Colonial Whites. Indians have been and must remain the helots of the Empire—that seems to be the deliberate resolve of 'Imperial' statesmen everywhere. We publish to-day a facsimile photograph of the badge of this helotry which every Indian domiciled in South Africa, however well educated and respectably connected he may be, is obliged to carry with him if he wishes to pay a visit, however brief, to his Motherland.......... British statesmen who talk glibly of India being now a co-partner in the British Commonwealth and a loyal comrade, and so on, fail to realise how deeply the iron of this national humiliation has entered into the soul of India. If *Pax Britannica* cannot offer Indians anything better than the badge of helotry, the latter will be certainly entitled to look elsewhere for a free and honourable existence."

Kesari (115), 22nd Mar.

49. The Government of India had appointed Sir Benjamin Robertson to give evidence before the Asiatic Enquiry Commission on behalf of Indians. The opinion of Sir Benjamin and the recommendations of the commission make it quite clear that the position of Indians in South Africa will be exactly what it was before the appointment of the Commission. There is nothing to be wondered at in the recommendations of the Commission. What is regrettable is that even the recommendations of Sir Benjamin should fall so short of what was necessary. Among others, Sir Benjamin has made the absurd suggestion that attempts should be made to westernize the Indians in South Africa in order that they may be fit to live in the same localities as the Europeans. In our opinion the recommendations are not only unsatisfactory but absolutely worthless. The British Indian Association of Pretoria, being of the same opinion, is thinking of appealing to the League of Nations. But is it likely that the League of Nations will listen to the grievances of a weak people ?

Appeal to Indians not to prejudge the Viceroy Designate.
Jame-e-Jamshed (23), 24th Mar., Eng. cols.

50. "The churlishness of some of the members of the Bombay Municipality in objecting to voting an address of welcome to Lord Reading offers a striking contrast with the encouraging speeches which the Viceroy designate has been making prior to his departure for the assumption of his exalted office.......... To all appearance the new Viceroy is equipped with the knowledge, vigour and mentality. needed in the man of the hour, which he is bound to prove as soon as he lands on our shores on the first of the next month. We deprecate all attempts to pre-judging this great British judiciary. We would urge on all Indians to judge the new representative of the sovereign by his actual deeds which, from all that has fallen from him of late, cannot but prove of immense benefit to our country. Without being unduly pessimistic, we cannot shut our eyes to the circumstance that the horizon on our frontiers is clouded. Although our mission has reached Kabul and has had long conversations with the Amir, so far the net result has been a conclusion of treaties between the ruler of Afaganistan and the Soviet of Russia! It would not be an exaggeration to conclude that British diplomacy has been defeated at Kabul. The internal state of affairs nearer home makes us pause. From the minor and less important public functionaries such pivotal branches as the police are now being gradually affected by the unfortunate preachings of Mr. Gandhi. The Police at Patna went on a strike. Strikes in one form or another have become epedemic in the country. India needs a man of powerful personality and insight. There is no reason to doubt the existence of such a personage in the coming Viceroy."

The outgoing and the incoming Viceroys.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 27th Mar.

*51. "It will be generally recognised that personally the retiring Viceroy is endowed with many virtues. But as a statesman his career must be pronounced a gloomy failure. No doubt, he 'co-operated' with Mr. Montagu in carrying through the Reforms. But the exact share and the manner and method of his co-operation cannot be readily estimated when we consider the terms of the despatch of the Government of India on the scheme, and their striking divergence at several important points from the Report which he jointly signed with Mr. Montagu.......... The crucial test of Lord Chelmsford's statesmanship came with the demand from Sir Michael O'Dwyer for martial law in his beloved province. The Viceroy merely effaced himself in that crisis. He drove his Indian colleague into resigning and, for the rest, let the situation drift with the result that, during the last two years, people have ceased to look to the Viceroy or his Government for any help in their difficulties.......... He leaves the finances of the country in utter chaos, the good faith of British rule openly doubted, and the orientation of Indian politics showing marked signs of departing from its traditionary direction. On one matter, it should be said in fairness to His Excellency, the retiring Viceroy has taken a strong line. It is in respect of the position of Indians overseas. The despatches of the Government of India on the Indian question in East Africa and Tanganyika, are model documents which might have emanated from a national Government of which Mr. Gandhi was the head. The gratitude of the country is due to His Excellency for this service, and we may hope that as a member of the Indian Standing Committee of Parliament, Lord Chelmsford will use his influence to expedite a just settlement of these problems. As for the new Viceroy, England could not have chosen a better man. Lord Reading's great ability and high position are acknowledged. His departure from England has been signalised by marks of confidence from all sides. He has made an unusually large number of speeches for one who was yet Lord Chief Justice of England and only Viceroy-Designate of India, and in all he has proclaimed and insisted on his resolve to do justice in this country. .... Excessive prudence and circumspection have been the bane of Indian administration. All the repressive laws are the outcome of these qualities in Indian policy. The crushing military expenditure is due to them. The timidity of the Reform scheme beset before and behind and on all sides by checks, safeguards and vetos, is another of their results. If Lord Reading could break away from the atmosphere of suspicion which hangs so heavily in the Secretariats, and throw himself on his human heart for a policy, he need have no doubt as to his success. The sooner Lord Reading makes it clear that he does not favour the one party or the other and that his purpose and policy is to work with all parties in the country, to appreciate their points of view and to do his best to meet them so far as they are right and just, the easier will be his course in the great work of pacification.

All parties are earnestly desirous of giving his lordship the fairest opportunity in his high task. The people are weary of agitation and unrest, and anxious to resume the normal tenor of their lives. The new Viceroy will begin office with every prospect of a bright and happy term. May he succeed!"

Sánj Vartaman (32), 22nd Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 23rd Mar.

52. India is passing through very critical times and the Government of India and Lord Chelmsford are responsible for the present situation. Lord Reading will have the golden opportunity of removing the present discontent. He promises to preserve an open mind till he has discussed matters with the representatives of all communities and has asked Indians not to criticise or condemn him till he has had a fair chance of showing that he means to help India. We are eager to give a hearty response to Lord Reading's wishes. We shall not overwhelm him with addresses of welcome nor shall he make false protestations of loyalty; but we will lay our grievances before him and ask him to do justice to us. Lord Reading, therefore, will do well to call a Conference of the real leaders of the people under his presidentship soon after his arrival in India. In order to assure the public that he means to do justice, Lord Reading should put an end to the policy of repression recently adopted by Government. The non-co-operationists, on the other hand, should suspend their programme and cease making speeches in public till the result of the conference is made known. If Lord Reading begins his administration by releasing all political prisoners, then we feel sure that the way to a compromise will be opened. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks:—Lord Reading's recent pronouncement excites new hopes in our hearts. We trust it will have the desired effect upon the non-co-operationists. Those idealists who want *Swaráj* for India within a year will not respond to Lord Reading's appeal, but we expect a more reasonable attitude from Mr. Gandhi in the matter. He should place the grievances of India before the new Viceroy and show him the way of doing justice to India. Now that Lord Reading means to discuss matters with our representatives all of us should accord him a welcome and assure him that we are ready to work hand in hand with the officials.]

Approval of the appointment of Mr. M L. Tannan as Principal of the Sydenham College of Commerce, Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Mar.

53. "The Government of Bombay are to be congratulated on the appointment of Mr. M. L. Tannan as Principal of the Sydenham College of Commerce. We had heard more than one disquieting rumour about an attempt to foist upon this institution a European head in place of the late Mr. Anstey, under a mistaken and unjustifiable notion of prestige. Even now the appointment is not quite final. But in view of Mr. Tannan's services in the institution, in view of the undoubted qualifications for administrative and educational work of which he has given evidence, we think, in the circumstances, Government could not have made a better choice. The Sydenham College has in the past provoked more than one unfavourable criticism. We are by no means certain that the expenditure on the College is in reality absolutely above every reproach of waste. Nor are we convinced about the disappearance of the notion held by many an official in this country, and also by the late Mr. Anstey, namely, that efficiency increases in direct ratio with expenditure. The actual work done by individual professors in this College, in the course of the year, is ridiculously and disproportionately small, however much it may be camouflaged under the pretexts of classes and seminars. If the authorities do not consider the staff of the college excessive we would at least point out that the amount of work that could be rendered by this staff might be considerably increased without the slightest prejudice to the efficiency of the lecturer, or the quality of the lectures. In a college dealing with topical questions of immediate material public importance as the Sydenham College does, there is room for expansion in the courses which must not be restricted by the hard and fast lines of a University curriculum. We sincerely trust that in the Sydenham College, with its Indian Principal and the entire staff of highly educated Indians the educational needs of the country will not be neglected.

We hope Mr. Tannan will boldly adopt a policy of liberalising the institution till it becomes a national institution in the truest sense of the term."

Government should increase the Bombay City Polic Force in view of the increase in the number of thefts, robberies and armed dacoities.

Akhbár-e-Islám (58), 21st Mar.

54. For some time there have been thefts, robberies and dacoities in the northern part of our city and the people are terror-stricken because in some instances the dacoits had used arms. At a time when a scheme for shifting the population of Bombay to the northern part of the city is on the anvil, the people are filled with terror as to the security of their lives and property owing to such robberies. There is no doubt that the number of Police in our city is very small in comparison with the population. There has been a great increase in the expenses incurred on education and medical aid since the time Government handed over these departments to the Municipal Corporation and took over the charge of the Police Department. But there is no increase in the number of the Police. Hence it is the duty of Government to increase the number of Police officers and Policemen. We are glad that Government are going to make the necessary changes in the Police Department and increase the number of the Police. We also note with satisfaction that the head of the Police Department and his assistants are making strenuous efforts to put down robberies. Hence by increasing the number of Police, they will be able to apprehend criminals with greater ease. Government should not delay any longer in increasing the number of the Police.

Complaint about the manner in which Police prosecutions are conducted.

Bombay Chronicle (2) (Sunday edition), 20th Mar.

55. "Atropos" writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* (Sunday edition):— "Perhaps in no other civilised country have Police methods been so adversely criticised as in India,... ...... The greatest defect in our present system from the public point of view is the way in which police evidence is frequently cooked up in the criminal court and the collapse that a Sinha and a Norton had effected in the Midnapore Bomb Case, in which the prosecution proceedings against 30 or more leading Indian gentlemen for alleged conspiracy were withdrawn after a prolonged trial on the then Mr. S. P. Sinha showing the vacuity of the prosecution.......... The most wonderful part of it is that when an error has been committed in arresting the wrong man we have a concentrated police effort to prove that he is the right man, and grave miscarriage of justice has more than once been committed.......... Besides, petty cases of insult and personal injuries to poor Indians caused by their over-lords, either of the same hue or different colour, have become so frequent in India that it is high time that the Government, if it at all cares for its reputation for fairness, or whatever shred may be left of it, should appoint a public defender, just as they have a public prosecutor, which is the best safeguard against police vagaries as well as the insolence and high-handedness of a class of His Majesty's subjects who create hell on earth by their pugnacious and overbearing attitude owing to their over-estimated idea of their position in life, wealth and even colour."

Approval of the suggestions of the Congress Committee on the Exchange question.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (30), 25th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (61), 26th Mar.

56. The recommendations made by the Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress to enquire into the exchange situation will safeguard the true interests of the country and of the British Empire. There could not be more honest and straightforward suggestion than the one made by the Committee to carry on the foreign trade of India in rupee currency so as to save it from the fluctuations of exchange. Should Indian commercial men carry out the suggestion made by the Committee the Government of India would be induced to follow their example. [The *Bombay Samáchár* endorses the suggestions of the Congress Committee and asks Indian merchants to adopt them.]

Comments on the conviction of certain petroleum workers in Bombay.

Kamgar Mitra (new), 31st Mar.

57. One cannot help being indignant at the Magistrate's decision against certain employees of the Petroleum companies in their recent trial. The Magistrate in his judgment has attacked Mr. Baptista indirectly, and has given a false and one-sided decision merely on the evidence of the police. According to him the Pathans acted in self-defence. Is it not equally possible that the strikers also acted in self-defence, in order to protect themselves from the attacks of the armed police and the Pathans? In face of the fact that the strikers were almost beaten to death, the Magistrate has decided in favour of the Pathans. Surely, this is adding insult to injury. The Magistrate deserves to be dismissed from his office for this flagrant breach of justice.

Protest against an early revision of revenue settlements in Sind.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Mar.

58. "The official justification for revision of the settlement in some parts of Sind so soon after the last settlement as only eight years, is hardly convincing. It is admitted that the normal period of settlement in Sind, recommended by the Committee appointed by Government and accepted by the latter themselves, is twenty years. Yet, before even a decade has passed, attempts are being made to bring into force enhanced rates of assessment. Government say that the short term of settlement has been adopted in view of 'the extremely fluctuating nature of the present prices and the desirability of recasting the present defective grouping of *dehs* in the tract at an ealy date.' But the prices are bound to fluctuate for some further length of time and the regrouping of *dehs*, if it be necessary, can certainly be effected without inflicting additional burdens on the ryots. It is deplorable that Government think nothing of disturbing the ryot and imposing on him new burdens on the plea of 'efficiency', though such proceedings are directly against the declared policy of the State. There is absolutely no justification for the proposed step. Moreover, owing to scarcity and high prices, the ryots can hardly make both ends meet. Government ought to abandon the revision for this reason, if for nothing else."

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the passing of the Finance Bill in the Indian Legislative Assembly.

New Times (9), 21st Mar.

59. "The new taxation bill, technically termed the Finance Bill, has been passed by the Legislative Assembly.......... Though at Mr. Samarth's motion the age-limit of the bill has been limited to one year, it cannot but be said that most of the new taxes have come to stay. Past experience has unmistakably shown that pledges that particular taxes are only temporary, are mere scraps of paper and speeches of men in charge, so many delightful words. Let us not, therefore, be misled and be consoled with the age-limit of the additional taxation. We do not, however, regret the increased tariffs; they will be on the whole good for India but the increase in postal rates is specially to be regretted. The Legislators have modified the Finance Bill in one respect however; they have left the postal pice card untouched. This no doubt will leave the poor masses untouched to a certain extent."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against the high qualification for Municipal franchise proposed by the Bombay Municipal Corporation.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 27th Mar.

60. "The Bombay Municipal Corporation is often described as a model of Local Self-Government. Its reputation as an institution of Local Self-Government is gravely imperilled by its opposition to the lowering of the occupancy franchise to the level of the franchise for the Legislative Council.......... The real reason for the opposition seems to be that some of the smaller communities and interests which are able at present by the device of cumulative voting to get in a disproportionate number of members, are afraid that they cannot continue to do this with a ten-rupee rental voter. But if this latter person can choose a legislator for the Presidency it is surely nonsense to hold that he cannot choose a Corporator. His is, perhaps, more likely to make a good choice for the Municipality whose functions come home to him at every step than to the Legislative Council which deals with larger and remoter issues. We trust that Government and the Legislature will set their faces against the attempt to keep the bulk of the workers in the city out of its civic life. The ten-rupee rate was fixed for the Legislative franchise after careful consideration and the Municipal franchise should, on no account, be allowed to stand at a higher level."

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the proceedings before the Railway Inquiry Committee.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Mar.

61. "Practically without exception Indians of every grade of importance and of every class have bitterly complained of the present system of administration and have asked for State management of Railways. The singular unanimity in this direction of Indian opinion is unmistakable and we can clearly foresee what reception will be given to the recommendations of the Commission if it ignores this feeling. The only Indians of importance who have given views to the contrary are Sir Dinshaw Wacha and Sir Maneckji Dadabhoy. Nothing is more instructive than the manner in which the latter was discomfited by an Indian Member of the Committee, Mr. Purshottamdas, who asked him whether the facilities which engaged and the courtesy which he invariably received at the hands of the Railway Company, the Railway Board and the high officials in Nagpur and in Delhi was the common experience of the average Indian merchant. As for Sir Dinshaw Wacha most of us have been initiated into the criticism of Railway Finance and Railway Management by the gentleman himself when he was in the full vigour of thought and in the heyday of independence as a publicist.......... We are convinced that railways could be managed just as well through a railway trust controlled by a non-official board and a minister of communications responsible to the Legislative Assembly. Against State management the argument was that efficiency would suffer. This monster of efficiency has been trotted out over and over again in evasion of every legitimate Indian demand. Efficiency is merely a relative word and can be best secured where the administration or the executive is in complete harmony with the public whose needs they supply. In India the present company management with the accompaniment of the European higher staff can hardly be said to be in harmony with Indian public opinion or with Indian needs.......... What the Indian public requires is to prune down at the top in Railway administration so as to fill up the gaps at the bottom. We do not want corrupt subordinates and proud popinjays in high places unapproachable by the Indian public. It is our conviction that the reform when it comes should be in this direction. In the meanwhile we must remind the Railway Committee that efficiency can be purchased too dear. If efficient railway administration has to be paid for at a price which is already proving too heavy for the slender resources of this country and if in addition Indians have to reap a continuous harvest of humiliations and affronts to their self-respect, almost complete exclusion from higher employment of the sons of the soil and the continuance, with official knowledge and consent, of a system of corruption which makes Railway service dearer than the nominal rates of freight and traffic, then this efficiency is purchased too dear. We, however, believe that efficiency is merely an excuse to secure the continuance of those benefits which European traders have enjoyed over their Indian rivals and the scope for employment which the Indian Railways have provided in the past to a certain section of the English population......... The issues before the Committee are clear though we have no doubt that those who represent the Government of India and the existing Companies on the Committee will put up a big fight for their special interests."

Protest against the increase in fares for season tickets on the G. I. P. Railway.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Mar.

62. Mr. A. R. Kallianiwala writes to the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"The authorities of the G. I. P. Railway have also created a cause of anxiety by increasing the fares for season tickets by 15 per cent. from the next month, for such a heavy increase will tell very heavily upon the labourers who are mostly travelling by this line. It is true that on account of increases allowed to the employees and on account of the rise in the cost of the

necessary materials and things, the expenditure has increased; but it would be quite advisable if, in order to meet this rise, the fares of third class passengers, is increased by 10 per cent. only. At the same time economy should be observed in all details of expenditure. I do not understand why the authorities have permanently employed several supervisors on local trains on a salary of about Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 per month to see that the doors of the carriage are shut by the passengers. Why are they paid so highly for such a trifling work which even the porters can do? If there is any necessity, the front and the rear guards can very well attend to this matter; but I presume it is not necessary, for the number of trains is being increased and when this is done no one will stand at the door."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

- Agrarian matters: Famine in Gujarát 66
- Bombay Legislative Council:
  - Comments on the debate in the — on the subject of giving compensation to the agriculturists affected by the Mulshi Petha Hydro-Electric Scheme 51
  - Comments on the resolution in the — for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the forest grievances of Kánara . . . 54
  - Government's reply to an interpellation in the — regarding promotions in the Police Department 52
  - The Bombay Budget 50
  - The question of franchise to women before the — 53
- British Rule:
  - Comments on the Honourable Mr. Shastri's appointment as a representative of India at the forthcoming session of the Imperial Cabinet. 12
  - Comments on the prohibition by the C. P. Government of the use of the Gandhi cap 11
  - Complaint about Government paying double rates for advertisements to the *Times of India* 16
  - Exhortations to Indians to give up the drink habit 18
  - Mr. Montague's reply to the Lancashire deputation on the increase in the cotton duties . . . . 14 & 15
  - The forthcoming anniversary of the Punjáb tragedy 13
  - Why the British are beginning to dislike the military tribes in India . 17
- Congress and Conferences: Comments on Mr. B. C. Pal's address as president of the Bengal Provincial Conference 65
- Council of State:
  - Comments on the resolution in the — for exempting Honorary Magistrates and Members of Councils under the Arms Act . . 43
  - Comments on the resolution in the — regarding the release of the Savarkar Brothers . . . . 40—42
- Hajis: Protest against the proposed compulsory money deposit from — for the return journey . . . . 58 & 59
- His Excellency Lord Chelmsford:
  - Comments on His Excellency Lord Chelmsford's speech at the joint session of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly . 36—39
  - The regime of — . . . . 27—35

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

His Excellency the Viceroy, Lord Reading:
- Appeal to Lord Reading to take up the cause of the subjects of Native States 26
- Comments on Lord Reading's interview with the representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* 25
- Welcome to His Excellency Lord Reading . . . . 19—23
- Will His Excellency Lord Reading act up to his utterances in England? 24

Indians in the Colonies:
- Comments on the report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission . . . . 60 & 61
- Protest against the racial bar in East Africa 62

Indian Legislative Assembly:
- Comments on the Legislative Assembly's resolution on the Esher Committee's Report . . . . 46—48
- Comments on the resolution in the — regarding the establishment of a Supreme Court of Appeal in India 49
- Sir William Vincent's statement in the — regarding Government's policy towards the non-co-operation movement . . . . . 44 & 45

Indian Reforms: What the Reforms really mean 64

Non-co-operation:
- Comments on the attitude of the authorities towards the temperance movement 9
- Comments on the Behár Government's circular prohibiting Municipal Councillors from taking part in — meetings 5
- Comments on the repression policy of the C. P. Government, against the temperance movement . . . . 6 & 7
- Comments on the Local Government's policy of repression against — . 4
- Government servants and the — propaganda. 3
- How people should behave under Government's repressive policy against the — movement. 1
- How the present Government can be ousted and *swarajya* secured . 2
- Reply to Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Pársis 10
- Temperance activities of the non-co-operationists at Ahmedabad . . 8

Public Service: Alleged vindictiveness in the treatment accorded to some Talatis in North Kánara. 63

War:
- Alleged English sympathy with the Greek offensive against the Turks . 55
- Comments on the reported Russo-Persian and Russo-Afghan agreements. 57
- Mr. Lloyd George's reply to the Khilafat representatives . . . 56

MUNICIPALITIES—

Protest against the Municipal Scheme for the improvement of the Fort locality in Bombay City 67

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

(*As it stood on the 1st April 1921.*)

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay Chronicle	Bombay	Daily	Marmaduke William Pickthall; Englishman; 45.	9,000
2	Do. (Sunday Edition).	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	6,000
3	Bombay East Indian	Do.	Fortnightly	Alek Dias De Mello; Roman Catholic; 43	300
4	Commercial Gazette	Sukkur	Weekly	Abdul Baki *Wd.* Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 22.	200
5	Cotton and Finance	Bombay	Do.	Byramji Nasserwanji Kapadia; Pársi; 40	1,000
6	Daily Gazette	Karáchi	Daily	S. Lupton; Englishman; 37	3,500 to 4,000
7	Indian Social Reformer	Bombay	Weekly	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A.; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin); 50.	870
8	Mahrátta	Poona	Do.	Dámodar Vishwanáth Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 35.	1,200
9	New Times	Karáchi	Daily	Tikamdas Khemchand Jeswáni, M.A.; Hindu (Lohána); 25.	800
10	Servant of India	Poona	Weekly	The Honourable Mr. V. S. Shriniwas Shastri; Hindu (Madras Brahman); 48; and Shridhar Ganesh Vaze, B.A.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 43.	2,000
11	Sind Moslem	Sukkur	Do.	Abdul Baki *Wd.* Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 22.	200
12	Sind Observer	Karáchi	Daily	K. Pummie	1,000
13	The Indian Commercial Mercury.	Bombay	Weekly	Manchershaw Sorabji Bhamgara; Pársi; 29.	500
14	Young India	Ahmedabad	Do.	Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi; Hindu (Bania); 53.	5,000
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
15	A'ryă Prakásh	Surat	Weekly	Pardhubhai Valabhai Sharma; Hindu (Brahm Bhat); 39.	900
16	Bharat Seva	Bombay	Do.	Harjivan Kalidas Mehta; Hindu (Nágar Bráhmin); 38.	900
17	Gujaráti	Do.	Do.	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái; Hindu (Bania); 38.	19,000
18	Gujarát Mitră	Surat	Do.	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála; Hindu (Dashalad Bania); 44.	1,200
19	Gujaráti Punch	Ahmedabad	Do.	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh; Hindu (Mesri Bania); 45.	4,000
20	Hindi Punch	Bombay	Do.	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár; Pársi; 63	520
21	Hindusthán	Do.	Do.	Ramniklal A. Mehta; Hindu (Nagar Bráhmin); 40.	2,000
22	Hindusthán and Akhbari Saudagar.	Do.	Daily	Do. do.	4,000
23	Jám-e-Jamshed	Do.	Do.	Phirozsháh Jehángir Marzbán, M.A., J.P.; Pársi; 45.	6,000 to 6,500
24	Kaiser-i-Hind	Do.	Weekly	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin; Pársi; 38.	8,500
25	Káthiáwár News	Rájkot	Do.	Trikamji Govindji Kotak; Hindu (Lohána); 41.	200
26	Káthiáwár Opinion	Do.	Do.	Tribhovandás Damodardás Gadhia; Hindu (Lohana); 38.	1,000
27	Káthiáwár Times	Do.	Bi-weekly	A. S. Wazirani; Hindu (Brahmakshatriya); 27.	900
28	Model	......	......	......	...
29	Pársi-Sansár	Karáchi	Weekly	Pherozshah Hormusji Dastur; Pársi; 37	1,500
30	Praja Bandhu	Ahmedabad	Do.	Chimanlal Mohanlal Modi Hindu (Shrimáli Bania).	2,700

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI—*concluded.*				
31	Praja Mitra and Pársi	Bombay	Daily	Meherjibhái Pálanji Mádon ; Pársi ; 61	6,500
32	Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra.	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	5,000
33	Sánj Vartamán	Do.	Daily	Rustamji N. Vátcha-gándhi ; Pársi ; 55	7,000
34	Stock Exchange News	Do.	Weekly	Manchersha Sorabji Bhumgara ; Pársi ; 27	1,600
35	Wafádár	Navsári	Do.	Saiyad Mahomed Saiyadali ; Muhammadan ; 24.	400
	ANGLO-KANARESE.				
36	Chandrodayă	Dhárwár	Weekly	G. H. Honnápurmath ; Hindu (Lingáyat) ; 51.	800
37	Kánara Leader	Kumta (Kánara)	Do.	Atmarám Venkatrao Bhatkalkar ; Hindu (Saraswat Bráhmin) ; 44 ; and Ramrao Sheshgiri Nadkarni ; Hindu (Saraswat Brahmin) ; 45.	900
38	Karnatak Mitra	Belgaum	Do.	Narayan Sharma Bhaon Joshi Hundekar ; Deshastha Bráhmin (Vaishnav) ; 31.	1,000
39	Karnátak Times	Dhárwár	Do.	H. S. Shivalingashastri ; Hindu (Lingáyat) ; 46.	500
	ENGLISH, KANARESE AND MARA'THI.				
40	Kánara News	Kumta (Kánara)	Weekly	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin) ; 51.	400
	ANGLO-MARA'THI.				
41	Dnyánodayă	Bombay	Weekly	Rev. J. F. Edwards, Englishman ; 50	900
42	Dnyán Prakásh	Poona (and Bombay).	Daily	Anant Vináyak Patwardhan ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 49.	1,000
43	Dnyán Prakásh	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	2,000
44	Hindu Missionary	Bombay	Do.	Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, B.A. (Páthàre Prabhu) ; 52.	450
45	Indu Prakásh	Do.	Daily	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 57.	2,000
46	Jágaruk	Poona	Weekly	Válchand Rámchand Kothári, B.A. (Jain) ; 28.	1,700
47	Jâgriti	Baroda	Do.	Bhagavantráo Balavantráo Pálekar ; Marátha ; 43.	800
48	Nireekshaka	Bombay	Do.	Damodar Bhaurao Gupte ; Kayastha Prabhu ; 32.	1,000
49	Subodh Patrika	Do.	Do.	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 45.	500
	ANGLO-PORTUGUESE.				
59	O Anglo-Lusitáno	Bombay	Weekly	W. F. Pais ; Goan ; 40	800
	ANGLO-SINDHI.				
51	Daulatdár	Shikárpur	Weekly	Daulatsing Chimandas Thakur ; 45	300
52	Frontier Gazette	Jacobabad	Do.	Vishindás Pránjainmal ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 36.	500
53	Lárkána Gazette	Lárkána	Do.	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni ; Hindu (Amil) ; 32.	500
54	Sindhi	Sukkur	Bi-weekly	Virumal Begraj ; Hindu (Bhuráni) ; 48	800
55	Sind Upkárak	Shikárpur	Monthly	Bhai Mohandás Ghanshámdás ; Hindu (Bhátia) ; 58.	300
	ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND CONCANIM.				
56	A Luz	Bombay	Weekly	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 39	600
57	Goa Mail	Do.	Do.	B. Vasco D'Gama	...
58	O Amigo Do Povo Goano	Do.	Do.	Manual Anastaz Fernandes ; Goan ; 49	900

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	GUJARA'TI.				
59	Akhbár-e-Islám	Bombay	Daily	Kázi Ismáil Kázi Muhammad Porbundari; Muhammadan; 51.	1,500
60	Anavil Sevak	Surat	Monthly	Dayálji Nanubhai Desai; Hindu (Anavil Bráhman); 45.	3,000
61	Baroda Vartamán	Baroda	Weekly	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár); 51.	1,500
62	Bombay Samáchár	Bombay	Daily	Kaikhusru Mánekji Minocher-homji, B.A. Pársi; 46.	4,700
63	Broach Mitră	Broach	Weekly	Trikamlál Harináth Thákor; Hindu (Brahmă Kshatri); 39.	500
64	Broach Samáchár	Do.	Do.	Jehángirji Ardeshir Gandhi; Pársi; 42	300
65	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 45.	2,000
66	Deshi Mitră	Surat	Weekly	Harilál Maganlál; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 26.	2,100
67	Deshodaya	Do.	Do.	Prabhushankar Narbhárám Vyas; Hindu (Nagar Bráhman); 29.	1,450
68	Gramya Swarj	Viramgaon	Do.	Ramrai Mohanrai	1,000
69	Gujarát Vartamán	Ahmedabad	......	......	...
70	Hind Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Dáyábhái Kasandás; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 55.	1,000
71	Hitechhu	Karáchi	Do.	Harilál Válji Thákur, Hindu (Audich Bráhman); 33.	450
72	Insáf	Bombay	Do.	Munshi Fattekhan Ahmedkhan; Sunni Muhammadan; 36.	850
73	Kaira Vartamán	Kaira	Do.	Somachand Panachand; Hindu (Jain Bania); 45.	550
74	Loka Mitră	Bombay	Bi-weekly	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi; 46.	1,000
75	Navjivan	Ahmedabad	Weekly	Mohandás Karamchand Gandhi; Hindu (Bania); 53.	20,000
76	Navsári Patrika	Navsári	Do.	Rangildás Pránjivandás Párekh; Hindu (Bania); 31.	430
77	Political Bhomiyo	Ahmedabad	Do.	Nurkhan Amirkhan Pathan; Muhammadan; 64.	2,400
78	Praja Pokár	Surat	Do.	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála; Dásálád Bania; 44.	660
79	Shreyassádhaka	Baroda	Weekly	Jagannath Prabhashankar Pandit; Hindu (Audich Bráhmin); 43.	500
80	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Do.	Do.	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania); 43.	4,500
81	Surya Prakash	Surat	Do.	Nagindas Dahyabhai; Hindu (Nágar Bráhman); 75.	600
82	Surat Akhbár	Do.	Do.	Pirozsháh Edalji Patel; Pársi; 46	600
83	Vivechak	Ahmedabad	Monthly	Dhanshankar Hirashankar Tripathi; Hindu (Nagar Brahmin); 30.	250
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
84	Jain	Bhávnagar	Weekly	Vallabhdas Tribhowandas Bania; Hindu (Desa Shrimali); 36.	1,800
	HINDI.				
85	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 45.	1,200
86	Jain Mitra	Surat	Do.	Brahmachari Sitalprasadji; 42	1,200
87	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár.	Bombay	Weekly	Pandit Chandulal Mehta (Punjábi Saraswat Brahmin); 41.	10,000

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	KANARESE.				
88	Karma Veera	Dhárwár	......	......	...
89	Karnátak Vaibhav	Bijápur	Weekly	G. R. Mannurkar ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 54.	500
90	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayă.	Dhárwár	Do.	Venkatesh Rajerao Mudvedkar ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman) ; 37.	400
91	Loka Bandhu	Do.	Do.	Laxman Ramchandra Airani ; Hindu (Deshastha Brahman) ; 40.	450
92	Raj Hansa	Do.	Daily	M. N. Tembe ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 40.	500
93	Raj Hansa	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	1,000
94	Shubhodaya	Do.	Do.	Vasudevacharya Shrinivasacharya Kerur, Pleader ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman); 53.	1,200
95	Vijaya	Do.	Do.	Annacharya Balacharya Hoskeri ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhmin) ; 48.	600
96	Do.	Do.	Daily	Do. do.	200
	MARA'THI.				
97	Acharya	Poona	Fortnightly	Vishnu Waman Bapatshastri ; Hindu (Chitpavan Bráhman) ; 49.	700
98	Arya Vaibhav	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly	Tulsidas Govind Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin) ; 31.	250
99	A'ryávart	Do.	Do.	Shankar Hari Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 33.	200
100	Arya Vaidyak-bodh	Kalyán (Thána)	Do.	Kashinath Bhaskar Oke ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 38.	*Nil.*
101	Bakul	Ratnágiri	Do.	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi ; Hindu (Bania) ; 44.	400
102	Bárámati Samáchár	Bárámati	Do.	Hari Anant Joshi ; Hindu (Chitpávan Bráhmin) ; 32.	300
103	Belgaum Samáchár	Belgaum	Do	Hari Bhikáji Sámant ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 59.	300
104	Bhárat Mátá	Islámpur (Sátára)	Fortnightly	Vishnu Sitárám Athalye ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 35.	400
105	Chaitanya	Belgaum	Weekly	Moro Balwant Marathe ; Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhman) ; 45.	300
106	Chikitsak	Do.	Do.	Rao Saheb Abáji Rámchandră Sávant ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 58.	600
107	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 45.	12,000
108	Daily Report	Chopda (East Khándesh).	Weekly	Motilál Fattulál ; Hindu ; Gaud Brahman (Marwadi); 38.	50 to 80
109	Daivadnyaprabodhini	Bombay	Bi-monthly	Vishnu Náráyan Karekar ; Hindu (Daivadnya) ; 60.	800
110	Dharma Vichár va Modă Vritta.	Wái (Sátára)	Weekly	Damodar Laxman Lele ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 43.	50
111	Din Mitră ...	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Do.	Mukund Ganpat Pátil ; Hindu (Máli) ; 34 .	1,200
112	Dnyán Ságar	Kolhápur	Do.	Vishnu Vithal Mantri ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 56.	600
113	Dunia	Poona	Do.	Dattatraya Hari Gokhale ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 35.	1,500
114	Gogras	Bombay	Do.	Bapu Khanderao Joshi ; Hindu (Bráhman); 37.	2,000
115	Gorakshana	Thána	Do.	Anantdas Ramdasi *alias* Dattatraya Moreshvar Lohkre ; Hindu (Brahmin) ; 36.	1,000
116	Grahadhikar	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Bhaskar Ramchandra Joshi.	...
117	Hitachintak	Limb (Sátára)	Weekly	Balkrishna Ganesh Abhyankar ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 26.	200

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*continued.*				
118	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit	Sholápur	Weekly	Anant Hari Wagh; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 37.	450
119	Kamgar Mitra	Bombay	......	......	...
120	Kesari	Poona	Do.	Narsinha Chintaman Kelkar; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 48.	30,000
121	Khándesh Vaibhav	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do.	Yádav Bálkrishnă Bahálkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 55.	500
122	Kolába Samáchár	Pen (Kolába)	Weekly	Vishnu Naráyan Mándlik: Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhman); 31.	500
123	Lokasangraha	Poona	Daily	Laxman Balwant Bhopatkar; Hindu (Karháda Bráhmin); 43.	2,500
124	Lokasatta	Násik	Weekly	Vishnu Ganesh Kelkar; Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhman); 35.	1,000
125	Lokasevak	Bombay	Do.	Sitaram Vishnu Lalit; Hindu (Karada Bráhmin); 38.	2,000
126	Lokashahi	Do.	Do.	Vithal Waman Hap; Karádha Bráhmin; 22.	3,000
127	Maháráshtra Vritta	Sátára	Do.	Rámachandra Balvant Bhonsle; Hindu (Marátha); 36.	200
128	Mookanayak	Bombay	Fortnightly	Dnyandeo Dhruvanath Gholap; Hindu; 24.	1,000
129	Mumukshu	Poona	Weekly	Laxman Ramchandra Pangarkar, B.A.; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 49.	1,200
130	Násik Vritt	Násik	Do.	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 41.	200
131	Pandhari Mitra	Sholápur	Do.	G. S. Bhidkar; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 57.	100
132	Prabodh	Dhulia (West Khandesh.)	......	......	...
133	Prabodh Chandrika	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Weekly	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 58.	300
134	Prafullata	......	......	......	...
135	Pragati and Jinvijaya	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Anna Babaji Lathe; Jain; 35	400
136	Pragatik	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Weekly	D. V. Joshi; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 34.	350
137	Prakásh	Sátára	Do.	Rámchandră Ganesh Soman; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 45.	350
138	Rájakáran	Poona	Do.	Sitaram Keshav Damle, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 47.	3,500
139	Rashtra Dharma	Belgaum	Monthly	Shriniwas Krishna *alias* Annabuwa Arjunwadkar; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhman); 40.	300
140	Sahakari Namdeo	Poona	Fortnightly	Pandharinath Narayan Pataskar; Hindu (Shimpi); 36.	500
141	Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 41.	7,000
142	Satyă Prakásh	Tasagaon (Sátára)	Weekly	Narayan Ramchandra Vibhute; Hindu (Wani); 46.	225
143	Satyă Shodhak	Ratnágiri	Do.	Dattatraya Hari Limaye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 28.	825
144	Sholápur Samáchár	Sholápur	Do.	Vithal Narsáppa Jakkal; Hindu (Telgu Máli); 40.	500
145	Shri Namdeo Vritta	Bombay	Monthly	Balaram Anant Vaidya; Hindu (Namdeo Shimpi); 36.	750
146	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Do.	Weekly	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande; Hindu (Marátha); 59.	3,000
147	Shri Sháhu	Sátára	Do.	Vishnu Ramkrishna Dhavle; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman); 24.	325
148	Shubh Suchak	Do.	Do.	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Chitale; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 53.	250 to 300

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*concluded.*				
149	Swarájya ...	Poona ...	Weekly ...	Shivram Mahadeo Paranjapye; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 56.	5,000
150	Udyam Prakásh ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Vishwanath Dhondi Teli; Hindu (Teli); 33.	50
151	Vichári ...	Kárwár (Kánara) ...	Tri-monthly ...	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim; Muhammadan (Sunni); 47.	450
152	Vidushak ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	Vishnu Shridhar Dixit; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin); 25.	3,000
153	Vidyarthi ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Narayan Chidambar Gadgil; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 19.	500
154	Vijayi Marátha ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Shripat Laxman Shinde; Marátha; 37 ...	3,500
155	Vinod ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Kulkarni; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman); 32.	200
156	Vita Vritta ...	Sátára ...	Weekly ...	Narayan Laxman Jog; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 34.	60
157	Vrittasár ...	Wái (Sátára) ...	Do. ...	Govind Ganesh Vaidyă; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 25.	250
158	Vyápári ...	Poona ...	Do. ...	Shankar Shridhar Puranik; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 45.	650
	MARATHI AND KANARESE.				
159	Gosevak ...	Belgaum ...	Fortnightly ...	Hanmant Sadashiv Paranjpe; Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhmin); 22.	600
	SINDHI.				
160	Al-Amin ...	Hyderabad ...	Weekly ...	Sheikh Abdul Majid; Muhammadan; 32 ...	525
161	Al-Haq ...	Sukkur ...	Do. ...	Abdul Baki Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 22.	200
162	Bháratwasi ...	Hyderabad ...	Do. ...	Jeramdas Dowlatram; Hindu (Amil); 28 ...	900
163	Hindu ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; 26 ...	1,000
164	Khairkháh-i-Sind ...	Lárkána ...	Do. ...	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Khatri); 47.	250
165	Mirpurkhás Gazette ...	Mirpurkhás ...	Do. ...	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Amil); 40.	600
166	Musáfir ...	Hyderabad (Sind) ...	Do. ...	Abdul Waháb Khán; Pathan; 56 ...	250
167	Sind Sudhár ...	Karáchi ...	Do. ...	Khánchand Rahumal; Hindu (Amil); 55 ...	850
168	Sind Vasi ...	Hyderabad ...	Daily ...	Sujansing Fatehsing; Hindu (Amil); 42 ...	850
169	Vande Mataram ...	Do. ...	Weekly ...	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; Hindu; 26 ...	800
	URDU.				
170	Moulana Punch ...	Bombay ...	Weekly ...	......	...
171	Mufid-e-Rozgár ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Haji Munshi Mahamad Husein; Muhammadan; 50.	2,200
172	Muslim Herald ...	Do. ...	Do. ...	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf; Muhammadan (Sunni); 42.	2,600

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *á*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

How people should behave under Government's repressive policy against the non-co-operation movement.

Young India (14), 30th Mar.

1. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Let us not give the Government even a colourable pretence for prosecution. If sedition means disaffection towards the present system of Government, it is a virtue and a duty. But we do not need to preach it. There is no affection for the system even on the part of titled men. They hold their titles, as several had admitted, because they have not the courage to risk loss of their wealth. I know more than one who were threatened with confiscation of their Jagirs if they gave up Government favours. I know many more who would not give up their titles or other honours, because they fear loss of banking custom. So far is the influence of the Government felt! But all these would welcome the destruction of a system under which, if they gain a few lacs of rupees, crores are drained out of the country without adequate return. I repeat, therefore, that we need not preach disaffection. We cannot paint the system blacker than it appears to the average audience to-day. All we need do is to show the people the way to destroy it. That way is self-purification. We shall put the Government in an uncomfortable corner when we oblige them to treat temperance as a vice, and the possession of a spinning wheel a crime. The system can last only so far as we continue to clothe it with an air of respectability by being, or pretending to be, enamoured of it, or by giving Government even a plausible excuse for prosecution. If the Government treats the possession of the spinning wheel as a crime, it would not be for the first time in history. During the East India Company regimé, spinning or weaving had become almost a crime. The labour of these artisans was so cruelly impressed that they were obliged to cut off their own thumbs in order to avoid imprisonment. Many speakers mix up facts and say that the Company's servants cut off the thumbs of artisans. In my opinion, such cutting off would be less cruel than the terrorism which resulted in self-mutilation.......... Orders to kill the movement will be orders to destroy, or interfere with the introduction of the spinning wheel, prohibit the campaign of temperance, and an incitement, therefore, to violence. For any attempt to compel people by indirect methods to wear foreign clothes, to patronise drink-shops, would certainly exasperate them. But our success will be assured when we stand even this exasperation and incitement. We must not retort. Inaction on our part will kill Government madness. For violence flourishes on response, either by submission to the will of the violator, or by counter violence. My strong advice to every worker is to segregate this evil Government by strict non-co-operation, not even to talk or speak about it, but, having recognised the evil, to cease to pay homage to it by co-operation."

How the present Government can be ousted and *swardj* secured.

Young India (14), 30th Mar.

2. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The last Congress has given a constitution whose working is in itself calculated to lead to *swardj*. It is intended to secure in every part of India representative committees working in conjunction with, and under willing and voluntary submission to, a central organisation—the All-India Congress Committee. It establishes an adult suffrage open to men and women, subject only to two qualifications—signing of the creed; and a nominal payment of four annas. It is intended to secure due representation of all parties and communities. If, then, it is honestly worked and commands confidence and respect, it can oust the present Government without the slightest difficulty. For the latter has no power except through the co-operation, willing or forced, of the people. The force it exercises is almost through our own people. One lac of Europeans, without our help, can only hold less than one-seventh of our villages each, and it would be difficult, for one man, even when physically present, to impose his will on, say, four hundred men and women—the average population of an Indian village. The problem before us, therefore, is one of opposing our will to that of the will of the Government; in other words, to withdraw our co-operation from it. If we are united in purpose, the Government must obey our will or

retire. It is the disturbing factors of which the Government avails itself for the consolidation of its power. When we are violent, it resorts to terrorism; when we are disunited, it resorts to bribery; when we are united, it resorts to cajolery and conciliation; when we are clamant, it puts temptations in the way of those who cry out most. All, therefore, we need do is to remain non-violent, united, and unresponsive to bribery and cajolery. Surely, there is not much education required to accomplish this much among a people who are cultured and intelligent. It is not difficult to present to them a common purpose and a common platfrom which they can appreciate and understand. But this means not talking, but acting and organising. I suggest that we concentrate on registering before the 30th June, in an accurate manner, at least one crore of members in the Congress organisation. No registration is to be deemed complete without the payment of four annas and the acceptance of the creed. We must aim at enlisting every adult member of every family. It should be our boast to have as many women as men on our registers. We should have all the Mussalmans, all the castes, all the artisans, and all the parias whom we can induce to come to our register. It will then become a most democratic register of voters that the world can show. If the suggestions made by me are acceptable, we have to concentrate our attention upto the 30th June on getting:—(1) One crore rupees for the Tilak Swaraj fund, (2) One crore members on the Congress register, (3) The spinning wheel introduced in twenty lacs of home. The programme does not mean cessation of the other activities of non-co-operation. They go on. Drink and untouchability must vanish. The education movement is steadily going forward. The national institutions that have sprung up will, if they are efficiently managed, make headway and attract students who are still hesitating. The pleaders, always a cautious and calculating class by training, will, as they see the movement progressing more and more, fall in line with the rest of the country."

Government servants and the non-co-operation propaganda.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Mar.

3. "The Government of India have relaxed the rules prohibiting Government servants from participating in political meetings in so far as these latter are intended to counteract the non-co-operation propaganda, but they have not yet indicated the ways by which this belling of the non-co-operation cat is to be accomplished. If the meetings are organised avowedly for the benefit of the 'public' and 'the masses,' then these Government servants will have to be prepared to face the music of their opponents in the same manner as Messrs. Sastri and Paranjpye did recently.......... We should like to know how many Government servants are prepared thus to jump into the arena of politics.......... Meanwhile, instances of the ridiculous levels to which the agents of the bureaucracy are reduced in their fight against the non-co-operation movement multiply every day. The latest of these—the Judicial Commissioner, Central Provinces, holds out against those Government servants employed under him who are found wearing the 'Gandhi' cap. .... The cap has attained its popularity firstly because of its cheapness and simplicity and secondly because it looks more decent than many of the uncouth headgears that have been introduced in the wake of modern civilisation in this country.......... We wonder if the authorities will next scent sedition in the 'khaddar' shirt of the pattern which Mr. Gandhi wears, or in the spinning wheel which he is introducing all over this land. If the powers-that-be go on at their present rate in their anti-non-co-operation campaign, we shall not wonder if they one day declare it to be a crime if people walk barefooted in the manner of Mr. Gandhi!"

Comments on the Local Government's policy of repression against non-co-operation.
Lokasangraha (123), 27th and 28th Mar.

4. In spite of the announcement made by the Government of India in November last that they would not interfere with the non-co-operation movement so long as it was not attended by disorders, all the Provincial Governments have now launched a campaign of repression. To-day the movement is as non-violent as it was when the announcement was made; the

only difference is that it did not touch the pockets of Government at that time. The non-co-operators have now turned their attention to the temperance movement and have made it so very successful that it fairly promises to cause considerable pecuniary loss to Government. This is why Government have now changed their attitude towards the non-co-operation movement. [In a subsequent issue the paper says that Government, finding that they do not derive much support from the Moderates in fighting non-co-operation, have now openly called their servants to their aid. They have now thrown off the mask of neutrality, it remarks, and ask their employees to attack the movement in spite of their previous orders to them to refrain from taking any part in politics. The paper attributes the change to the success of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement which, according to it, is gnawing at the vitals of Government.]

Comments on the Bihar Government's circular prohibiting municipal councillors from taking part in non-co-operation meetings.

Young India (14), 30th Mar.

5. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—" If the Bihar Province promises to outdo the others in non-co-operation, its Government bids fair to stand first in divising methods of repression. It has now brought under the ban municipal councillors and servants. They are not to take part in non-co-operation meetings. I have not seen the circular, but I hear that that is its effect. If so, I advise the municipal councillrs and servants to ignore the circular and challenge the Government to disband municipalities. The electors, if they have grip in them, will continue to elect the same councillors and force the Government either to supersede municipal government or withdraw the offending circular."

Comments on the repressive policy of the C. P. Government against the temperance movement.

Mahratta (8), 3rd Apl.

*6. "The C. P. Government is not satisfied with fighting non-co-operation movement alone by its orders and ukases. It has chosen to ally itself with the forces of evil in launching unjust prosecutions against the temperance and prohibition workers in Nagpur. What are after all the offences of either Dr. Paranjpe or Dr. Cholkar when they preach temperance or prohibition to their fellow brethren of Nagpur? Drink is strictly forbidden by both the religions of Hindus and Muhammadans, and all those who drink, or help directly or indirectly these drunkards, are considered to be the agents of hell and are condemned to perpetual damnation. The Temperance workers at Nagpur headed by Dr. Paranjpe and Dr. Cholkar desire to save these people from this damnation. However the Government of C. P. has chosen to thwart this movement of self-purification by labelling it as a part of non-co-operation because it would result in less revenue to the Government. With this curious logic in their muddled brains, the maddened officials of Nagpur under the pretence of protecting individual freedom of drink are carrying havoc in the city. Temperance volunteers are prosecuted and in their turn the people have determined to uproot the evil by all means......... Will not Government, we ask, avoid all this bloodshed by ridding the country of all liquor and stopping their liquor traffic?"

Lokasangraha (123), 31st Mar.

7. It has been made clear by the policy of repression, launched by Government since last month, that the moment the Duke of Connaught turned his back upon this country, India's luck also did the same. The news from Nagpur forces us to the conclusion that Government are possessed by the ghost of repression. The popular leaders of Nagpur are prosecuted for carrying on peacefully the temperance agitation and mobs have been fired on. The firing resulted in nine deaths and the vast funeral processions are reminding us of Amritsar. Recently, the retiring Viceroy said that he was anxious to make Lord Reading's path clear. While making the path clear, His Excellency is making use of human bones instead of lifeless stone and sprinkling human blood over it instead of water.

Temperance activities of the non-co-operationists at Ahmedabad.

Navjivan (75), 27th Mar.

8. Since the last few days our city has taken up the temperance movement. We cannot but congratulate the leaders of this movement on the firmness, discretion and spirit of gentleness with which they are conducting this process of self-purification. But we have not to take it for granted that our movement will in future go on as smoothly as it does now. The liquor-sellers who will suffer monetary loss owing to this temperance movement will undoubtedly consider it to be a curse. They will set on foot a lot of intrigues and try to hand over the volunteers to the police and even throw stones if they get an opportunity to do so. There is no reason to believe that even Government will remain neutral in regard to this movement up to the last. Financial loss is also caused to Government just like the liquor-sellers. The unbecoming attempts made by Government to put down this movement in Behar, the Central Provinces and other places prove that the morality of Government is by no means higher than that of the class of liquor-sellers. Such attempts have not yet been made in our province. If Government were wise and had the courage to do good, it would have understood the public feeling and purified itself by sacrificing the excise income at the altar of the purification of the people. Whatever it might be, we should be extremely careful in order that we may not encroach upon the liberty of anybody. We cannot persuade our opponents by violence. If we do so, we will thereby be postponing our success and giving cause to our opponents to unnecessarily do ten times more harm.

Comments on the attitude of the authorities towards the temperance movement.

Young India (14), 30th Mar.

9. "The temperance campaign that has now been set up in every province has revealed the Government's motives more clearly than anything else. Lord Sinha's words in his opening speech, and the wording of the notice against Dr. Paranjpe, which charged the non-co-operators with the motive of embarrassing Government by causing loss of revenue, are an index of the Government's mentality. Frankly, the non-co-operator is out to destroy permanently the revenue that accrues out of this nefarious traffic. And a Government that has no longer been able to disguise its motive which is not only that of increasing the revenue, but also that of 'spreading drinking,' naturally resents a movement which must immediately affect the revenue. That explains the frantic efforts that are somewhere made to stop the activity of the temperance preacher. But the assurance of Sir William Vincent in his latest exposition of Government policy, that Government will not interfere with temperance preaching so long as it is not attended with violence, must be accepted as very encouraging, however unreliable his assurances may be. And the temperance preacher should now redouble his efforts everywhere, always steering clear of intemperance of speech and action. He must realise that though the immediate effect of what he preaches will be on the revenue, he is ultimately making for the great wave of self-purification that is passing over the country. Whilst, therefore, he may press the argument that a Government that fears the collapse of its educational system, and even a total collapse, as a result of the stopping of revenue from this nefarious traffic, has no claim to being called civilised, he must take care to lay greater emphasis on the purifyng aspect of the movement.......... Let him be prepared for a stubborn persistent campaign not for months but for years before the drink habit is rooted out. But the immediate necessity of the moment is for him to concentrate on the non-violence part of the movement.......... This is but the beginning of the struggle. Various other provocations will follow. The subordinate officials will not scruple to employ pernicious means to maintain a pernicious traffic, and to defeat the ends of non-co-operation. They will go the length of distributing free liquor, and trade on the cupidity of slaves of habit, they will even permit selling of liquor at unauthorised places and unauthorised hours, and devise means that we may not be able to imagine. But the reformer has to pursue the straight course, with a doggedness that no difficulties or provocations may break. A word now to the public. The movement bids fair to gather strength every day, but it will be seriously retarded by the slightest act of unwisdom. It is likely that as the movement progresses, many a youthful enthusiast will be tempted to show some sort of active sympathy towards it. Let that sympathy not take the form of things that only the registered volunteers on work may do. Let them help, if they want, by money from their pockets; but let them not, from howsoever generous impulses, offer help that is not wanted. It behoves the public to understand that any such help, proffered unasked, is not help but hindrance."

Reply to Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Parsis.
Jàm-e-Jamshed (23), 2nd Apl.

10. In reply to Mr. Gandhi's open letter to Parsis [*vide* paragraph No. 8 of Weekly Report No. 13 of 1921] Mr. G. K. Nariman addresses a letter to him in the *Jám-e-Jamshed* in the course of which he remarks:—You intend getting rid of the British Government by means of non-co-operation. We Parsis, along with other Indians, are of the opinion that we cannot do without the British for some years to come. However, I do not think that the Parsis will be exterminated by the Hindus and Moslems even if the British were to quit India to-day. You want to attract the Parsis towards non-co-operation but we are surprised that before doing that you have not been able to enlist the sympathy of all the Hindus of Gujarat towards the movement. We consider your scheme of uniting the whole India and leading it at the point of the spindle as chimerical. We have great respect for your selflessness, but why should we be blamed when men like Pandit Malaviya and Mr. Shastri have not joined the movement? I fail to understand how you who are a Vaishnavite Hindu can support the Khilafat movement. You are either ignorant of the true facts of the case or are trying to conceal the irreconcilible antagonism that exists between the Hindu and Moslem religions. The Ulemas have laid down the qualifications of the Khalif and one of them is this that he should wage war against the non-Moslems every year or once in ten years or at least once in his lifetime. Your contentions in the matter of the Punjáb seem to be full of exaggeration. I have conversed with leaders of public opinion in the Punjáb. It was you who at the time of the passing of the Indemnity Bill laid special emphasis on the outrages committed by the people of the Punjáb. A veil would have been drawn on the Punjáb atrocities but for the indomitable courage of Mr. Malaviya. Lala Harkishanlal has suffered the most at the hands of Goverument officials, but even he refuses to join your movement. He is of the opinion that lunatic asylums will be filled to their utmost capacity on the non-co-operation movement getting popular in the country. I cannot help laughing on listening to instructions about non-violence. You do not seem to have studied the question from the Budhistic and Jain point of view. It is the Jains who carry the principle of non-violence to perfection and they seek death by gradual starvation. Do you really mean to say that the thirty crores of Indians should commit suicide? Suicide is the ultimate end of non-violence carried to its logical end. The affairs of the world cannot be carried on without violence of some kind or other as laid down in the Gita. It is really strange that you cannot realise that the non-co-operation movement has resulted in direct violence and bloodshed and that it is likely to result in worse forms of outrages. It is a commendable attempt on your part to enlist the sympathies of the Parsis towards the temperance movement. But can you give any guarantee that others will not take up the trade if the Parsis give it up? It is rather unreasonable on your part to ask the Parsis to give up their trade in liquor when you have done nothing to check the evils of opium, ganja, bhang and other drugs. How can we follow you when we feel convinced that your advocacy of the spinning wheel is likely to set back the industrial progress of India by 2,000 years and anarchy is being introduced in India under the guise of non-violent non-co-operation?

Comments on the prohibition by the C. P. Government of the use of the Gandhi cap.
Mahrátta (8), 3rd Apl.

*11. "We do not know why the C. P. Government is so nervous of the white cap....... .. Perhaps they taboo it as seditious because it is untouched by a foreign hand. What we feel is that the Government holds and, we think, holds rightly that the white cap is the symbol of rebellion against the old rotten fashion of dress which enriched the foreigner at the expense of one's own countrymen. The foreign trade in piece-goods is sucking the life-blood of this poor conquered nation, and if we have to live in this world we must at all costs bid good-bye to all these foreign articles of wearing. And if this is true the C. P. Government, with all its resources or orders and ukases, would not be able to prevent its use. It will only drive the people more and more to stick to the 'cap.' It seems that Providence is bringing about His intentions in ways unknown and unexpected by ordinary mortals."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Shastri's appointment as a representative of India at the forthcoming session of the Imperial Cabinet.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 27th Mar., Eng. cols.

12. "It becomes a little difficult to reconcile the invitation by His Excellency the Viceroy instead of the election of India's representative at the Session of the Imperial Cabinet with the cant, so common in certain quarters, about the introduction of 'responsible' Government in this country. We are not here concerned with the fitness or otherwise of Mr. Shastri to 'represent' India at the Session of the Imperial Cabinet; but it requires no unusual subtlety of the brain to realize that 'invitation' is but another, although a bit fascinating, name for 'nomination' and it is against this principle of nominanating India's representatives that we have to protest. It is a matter of common knowledge that the Government of India, as it is at present constituted, is far from being the representative of India's wishes and hopes, that a representative nominated by that representative Government can no more be India's 'representative' than that Government itself. Consequently, whatever Mr. Shastri's qualifications for the task, the fact of his being nominated by the Government of India takes away from him the character of being India's 'representative' at the Session of the Imperial Cabinet and the people of India will not be bound by the decision of an Imperial Cabinet where they are practically unrepresented or at best very, very indirectly represented."

The forthcoming anniversary of the Punjáb tragedy.

Gujaráti (17), 27th Mar.

13. Commenting upon the anniversary to be observed on the 6th and 13th April in connection with the Punjáb tragedy, the *Gujaráti* writes:—The present political awakening in India is due to the unremitting efforts made by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to secure justice in the Punjáb affairs in spite of the galling insults to which he was subjected in the Imperial Legislative Council. Pandit Malaviya has rendered invaluable services to India which will immortalise him. Even the non-violent non-co-operation movement pales into insignificance before Mr. Malaviya's efforts. The officials did not realise that the sacrifices of the Jalianwalla Bag opened the door of India's salvation. Instead of taking their stand on justice, the officials tried to uphold their prestige and thus shook the very foundations on which the Empire stood and effected a breach in the impregnable walls of the stronghold of the bureaucracy. The *Satyagraha* movement was no doubt suspended, but people lost faith in Britsh justice and betook themselves to non-co-operation with a view to putting an end to the present unjust form of government. The bloodshed at the Jalianwalla Bag awakened India that had been bound by the fetters of a foreign bureaucracy and gave the people the soul-force to non-co-operate against the officials. The officials are baffled by this exhibition of soul-force. Bureaucratic high-handedness had its terrors as long as the people were afraid of physical sufferings, but the law of the land was rendered useless when the people lost their dread for physical pain and showed their willingness to go to jail. Government have powers over the bodies of the people and not over their minds. If Government want to conquer the minds of the people they should give up pride of race and adopt a policy based on love and a sympathetic appreciation of the feelings of the people.

Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire deputation on the increase in the cotton duties.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Mar.

14. "The firm though friendly tone of Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire delegation will give the utmost satisfaction in this country......... Mr. Montagu's firm refusal to interfere with the right of India to shape her own fiscal policy—a right which has only just been conceded, and an affirmation of which has been made in more than one solemn pledge given by responsible Ministers of the Crown—will entitle him to the gratitude of India."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 29th Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 29th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 29th Mar.; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 30th Mar.; *Gujaráti* (17), 3rd Apl., Eng cols.

*15. We would like to congratulate Mr. Montagu upon the firm and straightforward reply he has given to the deputation of Lancashire mill-owners in connection with the increased import duty levied on cotton piece-goods. Mr. Montagu has used great foresight and wisdom in giving a plain-spoken reply to the deputation. The days when Lancashire could dictate its fiscal policy to India are gone. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses its approval of the reply and remarks:—The reply goes to show the strong position in which India has been placed by the new reforms. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* and the *Bombay Samáchár* also thank Mr. Montagu for the reply and express gratification that India has been placed in a position to frame its own fiscal policy and that her interests will no more be subordinated to those of Manchester. The *Gujarati* writes:—"In reply to the Lancashire Delegation which waited upon Mr. Montagu with a view to get the new tariff on the imports of textile fabrics cancelled, the Secretary of State fully dealt with the questions raised by the deputation in an outspoken manner.......... Mr. Montagu deserves very great credit for the resolute manner in which he spoke out his mind to the Delegation and informed them in his reply that he could not recede from the position that India must be permitted to devise her tariffs in her own interests and that the necessary revenue could not have been obtained from any other source and could not have been accompanied by excise."]

Complaint about Government paying double rates for advertisements to the *Times of India.*

Gujaráti (17), 27th Mar.

16. We believe that much of the public money is spent on advertisements, that only certain newspapers profit by it, that it is absolutely necessary to curtail such expenditure and that the State should adopt the practice of giving advertisements to various papers by turns. We wonder why the attention of any representative of the people in the Council has not been drawn to the subject of rates of newspaper advertisements when examining the estimates of expenditure. The reprerentatives of the people should make private inquiries as to the rates of advertisements of various papers and should question the authorities in relation to this matter. [The paper then goes on to quote the separate advertisement rates of the *Times of India* for the general public and for Government. It then continues:—The authorities maintain that they manage the affairs of the country with economy and care. Can it be said to be so when they thus pay double out of Indian money to one newspaper? Why should the State pay for its advertisements double of what the theatre and cinema owners and merchants pay? Would any harm come to the State if it did not give its advertisements to the *Times of India* and such other newspapers whose rates are higher than those of others? It is thus that the money of the Indian tax-payer is looted.]

Why the British are beginning to dislike the military tribes in India.

Swarájya (149), 31st Mar.

17. The Sikhs were once known to be excellent fighters. The Military authorities are, however, of opinion that it is not so advisable now to enlist them in the army as they are becoming more and more patriotic every day owing to the spread of knowledge among them. The Gurkhas and the Pathans are considered to be a little better than the Sikhs, but they too will be condemned as useless when they begin to love their country. In short, the ignorance of Indians is very much to the liking of the English. The British Military authorities love to enlist ignorant Indians in their army and they treat them very kindly until they are so foolish as to become wise. But knowledge is making rapid progress in India and these same Gurkhas and Pathans will be considered as ineligible to serve in the army when they look upon India as their own country and believe that to kill Indians for the benefit of others is to be guilty of the terrible sin of fratricide. The English anticipate the advent of such a day and propose to rule India then with the aid of mercenaries. Just as the Indian army is now being utilized to enslave the

Arabs of Mesopotamia, Arabia, etc., so also, if occasion arises, the people of those countries will be requisitioned to keep the Indians in subjection. The English will not also hesitate to recruit Negroes from their newly acquired territories in Africa in the Indian army to maintain their supremacy here.

Exhortations to the Indians to give up the drink habit.
Hindu (163), 12th Mar.

18. All over India there has been started a movement to prevent people from taking up liquor shops at auction sales. Already several towns have set the example of boycotting these sales. In our own province of Sind the towns of Mirpur and Tatta have acquitted themselves. It is a pity however that in Karáchi, Sukkur and Shikarpur some people sacrificing the honour of Sind to their greed went and gave bids at the auction sales of liquor shops. It is a greater pity that these men have taken up shops on payment of double and treble fees. The doings of these men have degraded Sind today. It does not matter if some of our brethren have demeaned themselves by taking up liquor shops. We should rely on our own exertions. We should start a propaganda with a view to the reduction of the sale of liquor at liquor shops. Consumers of liquor and intoxicating drugs, if you hold dear the honour of your country, if you have any affection for Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders of the country, if you have any consideration for your children and for your honour, then give up the use of intoxicants and be human beings, be human beings and gain your freedom!

Welcome to His Excellency Lord Reading.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Apl.

19. "Lord Reading comes to India under favourable auspices. The Indian people have been looking forward to his coming ever since the first announcement with a hope which his speeches, telling of good will to India and a firm intention to do India justice, have quickened to an eager expectation. They are conscious that a great man has been sent to them, and they are thankful; for they have suffered from the littleness of little men. They take the appointment of his Lordship to the Viceroyalty as evidence that England is at last awakening to the world importance of the problems now confronting her in India. The scurrilous and mean attempts of English anti-Semites to rouse up hatred and distrust against Lord Reading upon racial and 'religious' grounds—pamphlets, emanating from Calcutta, have been scattered broadcast in Bombay—have only roused the indignation of the Indian public, especially the Muslims who remember that the last British statesman to show real benevolence towards Asia and understanding of the role of Asia in world politics, the last British statesman who defended Turkey and Islam—the great Disraeli—was calumniated in the same way by the baser sort of English. There is no doubt whatever of the friendly feeling of all India for Lord Reading on this day of his arrival; and if his public welcome seems official rather than popular, it is only because the officials must be there to welcome him, and the great mass of the people will not go where the officials are; such is the state of feeling left in India by his predecessor. Lord Reading has asked India to give him a fair chance, and Indian India is prepared to do so on the understanding that he has come on purpose to give India a fair chance. Lord Reading has no doubt been told of the sufficiency—nay, generosity—of the Reforms just now inaugurated and of the iniquity and danger of the non-co-operation movement. We trust that, now that he has come to India, he will not remain content with what he hears from anyone, however dogmatic or 'experienced', but will proceed, as if he had heard nothing, to observe and form his judment.......... What is required to end the present deadlock, and make the Indian people once more happy with the Government? Not certainly a little increase in the number of elected members on the Councils or the promotion of another Indian to the rank of a provincial Governor. The last thing India wants is an Indian bureaucracy trained in the traditions of the present Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, in exactly the same position with regard to England and to India and with the same mentality—in other words a foreign Government with Indians as its myrmidons instead of Englishmen.

What India wants is an Indian Government, a Government representing India as completely and wholeheartedly as the Government of Australia represents Australia; no matter whether it consists of Englishmen or Indians.......... Lord Reading cannot be entirely unaware of the intensity of feeling among Muslims—and indeed all Asistics—with regard to the iniquitous provisions of the Treaty of Sevres.......... The Muslim grievance is acute to-day. It is probably the most difficult of all the problems which confront Lord Reading, solely on account of the contempt for Asiatic feeling and opinion which the Imperial Government in London advertises almost daily. If the Treaty of Sevres can be revised, in accordance with the just demands of Muslims and in fulfilment of the solemn promises made by the British Government to Asiatic peoples, the difficulty will vanish altogether. Otherwise Lord Reading will have, we fear, a troubled and an anxious reign, unless he can so alter the attitude and status of the Government of India that the Muslims can regard it as their Government and feel assured that by co-operation with it they can work effectively for the redress of the injustice done to their co-religionists, against the Government of England which is now, quite naturally, regarded, as the enemy of Islam. We have not dwelt upon the Punjáb grievance, for if Swarajya, as explained above, is granted, such unfortunate events can never be repeated on the soil of India; since they sprang entirely from the false idea of Indian Government—which Gandhi rightly calls 'Satanic', namely, that the rulers are the guardians, not of the peace and lives and honour of all the people of India without favouritism, but first and foremost of the 'prestige' of the white race. It is that false notion, in conjunction with the decay of the morality in international transactions which is the only firm foundation of prestige in Eastern lands, which has brought things to their present pass in India. If Lord Reading is prepared to face these questions squarely, and without the prejudices of the 'old' and 'new' bureaucracy, he can count on the support, express or tacit, of every Indian worthy of the name, for he will be giving India a fair chance at last."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 2nd Apl., Eng. cols.

20. In welcoming His Excellency Lord Reading to India the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—"It may be said that, in the appointment of Lord Reading England has, almost for the first time in the course of her dealings with India, consciously and with anxious care looked for the best man available for the office. It was almost for the first time that England fully realised the seriousness, the high importance of the office of the Governor-General of India, and endeavoured to make an appointment adequate to the high stakes involved......... Almost any other name would have further irritated public feeling. Lord Reading's name has inspired some confidence at least in the good intentions of England towards India. Both his personality and the great office from which he has been called away to serve the Empire in a new sphere, are calculated to have that effect......... He has promised that 'Justice shall be supreme' in his administration of India. This perhaps implies a consciousness that some injustice has been done to India in the past; and it would be his business, as representing British justice, to see that the sense of injustice is removed. The recent grievances of India are clear and palpable......... Lord Reading possesses the faith, the courage, the breadth and the imagination of his race. He possesses the keen and trained intellect of the lawyer. Above all, he possesses that sense of justice and reverence for the law without which there can be no good-will and fair dealing between man and man, and nation and nation. We welcome him to these shores, confident in the hope that he will be able to discharge the duties of his high mission in the spirit in which he has conceived it; that he will uphold the rights of nations and of individuals; that he will redress wrongs, and maintain truth and justice."

Gujaráti (17), 3rd Apr., Eng. cols.

***21.** "Lord Reading's appeal for patience and confidence is eminently just and let India respond to it in a fair-minded and even a generous spirit. It is premature to judge of his future in India, but we are disposed to agree with him in his estimate of himself that 'if he did not make a great name he would not make a great failure.'......... It would be a grave calamity if a Viceroy with his unrivalled qualifications and with the ripe wisdom and experience of sixty years were to prove a signal failure. But we sincerely hope for the best and wish him cordial success and greater happiness and prosperity to India under his regime. Lady Reading has already expressed her desire to help in the progress of Indian women. In her own sphere she can do a great deal in that direction and we wish her also success to carrying out the object of her ambition. We offer Lord Reading and Lady Reading a very cordial welcome. The whole country is in an expectant and anxious mood and its millions of eyes are turned towards the new Viceroy. Nothing will contribute so much to the success of his *regime* as transparent honesty, downright sincerity and broad-minded sympathy. May Providence help him in the successful performance of the very arduous mission undertaken by him with the highest sentiments of patriotism and self-sacrifice and in adding still further to the glorious achievements he has behind him."

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 3rd Apl., Eng. cols.

*22. "No Viceroy had perhaps such a difficult task before him as the Earl of Reading. Fortunately, he is eminently well qualified for it and comes well prepared for it. The noble sentiments to which he has given expression on different occasions before setting out for this country and the assurances that he has given in his very first speech on his landing on these shores confirm our belief that he will do his best to act with justice and equity in the solution of the various problems that will face him. His profound legal knowledge and trained judicial intellect will be of great service in carrying the Reform Scheme through its initial stages. In commercial and financial matters also, he is said to be an expert and that leads us to hope that he will find some solution for the exchange muddle. Above all, his keen insight into human character, his high sense of duty and his great love for justice may be relied upon to guide the country safely through a difficult and trying period. We have built high hopes on the Earl of Reading and we feel confident that he will prove the man of the hour. May the Almighty lend power to his elbow and crown his efforts with success!"

Mahrátta (8), 3rd Apl.

*23. "One thing is clear that the speeches which Lord Reading delivered in England before his departure, show him to be imbued with a desire to do justice to this Nation in all matters. We cannot, however, presage as to the limitations of this profession. Only one thing in him gives us hope and that is, that Lord Reading is a Jew, and as Mr. Halford Knight put it, the Jews at least know what it is to be damned as a nation....... The problem before him, is how to reconcile the existence of the British Government in India with the growing desire of Indians to be free. Lord Reading must take a note of the fact that India has covered the path of half a century within the last four years....... Lord Reading must have by this time grasped what the struggle in Ireland and Egypt means. All the elements of that struggle are present in India. Perhaps the problem here presents difficulties peculiar and exceptional....... The Jallianwalla Bagh and the inhuman brutalities of the Dyers and Bosworth Smiths made indelible impression. The iron of slavery has gone deep into the soul and the canker of humiliation has been eating the vitals. India resolved to be free and true to her great traditions and history; she has commenced this war in her own spiritual fashion. Let Lord Reading take count of this and be not misled either by interested advice of his die-hard imperialist bureaucratic colleagues or by the time-serving hypocrisy of the Moderates. Let him grasp that the struggle is between two nations, one desiring to be free and the other desiring to perpetuate domination. As a freedom-loving man he cannot help the latter cause. However he has ample opportunities 'to be the other fellow' or to use his own word 'to put yourself in his place.' Let Lord Reading put himself in the place of an Indian and realise the wounded feelings of Indians. If the path to freedom is to be made smooth and creditable to the great traditions of England, let us understand each other and help the cause of National freedom and liberty."

Will His Excellency Lord Reading act up to his utterances in England?

Hindusthán (21), 30th Mar.

24. "Pharos" writes in the *Hindusthán*:—"Lord Reading talked bravely in London before leaving for India......... Lord Reading is in the talking stage still. He has not been tried. Sometime after he is in India, let us see whether he is able to hold his own against the clique of Anglo-Indian bureaucrats who will surround him. Lord Curzon at the beginning of his Viceroyalty was full of generous feelings. But some three years later what did he develop into? .... His generous impulses died away and were replaced by undisguised arrogance, bombast and impudence. Lord Sydenham also, when appointed Governor of Bombay, was good and sympathetic, and yet to-day he is proving himself to be the greatest enemy of India."

Comments on Lord Reading's interview with a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette*.

Praja Bandhu (30), 27th Mar., Eng. cols.

25. Commenting upon Lord Reading's interview with a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Praja Bandhu* writes:—"Besides once more emphasising his determination to administer justice not according to law but according to equity, irrespective of race, colour, creed or caste, he expressed his desire to personally discuss matters with representatives of all communities. Here is something which our Captain-General has been for months past demanding, and Englishmen and their Government had been steadily refusing. Nearly five months ago Mr. Gandhi wrote his appeal 'To Every Englishman in India' in which he suggested the idea of convening a Conference of the recognised leaders of the people, but there was no statesmanship in the Councils of the present Government in India or England to accept this suggestion. It is, however, never too late to act upon the dictates of statesmanship, and if Lord Reading does what his predecessors have refused to do, he will not find Indians unreasonable or fanatical. Let him convene a thoroughly representative Conference of all communities, and let him enforce its decisions without any let or hindrance. If he does this much, he will find that there will be not only no non-co-operation, but cordial co-operation."

Appeal to Lord Reading to take up the cause of the subjects of Native States.

Káthiáwár Opinion (26), 27th Mar., Eng. cols.

26. "Now that His Lordship Lord Reading has already left the shores of England and will arrive at Bombay on the 2nd April, we would respectfully put before them the problem of Káthiáwár for solution on the principle of justice and equity. The inauguration of the Chamber of Princes may have created a feeling of safety and self-complacence in the hearts of the Chiefs of Káthiáwár. But what about the people? Has the Government of India before them any representative of theirs to voice their feelings?......... The Reforms have not touched them. The Congress avoids them by expressing a mere wish that the Rulers should give them responsible self-government. Responsible self-government may have a scope in the few large States like Hyderabad (Nizam), Mysore, Baroda. But to carry out reforms on that line in small States and Talukas where autocracy of a rather virulent type exists is well-nigh impossible .... We respectfully request the Government of India under the new Viceroy to take up the question of the hitherto mute subjects of Native States. The New Era instead of giving any right has firmly placed them in the grip of despotism. Their position at present is that any legislation in the shape of detested circulars is thrust upon them, and tax is imposed upon them, whether they have strength to pay or not, legitimate political work is made impossible by the Police Department and to top everything the benign British Government is ever ready with an order that 'Government do not see any ground to interfere'."

The regime of His Excellency Lord Chelmsford.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 27th Mar., Eng. cols.

27. "The end of this month practically means the end of a tragic administrative career in British-Indian history. Lord Chelmsford will hand over the charge of Indian Viceroyalty on the 2nd proximo and sail for England on the 3rd. And if one were to ask His Lordship to summarize as briefly as possible the concrete results of his administrative career, what can be the reply? Briefly it can be something like this:—The destruction of all that is valuable in the relation of rulers and the ruled and the substitution of deep discontent bordering on despair in the place of rising hopes and unfulfilled aspirations.......... Perhaps the most unimaginative of all Viceroys that India had ever had, his Lordship stuck leech-like to his post when the people of India demanded his recall and when it would have been more in consonance with his sense of self-respect to have resigned.......... Lord Chelmsford has by his unimaginative regime created a momentous transformation in the hopes and ideals of the Indian Nation—a transformation which will affect for good or for evil the most sacred interests of both England and India. Whatever it may result in, one thing is certain, and that is that Lord Chelmsford has made the task of his immediate successor incomparably difficult, and it would be more the fault of Lord Chelmsford than of Earl Reading if matters remain as they are at the end of the latter's term of Viceroyalty."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Apr.

28. The *Bombay Chronicle* concludes a lengthy article adversely criticising Lord Chelmsford's administration as follows:—"His career is not merely the tragedy of mediocrity. It is the tragedy of lost opportunity on the part of British statesmanship. The opportunity which the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge's successor offered was such as comes but once in history. In losing this opportunity British politicians nearly lost India for the Empire. Think of how a Viceroy with the authentic spark of statesmanship in him would have seized the occasion by the hand, how firmly and wisely would he have acted, and conceived a bold and comprehensive policy, inspired by that generous and courageous statesmanship which prompted Campbell-Bannerman to do the just and right thing by South Africa, and thus have converted the teeming millions of India into the staunchest adherents of the British Empire.......... Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty is an awful lesson to those who would inadequately appreciate their responsibility and thrust it on incompetent shoulders. It was a terrible ordeal for Lord Chelmsford himself. Therefore, while we condemn his Viceroyalty what time he leaves our country unwept and unhonoured, let us not grudge him some measure of pity."

Gramya Swaráj (68), 29th Mar.

29. While criticising at length the administration of Lord Chelmsford, the *Gramya Swarájya* remarks:—Lord Chelmsford has proved a failure as the Viceroy of India. During his administration, he has given clear proof of his ignorance, incompetence, want of foresight, intolerance in controversial matters, want of patience and brains. Hence we have sufficient grounds to say that a Viceroy is not sent to India with complete power over it but only to serve as a figurehead. How can we call Lord Chelmsford moral? We would have had some reasons to call him such if he had only borne in mind whom he had succeeded. It is also improper to call Lord Chelmsford an able man. He was unable to solve the great questions which arose from time to time. He was not clever enough to allay the national ferment and excitement with tact. The Punjab atrocities have cast a slur on the name of Lord Chelmsford. His want of tact in dealing with the Khilafat question also showed his unfitness. But after all, the people of India should not forget their national virtues. We may not respect his throne, office and authority, but should take pity on him as a human being and wish that he may leave the shores of India quietly without experiencing any feeling of hatred.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 1st Apl., Eng. cols.

30. The *Sánj Vartamán* thus concludes a long article in which it reviews Lord Chelmsford's regime:—"Lord Chelmsford leaves India, unwept, unhonoured, unsung. He has done much harm to India, but his disservice to the British Empire is not less. If Lord Chelmsford had sympathy, if he had imagination and if he had been endowed with the best share of real statesmanship, he would have left India, a great prop and mainstay of the Empire. He had not a very difficult task to perform. Lord Hardinge with a sure instinct had sown the seed to gain the deep love and regard of the whole country. By watering this seed, a rich harvest was assured.......... Lord Chelmsford has been long enough in the country to notice the harvest that has been garnered. At last his time is up. There is an end to everthing and even the Viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford has come to an end. But India is not vindictive and would never wish his lordship ill. India only wishes that in his home in England, he might think over the great opportunities lost, and thinking thus he might yet try to do some good to the country that he had ill-used so much. Our best wishes follow the gracious lady who has been all that a Vicereine should be. Hers was a hard and a sad lot, but under drawbacks not of her doing, she has played her part well and heroically. And now, India looks forward with hope in her eye-, expectation in her heart."

Gujaráti (17), 3rd Apl., Eng. cols.

*31. "The one dominant note of Lord Chelmsford's character was his fearfully phlegmatic temperament and amazing lack of imagination, and who knows he may still be feeling quite satisfied with himself and the character of the work that he has done. But he could not but have been struck with the fact that, though Anglo-Indian scribes have been painfully busy distilling praises and manufacturing nice excuses for his signal failure as Viceroy and though the Bombay Chamber of Commerce was generous enough to present him with a farewell address, the entire Indian community held aloof from any demonstration in his honour. At the time of his departure and during his voyage he could not possibly remain unconscious of the unanimons verdict of the Indian people on his Viceroyalty as a disastrous failure.......... Unfortunately for Lord Chelmsford, his period of office happened to be synchronous with epoch-making events in this country and outside, and he had not the right kind of colleagues. Nor had he the intellectual capacity and the moral qualities required to deal with success the very difficult and new problems with which he was confronted and exercise his chastening influence upon his reactionary colleagues.......... He was much too cautious a tory in politics to be a successful Viceroy and too weak in his grasp of the principles of equality, justice and humanity to command the respect of subject people and impress their imagination. Moreover he was not altogether free from the taint of racial predilections and had much in him of the narrow minded spirit of self complacent Imperialism.......... Though we are constrained to write about Lord Chelmsford's career as a whole in terms of severity, we do not wish to be unfair to him. He put his signature along with Mr. Montagu to the historical report on Indian Reforms which is the basis of the scheme of reforms now embodied in a parliamentary statute.......... We must also frankly concede that he and his government deserve great credit for the courageous and statesmanlike stand they have taken in defending the rights and privileges of our countrymen in East Africa and insisting upon the application of sound principles to the redress of their grievances.......... Lord Chelmsford claimed in his last public utterance in proroguing the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly that he had smoothed the path of his successor! That is an extraordinary claim which the outgoing Viceroy alone with his clouded vision and profound ignorance of the present situation, could have advanced with such confidence. We are sorry to have to observe that no Viceroy since Lord Lytton has succeeded in arousing such widespread dissatisfaction as Lord Chelmsford. No other Governor-General has been so largely instrumental in damaging the moral and political prestige of the British Government in India as he has. He had, no doubt, very arduous duties to perform. But he had at the same time a golden opportunity to win everlasting fame by carrying out resolutely a policy of righteousness. He threw away that priceless opportunity and failed to rise to the height of the occasion. It is no wonder that he returns to England, unwept and unsung. We bear no illwill towards him. On the contrary, we gladly acknowledge whatever good service he has rendered. But we deeply deplore the fearful blunders he committed and the estrangement his policy has brought about between the rulers and the ruled. Let us hope he will, after his return to England, make ample amends for his past errors by advocating the cause of India in a truly righteous spirit, whenever opportunity offers. We take it that in spite of his weaknesses and blunders he is too sensible a man to join the ranks of

Sydenhams, Ampthills, Yates and Dyers and thus to cover himself with the kind of glory for which they seem to have a passionate longing."

Jam-e-Jamshed (23), 1st Apl., Eng. cols.

32. **"Lord Chelmsford, we fear, is an ill-starred nobleman. It will take** people yet time for realising the gravity of his regime. The shibboleths of the Punjáb and the Khilafat will not necessarily be repeated by sober history. The insane and incessant cry of 'Chelmsford must go,' has had to be abandoned. We do not think that the motives of the Viceroy have been seriously challenged, but we hold that Lord Chelmsford was not cut out to be a statesman. The Cabinet is responsible for summoning to the supreme command a personage whose capacity was not expected to cope with his functions.......... But the generations to come are bound to associate his name with the most substantial advance in the democratisation of the governance of India.......... The man who would have predicted the transference of so much real-authority from a narrow bureaucracy to the people's representatives on the day that Lord Chelmsford landed in India as Viceroy would have been derided as a visionary. Yet our country has secured within these brief five years unheard of authority. Is it gratitude, is it fair-play, is it to our own interest, to deny the due meed of acknowledgment to the departing dignitary?......... Lord Chelmsford leaves our shores, it will be idle to deny, unhonoured, unsung. And yet he was the joint author of the great charter which is associated with his and Mr. Montagu's name."

Mahrátta (8), 3rd April.

***33.** "Lord Chelmsford left the shores of India yesterday and India will breathe a sigh of relief. During the period of half a dozen years when he ruled the destinies of India, he was nothing but a weak figure-head of the administration......... Time after time he yielded his soul to the devilish antics of an O'Dwyer or a Vincent or a Craddock and the bureaucracy that rides with iron heels had had its day of reaction, repression, retrogression during his term of Viceroyalty. Not a single act of grace, except perhaps his half-hearted advocacy of Indians in the Colonies, adorned his career as a Viceroy and the future historian will have to record the bankruptcy of British statesmanship as evidenced in his retaining the office of Viceroy for so long a time. Much is made of his share in the shaping of the New Reforms, but his earlier speeches and later despatches issued under his guidance by the Government of India carry his condemnation in bold letters. He with his colleagues played all along the role of a reactionary and he acquiesced in the Reforms not as an enthusiastic advocate but as a man led to the scaffold against his will......... But in the wise dispensation of Providence even evil things and evil men have their own uses......... The new movement (non-co-operation) is pregnant with great possibilities, and Lord Chelmsford would be considered as an indirect but powerful contributory to the growth of a new spirit. Among the trophies that he would carry to England he would carry the memory of the Jallianwalla Bagh, and in her own way India would also associat his name with that horror. If England cares for India or, for the matter of that, her boasted sense of justice and freedom, if England desires to present a clean slate on the international day of judgment she must impeach this gentleman for soiling her name; or otherwise she herself would be impeached before the bar of public opinion of the world. Self-respecting Indians would not whisper even a word of sorrow for his departure because he deserved none."

Dnyán Prakásh (42), 1st Apl.; *Indu Prakásh* (45), 2nd Apl.

34. For several reasons Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty will become memorable in the history of India. Indians will find a curious blend of awakening, repression and reforms during this period of five years. It must be recognized that Lord Chelmsford did a great service to India in accepting the principle of *swarájya* and affixing his signature to the report on the Indian Constitutional Reforms. Had his Viceroyalty ended there he would have been remembered as a great statesman and a benefactor of India. **But that was not to be. Is it not strange that the man who supported the scheme of reforms should pen a reactionary despatch against it within six months? Surely such weakness is rare in a man holding such a high position. Sir Michael O'Dwyer concealed the true state**

of affairs in the Punjáb and did not hesitate even to mislead the Government of India. Lord Chelmsford fell a victim to his wiles, with the result that an indelible blot now attaches not only to his Viceroyalty but to the British rule in India. He pleaded the Muhammadan cause in regard to the Khiláfat before the Imperial authorities with courage and tenacity. Similarly, he continued Lord Hardinge's commendable policy of improving the status of Indians in the colonies. It was during his tenure of office that the system of indentured labour was put an end to. Although the sufferings of the country were great during his Viceroyalty, they must be considered as the pangs of labour preceding the birth of *swarájya.* In spite of his many mistakes he is known to be a kind gentleman. We trust he will further the interests of India after his return to England. [The *Indu Prakásh* remarks that Lord Chelmsford's period of office is written in the history of India in letters of blood. His Viceroyalty must not, however, be wholly condemned, remarks the paper, since it was instrumental in revealing the hideous character of the Government which calls itself civilized.]

Prája Mitra and Pársi (31), 31st Mar.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33) 31st Mar.; *Akhbár-i-Islam* (59), 1st Apr.; *Deshi Mitra* (66), Apr.

35. Lord Chelmsford would have been held in high esteem by the people of India if he had only followed Lord Hardinge's policy. Lord Chelmsford followed the the advice of those whom his predecessor totally ignored. We will always respect him for the reforms given to us, but in this he only followed the lead given by Lord Hardinge, who had already begun correspondence with the British Government on the subject. It will be enough to say that he afterwards tried to whittle down the Reform Scheme which he had prepared in conjunction with the Secretary of State and to which he had already affixed his signature. It is difficult to defend the obstinacy of his Government with regard to the Punjáb atrocities and the sale of Reverse Councils. We thank him for his efforts to better the lot of the Indians in South Africa and other British Colonies; but even here he was not as earnest as Lord Hardinge. We pray that as a member of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Indian Affairs he will try to act more independently and thus bring about a change in the opinion of the Indian people about him. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—It is significant that Lord Chelmsford departs without a single farewell address. We hope that no such cruel and hard-hearted Viceroy, devoid of all imagination, will again be sent out to India. Lord Chelmsford goes away after wounding the hearts of the people. We will not curse him. We wish that he will now repent and either take up India's cause in the House of Lords or keep quiet. His administration has been full of mistakes and the whole regime a big failure. We believe that Lord Chelmsford has done more harm to the British Empire than to India. One good effect of Lord Chelmsford's administration is that there has been an all-round awakening among the people. The awakening caused by Lord Chelmsford's administration is a thousand times greater than that caused by the autocracy of Lord Curzon. We trust that this awakening will bear good fruits. There is no danger in this awakening. The real danger lies in suppressing this awakening by means of force and autocracy. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that Lord Chelmsford should have left India long ago. It adds that he leaves a legacy of discontent for the new Viceroy. It is of opinion that he leaves the shores of this country without leaving behind him a single happy memory. It hopes that he will not join the Emergency Committee of Lord Ampthill. The *Deshi Mitra* remarks that the people of India will always weep whenever in future they recall the administration of Lord Chelmsford.]

Comments on His Excellency Lord Chemlsford's speech at the joint session of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Mar.

36. "Lord Chelmsford's speech to the joint session of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly, which he prorogued, was exactly what might have been expected from him and the circumstances in which it was made. That is, it was as unreal as are the pretensions of the 'representatives' of the people whom he addressed. No one but those who are wilfully blind can pretend for a moment that the Indian legislatures 'represent' the people of India in the sense in which the term is understood in

civilised countries, much less that they have, during their brief career, voiced the real feelings of the people and safeguarded their interests. But it is, of course, part of the bureaucratic game to ignore the people of India and to belaud their so-called 'representatives'......... The 'sense of balance and responsibility' of the members in their treatment of 'great' questions was, of course, best shown during the discussions on the Punjáb, the Non-Co-operation movement, the repressive measures, and the military expenditure, when the Government were enabled to 'endeavour to give the fullest possible effect consistent with their own responsibility to Parliament to the governing principles of the new constitution.' 'I flatter you, and you flatter me'—that seems to be the spirit 'which giveth life' to the new constitution."

37. Both the Council of State and the Assembly have done useful work, but it is to be regretted that they are not the mouthpieces of the people and their members are not the real representatives of the people. The Council of State and the Assembly effected minor changes in the Budget in the matter of the postal rates, but they have passed the Budget almost unaltered especially in the matter of the military expenditure. Lord Chelmsford eulogised the work of the Council of State and Assembly, but the members of both these bodies have showed marked weakness in withdrawing their resolutions or getting them amended at the dictates of the officials. Have the reforms effected any improvement in the condition of the people? Has the military expenditure been reduced? We stand in need of such a *swarâj* as will improve the condition of the people. The new reforms have secured for Indians a few posts of Ministers and also given them a few additional posts as Executive Councillors, but they are not capable of making such sweeping changes as would create an impression upon the general public.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 30th Mar.

***38.** Commenting on Lord Chelmsford's speech in proroguing the Indian Legislatures the *Mahrátta* writes:—"Speaking of Lord Reading he drew a sombre picture of the dark difficulties that would meet him in India. But he added: 'My constant thought and endeavour has been to smooth his path, and in that I believe I have been in a large measure successful'. If the Governor-General is inclined to derive pleasure from this self-issued certificate of good work, none would like to disturb the delight and peace of his heart. But has Lord Chelmsford really smoothed the path of his successor? Has he not rather made it more rough and thorny? The answer to these questions is to be found in the pitiable way in which a few months back the Indian Viceroyalty went abegging from one English statesman to another.......... With all the Indian grievances unredressed and with fresh repression set agoing in some Provinces, God alone knows if Lord Reading would feel it a path of roses to tread when he takes up the Indian administration in his hands.......... The Viceroy asked the Honourables to spend their 'recess' in singing the greatness of the reforms and spreading the constitutional gospel. The country would profit more if the Honourables spend it in giving a serious thought to their experiences of official domination in the Houses. It was truly remarked by the Viceroy that a constitution is evolved more by traditions and conventions than by anything else. Let the Honourables reflect if it will be consistent with their honour and dignity as legislators of India to allow a free growth to those traditions whose seeds have been sown during the last session. Even those who look upon the reforms as valuable, would agree that they would be wrecked if traditions of official tyranny and non-official submission are set up. Government is perhaps playing the vile game of making their intentions and passing their own policy as sanctioned by the people's representatives. Let the Indian Honourables awake in time before the crisis of the present repressive policy is reached. When the Congress goes to the length of requesting even the sepoys and soldiers not to drown their love for India and Indians in the flood of their duty, it would not be too much to expect of the Honourables that they should either bring it home to Government that they would never suffer conventions of official high-handedness to grow or they should obey the country's call and dissociate themselvss from the Legislature."

Mahrátta (9), 3rd Apl.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 3rd Apl.

***39.** "In proroguing the two Chambers of the Indian Legislature, Lord Chelmsford paid a high tribute to the moderation and sound sense which characterised the proceedings of their first session. We trust His Excellency realises the full import of this gratifying experience. The hesitation, doubt and fear in which the present very inadequate reforms were introduced have been proved to be entirely groundless. This should encourage Government in going forward with reform more quickly than has been forecasted. All subjects in the Provinces should be transferred to Ministers at the earliest opportunity, and nearly all in the Government of India. Lord Reading cannot miss the immediate significance of his predecessor's testimony to the work of the Legislature."

Comments on the resolution in the Council of State regarding the release of the Savarkar Brothers.
Mahrátta (8), 3rd Apl.

***40.** "The Honourable Mr. K. V. Ranga Swami Ayengar did no doubt a public service when he moved in the Council of State for the release of Savarkar Brothers. He was met with stock arguments of the vindictive bureaucracy that they were convicted under ordinary law and not under special legal weapons in their armoury and that even if they had changed their views they still deserved to remain in the Andamans. None can comprehend the logic behind these arguments. A political prisoner is a political prisoner, whether he is convicted under ordinary law or under special laws, and we believe that the amnesty clause in the King's proclamation of last year covered all these cases.......... We have only to note that the Government have only shown themselves to be devoid even of ordinary human feelings as they know that the elder Savarkar is showing fast signs of tuberculosis. His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught asked India to forgive and forget; but that is only possible if that heavenly virtue is practised on both sides. The Government of India and that of Bombay have shown by their action in this case that they do not believe in that precept."

Lokasangraha (123), 31st Mar.; *Indu Prakásh* (45), 29th Mar.

41. It is well known that the King-Emperor has expressed his wish to release all political prisoners. But as the bureaucracy is not prepared to give effect to the Emperor's wish, the Savarkar brothers are rotting in the Andamans. The bureaucracy have also declared that they would not be released. Recently a resolution for the release of these brothers came up before the Council of State but was thrown out by Government with the help of some of their henchmen on the ground that if let loose they might set the country aflame. This does not surprise us in the least. But if Government were determined to be so close-fisted in releasing the political prisoners, where on earth was the necessity for giving such generous promises? It is foolish to say that if the Savarkar brothers are set at liberty, the country would be plunged into revolution. If British officers really believe that these wrecks of humanity will create any trouble if set free, then the position of Government is indeed pitiable. But when even their expressed intention to serve their country is not belived in, it is useless to expect that they will ever be released. [The *Indu Prakásh* says that if Government are not disposed to release the Savarkar brothers on any account they should say so plainly and not try to throw dust in the eyes of the public by bringing forward lame excuses.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Mar.

42. "Even if we admit the seriousness of the Sávarkar brothers' offences, surely a decade's expiation in that earthly purgatory, the Andamans, ought to be held as sufficient atonement for the crime. Men convicted of far graver and more actual violence have been permitted to enjoy the benefit of the Royal Amnesty. The crime of the Manicktola conspirators was surely not less heinous than that of either Ganesh or Vinayak, and yet the ringleaders thereof have been set at liberty, while these two unfortunates alone are unforgiven. To unbiassed minds the attitude of the Bombay authorities towards them must appear to be vindictive in the extreme."

Comments on the resolution in the Council of State for exempting Honorary Magistrates and Members of Council under the Arms Act.

Mahrátta (8), 3rd Apl.

*43. "It is surely a wonderful species of patience with which the Delhi Honourables pocket insults without a murmur at the hands of Messrs. Vincent, Hailey and Co. An exhibition show of this extraordinary pitiable patience was given in the Council of State on the 26th of March. Lala Sukhbir Singh moved that all Magistrates and Members of the Provincial Legislative Councils, the Assembly and the Council of State also be exempted from the operation of prohibitive and restrictive sections in the Arms Act. No sane man could have questioned the reasonableness and moderation of the resolution. But Sir William Vincent could not contemplate with equanimity the great calamity of the granting of licenses to a few Indian gentlemen. He immediately stood up on his legs, frowned at the mover of the proposition, wrung his hands, stamped his feet and declared with a deep growl 'Such exemption would make the task of Government more difficult. I am afraid the resolution is establishing a dangerous procedure.' No mortal intelligence can understand the meaning of these nonsensical remarks. Does Mr. Vincent mean that all Honorary Magistrates and Councillors would rise in rebellion against the mighty British Government the moment they come to possess revolvers? Mr. Vincent's description of the resolution as one which 'established a dangerous procedure' makes us laugh at the perversity of his mental equipment. His remark that he could say from his own experience that Honorary Magistrates did not need revolvers was only an illustration of the irresponsible talk to which he has grown addicted for want of a strong non-official in the Council. How could Mr. Vincent assure the Council that the Magistrates did not need revolvers? Was he ever a magistrate himself? Or is he under the impression that Government has, by some magic power, made these magistrates proof against all danger? But we believe it was more a question of honour and status than of danger or death. Truly speaking every Indian must be entitled to use arms for self-protection. But even Lala Sukhbir Singh's diluted proposal could not be easily swallowed by Mr. Vincent. And in the heat of his rage he betrayed the contempt with which he was ready to treat the non-officials. He said: 'Moreover how could such a privilege work in the case of some members like barbers and carters, who were sent to be merely the laughing stock?' Was there not a single man of honour in the Council who could rise up and say: 'If English farmers can be Indian Governors, Indian carters can surely be trusted with arms!'"

Sir William Vincent's statement in the Indian Legislative Assembly regarding Government's policy towards the non-co-operation movement.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Mar.

44. "Mr. Jatkar as well as Dr. Nandlal were anxious to draw an assurance from Government that the policy enunciated by the latter in their declarations of October and November last would not be departed from and that, as a proof of their willingness not to make any departure therefrom, they would cry a halt in the campaign of repression in progress in several provinces. Reading between the lines of Sir William's reply it is obvious that Government were unwilling to give any such assurance, because of the simple fact that they have now deliberately resolved to go back upon the assurances of October and November last, having themselves initiated the repressive campaign now in full swing. In his reply Sir William Vincent, more anxious for the prestige of the Local Governments than for the moral justification of Government policy, took good care to indulge in his characteristic methods of controversy. He began with misrepresenting the aims and actions of the leaders of the non-co-operation movement.......... Then, of course, we had Sir William growing eloquent in contemplation of the 'great trust' which the British Government had undertaken, to protect India.......... Lastly, Sir William Vincent ended with the usual flattery of the members of the Assembly. 'Since last year,' he declared, 'he had changed his attitude and, as commanded by His Majesty the King-Emperor, was as really anxious as all other Civil Service men were to fully co-operate to make the reforms a great success.' And the hearts of the members of the

Assembly, who like Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, 'saw clear signs of an outburst of violence' and 'thought the (non-co-operation) movement should be put down,' melted at this touching confession of a man sincerely solicitous for the welfare of the unprotected masses, not to speak of 'men of substance.' But let that pass. In their resolution of November last Government had held out a warning to 'sane and moderate' Indians that unless they came forward to check the non-co-operation movement, Government would be obliged to abandon their policy of refraining from repression. Neither Sir William nor the other spokesmen of Government made it clear to the Assembly whether 'sane and moderate' men had failed to come forward in the manner expected of them or whether Government still claimed that they were holding back their hand from repression. A plain statement from Sir William to this effect would have cleared the air much more than the long-winded and inchoate statement of 'policy' in which he indulged. It would be futile, of course, to expect the mouthpieces of the bureaucracy to admit at any stage of their campaign against the popular movement that they were engaged in repression. Hence the studious silence of Sir William and his official colleagues on the point whether repression is being or will be shortly resorted to. To the last the bureaucrats will go on contending that they are using only 'legitimate' weapons in fighting the popular movement.... ...... Sir William's assurance that as yet only the ordinary law of the land is being utilised to put down the movement does not carry much consolation, for everyone knows that many of the 'ordinary' laws of this land are sufficiently draconian and can be and are resorted to by petty autocrats in a most arbitrary manner.......... Why need the authorities proceed beyond the confines of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code to cope with the movement? It is not more powers that they stand in need of, but moral support from 'sane and moderate' men for all that they embarked upon. Fortunately for the Government of India, the members of the Assembly, though some of them felt some qualms of conscience, did not hesitate to give them *carte blanche*."

Bharat Seva (16), 1st Apl.; *Broach Samáchár* (64), 31st Mar.; *Gujaráti Punch* (19), 27th Mar.

45. Commenting upon the statement made by Sir W. Vincent in the Legislative Assembly with regard to Government's attitude towards the non-co-operation movement, the *Bharat Seva* writes:—In spite of the avowals made by the leaders of the non-co-operation movement, the movement has not maintained its non-violent character. It cannot, however, be said that Government officials will always maintain an impartial attitude towards the movement. However, it must be admitted that Government have showed marked tolerance towards the movement and have not allowed their heads to be easily turned. Government officials in India are no doubt imbued with bureaucratic feelings, but we do not think that a disarmed nation in any other part of the world would be allowed to follow the non-co-operation movement on the lines that are adopted in India. We do not favour a repressive policy and would, therefore, ask the Government of India to adopt the attitude taken up by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd towards the non-co-operation movement. We do not approve of the terrorism practised by some of our own people. It is very easy to excite the people but very difficult to calm them. It is, therefore, very necessary that preachers of non-co-operation should act with caution. We are opposed to the non-co-operation movement chiefly because the movement will reflect adversely upon the country and teach people to practise non-co-operation against some of their own leaders before practising it against Government. The non-co-operation movement has now reached the stage the *Satyagraha* movement assumed before Mr. Gandhi suspended it. We would, therefore, ask Mr. Gandhi to cry a halt and to direct his energies towards arriving at a settlement with Government. [The *Broach Samáchár* writes:—We cannot say what serious form the non-co-operation movement will assume in future. Let us hope good sense will prevail with Mr. Gandhi and that he will be induced to put a stop to it so that there would be no more terrorism, plunder and rapine perpetrated in its name. It would be much better if Mr. Gandhi were to co-operate with Government with a view to securing *Swaraj* for India. We give our full support to the policy outlined by Government towards the non-co-operation movement. Government should on no account resort to repressive measures till they are almost driven to it. The *Gujaráti Punch* remarks:—Government may adopt repressive measures against the non-co-operation movement when it is found to transgress the bounds of law, but they should not denounce the movement as a whole. Apart from some harmful tendencies, the movement has displayed elements of good in it inasmuch as it has stimulated nationalistic tendencies among the people, taught them to encourage *Swadeshi* and to combat the evil of drink. Government should have adopted a neutral attitude towards the temperance activities of the movement; but they have begun to adopt repressive measures against such activities as is evident from the steps taken in Bihar and the Central Provinces. Government would do well to suspend repressive measures till the management openly begins to defy the laws. Now that Government have declared their policy, Mr. Gandhi would do well to give careful consideration to the question and cease taking such steps as lead to breach of the peace.]

Comments on the Legislative Assembly's resolution on the Esher Committee's Report.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st April.

46. "A perusal of the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the subject of the Esher Committee's recommendations leaves an impression on one's mind which is not altogether pleasant. No doubt, the Assembly has repudiated in emphatic terms some of the most dangerous implications of military policy to which the Committee sought to commit this country. The Assembly has also rejected several of the highly obnoxious proposals of the Committee in connection with the reorganisation of the army administration. At the same time, we cannot help regretting that the Assembly as a whole and some of the individual members thereof have expressed opinions which are clearly detrimental to the vital interests of the country. Take for example the speeches and the Assembly's recommendation in favour of the employment of Indian troops on garrison duties abroad........ Could anything be more preposterous and scandalous? These *soi disant* representatives of the people have grossly betrayed their country by this thoughtless act of theirs. Who are they to speak in the name of the troops employed abroad? From every account that one is able to gather these troops are longing most eagerly to return to their country and are staying abroad only through compulsion.......... Are the members aware that there is a feeling of bitter aversion among our troops against garrison duties in places like Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt, Palestine, and other Asiatic countries?......... The public of this country will emphatically repudiate the assumption of Sir Godfrey Fell that 'there is a considerable body of opinion in India in favour of the employment of Indian troops overseas.' The members of the Legislative Assembly who favoured the idea spoke for nobody but themselves and they have totally misread the feelings of the people on this subject. Regarding the percentage of King's Commissions to be thrown open to Indians annually, the Assembly's recommendation is extremely disappointing. Instead of demanding that at least 50 per cent. of the Commissions should be reserved for Indians to start with the Assembly has contented itself with asking for a bare 25 per cent.......... By adopting pernicious recommendations, such as the above, the Assembly has demonstrated how undemocratic in spirit it is and how little representative of the people, for whom they claim to speak, most of the members are. Finally, a word must be said about Sir Godfrey Fell's strange outburst towards the close of the debate. Sir Godfrey has a queer notion of what constitutes 'fairness' and 'generosity'. Sir Sivaswamy's motion recording the fact that the Assembly expressed no opinion on such recommendations of the report of the Esher Committee as had not been dealt with in the resolutions so far adopted by the House, occasioned such a violent explosion on the part of Sir Godfrey as to make one deeply suspect that he and those for whom he spoke, far from sympathising, as they pretended, with the attitude of the Assembly towards the recommendations of the Esher Committee, were really burning with anger and disappointment at the wholesale condemnation of those recommendations by the Assembly. Mr. Samarth effectively exploded the plea of Government that they had given sufficient opportunity to the Assembly to express their opinion on the recommendations

of the Committee.......... As for the facilities provided to the public to scrutinise the proposals, the less said the better.......... And yet the spokesman of Government has the hardihood to claim that sufficient opportunity has been given to the public and the Assembly to consider the report, and to charge them with ingratitude !"

Kesari (120), 29th Mar.

47. The report of the Committee appointed by the Indian Legislative Assembly to consider the recommendations of the Esher Committee, though good in a few respects, is in the main such as might be expected from a committee which does not represent public opinion. The Esher Report is based on the supposition that the Indian Army exists for Imperial purposes. The committee strongly protests against this view and declares that the Indian Army should be used only to defend the country against external invasion and to preserve internal peace. But it concedes that the Viceroy should have power to send out Indian troops to foreign countries in times of emergency, the necessary expenditure being paid by the British Government. If Britain and India are on good terms, India is sure to help England in her difficulties. But it solely depends upon England to create and foster such a feeling. To make use of the Indian Army for Imperial purposes when the Dominions are not willing to offer theirs for the same will be an injustice to India and the public will condemn it. The Committee's half-heartedness reaches its climax when it goes on to talk of Military Commissions and recommends that only 25 per cent. of them should be given to Indians. There are many other minor suggestions, but they, too, have all been put forward very timidly.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 3rd Apl.

***48.** "We doubt if the resolution passed by the Indian Legislative Assembly providing that Indian troops should not be precluded from employment on garrison duties overseas at the expense of His Majesty's Government and with the consent of the Government of India, is quite constitutional. Indian troops cannot be employed beyond the frontiers of India without the consent of Parliament, and it follows that they cannot be retained there when the occasion is past. Apart from that, the reasons assigned in support of this proposition do not bear scrutiny. One reason is that it saves India the cost of this part of its Army. But if any part of the Army can be more or less permanently retained out of India without its being missed here, it would mean that that part is really not wanted. Another reason is that Indian troops cannot get military training except by doing garrison duty beyond the seas. If that be so, the Legislative Assembly will soon have His Majesty's Government exacting a moiety of the cost of these troops on the ground that they were detained in foreign parts for their own training. Then, again, how is it possible to distinguish between garrison and field duties when troops are occupying foreign territory against the wishes of the population? The Assembly, we are sorry to say, lost sight of another important fact, the wishes of the troops, in its fascination for high politics. The curious thing is that the Government of India has been pressing for the return of these troops in view of the widespread dissatisfaction at their prolonged detention in Mesopotamia."

Comments on the resolution in the Indian Legislative Assembly regarding the establishment of a Supreme Court of Appeal in India.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 29th Mar.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 29th Mar.

49. We are gratified to note that the resolution about establishing a Supreme Court of Appeal in India has been passed in the Indian Legislative Assembly. The bitter experience that India has had in some of the appeals to the Privy Council in criminal cases goes to strengthen the demand for the establishment of such a court of appeal in India. Now that India's claim to *Swaraj* has been accepted we do not think that Britain will have any objection to the establishment of a Supreme Court of Appeal in India. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* believes that the various High Courts in India and the Provincial Governments would approve of the suggestion for the establishment of a Supreme Court of Appeal in India and suggests that there should be no unnecessary delay in establishing such a court.]

The Bombay Budget.
Bombay Chronicle (1), **31st Mar.**

50. "Their [*i. e.*, the elected members'] impotence has been particularly noticeable in the local Council, where, after days of wearisome debate, we find a few lakhs have been saved here and there as the result of non-official criticism. The nature of the budget, however, remains essentially the same and the enlarged powers of the Council about which we have heard as much from quarters where co-operation is the watchword, have proved quite unavailing to reduce the tendency on the part of the bureaucracy to squander public funds without concern or forethought.......... The Ministers have been eager to show that there has been a great increase in the financial allotment for primary and secondary schools and in the grants to municipalities and local boards, but this camouflage will no longer conceal the fact that, although a few more doles may be given, the spirit of the administration remains the same.......... Diarchy has certainly produced no change in the outlook of the Government of the Presidency, although it has given them a few more Indians to be apologists of bureaucratic policy. The old method of creating an appointment, or of initiating a policy first and then submitting such an appointment or such a policy afterwards to the Council for its formal sanction, still continues. A great deal has been said about the industrial boom in India and about the advantages of making the development of industries in this Presidency a transferred subject so that an Indian has control over it. We find from the budget discussion that the Department of Industries enjoys a unique advantage; it has no unity, but trinity of control. Part of it is in charge of an Executive Councillor, another part belongs to the Education Minister and yet another comes within the jurisdiction of the Minister in charge of Forests and Excise. And Government have begun developing industries in this Presidency by interesting themselves in deep sea-fishing. They are really earnest. They have bought a trawler costing a trifle of about twenty-nine thousand pounds and they have budgetted a recurring expenditure of more than a lakh to run the trawler.......... We do not think it necessary to give any further proof of the utter futility of the Government's new legislative machinery to bring peace and content in this unhappy land."

Comments on the debate in the Bombay Legislative Council on the subject of giving compensation to the agriculturists affected by the Mulshi Petha Hydro-Electric Scheme.
Kesari (120), 29th Mar.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (42), 26th Mar.

51. The inhabitants of Mulshi Petha had decided to commence passive resistance from the 4th of April, but they referred the matter to the Poona District Conference held at Baramati. The Conferance recommended the postponement of passive resistance and the people of Mulshi Petha accepted the advice as they still have some hopes that Government will do justice to them. Soon after the Conference ended the question of the Mulshi scheme was brought before the local Council. But we are sorry Government did not explain matters properly. The two speakers, one speaking on behalf of Government and the other on behalf of the Tata Company, were unable to explain how the scheme was to prove beneficial to the public. Unfortunately for Government, it was openly admitted in the Council that the people affected by the execution of the Andhra Valley Scheme were not given satisfactory compensation. And whatever meagre compensation was sanctioned, was not given in time. We do not hesitate to say that Government are partial to the rich and do not deal justly with the poor. Whether the Mulshi people themselves will benefit by their agitation or not is yet to be seen. But that it has done one great service to the poor is certain. It has brought to light the injustice done to the people of the Andhra Valley and there is some probability that they will be compensated for the injustice done to them. And the pressure of public opinion is sure to be felt by Government in future in similar other cases. As Mr. Gupte said in the Council, Government have proved themselves unworthy of public confidence. And that is why people have now to resort to passive resistance. To prevent the execution of the Mulshi Schéme is not the only goal to be attained by the proposed passive resistance, but the amendment of the Land Acquisition Act is also to be brought about with the help of the movement. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* on the other hand approves of the Mulshi Scheme and remarks :—When once it is settled that the scheme is of public utility the most important question of compensation arises. It is the duty of Government, the Tata Company and the leaders of the people to decide what sum should be given as compensation and in what form it should be given. Government have made mistakes in similar cases in the past. Hereafter at least, it is to be hoped that Government will take the leaders of the people into confidence. The compensation must be liberal and must be given immediately. Government should make earnest efforts to secure lands in the neighbourhood of Mulshi Petha for as many as possible of these dispossessed agriculturists. It is good that Government have given assurances to treat the question sympathetically. The advice given to the people to resort to passive resistance, by the Extremists of Poona, was irresponsible. It is satisfactory that the movement has been postponed. It is foolish to hinder work of national importance in this way.]

Government's reply to an interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding promotions in the Police Department.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Mar.

52. "The official reply to an interpellation in the local Legislative Council on the subject of promotions in the Police Department in the Presidency throws an interesting sidelight on the race bar against Indians obtaining in this Department......... Here is a definite recognition of the ineligibility of Indians to a post under the State, on the sole ground of their race—which is entirely opposed to the spirit as well as the letter of the solemn pledges given to Indians by the Crown and responsible statesmen all these years. If Government are unwilling to remove this glaring injustice to Indians the local legislature ought to take early steps to put an end to the same. The official reply excuses the great disparity between the numbers of Indian and European Inspectors on the ground that 'a knowledge of Law and experience in investigation are by no means the only criteria of a suitable Inspector in charge of a police station.' It is not difficult to discover what exactly is the criterion that would satisfy the heads of the Department. It is the colour of the skin that chiefly weighs with the superiors."

The question of franchise to women before the Bombay Legislative Council.
Kesari (115), 29th Mar.

53. It has been proved many times that the Reformed Councils are mere childish affairs. This fact was once more forced on the notice of the public during the debate regarding franchise for women in the local Legislative Council. After the debate had gone on lustily for some time, the Honourable Mr. Hayward rose to a point of order on the ground that the Council had no right to discuss that part of the proposal which was concerned with the eligibility of women for seats in the Council. At this, Sir Narayan, the President, who believes himself to be omniscient, seemed to come to his senses, and said that he had not received a copy of the rules of the Council when the resolution was sent to him! Thus Bombay lost the opportunity of being the first to grant the franchise to women. We, however, hope the opportunity has not been lost for ever.

Comments on the resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the forest grievances of Kánara.
Kánara News (25), 24th Mar.

54. It appears that Government have decided to appoint a committee to enquire into the forest grievances of the Kánara people and to suggest means for their redress. But, from our experience of previous committees and commissions of this sort, we can safely say that more harm than good will result from the appointment of this committee. It might be thought that we are taking a prejudiced and one-sided view of the matter, in thus anticipating the conclusions of a committee with a non-official majority. But a glance at the history of various commissions appointed from time to time by Government will convince our readers that what we have said regarding the proposed Forest Committee represents the exact truth. In appointing members to serve on these commissions Government select only those persons who will carry out their own wishes while keeping up an appearance of impartiality. Did any of these commissions ever make a single recommendation in conformity with public opinion? Besides, in the present case, the interests of Government are

directly opposed to the interests of the public. Is it not foolish to expect that Government will, for the good of the people, give up a portion of its forest revenue, especially at a time of financial stringency like the present? If Government are not actuated in their forest policy by pecuniary considerations, what is there even now to prevent them from conceding to the people the rights and privileges demanded by them? The views of the public on this question have been placed before Government from time to time by means of petitions and representations, and a former Collector of Kánara has made a report to Government setting forth the forest grievances of the people of Kánara. Government thus have ample material to go upon if they really want to redress our grievances. Under these circumstances, we would ask the people of Kánara not to allow the proposed Forest Committee to divert them from their efforts for the attainment of *swarájya.*

Alleged English sympathy with the Greek offensive against the Turks.

Bombay Chronicle (8), 28th Mar.

55. "Today we must refer to a rumour, which amounts to a belief, that the present Greek offensive in Anatolia is being made with the connivance of the British Government. The open favour shown to Greece by British statesmen in the past is sufficient of itself to make such a suspicion inevitable; though we think that it is probably unfounded in the present instance. But while we are inclined to exonerate the British Government from the charge of giving underhand support to Greece, particularly since the official statement to the effect that the Allies are still boycotting King Constantine's Government financially, thus leaving Greece to make her own arrangements, we are still far from sure that this new Greek adventure may not derive encouragement and strength from England; nor does the statement that Greece will have to finance herself reassure us on that head. So long as the great armament firm of Vickers is dominated by a multimillionaire of Greek extraction and avowed Greek sympathies and so long as British armament firms, though closely associated with the Government, have liberty to deal with foreign Governments, we cannot feel quite sure that Greece has not already been provided with the best that England has to give in the way of arms and munitions.......... The Muslim world feels very sore upon this point, for if the Turks had met the Greeks with an equality of armaments, it is certain that the latter would have been unable to advance an inch in Anatolia beyond the range of the big cannon of their warships. And their advance has meant the desolation of the country, and the destruction of millions of pounds' worth of Muslim property and something like a hundred thousand Muslim lives—in time of 'peace' so-called.......... If the Turks are able to withstand the onset, well and good; then England will have still another chance. But if the Turks should happen to be driven back, which God forbid, then we believe another great world-war to be inevitable. The news that the British troops in Turkey are to keep strictly neutral, though reassuring in a way, is far from satisfying. It was Britain who let loose the Greeks in time of peace upon an inoffensive people. It is manifestly not enough, by way of reparation, that she should remain neutral when the people she has wronged are fighting for existence."

Mr. Lloyd George's reply to the Khilafat representatives.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Mar.

56. "Some time ago we expressed our fear lest the Indian delegates to the present Conference of London might prove to have been graciously 'invited' or allowed to witness only another studied insult to the Muslim world in general, and to Indian Muslims in particular. The answers reported to have been given by Mr. Lloyd George to the Khilafat representatives on two occasions seem to justify that fear.......... Mr. Lloyd George lives in a fool's paradise, and so, it seems to us, do all his colleagues, even the French and Italian statesmen who are in favour of much better treatment of the Turks. For they all, their minds perverted by the atmosphere of an order of society which is based on usury, can only think in terms of their material self-interest, and scoff at the idea of abstract right or wrong.......... England appealed in accents almost of despair to the whole Eastern world to help her, while the war was on; but now the war is over she and her Allies behave as if the Eastern world were non-existent. Their division of the spoils has been as shameless in the sight of all men as any secret sharing out of brigands in a mountain cave. The fact is that they think themselves the masters of the world, they recognise no law above their will and pleasure.......... But those Englishmen in high position who have knowledge of the East, and can appreciate the cataclismic possibilities of its present feeling in alliance with the Socialist unrest in Europe—especially the Government of India—cannot be so blind. They must perceive the bounds of the fool's paradise in which the flippant little Welshman and his colleagues dwell. They must perceive how near has come the end of all that make-believe; how imminent is now the immemorial reward of all corrupt, self-seeking, lying, treachery. They must see that it is not a time for mild remonstrance, but for a display of all the force at their command to save the British name from irretrievable dishonour, and the British Empire from a great catastrophe."

Comments on the reported Russo-Persian and Russo-Afghan agreements.
Bombay Chronicle (2), 3rd April.

***57.** "Atropos" writes:—"The Russo-Persian and the Russo-Afghan Agreements, the texts of which have been published by the *Manchester Guardian*, should open the eyes of the Pundits in Downing Street. Soviet Russia has after all not been sleeping all these days, while the Mandarins were being led by the nose by designing capitalists to a political folly which is only equalled by its moral injustice against regenerated Russia, whose diplomacy, statesmanship and generosity must now be acknowledged to be of a high order. Measures to keep any 'Third Power' out evidently mean a deathblow to British sphere of influence on the Persian and Afghan frontiers, the latter of which now extends up to the northern Persian frontier. In view of these revelations, the British Mission to Kabul and Lord Curzon's Anglo-Persian Agreement seem to have proved totally fruitless."

Protest against the proposed compulsory money deposit from Hajis for the return journey.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Mar.

58. "We publish elsewhere the account of a meeting which was held to protest against the new formalities to be imposed on Indian Muslims who intend to make their pilgrimage, and also a memorial addressed to the Viceroy by Mr. Badr-ud-din Abdullah Koor, who presided at the said meeting, on the subject. Doubtless the money deposit for the return journey which it is proposed to exact from pilgrims in the future is intended by the Government for their protection. But that it will be much resented, as uncalled for interference in a religious matter, we believe; and, as Mr. Abdullah Koor has shown in his memorial, it is not needed. We hope, ere long, to hear that the demand for it has been withdrawn."

Bombay Samáchár (62), 31st Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 31st Mar.

59. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the public meeting recently held in Bombay to protest against the proposed new rule for regulating the pilgrim traffic to the Hejaz, to the effect that a single ticket will not be issued to a Haji unless he produces a certificate from the Protector of Pilgrims that he has deposited a sufficient sum with him for the return voyage or that he does not intend to return to India, and asks Government to suspend the operation of the rule till they are in a position to substitute other regulations that would be less offensive to the Indian Moslems. It asks the Indian Moslems to raise a fund in order to enable indigent Muhammadans to return to India without having to depend upon the help which the Government of India are pleased to give them. [The *Akhbár-i-Islám* lends its support to the memorial submitted to the Viceroy in connection with the new Haj regulation and expresses hope that a satisfactory reply would soon be vouchsafed to the memorial.]

Comments on the report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission.
Gujaráti Punch (19), 27th Mar., Eng. cols.

60. "The report of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission issued last week is not only a disappointing, but a reactionary document. .... What then shall we do? We are given a stone when we asked for bread and the poignancy of the humiliation becomes all the keener because of our helplessness. For once in the life of India, however, the Government and the people are in complete agreement, and it only remains to be seen how far the former is willing to act up to its convictions. Sir Benjamin

Robertson has thoroughly exposed the hollowness of the South-African agitation and after a masterly analysis of the situation has come to the conclusion that the only solution of the Indian problem in South Africa is to raise the standard of the average Indian settler, and not to repatriate or to segregate him either compulsorily or 'voluntarily'. Will the Government of India stick to that conviction and back it up by throwing the whole weight of its influence on the side of the people? If it does, the result is clear. The South African Government cannot ignore the opinion of 33 crores of people backed up by a powerful Government. If, however, it does not, even then, the Indian nation will not take the insult lying down. Only the Government of India will make one more addition to the long list of causes that go to convince the people that it must soon be replaced by a Government fully responsible to the people. Any way, it is the beginning of a fresh struggle and the Indian nation must be prepared for it."

Servant of India (10), 31st Mar.

61. "The news that the Government of India have cabled to the Secretary of State to impress on the Union Government of South Africa the desirability of taking no action on the report of the Asiatic Enquiry Commission before the problem of colonial Indians have been as a whole discussed in all its bearings by the Imperial Cabinet shows that they are leaving no stone unturned to secure for our countrymen overseas just and equitable treatment. The need of such action on their part was great, especially in view of the strong anti-Asiatic agitation carried on in the colony. The prejudice against the black races had led in some cases to the extreme demand that the doors of the Union should be absolutely shut against all Asiatics, and to the assertion that 'the Asiatic had no conscience' and that an Asiatic 'whose integrity was beyond reproach' was an extreme rarity. No amount of reasoned argument can avail to conquer such deep-rooted bias; but the best way of bringing such unreasonable people to their senses would perhaps be to withdraw every Indian labourer from the Union with all possible despatch and to stop any further emigration of Indian labour to the Colony."

Protest against the racial bar in East Africa.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Apr.

62. "We published on Friday a brief cable from East Africa regarding the exclusion of Indians from the public auction sale of farms, totalling approximately 25,000 acres, in Nairobi. We are in a position to-day to reproduce the text of the barring clause in the official notice of the sale. It reads:—'European British subjects will be permitted to bid and purchase. Non-British subjects will require the consent in writing of His Excellency the Governor.' It will be seen that while even foreigners stand the chance of obtaining permission to bid and purchase at the sale, Indians, who are British subjects, are deliberately excluded in this part of the Empire from participating in it. If this is not the very negation of the boasted *Pax Britannica*, we should like to know what it is. Indians are thus deliberately insulted, despite all the solemn pledges given of equal privileges under the flag. Is Mr. Andrews wrong in saying, as he did recently at Calcutta, that 'India is, for all practical purposes, outside the British Empire already'"?

Alleged vindictiveness in the treatment accorded to some talatis in North Kanara.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Mar.

63. "Since repeated attempts to secure a mitigation of their lot failed, some of the Talatis felt constrained to tender their resignations. Since then, however, Government have admitted the reasonableness of their grievances. But we regret to hear that officials, instead of dealing leniently with these people, are treating them harshly. We have before us an order issued by a Mamlatdar of North Kanára, in which he says to certain of these Talatis that, as they were ringleaders of the strike movement, the Sub-Divisional Officer has dipensed with their services. In another notice it is declared that those strikers who will be permitted to rejoin their posts will be allowed to do so only on condition that they agree to serve on the starting salary of the post, and that too below the rank of the 'candidates' who may be already in service there. This means that they are to forego all the service that they may have put in till then, which in the case of several might be extending over ten to twenty years. It seems to us that such vindictiveness is unbecoming on the part of Government and we cannot believe that it has the approval of the higher authorities, especially after the latter's own admission that the Talatis had not been receiving a living wage. We sincerely hope that the policy of vindictiveness will be abandoned."

What the Reforms really mean.
Hindu (163), 11th Mar.

64. Discussing the proceedings of the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly and noticing the non-acceptance by Government of all important resolutions moved in them, the *Hindu* remarks:—So much about resolutions and motions. Let us now see to what extent repression has decreased under the new reforms. Repression far from decreasing has increased. It is not necessary to state how and how many of our brethren are rotting in jail, bearing hardships. Readers of newspapers read about these things every day and can see them with their eyes. Our own opinion is that there is more repression now than before, only that it is less visible because non-co-operators suffer in silence and make no fuss as they did before over a solitary arrest! Arrests are common occurrences nowadays. Three scenes are noticeable under the new scheme of reforms. First, proposals which were for the benefit of the people have been rejected; secondly, repression has been allowed to continue; and thirdly, Government has declared its inability to meet the increased expenditure without fresh taxation. We shall wait and watch the results of the additional taxation imposed on the people. Will our friends who have co-operated with Government tell us what in the way of liberty has been given us during the month the reforms have been in existence? Where the beginning has been so bad, can the end be better? These reforms are so useless and the attitude of Government at their introduction is so bad that the more we shall co-operate with Government the more we shall blacken our hands and faces! No good can come out of this Government! Unless we ourselves help ourselves, no good results can be expected.

Comments on Mr. B. C. Pal's address as President of the Bengal Provincial Conference.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 28th Mar.; *Hindusthán* (21), 31st Mar.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 28th and 30th Mar.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 28th Mar.

65. We are completely in accord with the views expressed by Mr. Pal on *swaráj* in his presidential address before the Bengal Provincial Conference. Some people are under the wrong impression that since the Congress has resolved to secure *swaráj* in twelve months the leaders will wrench it by force from Government if it is not given to the people within that period. India is not in a position to secure *swaráj* by force, and even if it were the use of force would be against the principles of non-violent non-co-operation. Another wrong impression prevails among the people, that the popular leaders intend to carry on for ever their agitation against Government. No popular leader is worth the name if he entertains such an opinion. If we read the mind of the people aright we think that they are eager to arrive at a compromise with Government. India wants *swaráj*; but the nature of that *swaráj* should be determined by the people themselves. All should have equal justice in that *swaráj* and poverty and starvation should be banished from it. We cannot conceive of any other way of securing *swaráj* than by arriving at a compromise with Government. It is our conviction that Lord Reading has been appointed with a view to effecting a compromise with the people, and we hope that the appeal he has made to them to give him a fair chance will not fail to have good results. [The *Hindusthán*, on the other hand, disapproves of Mr. Pal's views and considers his address to be a sign of his fall. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* discerns in his views signs showing the existence of dissatisfaction among thoughtful people with regard to the non-co-operation movement and the conviction that is growing in them that the movement will ultimately prove harmful to India. In a further issue the paper refers to Mr. Pal's warning against considering Mr. Gandhi as infallible and believes that the non-co-operation movement will die a natural death in the course of a few months. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* discerns clear signs of a somersault on the part of Mr. Pal in his presidential address.]

Famine in Gujarát.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Mar.

66. "Conditions in several parts of Gujarát are fast approximating those that prevailed in the famine year of 1918-19. The reports we have been publishing from Mr. Yajnik and other correspondents who have been at pains to ascertain the facts at first hand show that while the distress from scarcity of food and water-supply for both man and beast is getting acuter day by day, the official machinery of relief at many of these places is either at standstill or moving at a woefully slow speed. It may be, as the President of the Broach District Board stated in the communication we published yesterday, that the local officials are handicapped by the present rules and regulations of the Famine Code, but men are certainly superior to the laws they make and in matters like famine relief these officials can surely exercise their discretion and sympathies in a more humane manner than most of them are reported to be doing... ...... As is evident from our correspondents' reports, these local officials, who have been trained in the true bureaucratic traditions, have learnt to assume attitude of aloofness from the people whom they are called upon to serve and thus fail to understand the latter's grievances and requirements......... The extent and official callousness in the midst of admitted famine conditions is freshly illustrated in the increase of assessment by so much as three to four annas a rupee which is about to be enforced in Dhandhuka Taluka.......... We hope the Member-in-Charge of the Revenue Department will institute immediate and strict enquiry with a view to ascertain the unvarnished facts about the condition of these villages."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against the Municipal Scheme for the improvement of the Fort locality in Bombay City.
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 31st Mar.

67. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* dwells on the great hardships that the Parsis will have to suffer in the matter of housing accommodation if the Municipal Scheme formulated by Mr. Mackisson for the improvement of the Fort locality and the construction of a straight thoroughfare from Hornby Road to Ballard Pier is carried out. It points out that this is a second attack on a big residential centre for Parsis, the first being the Grant Road Terminal Station Scheme. The paper leaves it to be imagined what will be the condition of the poor Parsi community owing to the prevailing house famine. It points out that the proposed scheme involves the destruction not only of a large number of residential buildings but also that of three fire-temples and an old and historic public hall for the celebration of Parsi marriages and other religious ceremonies. The paper insinuates that, in these days of non-co-operation, the authorities dare not touch the interests of the Hindus and Muhammadans but that they do not scruple to injure the interests of the poor, lamb-like, silent and loyal Parsis. Would Mr. Mackisson have dared, it asks, to propose the removal of even a single Hindu temple or a Muhammadan Musjid or other religious institution of either of these communities, if any such had been involved in the scheme? And even if, adds the paper, he had been rash enough to make such a recommendation, we can imagine what would have happened. The paper then exhorts the Parsis, not to sit with folded hands but to fight for their religious institutions to the last. It then continues :—We hope that the Government of Sir George Lloyd will not take advantage of the dumbness of the docile community but will protect the three fire-temples and the one public hall for communal ceremonies marked out for destruction. The Parsis have sacrificed as much as the other communinities during the war and stood by Government and the officials during that critical period. No doubt the Parsis sympathise with Indian aspirations. They have expressed their opinion fearlessly in regard to the Punjáb outrages and tha Khilafat question and have asked Government to do justice in these two matters. But, for all that, they have not countenanced the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Gandhi's appeal to the Parsis has not made any impression on them. It is quite natural if the members of this community should get perturbed when they hear that the officials, in recognition of their matchless devotion to the throne, have planned another scheme which will involve in calamity their poor and middle classes. We assure the officials that the details of this scheme have deeply wounded the hearts of the Parsis. A friend of ours said to us the other day :—" What are Government bent upon doing? Do they mean to drive the Parsis into the camp of the extremists by wilfully taking such steps?"

*SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 9th April 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire deputation . . 24
Comments on the conferment of a Viscountcy on Lord Chelmsford by the British Government . . . . 19 & 20
Comments on the selection of the Rao of Cutch and the Honourable Mr. Sastri as representatives of India at the forthcoming sessions of the Imperial Cabinet . . . . 16 & 17
Complaint about shooting being frequently resorted to by Government. 21
How injustice is being done to the agriculturists in Mulshi Peta (Poona) 18
The Bombay Rent Act 22
The British will never grant us our rights as a free gift . . . 23
Congress and Conferences: Comments on Mr. B. C. Pal's address as president of the Bengal Provincial Conference 57
Council of State: The question of the release of the Savarkar Brothers in the— 25
Development of Bombay: Bombay Development Department Report . 56
Hajis: Grievances of the— 54
Her Excellency Lady Reading: Welcome to— 41

His Excellency the Governor:

Comments on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech at the annual meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce .. . . . . 42 & 43
Comments on the interview between His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and certain selected persons from the Sind Districts at Karáchi . 44

His Excellency the Viceroy:

Comments on His Excellency Lord Reading's reply to the address of the Bombay Municipal Corporation . . . . 35—37
Comments on Lord Reading's reply to the address of the Indian Merchant's Chamber and Bureau . . . . 38—40
The task before His Excellency Lord Reading 34
Warning against expecting too much from Lord Reading . . . 33
Welcome to Lord Reading . . . . 26—32
Indian Reforms: Uselessness of the Reforms 55
Indians in Colonies: Comments on the report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission . . . . 51 & 52

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Lord Chelmsford: The regime of Lord Chelmsford . . . . . . 45—47

Non-co-operation:

Appeal to Government to put down the — movement with a strong hand 10
Comments on Lala Lajpatrai's attack on the Moderates in his speech during Satyagraha week 15
Comments on Mr. Gandhi's new programme 1
Comments on Mr. Gandhi's proposal that those who do not practise — should not hold office in the Swarajya Sabha 13
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Reza Ali's appeal to Mr. Gandhi to suspend the — movement 8
Comments on the observance of *hartal* in Karáchi on the occasion of His Excellency the Governor's visit 4
Co-operative Credit Societies and Banks should be independent of Government aid or inspection 9
How Hindu sympathy has strengthened the Khilafat movement . . 14
India not yet ripe for civil disobedience 2
Non-co-operation is the only way open to Indians to get rid of oppression 7
Non-co-operators must make an honourable compromise with Government . . . . 11 & 12
Repression in the Central Provinces 5
The progress of the — movement in Sind 3
Why is the name of the Magistrate who ordered firing at Nágpur not still disclosed? 6
Police: There should be no licensing of bucket shops but they should be wholly suppressed 53

War:

Alleged connivance by the British Government of the Greek offensive against the Turks in Anatolia 48
Comments on the terms of the Russo-Persian agreement published by the *Manchester Guardian* 50
Duty of the Allies and England to protect the Turks against the attack of the Greeks on Angora 49

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the refusal of the Ahmedabad Municipality to thank Government for remitting the fine imposed on Ahmedabad in connection with the disturbances in April 1919 58

NATIVE STATES—

Indian newspapers and Native Princes 59

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's new programme.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 8th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 5th and 6th Apl.

1. Commenting upon the appeal made by Mr. Gandhi for funds and the popularisation of the spinning wheel, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—It is the duty of the non-co-operationists to set themselves the hard task of responding to the appeal made by Mr. Gandhi by the end of June and specially during the current *Satyagraha* week. The country is passing through a financial crisis, but we have hopes that the thirty crores of Indians will raise the fund required by Mr. Gandhi and thus show their fitness for *Swaraj*. It is likely that other people will question our fitness for *Swaraj* if we are not able to enlist one crore members for the Congress organisation. But we feel sure that the number of members required by Mr. Gandhi will soon be secured and that it will be far exceeded by the end of July next. We do not think that any difficulty will be experienced in distributing twenty lakhs of spindles in the country within three months. [The *Jám-e-Jámshed* discerns signs of a climb-down on the part of Mr. Gandhi in his new programme and suggests that he should order a suspension of his movement with a view to giving Lord Reading a chance of convening a round-table conference. In the subsequent issue the paper disapproves of the order issued by Mr. Gandhi for the observing of hartals on the 6th and 13th instant and hopes that Mr. Gandhi will now see the necessity of suspending his movement as pointed out to him by Mr. Reza Ali.]

India not yet ripe for Civil disobedience.

New Times (9), 30th Mar.

2. "Repression is, undoubtedly, the favourite method made use of by provincial bureaucrates to crush the movement. The Governor of Bombay is, perhaps, the one administrator who has not launched a policy of rigorous repression yet; and even he has to surrender his judgment to the wishes of the Sind bureaucracy who have followed a policy of repression since the commencement of the Khilafat agitation in this province. Sind has suffered from repression more, perhaps, than any other province. We have urged, again and again, that the way to meet this challenge of repression is to suffer for the cause in faith. We believe the people are not ready for a non-violent civil disobedience. The masses showed their unreadiness during the last Satyagraha period; the masses understand things better to-day and are, we believe, more disciplined, but not, we are afraid, sufficiently disciplined to offer civil disobedience in a non-violent spirit.......... Lord Reading is reaching Bombay on Friday; he has repeatedly said he would do his best for India—would raise India to the status of a free nation before his term of office expires. We must not attach too great an importance to these professions; after all, Swaraj is to be built by our own efforts. But it will be fair to the cause and the new Viceroy to wait for some time to see what policy Lord Reading is going actually to follow to meet the situation. He will not have to wait long to define his attitude to non-co-operation; it will be time then to consider if civil disobedience should be offered or not."

The progress in non-co-operation movement in Sind.

New Times (9), 4th Apl.

3. "There is awakening throughout Sind. National Schools are springing up; Swaraj songs are on the lips of boys and young men; women have begun to take some interest in the national movement? Swadeshi is on the lips even of those who with the pride of English education were wont some time ago to love only the British-made things; there is a growing desire to speak in the vernaculars rather than in English; crowded meetings are organised even in small places; and the men arrested as being 'dangerous' have gone to jail with smiles on their lips.......... There is much less fear of the bureaucracy than ever before; there is a deeper sense of self-respect; there is a better appreciation of freedom. But there is one thing we must guard against at this stage.......... Most of the people know to-day that the *sircar's* prestige has suffered heavily; the country knows that in the struggle of to-day, moral victory is with the people's party, moral defeat with the

bureaucracy. With the consciousness of this victory comes to many an undesirable feeling of pride; and with pride in their hearts they abuse the *sircar* and all those who would not agree with them. Pride and abuse go together. We must banish both from our public life.......... There is a serious responsibility upon all those who are engaged to-day in the task of carrying to the masses the gospel of Swaraj. The masses are mostly ignorant but they are impressionable, and they quietly believe what we tell them. Let us see to it, therefore, that we tell them the things which are true and that we tell them the things in the spirit of love.......... There is a growing desire to-day to speak to the villagers of the Swaraj movement. Let those who spread the message in the villages do nothing to tarnish the simple hearts of the peasants with counsels of passion or strife; but let them make it clear to the masses that the swaraja we want is for the service of humanity."

Comments on the observance of *hartal* in Karáchi on the occasion of His Excellency the Governor's visit.

Sind Vási (168), 23rd Mar.

4. The special correspondent of the *Sind Vási* writes:—In pursuance of a mandate issued by local non-co-operationists a *hartal* was observed to-day in Karáchi on the arrival of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay......... It is strange that *hartal* was arranged in spite of the fact that His Excellency was not to pass through the town. To-morrow, when His Excellency will be out to open the Hab River Road and to visit public buildings in the town, there would of course be no *hartal*. What then is the object of *hartal*? It seems that as soon as two or three persons take into their head to do a thing, they resolve upon leading others by the nose to do the same thing. This is an injustice peculiar to 'Swaraj for India'. When India actually gets Swaraj, one cannot say what further injustices would be perpetrated. It is also strange that *hartal* has been observed in the case of one who has all along taken keen interest in the problems of Sind. This is the third visit of His Excellency to Sind in the course of the two years of his regime, during which time he has done a great deal for the province and means to do much more still for it. Heretofore the Bombay Government had scarcely ever remembered Sind. But things are different now. The Bombay Government takes deep interest now in the problems of Sind. It is a matter of deep regret that notwithstanding all this our friends have observed *hartal*. An appropriate thing for them would have been to have accorded a warm welcome to His Excellency. We Sindhis shall be considered ungrateful if we do not ackowledge the good qualities of such a kind and sympathetic ruler. Such a thought, however, can never enter the mind of non-co-opeartionists who are now blind to all sense of propriety. [Another correspondent writes:—What would idle hands do? They caught hold of tram-cars, tore their screens, dragged the occupants down and broke the glasses of motor-cars passing by. The Police came to the spot. Stones were thrown. The Police remained quiet for a while till a sergeant sent for an armed police. On the arrival of the Armed Police, students of the Swaraj institutions and some other brave people ran away like crows and made themselves scarce. Now will our Swaraj propagandists at whose instance the *hartal* was observed tell us where were they at that time? If these mischievous doings of a few had resulted in an incident like that of Jallianwalla who would have been held responsible? Will it not be better if the Swaraj propagandists put a stop to such *hartals* or took good care even at the sacrifice of their comfort to maintain peace and order on such occasions.]

Repression in the Central Provinces.

Kesari (120), 5th Apl.

5. As Mahatma Gandhi said, the non-co-operation movement has passed through the three stages of indifference, ridicule and abuse. It is now passing through the fourth stage of repression. As the movement did not die of itself, as was expected, Government is determined to crush it by force. And the greater the resistance of the movement, the greater will be that force. The principal victim of repression during the last week was Mr. Wamanrao Joshi. He has been arrested on a charge of sedition. Just as repression is being increasingly resorted to, hatred

of Government is becoming customary with the people. Hence, what point is there in prosecuting people on the charge of creating disaffection against Government? It appears as if Government want to make the people love them by the exercise of force. Since the non-co-operation movement is a movement of soul-purification, it is the duty of the people to keep it non-violent and on a high moral level and face the present crisis. If they do that, *swardjya* is not far distant. A similar crusade has been undertaken by Government against the Temperance movement. Riots indeed will never abolish liquor. But the Abkari policy of Government has so much exasperated the people that they sometimes resort to that means. Whatever that be, it is our duty to condemn the riots. But why should Government hold temperance reformers responsible for them? In the same way should not Government be held responsible for the disturbances created by a drunken man? We hope that, in spite of the repressive policy of Government, people will carry on the agitation more energetically but in a peaceful manner.

Why is the name of the magistrate who ordered firing at Nagpur not still disclosed?

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Apl.

6. "The Government of the Central Provinces have issued more than one press communique on the subject of the Nagpur tragedy but the information disclosed by them so far is not of a character to dispel the apprehensions of the public of that city as to the justification for the firing, which has entailed the loss of several innocent lives and injuries to many more......... It certainly looks very strange, if not suspicious, that the communiques should be silent as to the identity of the Magistrate who ordered the firing.......... Why is his identity not disclosed? Unless the authorities place before the public all the facts connected with the tragedy an unfortunate impression is likely to be engendered in the public mind that the firing was unauthorised, as in the case of the Rai Bareilli tragedy, and that the authorities are attempting to screen some 'over-zealous' official or officials who was or were guilty of firing without lawful orders."

Non-co-operation the only way open to Indians to get rid of oppression.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (171), 10th Apl.

7. There are three ways of abolishing oppression. By lodging a complaint, or matching force against force, or withdrawing support from a tyrant so that those methods of oppression may be stopped which require outside assistance for their continuance. Many evils exist which are well-nigh unbearable. It is true Government is not responsible for some of them. Complaints have failed to remove these evils, and the Indians cannot match force against force. Hence the only remedy that is left, namely, non-co-operation, has been adopted which has already proved its value. Non-co-operation is designed to abolish the tyranny of Government servants, to end autocracy, to render the repetition of Jallianwalla impossible, and to sweep away racial distinctions. It has been adopted so that the Khilafat wrong may not be repeated, that the economic and industrial progress of India may not be sacrificed for individual selfishness, that the Indian constitution be so changed as to render the trampling under foot of Indian rights impossible in future, and that the reign of law in a true sense, may be established in this country. It does not prohibit anyone from aiding Government in good things, it is not meant to cripple Government by restricting its sphere of influence unduly, and it is not directed towards setting up strife and causing anarchy. Above all, non-co-operation is not meant for severing the British connection or depriving Indians of the protection of the King-Emperor. Government servants imagine that non-co-operation is simply aimed at upsetting Government. They have imprisoned some advocates of temperance although it is the duty of Government to make the people virtuous, and temperance is enjoined upon their followers by all religions and has been advocated not only by Temperance Associations in England but also by His Majesty the King during the last war. Similarly Government servants have adopted measures for defeating the peoples' *panchayats* designed for diminishing litigation which cannot be called wise, and they simply do not know that the administration of the country cannot be carried on by repressing the people. It is an admitted fact in philosophy

that sentiment rules the world as that wisdom never disobeys it. That thousands of persons attend meetings where non-co-operation is advocated in spite of the use of arrows and guns, and the fear of official displeasure, proves the success of non-co-operation.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Reza Ali's appeal to Mr. Gandhi to suspend non-co-operation movement.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 6th Apl.

8. The Honourable Mr. Syed Reza Ali has addressed a letter to Mr. Gandhi asking him to suspend the non-co-operation movement till the new Viceroy examines the situation for himself and comes to a definite decision. Is it proper, he asks, to go on with the non-co-operation movement without giving an opportunity to the new Viceroy to study the situation? All Indians cannot but agree with the desire above expressed. The suggestion is quite proper in view of the sentiments that the new Viceroy has given vent to both in his own country and on landing on the shores of India. The New Era has begun with new hopes, and the soothing balm that has been administered to us by the new Viceroy is so very efficacious that it is only proper for Mr. Gandhi to stop the non-co-operation movement for a short time if it cannot be abandoned altogether. Such far-sighted action on the part of the Mahatma will satisfy not only Government but also the sensible opponents of this movement. Mr. Gandhi has only been seeing one side of the shield but if he shows the foresight of examining both the sides he will surely postpone the non-co-operation movement for the time being.

Co-operative Credit Societies and Banks should be independent of Government aid or inspection.

Young India (14), 6th Apl.

9. Mr. M. K. Gandhi thus replies in *Young India* to the question, 'Whether a non-co-operator can remain a member of existing registered co-operative credit societies or banks which are solely managed by the public for the general public interest?':—"I have some experience of these societies. And I have no hesitation in saying that registration interferes with their free growth and increases people's dependence upon the Government. The idea of such societies is excellent and should be nursed, but we need not think that we cannot promote such societies without Government aid or inspection. I know the usual arguments in favour of registration. But on an analysis, they will all be found to betray want of faith in ourselves. I would, therefore, in this instance, too, first try to convince my fellow-members of the inutility of registration, and, on failure, secede from the society or bank, and educate the public to boycott such societies or banks. I know that, at least in one instance, registration has been removed, and every-one knows that India has thousands of unregistered flourishing banks whose honesty and businesslike methods are still among the wonders of the world."

Appeal to Government to put down the non-co-operation movement with a strong hand.

Political Bhomiyo (77), 1st Apl.

10. We are of opinion that Government have now been sufficiently patient and that they should adopt severe measures and make use of laws before the situation becomes more serious. We know that some newspapers violate the Press Act every moment and are full of seditious writings. Some so-called leaders are engaged in spreading hatred and enmity against Government. Such newspapers and public speakers are not touched by Government and hence some people are perplexed as to why Government are observing silence when there is an open breach of some of their laws. Hence if Government want to keep their prestige and authority untarnished among the people, they should adopt severe measures to put down the seditious movements that are being carried on. We sympathise with Indian aspirations; we wish that India should be granted responsible self-government and the defects in the administration of the country be removed. All this can be obtained by means of the new reforms and not by the harmful movement of non-co-operation. Hence it is necessary to destroy the movement which is against the existing laws and constitution and which might give rise to disturbances in India. The time has now come for making use of the provisions of the laws against seditious non-co-operators.

Non-co-operators must make an honourable compromise with Government.

Gujaráti · Punch (19), 3rd Apl., Eng. cols.

11. "One of the chief defects of the non-co-operation movement as conceived by Mr. Gandhi is that it takes for granted one very important thing; and it is that if the people can remain non-violent, our British Administrators will let the movement take its course even to the extent of its jeopardizing its very existence. Our experience of human nature, however, does not lend weight to that belief, and it is pretty certain that the Government will not hesitate to provoke physical violence among the people, long before the movement gets powerful enough to paralyse its arm. Now it is also admitted by Mr. Gandhi that if it comes to an actual trial of strength the Government of India, with its devilish machinery of destruction, will get the better of us and hence any outburst of violence will sound not only the death knell of the non-co-operation movement but will plunge the country in irretrievable ruin. The only way to avoid this catastrophe is to come to some honourable compromise with the Government before the latter are tempted to have recourse to that last resource of a Government—unprovoked repression on a large scale—and if the non-co-operation movement rules out the possibility of even that, the future of it cannot but be gloomy......... Honourable compromise is, therefore, the only way through which non-co-operators can hope to achieve their aim and the leaders of the present movement must agree among themselves upon its basic points if they are at all anxious to avoid plunging this country into the horrors of a revolution."

Bharat Seva (16), 8th Apl.; *Gujarát Vartamán* (69), 6th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (21), 9th Apl.

12. People indulge in tall talk about securing *swaraj* according to the popular wishes at public meetings held to promote the non-co-operation movement; but it is strange that a single individual is guiding the movement at his sweet will. Mr. Gandhi has been issuing his orders like an autocrat. There is not even the shadow of constitutionalism in his orders. Mr. Pal has brought unpopularity upon himself by raising his voice against Mr. Gandhi's autocracy. Followers of the non-co-operation movement express their disgust with persons that dare to find fault with them and have at various places asserted the rule of mobocracy by allowing none but a non-co-operationist to address public meetings. These defects of the non-co-operation movement will lead to its ultimate failure. Mr. Gandhi has been asking his followers to refrain from violence, but his instructions are obeyed more in the breach than in the observance. Many of the defects of the non-co-operation movement are being brought home to the people and the day is not distant when they will come forward to break down the movement. Human nature cannot be changed all at once and people would not be non-violent in their activities, by the mere reason of having joined Mr. Gandhi. We have, therefore, chosen to advocate the adoption of the policy of securing *swaraj* and putting an end to the present bureaucratic form of government through the use of the new Councils. [The *Gujarát Vartamán* dwells upon the evils of the non-co-operation movement and suggests that those who are opposed to it should begin active propaganda work with a view to convince the public of the evils of non-co-operation and the benefits of co-operation with Government. The *Hindusthán* on the other hand deprecates the suggestion made in various quarters to suspend non-co-operation with a view to giving Lord Reading a chance and declares that nothing but non-co-operation will convince Lord Reading of the necessity of doing justice to the people of India.]

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's proposal that those who do not practise non-co-operation should not hold office in the Swaraj Sabha.

Servant of India (10), 7th Apl.

13. "At the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee Mr. Gandhi brought a very hornet's nest about his ears by proposing that those who were not personally prepared to give practical effect to the non-co-operation resolution so far as it was applicable to them should hold no executive office in the Swaraj Sabha. It is not astonishing that the Nationalists saw in this proposal a notice to quit to the whole of their party and that their leaders like Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyangar, Mr. N. C. Kelkar and Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar made a deadset on it. So strong was their opposition that Mr. Gandhi was compelled to defer the Committee's decision on the proposal,

though he declined to withdraw it. We deeply sympathise with the Nationalists. They have a right to expect the Mahatma to temper the wind to the shorn lamb. But, unfortunately for them, he lacks the worldly wisdom to realise that strict accord between profession and practice is an impossible requirement in some cases."

How Hindu sympathy has strengthened the Khilafat movement.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Apl.

14. "The true Jihad is not of Muslims against Christians or anyone else, but of good against evil; and true Jihad can be waged only by means strictly honourable......... The Indian Muslims, under a tremendous wrong, are not in a condition to think wisely and plan out a policy. There would have been sporadic outbursts of a character disgraceful to the Muslims and disastrous to Islam if it had not been for the organising and restraining efforts of the Ali brothers and some other leaders, but chiefly and conspicuously of a great Hindu, Mahatma Gandhi, who has shown to them the only way of true Jihad or Satyagraha for men who are not yet in a position to wage honourable open war. Gandhi, the Hindu saint, has done an incalculable service to Islam and Hindu sympathy, by giving to the Muslim claims the strength of an All-India movement, has given to all thinking Musalmans a lasting sense of Indian unity and brotherhood. Such sympathy and help at such a time is unforgettable, and Muslim peoples have always been renowned for splendid gratitude.".

Comments on Lala Lajpatrai's attack on the Moderates in his speech during Satyagraha week.

Gujaráti (17), 10th Apl., Eng. cols.

***15.** "Lala Lajpatrai was never known for any statesmanlike qualities or distinguished for balance of judgment. A vehement speaker, an ardent partisan and impulsive enthusiast, he has not some of those solid qualities which distinguish Mr. Gandhi from most of his followers and admirers.......... His ill-tempered speech at the Marwadi Vidyalaya disentitles him and his admirers to make any complaint against his critics. That utterance, marked as it is by a spirit of extraordinary intolerance and insolence, make one doubt seriously whether he understands the problem of India's progress in all its bearings......... It is full of unrestrained virulence, reckless denunciation and sweeping statements.......... His attack on the Moderates was as unprovoked as it was grossly unjust. He admitted that theirs was 'a great political party consisting of most talented men who had done great services in the past.' Surely, then, they have as much right, as Lala Lajpatrai and his party, to decide for themselves what was best for their country and to claim as much patriotism, sincerity and honesty as he himself. We are free to admit that they may be right or wrong just as Lala Lajpatrai is likely to be. He also conceded, though somewhat in an ironical spirit that they were 'honest' people and 'patriotic' too 'according to their own calculations'. Is the Lalaji quite sure that he is an exemplary pattern in this respect according to the 'calculations' of all the people of India including the Moderates? The difference between the Moderates and the Nationalists or Extremists is one of principles as well as of methods. If so, on what principles of honesty, fairness and consistency is he justified in denouncing them in the terms he has done?......... Whatever one may think of Mr. Gandhi's programme, be it said to his credit that he has respected honest differences of opinion and never spoken with that intolerace, boundless conceit and contemptuous insolence which were the dominant notes of the Lalaji's fierce explosion on Monday last."

Comments on the selection of the Rao of Cutch and the Honourable Mr. Shastrias representatives of India at the forthcoming Sessions of the Imperial Cabinet.

Hindusthán (21), 8th Apl.

16. We have received information to the effect that the Honourable **Mr. Shastri and the Rao of Cutch have been invited by Government to be the representatives of India at the forthcoming Sessions of the Imperial Cabinet. The appointment of the Rao of Cutch is only an additional blow dealt to India by Lord Chelmsford, the outgoing Viceroy. This conclusively shows that His Excellency has ignored the real teachings of the world's history, the lesson to be learnt from his own many mistakes and the advice of the wise to exercise real political tact, and that he has never accepted the principle that**

the political situation should be examined from people's standpoint. Otherwise how is it possible to explain the recognition of the ruler of a Native State like Rao of Cutch as the representative of India in the Council of the Empire? We will refrain from laying any personal charges, but we boldly say that the Rao of Cutch does not at all sympathise with popular movements and has no faith in the popular form of government. On the contrary he must be viewing it with contempt because his State occupies a very low position throughout the whole of the Bombay Presidency. Complaints are constantly coming to our ears of the autocratic rule exercised in his State; but laying this aside, we will only ask what his qualifications are to be chosen as a representative of India. But for this we must rather blame those who considered him to be fit for this post than the Rao himself.

Bombay Chronicle (1),
5th Apl.

17. "An announcement made in a Delhi telegram, which we published on Thursday, makes us wonder as to the principles according to which they choose the 'representatives' of India in the Supreme Council of the Empire......... We have no desire to be personal; but we should like to know on what principle of public policy has the Rao of Cutch been jockeyed into this great position of Imperial trust? All that we have heard, all that we know about this prince makes us seriously uneasy about the genuineness of his claim to 'represent' India. He is a true blue Tory of the deepest dye, who has not the least sympathy with popular movements, with democratic aspirations. His State, in spite of every advantage of situation and surroundings, is the most backward in the Bombay Presidency......... As regards the selection of Mr. Shastri we have already expressed our view. We differ from him too clearly as to the needs of India to require us to minimise our congratulations to him personally for the 'honour,' done to him. We know India is poor enough, in all conscience, in men of the fearless, disinterested Gandhi type. But we trust Mr. Shastri will not suffer himself to be hypnotised by the social experiences of political experiments that the arch-hypocrite of England knows so well how to command. The Imperial Cabinet meets to discuss, among other things, the fiscal policy of the Empire. Mr. Shastri's princely colleague will necessarily look upon the matter from his own narrow, insular—we had almost said, personal,—standpoint. The burden will, therefore, be all the greater on Mr. Shastri's shoulders to defend, to vindicate and to preserve India's rights."

How injustice is being done to the agriculturists in Mulshi Peta (Poona).

Servant of India (10),
7th Apl.

18. "It is well known that the rice fields in Mulshi Peta are so fertile that the locality has never been faced with a famine and that it continues to supply rice to this district without any break. If the recommendation [of the Indian Industrial Commission] is to be given effect to, the Government must elsewhere find lands of equal quality or give them inferior lands with money enough to enable them to raise their fertility to the level of those they are sought to be deprived of; and try its best to resettle these expropriated farmers on them. As a matter of fact, however, they seem to have offered so far not more than 33 acres of rice lands when the requirements exceed 16 square miles! This only serves to emphasise the failure in its duty on Government's part towards these helpless people. If, as they believe, most of the lands are mortgaged, the compensation that they would pay will only swell the pockets of the money-lenders, leaving these people penniless beggars. Besides their dislike of monetary compensation is prompted by considerations deserving serious attention. Apart from the fact whether the compensation in any given case is liberal or not, it is undeniable that the procedure of assessing it is extremely dilatory. The case of the villagers affected by the same Company's Andhra Valley scheme may be cited in point. The lands have been submerged by water since 1919; and still no compensation is even yet forthcoming. The whole point of our criticism is this, that while we fully recognise that such large schemes of national importance cannot be carried through without displacing some people, the Government must do all in their power to resettle them in other convenient places, and not turn them adrift with mere money compensation."

Comments on the conferment of a Viscountcy on Lord Chelmsford by the British Government.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Apr.

19. "All India has condemned Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty with one voice, in which the saner element in the Anglo-Indian Press has, we are glad to see, joined. And the British Government has conferred a Viscountcy on him! It is, of course, usual for a retiring Viceroy to get preferment of this sort. But for the British Government to flout the public opinion of India in this manner, only shows the gulf that separates India from Britian or rather from the present Government of Britain—a gulf that Lord Reading must help to bridge over if India is not to be permanently lost to the Empire."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 10th Apl.

*20. "Lord Chelmsford has been promoted Viscount in the British Peerage. We quite expected it.......... Lord Lytton's administration is the nearest parallel to Lord Chelmsford's and there is also a close resemblance between the promotion of the two men in the peerage. Lord Lytton's policy was condemned in the Cabinet in biting terms by Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, and by others......... Yet when Lord Lytton retired, Beaconsfield recommended that he should be made an Earl on the ground that he had been much abused. The same reason, no doubt, has prompted Lord Chelmsford's promotion."

Complaint about shooting being frequently resorted to by Government.
Mufide-Rozgar (171), 10th Apl.

*21. It is not clear why shooting is indulged in so often. More than once shooting has been resorted to in Delhi, Lahore, Amritsar, Ahmedabad and Gujranwala. God has created man and his wife. It seems that shooting should also be done twice in any one place. Less than a month ago, the cultivators of Rae Bareilli were fired upon. To-day it is reported that the police have fired on them again, for the people wanted to know why certain accused had been arrested. Three died, while eight or nine were captured. If a case of rioting is not brought, no justification for firing can exist.

The Bombay Rent Act.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 3rd Apl.

22. The Rent Act passed by Government to protect the people in the time of war has proved to be a double-edged sword. On the one hand, it tries to protect the tenants, while on the other, there are defects in it which enable the landlords to harass the tenants in a variety of ways and compel them to vacate their houses. The tenants want that all these defects in the Act should be removed and that it should be so amended that the landlords would henceforward be prevented from harassing them any longer. On the other hand the landlords have raised the cry that they are sufferring much loss on account of this Act and that the tenants harass them by taking advantage of its provisions. It is rumoured that the landlords are making preparations to submit a memorial to Government praying them either to do away with the Rent Act altogether or to allow them to increase the old rent by forty per cent. We do not think Government will accept the suggestion about doing away with the Rent Act altogether till the Bombay Development Scheme is completed because if they do so people will be compelled to leave Bombay. We are anxious to know the nature of suggestions made by the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay last year for the purpose of considering the question as to what changes are necessary in this Act.

The British will never grant us our rights as a free gift.
Karma Veera (88), 8th Apl.

23. If anybody asks why the present wickedness should be practised in Ireland, the British can at best give only one answer. They would say that the Irish are asking for independence. What a heinous crime! The British people think that the British Empire should be regarded as a heaven. But they forget that they have turned it into a hell by a thousand crimes of their own. Is it then an offence to ask them to free us from this hell and let us have our independence? Self-determination, freedom, equality, these

are all very sweet words to utter. But the British people's shastras have never told them about the necessity of showing their worth by action. Those of us who believe that we shall get our salvation through the British people might learn a good deal from the treatment meted out by them to their own brethren and their neighbours. That these people will ever give us any of our rights as a free gift is almost an impossibility. We can obtain our independence only by means of unlimited self-sacrifice. So long as our bondage remains, we should continue our struggle for independence and should be prepared like the Irish even to lay down our lives for winning in that struggle.

24. Commenting upon Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire deputation, the *Kesdri* makes the following remarks :—Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire deputation was all right. But why is Mr. Montagu so indifferent to the rapidly and vastly growing expenditure of the Indian Government? Mr. Montagu said that the Reform Bill had given fiscal autonomy to India. The words are certainly pleasing, but not true. Fiscal autonomy has been granted not to India, but to the Indian Government. A difference of opinion between the Indian Government and the legislative bodies will make it perfectly evident how hollow the talk of fiscal autonomy is.

Comments on Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire deputation.
Kesdri (120), 5th Apl.

25. The resolution recommending the release of the Savarkar brothers was thrown out in the Council of State without even votes being taken on it. The guilt of one of these brothers was that he published a small book of poems. So terrible and out of proportion was his punishment that even Lord Morley was shocked to hear of it. But not only did he not do anything on behalf of this miserable victim of bureaucratic oppression, but even now Government cannot even think of redressing this wrong. Similar has been the fate of the other brother. It might have been expected that after so many years at least Government would wipe away these injustices. But forgiveness and repentance never having been features of the bureaucratic character, we are not at all surprised at Government's action in this matter. What grieves us is that the request for the brothers' release should have been made even after the Nagpur Congress had thrown aside its old mendicant policy. This bureaucracy is so mean that even had it offered to release the Savarkar brothers of its own accord, we should have refused that offer. Besides, do we not see that heroes like Yakub Hussain, Wamanrao Joshi and others are literally leaping into the prisons in order to pull down the structure of bureaucratic prestige? Under these circumstances, it is really unfortunate that the bureaucracy should have been given an opportunity to insult these young lions.

The question of the release of the Savarkar Brothers in the Council of State.
Kesari (120), 5th Apl.

26. "We extend a most cordial and hearty welcome to Lord Reading and the noble Lady who is his life's partner, on their landing to-day at Bombay to undertake the great responsibilities of Viceroy and Vicereine respectively for the next five years.......... We wish Their Excellencies health and happiness during their stay in India to fulfil the trust entrusted to their care. Why was not a soldier or a bureaucrat chosen to fill the great post, although all sorts and conditions of men were mentioned for the Viceroyalty from time to time? Because a Soldier-Viceroy and the bureaucrats surrounding him have brought disaster to India, and it was time to send a skilful navigator, who, unhampered by the traditions of his predecessors and taking a comprehensive survey of the situation, would, amidst a swirl of violent cross-currents, boldly and courageously pilot the ship of State to the haven of safety.......... Lord Reading's infinite patience, clarity of vision, keenness and courage, coupled with an unusual measure of tolerance and the detached point of view, due to his Jewish origin, will enable him to steer clear of all the rocks ahead. 'Justice

Welcome to Lord Reading.
Sind Observer (12), 2nd Apl.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 10th Apl., Eng. cols.; *Political Bhomiyo* (77), 1st Apl., Eng. cols.

with Equity' is his motto. The great and ancient race which produced a Jesus is giving a ruler to India which produced a Budha. And it was a stroke of genius on the part of Mr. Lloyd George to select the right man for the right place. Lord Reading has come to India as a missionary of peace and goodwill.......... The needs of India are, indeed, urgent and clamant.......... Why is Lord Hardinge's name so deeply cherished in India and why have people demanded the recall of Lord Chelmsford? They think justice is more than political advancement. Lord Hardinge did justice on all occasions and Lord Chelmsford failed to do justice on several occasions......... Lord Hardinge was a statesman. Lord Chelmsford was a military man. Lord Reading has come to India to be the representative of justice.......... By doing justice to India His Excellency will have to put an end to the Non-co-operation movement on account of which people are rapidly drifting into defiance of law and order; any confidence in England's mission in India, which is now pooh-poohed on all sides, is to be restored....... It is impossible to hold down 320 millions of people from a distance of 5,000 miles permanently. Lord Reading has to strengthen again the moral hold of England over India. The position is not at all irretrievable. His Lordship must proceed by frankly accepting the fact that the Indian has found himself. He will walk upright in his own land as a peer amongst peers. And he will not crawl. Lord Reading has accepted grave responsibilities. Let him not shrink from the honest endeavour to discharge them worthily." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"No one who heard Lord Reading's first public utterance on his landing in India could have failed to be impressed by his striking personality and the felicitous manner in which he expressed himself......... To understand the feelings and the wants of the people, and to deal with them with justice and sympathy is indeed the golden key to rule, and if our new Viceroy can use this key he will unlock a great and exhaustless treasure." The *Political Bhomiyo* remarks:—"We extend a most cordial welcome to Earl Reading, India's new Viceroy.......... Earl Reading arrives in India at a time when the best that is in a man is required for the solution of the country's problems. We are confident that this country will benefit by his great experience and undoubted abilities."]

Young India (14), 6th Apl.

27. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I think the duty of non-co-operators is clear regarding Lord Reading. Whilst we may not take part in any demonstrations of welcome, we may not also undertake or countenance any counter-demonstration.......... Lord Reading has a golden opportunity. He belongs to a race which has a fine imagination. He knows what a 'pariah' means and how he feels. If he examines the non-co-operators' case with impartiality, and if he fails in his advocacy of her (India's) claims, he must himself become a non-co-operator. He may not ask them to forgive, where there is no frank and full repentance. Nor must he ask the Muslims to give up their just claims or the Hindus to sell their fellow-countrymen. Lastly His Excellency may not ask India to postpone the attainment of her birth-right, whether for the sake of Lancashire or any other consideration. His Lordship therefore will have an exceptionally strong will to resist an environment which is almost wholly antagonistic to the Indian case. Non-co-operators must do nothing to add to his difficulties. We must give His Excellency the fullest credit for meaning to do well. But I would also warn them against building hopes on Lord Reading doing anything. This is a battle of self-help and self-reliance. We must create the environment we need for our free nourishment. And among the things we must do one is to secure the good-will of true men and women by our exemplary behaviour."

Muslim Herald (172), 8th Apl.

28. Lord Reading has accepted the Viceroyalty at a time when many a capable politician was disinclined and almost afraid to accept that office. Lord Reading has undertaken to administer justice in this country, but the times are very critical even for a just man. He has come here to strengthen the foundations of Government and, at the same time, to remove the grievances of the Indians. That Lord Reading should become popular, Government become stronger, and its reputation for justice and prestige be rehabilitated—all depends on the contentment of the people whose demands should be fulfilled. The Prime Minister of England, however, hesitates to grant these demands; for instance no non-Muslim power should wield influence in Arabia, the Turkish power and Khalifate should be preserved, and Thrace and Smyrna should be given back to the Turks. Mr. Lloyd George does not pay attention to these demands. The Muhammadan Deputation is about to return from England sadly disappointed. Government also do not pay heed to the demand for *swaraj* and for justice in connection with the Punjáb wrongs. It is not clear how Lord Reading can administer justice in a state of such tension, and how he can appease the people. None can be more lucky than he, if he succeeds. He has held out many hopes in his speeches; let us see what comes of them.

Mahrátta (8), 10th Apl.

***29.** "Some Viceroys were sent out to India because they were 'strong' men, some because they were 'weak.' India to-day needs neither a 'strong' nor a 'weak' ruler, but one who would be 'sincere' first and everything next. India's experience with the outgoing Viceroy has been one of the bitterest. Politics has come to be identified in the bureaucratic circles with quibbling diplomacy.......... Let, in Lord Reading's time, Viceroyalty be above all party warfare and considerations of race and place. If Lord Reading's reply to the Bombay Corporation address has to be valued, it is for the assurance which it gives to the people of repairing the impaired British reputation for justice. It was a very characteristic remark which Lord Reading made when he expressed his expectation to 'catch the almost inarticulate cries and inaudible whispers of those multitudes who sometimes suffer most and yet find it difficult, if not impossible, to express their needs.' In one sense it is not now true to say that India's cries are inarticulete.......... To-day the whole country groans under gross injustice and the demand for Swarajya is not a whisper, but a loud roar. It will sound inaudible only to him who cribbs himself within the four walls of a palace where the clatter of the flatterers' feet and the chorus of the sycophants' songs drown every other noise and create the hallucination of a Utopia. Our wish is Lord Reading may not consent to live in the 'House of illusions.' Lord Reading's observation that he had come to India to administer a very different kind of justice than that which he had been habituated to dispense in England, is very significant.......... But British justice manufactured and sold in stoppered botttes can never satisfy a great nation that has for years been trodden in defiance of all considerations of humanity, mercy and equity. India to-day demands a completely 'unfettered justice'—a justice that will range over, not only the present and the future, but also the past. People there expect Lord Reading to mend the past first and then to end the system that is likely to breed fresh sins.......... Perhaps one may grant, for the sake of honour to His Excellency's view, that a new book has been opened in Indian history. But will Lord Reading kindly lend his eyes to the sad fact that on the first pages of that new book the officials and the apologies for 'peoples' representatives' have already scribbled much dirty matter, and that unless these disgraced and blackened pages are torn out and thrown away, there is no hope of an honourable history of India? None would grudge a breathing space to the new Viceroy. Let him take stock as fully as possible. Let Lord Reading's reading of the situation be patient, cool and slow. Everyone is willing to give Lord Reading a chance, and Mr. Bomanji's oversea message to his countrymen that they should give a chance to the new Viceroy smells of superfluity. Similarly misconceived are the appeals made by many to Mahatma Gandhi with great ostentation to stop his Non-co-operation movement.......... Why should not these lovers of the olive branch appeal to Government to hold up the horses of repression till the Viceroy settles in his seat? Non-co-operation movement cannot stop; and it need not stop. For it does not prevent the Viceroy from forming his views. Let him collect information as abundant as he likes, let him seek advice as varied and as competent as is possible. The only desire that we are led to entertain is that the last conclusion which Lord Reading would formulate may be consistent with whatever he has said in the public."

Lokasangraha (123), 3rd, 5th and 8th Apl.; *Prakásh* (137), 6th Apl.

30. The English used honeyed words so long as the war was going on, but inflicted the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs on India as soon as it was over. This rank ingratitude awakened even corpse-like India and it is not likely to be in a trance again. The Indians now plainly see that the English attach less value to the lives of hundreds of their conntrymen than to a single drop of European blood. The people now firmly believe that the British connection is not conducive to the welfare of India and regard the insults and sufferings to which they are subjected as the price they have got to pay for the attainment of *swarajya.* Lord Reading prides himself on his being just, but his sincerity will soon be put to the test. To treat a conquered nation with justice is to give it back its *swarajya.* No nation can keep another nation in subjection for all time. If the conquerors are wise, their connection with the conquered will last for a long time; otherwise it will be terminated earlier than they expect. [In a subsequent issue the paper says that the greatness of the British Empire depends upon the inclusion of India in it, and that without India the Empire will topple down like a house of cards. It asks His Excellency the Viceroy to redress the Punjab wrong before devoting his attention to any other problem. The paper demands of His Excellency Lord Reading that if he wants to do justice to India the guilty officials in the Punjab who are still in the employment of Government should be dismissed from service and that the pensions of those who have retired should be stopped. In a further issue the paper calls attention to a virulent attack on Mr. Montagu in the *Madras Mail* and appeals to His Excellency the Viceroy to cause the paper to be prosecuted for sedition. The *Prakásh* says that Lord Reading's name will be written in the history of India in letters of gold if he takes advantage of the present awakening to make her strong and contented instead of attempting to set back the hands of the clock of her progsess. It expresses its conviction that all talk of secession from the British Empire will cease on the adoption of a liberal policy towards India.]

Gujaráti Punch (19), 3rd Apl., Eng. cols.

31. "Those who know what it is to build, especially to build on the ashes of a ruined edifice, must realize the gravity of the task which faces the new Viceroy.......... Yet, in view of the tremendous issues involved, the task must be faced and faced squarely by all well-wishers of both England and India. England cannot do without India and India would be considerably weaker without England. The two must, therefore, remain united. But if that consummation is to be reached it can only be by recognizing India as an equal partner of an Imperial Commonwealth and by immediately satisfying all her legitimate wishes.......... The only alternative, then, is to satisfy the legitimate demands of India and thus to re-establish her lost faith in England. This, in short, is Lord Reading's task and the future alone can decide how far he will succeed in it. His Lordship's pronouncements have, however, raised fond hopes in the hearts of Indians and it is up to Lord Reading to show that those hopes are not all vain."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 5th Apl., Eng., cols.

32. "It is abundantly clear that Lord Reading has conceived his mission in India to be, to do justice regardless of distinctions and with rigorous impartiality, and to restore the British reputation for justice and fair play, so deplorably impaired during the regime that has just closed. It was wise to have recalled in the address of the Bombay Municipal Corporation the memorable words of Dadabhai Naoroji. 'So long as India is satisfied with the honour and justice of Britain, so long will her Indian Empire last'......... He wishes to see, hear and judge for himself. He is not going to shut his eyes to facts. In spite of the great progressive reforms he admits that there is discontent in India. But he does not wish to prejudge its causes and effects. Any way both by his personality and his pronouncements Lord Reading has succeeded in inspiring confidence in the people of this country. It is said that he enjoys the confidence of His Majesty's Government in an unusal measure. It is a condition precedent to a successful administration to enlist general confidence.......... In spite of the critical situation we feel that there

is a fair chance of Lord Reading being able to restore peace and contentment in India. We hope a fair chance will be given to him by all parties."

Warning against expecting too much from Lord Reading.
Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 9th Apl., Eng. cols.

33. "The building of extravagant hopes without adequate justification is an invitation to disappointment. We have nothing but robust faith in the political acumen of Lord Reading. Some of our contemporaries, however, have taken to belauding the new Viceroy in a strain which we fear may give rise to violent revulsion of feeling should, as is quite probable, the new Viceroy assert his personality and display firmness on points where his predecesor was vague or yielding. So far Lord Reading has displayed the astuteness of a diplomat who would avoid committing himself. But he will have to face complicated issue and make up his mind on questions that have been hanging fire for several years. We consider it a good omen that almost simultaneously with the new Viceroy's advent Mr. Gandhi has relaxed some of his stern rigour and has pronounced himself against civil disobedience.. .... That the ranks of the non-co-operationists are far from solid is evidenced by the outspoken dissent of Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal. On the whole the movement of frank revolt against the British authority is on the decline and the prospect is a cheerful one under the guidance of a man of eminent parts like Lord Reading.......... We are not alarmists but we are convinced the danger from the North-West is more real than at any time when Russia was under the Czars. India has to consider that the Bolsheviks have bound the Afghans to make no treaty with us."

The task before His Exellency Lord Reading.
Gujaráti (17), 3rd Apl.

34. Doubts have begun to arise in the minds of the people as to whether Lord Reading, their new Viceroy, will be able to bridge the gulf and to strengthen the relations existing between the Indians and the Europeans. These doubts are not the result of any mistrust of Lord Reading's abilities but they arise owing to the stupendous nature of the difficulties which Lord Reading has to overcome before laying the foundation of an impartial policy in this country. The people do not wish for a Viceroy who would like to do them justice; they rather like to have a Viceroy who has the qualities of Lord Sydenham, Lord Chelmsford and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, for only such a man would cause awakening among them and rouse them to a sense of their loss. Lord Reading before his departure from England declared that he wants to rule India on the principle of equity. We feel sure that the discontent in India will disappear if Lord Reading succeeds in carrying out his wishes. But Lord Reading seems to be unaware of the difficulties he will have to encounter in administering strict justice in India. Will Lord Reading be able to remove the wrongs that have sunk deep into the hearts of the people? People would be interested to know how Lord Reading means to improve the administration which is permeated with the colour prejudice and distrust of the Indian people. Mr. Gandhi has created an awakening among the people and set them clamouring for justice. Lord Reading will be successful only if he gives the go-bye to the present system of administration. But if he tries to follow the present system, there is no knowing when the storm of which the clouds are now gathering will burst out and where the trend of events will lead India.

Comments on His Excellency Lord Reading's reply to the address of the Bombay Municipal Corporation.
Gujaráti (17), 10th Apl., Eng. cols.

***35.** "Lord Reading wondered whether his Jewish origin would 'quicken and facilitate my understanding of the aims and aspirations, the trials and tribulations, the joys and sorrows of the Indian people and assist me to catch the almost inarticulate cries and inaudible whispers of those multitudes who sometimes suffer most and yet find it difficult, if not impossible, to express their needs.' These observations, are, indeed, most happily conceived and appropriately expressed. They show that Lord Reading has already gone deep beneath the surface of things and realised the actualities hidden under official trappings and behind roseate descriptions. It is a realisation of a great truth and let us hope that His Excellency will never lose sight of it especially in India where the masses of the population are poor and speechless and have to suffer quietly many wrongs and hardships without the slightest hope of any relief.......... He recognised the similarity of views expressed by Dadabhai Nowroji and himself and declared that his knowledge and experience of the world had convinced him that justice and sympathy never fail to evoke responsive chords in the hearts of men of whatever race, creed or class.......... We do not think that Britain has been able to maintain uniformly her reputation for justice in this country beyond certain restricted limits, although our rulers are eager to claim credit for all sorts of things.......... We are glad Lord Reading has vowed that 'it must never be impaired during his tenure of office.' The ideal of justice, sympathy, and mutual understanding that the new Viceroy has placed before himself for his guidance is exactly the idea that was adopted by Lord Ripon, who proclaimed and adhered to the motto that 'Righteousness exalteth a nation' and approached consideration of Indian questions in a spirit of generous sympathy.......... He naturally relies upon the 'loyal and whole-hearted co-operation of the British and Indians to achieve some lasting benefit for India,' and we sincerely join him in his prayer that his regime may contribute to the material and spiritual well-being of India so that 'peace, goodwill and happiness may reign among the people'."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Apl.

36. "We hasten to assure His Excellency that India fully understands and will respect his reticence, for she feels convinced that he has struck the right note.......... She now, for the first time, stands on her own feet—captain of her soul and mistress of her destiny. She does not expect any 'gift' from Lord Reading. She expects him to play a great and dominating part in her efforts towards securing justice and what is her due—now and immediately. She feels assured that he will not disappoint her....... The Lord Chief Justice of England has come to India to see that justice is done to India. He is anxious to hear all sides. India is willing to wait and let him form his own conclusions. But there is one thing that the Lord Chief Justice of England must remember; that justice has no sides. There is only one side to it—and that is justice. Applied to her needs, Justice means this, that Self-Government should be government by her own people, without any reservations, that it should not be government by 'foreigners' however well intentioned, that an Indian should be in his own country what an Englishman is in England, what a Canadian is in Canada. That nothing less, is justice for India."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 2nd Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 4th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 4th Apl.; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 4th Apl.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 4th and 5th Apl.

37. The reply given by Lord Reading to the address of welcome presented to him by the Bombay Municipality serves to justify the high hopes entertained of him by India. Lord Reading has regretfully admitted that there is discontent in India. We would like to take this opportunity to inform His Excellency that the discontent is not confined to any particular class of people but that it is widespread throughout India. It would be very difficult to remove the present discontent; but it is quite possible to remove it. Not only will the discontent be completely removed but the relations between India and England will be strengthened if Lord Reading succeeds in giving justice to India and in securing her birthright to her. We have no objection to Lord Reading consulting his officers; but he should on no account allow himself to be led away by them. We feel sure that Lord Reading will be able to remove the present discontent if he tries to study the Indian question in a sympathetic manner after consulting the leaders of public opinion in this country. The first step that Lord Reading should take is to suspend the policy of repression that is being adopted in various parts of the country. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—Lord Reading's first speech in India is bound to make a favourable impression on the Indian people. The speech discloses his earnestness and sincerity and we feel sure that he will prove to be a model

Viceroy and remove the present discontent. The *Jam-e-Jámshed* writes:—Lord Reading has won the hearts of the people by his very first speech and has created a very good impression upon them. Indians accord a hearty welcome to their new Viceroy and hope that he may be able to lead India on the path of political progress and enable her to secure a position of equality with other nations. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—Lord Reading, in his reply to the Bombay Municipal address, reiterated his desire to rule India by justice and sympathy. It is but natural that Indians who have been unjustly and unsympathetically treated so far should be disposed to welcome the new Viceroy who means to do them justice. His pronouncements in England have made an impression even on the leader of the non-co-operation movement as can be seen from the manifesto issued by him to his followers not to make any demonstrations of an adverse kind. This is a good sign for the beginning of a new era in India. We feel sure that Lord Reading will be able to achieve his object of doing justice to India if he calls a conference of leaders of public opinion at an early date. We also hope that Lord Reading will be able to help India out of the difficult position created by the present exchange situation. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* commends the speech of Lord Reading to the study of all fair minded Indians and discerns in it a desire on the part of the Viceroy to deal justly with India. The paper feels sure that Lord Reading will prove to be one of the best Viceroys of India. In the subsequent issue the paper dilates at some length on the speech and expresses its confidence that Lord Reading will be able to remove the present discontent in India.]

Comments on Lord Reading's reply to the address of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 5th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 6th, 7th and 8th Apl.; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 6th Apl.

38. Commenting upon Lord Reading's reply to the address presented by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—Those merchants who registered orders for British goods in the hope that the rate of exchange would be maintained at about 2 shillings have now been reduced to a sorry plight. But who is responsible for the present situation? Did not Government interfere in the matter of the exchange? Who sold Reverse Councils? The Indian Chamber asked for Government intervention through Lord Reading not for settling the disputes between the British and Indian merchants but for determining the rate of exchange. Matters will go from bad to worse if Government do not intervene in time. The export merchants of England will be placed in a sad predicament along with the Indian merchants. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—Lord Reading has done injustice to the Indian Chamber in thinking that they have not taken the world conditions into account before stating their grievances. But we are led to think the Chamber evoked this reproach from Lord Reading owing to itself not having stated its grievances in a full and detailed manner. The position of India would not have been what it is if Government had not gambled in Reverse Councils. We would, therefore, ask the Chamber to again approach Lord Reading in the matter and state their case more clearly. We feel sure that Lord Reading will be able to extricate India out of the financial tangle if he is enabled to understand the present situation. In the two subsequent issues the paper tries to explain the causes that, in its opinion, have led to the present exchange situation and expresses hope that Lord Reading will help India to tide over the difficulties in which it is involved owing to the financial policy of Government. The *Bombay Samáchár* is of the opinion that Lord Reading had to be cautious in his reply to the address of the Chamber and expresses hope that he will be convinced of the necessity of coming to the relief of the Indian merchants when he studies the question more closely and realises the part played by the Government of India in bringing about the present situation.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Apl.

39. "Scanning between the lines of Lord Reading's reply to the Indian Merchants' Chamber's address it is clear that the latter's indictment of Government's past policy regarding the exchange situation and Reverse Bills went home to His Excellency and he was careful

not to dogmatise in the manner of Messrs. Hailey and Montagu......... The mischief done is, perhaps, irreparable, but a fresh and emphatic protest to the new Viceroy was justly called for so that a repetition of such folly on the part of officialdom in future might become impossible and reparation in some effective manner might be undertaken. We are glad to note that Lord Reading did not join in the outcry against the Indian merchants and rebuke them, in the foolish fashion of Mr. Montagu, for hesitating to fulfil their contracts with English merchants."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 10th Apl.

40. "His Excellency the Viceroy has asked India not to judge him till he has had time to master the situation here and to form opinions at first hand, and the disposition of all parties in the country is scrupulously to abide by this very reasonable requirement. We trust, therefore, that it will not be regarded as an infringement of this understandnig if we venture, with reference especially to Lord Reading's reply to the Indian Merchants' Chamber, to deprecate allowing our minds to dwell too much on world causes as the causes of our own particular calamities......... The statesman's business is to devise means to protect his state as much as possible from the effects of cosmic convulsions, and where he cannot prevent them, to repair their ravages. In England, they do not talk much of world causes except to see how the world may be made to yield causes more favourable to themselves......... We can never shake ourselves free of world causes, but we may have a Home Member less embarrassingly connected with past events than Sir William Vincent and a Finance Member less interested in justfying past mistakes than Mr. Hailey. What world-cause required or prompted the sale of the so-called 'Reverse Councils'—the fountain source of much of the trade depression at present? The less a statesman allows the thought of world causes to weigh down his initiative and the more he acts on the sound working hypothesis that most mistakes in administration are due to the mistakes of men, the more he is likely to be able to claim when he takes off his armour that he had fought a good fight in defence of the rights and liberties of the people."

Welcome to Her Excellency Lady Reading.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 2nd Apl., Eng. cols.

41. "To Lady Reading every heart in India is instinctively turned with love and profound gratefulness. She has made a great sacrifice in coming to India. India knows well that Lord Reading's first reluctance to accept the Viceroyalty was prompted by considerations of her Ladyship's health. But duty prevailed over private considerations, and in this decision, as is well-known, Lady Reading played a heroic part. Thus already her Ladyship has paid an earnest of her regard for India and thus to India she is already beloved and thrice welcome. For a Vicerein, India is a vast field for benevolence and the broadest exercise of all womanly virtues. For her fellow sisters and children she can never do enough. She can truly play the role of friend, guide and councillor to her Indian sisters. Her task is not likely to be an easy one, but the reward will be immeasurably great, and besides the daughters and mothers of India are ever renowned for their gratefulness and appreciation of those who serve them. On this occasion, along with her dtstinguished husband, India cordially welcomes Lady Reading amidst her new field of usefulness and service."

Comments on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech at the annual meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce.
Mahrátta (8), 10th Apl.

***42.** Commenting on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech at the annual meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the *Mahratta* remarks:—"This speech of His Excellency indicates that, unmindful of the feelings of the people, the Government has determined to push on the Hydro-electric schemes such as that of the Mulshi Peta. His Excellency is perhaps aware that the greatest accusation against the British Government is that it is being conducted in the interests of the British capitalists, and the tone of his speech at the meeting of the Chamber of Commerce would not controvert this charge. The case of the Mulshi Peta serves as an example of this exploitation against

the wishes of the people. If the Western Ghats are to be used for similar purposes it seems there is ahead a great danger to the whole Maharashtra. The protest of the Mulshi people seems to be of no avail. They are restrained from Satyagraha by the Committee in the hope that Government will revise its decision in this matter. But if the attitude of the Government remains obdurate as is evidenced by His Excellency's speech, the people would be justified in their Satyagraha. Let Government think over the problem and avoid the catastrophe."

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 8th Apl.

43. Commenting on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's speech at the annual general meeting of the Bombay Chamber of Commerce, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—His Excellency gave very good advice to the European merchants in the matter of taking interest in public affairs. Many European merchants ignore public affairs until some question arises which adversely affects their own interests. The advice of His Excellency is equally applicable to merchants belonging to other communities in Bombay. Their attitude of indifference towards public affairs is sadly to be deplored and casts a reflection on their public spirit. His Excellency has given a promise to help the Chamber as much as lies in his power and this goes to show that he is deeply interested in commercial affairs. His Excellency has disowned all responsibility for himself and the Government of India for the exchange situation. But Indians interested in commerce cannot possibly exonerate Government from blame in bringing about the present situation. We are glad to note that His Excellency is going to publish full information regarding the details of the work of the Development Department up to date. People will be glad to hear that communiques will be issued regularly to keep them informed of the progress of the Department. The Bombay public has been so far kept in the dark about the working of the Development Department, and they anxiously look forward to the report and *Communiques* promised by Sir Lloyd George. We are of the opinion that the doors of the office of the Development Board should also be thrown open to the Press.

Comments on the interview between His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and certain selected persons from the Sind districts at Karáchi.

Hindu (163), 27th Mar.

44. His Excellency the Governor visited Karáchi and went back to Bombay without visiting any other place. Nothing is known as to what favours His Excellency bestowed on Sind! This time His Excellency had adopted a novel procedure. He remained in Karáchi and from there sent for a few selected persons from each district to relate to him their grievances. Each one of the gentlemen invited was ordered to relate his grievances. At first they were probably overawed and frightened by His Excellency's presence to such an extent that it was hard for them to utter a single word. The Governor naturally must have felt disappointed that he had sent for only such flock of sheep as would not bleat. At last when Mukhi Harkishindas summoning up courage came out with his grievances, others followed suit, and with the exception of one or two each one related his own troubles. In the end when His Excellency had heard all he replied to each one separately. When they all got up to go they were requested by His Excellency to wait and listen to his last instructions; from the gist of which the gentlemen must have gathered that the interview to hear their grievances and troubles was only a pretext and that the invitation issued to them had some other object in view. One of the gentlemen present nodded his head signifying that it was an act of kindness on the part of His Excellency to have restrained himself from the use of repressive measures. Thereupon His Excellency said, "But no, there is a limit to patience. If non-co-operationists do not come to reason yet, we know how to deal with them and stop their movement". Raising his hand His Excellency added "We can send all to jail". (Sire! It is true! What is it that you cannot do? But those days are gone when Indians considered incarceration a great calamity. The fear of jail is no longer in the minds of the majority of Indians. The young and old are prepared to go to jail for

the sake of the country. Sire! Before you enforce your threat you had better see whether you have sufficient number of jails). The precious words which issued forth from the hallowed mouth of His Excellency towards the end of his speech would assuredly cause every Indian to hang down his head through shame. What does our quiet, thoughtful and patient Governor say? He says: "Who has obliged those Indians to remain in this country who feel discontented and dissatisfied with our rule? Why should they not clear out of the country? If a master engage a servant and the latter misbehaves and gets discontented, the master tells him "There is a way open for you to clear out". Similarly why should not those among you who are dissatisfied with the British Raj clear out from the country". Even to these sheep-like gentlemen who had been at the interview and who always pray for the prosperity and greatness of the present Government, the above astounding and amazing words of His Excellency appeared odious and unpleasant. But they had not the requisite courage to frankly tell His Excellency face to face "Sire! Is the country yours or ours? You (the British) came to seek a small favour and laid claim to everything! Turn to the pages of history and you will find how and in what way you have devoured the country. Since you are appropriating princely salaries every year out of our money, should you or we be considered as servants? Having eaten our salt for the past one hundred and fifty years and having secured our country by fraudulent and deceitful means, you are telling us now in this new era that you are the masters of the country while we in our own motherland are just like thieves! If we were to tell you that because you, our paid servants, by misbehaving in the Punjáb have committed violences against our brethren, have treated fraudulently and deceitfully our Muhammadan brethren in the matter of the Khilafat, have avoided giving us Swaraj which is our birthright, and have no intention to conduct yourself towards us in a conciliatory spirit, therefore you had better clear out of the country, it would be just the proper thing for us to do. But you on the contrary turn the tables on us and tell us that we should clear out from our own motherland!" It is a pity that some of the brave fellows who were present at the time of the above boastful utterances of His Excellency, had not the requisite courage to make a frank avowal as to what they felt as regards the above utterances of His Excellency, although they spoke of it greatly to one another in a sympathetic manner, on coming out of the audience chamber. We wonder when our people will learn to speak out their mind in a frank manner. If we only imbibe that quality we shall no longer be dependent on others as we are now.

The regime of Lord Chelmsford.
Political Bhomiyo (77), 7th Apl., Eng. cols.

45. "While reviewing Lord Chelmsford's career as Viceroy, it is important to note that he took the helm of affairs in hand in most difficult times. Also, it has to be borne in mind that he succeeded a great Viceroy like Lord Hardinge, in comparison with whose able administration the work of even very capable men would suffer.......... Even his mistakes sprang sometimes from the best of motives; as for example, he did not allow Mr. Shastri's Punjáb motion to be moved because after all the assurances his Government had given he honestly believed that the horrible Punjáb affair and the bitter memory it had left behind should be forgotten in the interests of the country itself.......... Speaking on behalf of Muhammadans especially, we cannot but express our deep gratefulness to Lord Chelmsford for all his sympathy and help to Muhammadans regarding the Khilafat question....... Lord Chelmsford had realized the truth of Muhammadan grievances and he also appreciated the deep feelings of the Moslems of India about the Khilafat. His genuine sympathy and his fight on their behalf will not be forgotten by Indian Muslims. Lord Chelmsford played, as is well known, a very important part in obtaining for India the New Reforms which are paving for India the path to Self-Government. .... It cannot be said that his administration has been eminently successful.......... But all along he discharged the duties of his high office honestly and firmly and like the true English gentleman that he is. Future generations will appreciate his quiet and sterling work for India."

New Times (9), 31st Mar.

46. "Not an Indian, not a sober Englishman but must pronounce the only judgment upon Lord Chelmsford's administration—*collossal failure.* The new Viceroy is one of the ablest men England could send to India. Lord Reading has experience of politics and law and diplomacy; and he comes to India in a period of great emergency. There is the demand to-day, as never before in this country, for National Freedom. The situation, indeed, throughout the East needs to be most carefully handled. The Muslim sentiment is not yet conciliated; the demands of the Non-co-operation movement remain unsatisfied; and the Bolsheviks may, at any hour, take advantage of the complications in the East to create an embarrassing situation for Great Britain.......... We need hardly say that British statesmanship of a high order is needed to conciliate the developing situation in the East; but little can be done until India is conciliated. Here is an opportunity for Lord Reading. Will he rise equal to it? Will he conciliate India? Will he manage well the responsibilities of his difficult office?......... Lord Reading is admittedly a man of great intellect and strong will. He can help India in several ways. But on one condition—he must not listen to the bureaucracy. Lord Chelmsford surrendered himself, too easily, to the wishes of the officials; and his administration was a failure from beginning to end. The bureaucracy will tell the new Viceroy to separate the Muslims from the Hindus by conciliating Muslim sentiments; he must listen to no counsels of 'separatism'; he must help the forces of unity and freedom; he must help in changing the heart of the Government. As it is, there is little respect among Englishmen for Indians.......... What is needed, to-day, is to create the right atmosphere. To do this requires faith in freedom and in human nature; it, also, requires a genuine appreciation of Indian genius and Indian ideals.......... After all what India wants is not 'generous treatment' but justice. Will the new Viceroy help her in securing the justice denied her for long years? Will His Excellency help the forces of Freedom in the country? Will he trust the Indian leaders and the Indian people? Will he press for Dominion Home Rule in India? Let Time give the Answer."

Kesari (120), 5th Apl.

47. Lord Chelmsford is gone and India will heave a sigh of relief now. No other Viceroy has left such an evil reputation behind him, not even Lord Curzon. Before he came here India was friendly towards Great Britain, had confidence in her sense of justice and was full of hopes for the future. The period of his regime has worked wonders in India. The Rowlatt Act, the Punjáb atrocities and general repression have lacerated the heart of India and her confidence in Britain's sense of justice has been ruthlessly shattered. Without undoing what he did Lord Chelmsford has left the country and Lord Reading has taken his place. The new Viceroy is famous for impartiality and sympathetic statesmanship. Since his appointment he has been repeatedly saying: "I am going to India to do justice". But simply to be just henceforward will not mind matters. The wounds of self-respecting India cannot be healed unless the bureaucracy atones for the sins committed in the past. The new Viceroy must openly punish the Punjáb offenders and press the Home Government to fulfill the promises given to the Indian Musalmans. Only when Lord Reading does this will he satisfy India and restore her confidence in Britain's sense of justice.

Alleged connivance by the British Government of the Greek offensive against the Turks in Anatolia.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th and 9th Apl.

48. "The telegram which we published yesterday regarding the Greek offensive in Anatolia declaring that the destruction of Islám in Anatolia is projected, that England is conniving at the project, and that 'the whole Orient will suffer if it remains a helpless spectator,' came from a Turkish personality, well-known in England, who is in a position to be well-informed from both sides. He was until lately a strong partisan of the British and had earned distrust from the Young Turks on that account. His telegram expresses accurately the feelings of the Muslims here and everywhere; that is why we gave it prominence, in order that the Government of India might know the vigour of that feeling, and the

anguish of the Indian Muslims in their utter helplessness.......... Now is the Government of India's opportunity. England has forfeited the trust of all right-thinking people, but India can regain that trust by a decided action consistent with the former fame of England for religious tolerance and love of justice. Not India only, but all Asia is now looking to the Government of India to stand forth nobly as the saviour of the 'helpless' East, and prove itself in truth an Indian Government." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—" A communique of the Government of India (dated April 7th) with regard to a cablegram published in the *Bombay Chronicle* of April 5th, informs us that 'The Government of India have been authorised by His Majesty's Government to state that every one of the allegations regarding His Majesty's Government and the attitude of Great Britain is specifically false.' We have already in a leading article explained our reasons for publishing that cablegram, which we did deliberately, knowing that it was certain to be denied, and might possibly have unpleasant consequences for us personally.......... We frankly confess that we have lost belief in the promises and assurances of 'His Majesty's Government' as at present constituted, and that official denials do not much impress us.......... In the present denial we suppose that 'His Majesty's Government' would have us concentrate attention on the word 'specifically'—meaning 'in this specific instance'—for otherwise the statement which we published is substantially correct. It was the British Government which most ruthlessly insisted on the disarmament of the Turks; it was the British Government which set loose the Greeks in Asia Minor, and everybody knows that afterwards the Greeks received assistance and encouragement from England.......... And whatever anyone may choose to say, to plot for a Greek empire in Anatolia, is to plot for the destruction of Islam in Anatolia since the Greeks destroy the Muslim population wherever they go. They could not do it by themslves, they are not strong enough, but they have done it with assistance from the so-called 'Christian' Powers, which makes it all the harder on the Musalmans."

Duty of the Allies and England to protect the Turks against the attack of the Greeks on Angora.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 4th Apl.

49. Negotiations about the Turkish settlement were going on and the Turkish delegates were on their way home with the rough draft of the treaty when Greece declared war against Turkey and attacked Angora. This incident proves that there still prevails in Europe the 'naked law of force'. Great Britain has declared that she will observe a neutral attitude in this war and will not help Greece in any way. In spite of such an assurance, the Indian Muhammadans strongly suspect that the Greeks have thus attacked Turkey in order to compel her by force to accept the peace terms. England has remained neutral; but according to the resolution passed by the citizens of Bombay yesterday, she is mainly responsible for the present situation. The Turks at Angora are involved in a great calamity, and are clamouring for help in order to lessen the effects of this calamity. At such a time Greece has added to their calamities by attacking Angora. This attack is absolutely unjustified, and Great Britain and the Allies will be said to have failed in their sacred duty if they remain neutral and quietly look on while Turkish people are being destroyed. If the Allies are opposed to this attack, why did they not prevent Greece from making it? To what condition would Europe have been reduced if England and France had remained neutral when Germany attacked Belgium? It is as much the duty of France and England to save the Turkish people from this attack of the Greeks as it was to save Belgium. England and France should come forward to protect the Turkish people who are fighting for their independence and that of Islam against the attacks of Greece. If they do not do so, all their professions about the duty of protecting the smaller nationalities will be proved to be hollow and the League of Nations will be only a farce. Is this League of Nations gone to sleep? Why does it not intervene? The policy of Europe is based upon the principle of 'Might is Right' and it is really sad that although Germany and Austria-Hungary have been annihilated, yet there is no change in the political morality of the statesmen of Europe.

Comments on the terms of the Russo-Persian Agreement published by the *Manchester Guardian.*

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Apl.

50. "If the terms of the Russo-Persian Agreement are faithfully summarised in the *Manchester Guardian* and if there is nothing more in the Agreement that is withheld from public knowledge, then the myth about Soviet designs on Persia becomes exploded. We can see nothing in the Agreement to which any other Foreign Power, including Great Britain, can take exception.......... It is worthy of note, that Soviet Russia, by renouncing the Tsarist policy and Tsarist claims on Persia and voluntarily surrendering territories unlawfully seized by the Tsarist regime, proves that it means well of the Persian people.......... It is of course to be regretted that British statesmen by their devious policy in Persia have lost a fine opportuniiy of demonstrating Great Britain's friendship for the people of this great country in a manner which would have won for them the eternal gratitude of Persians."

Comments on the report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission.

Gramya Swarájya (68), 5th Apl.

51. Strange developments are taking place in South Africa and these serve to show inner nature of the British people. We can now say without any fear of contradiction that the British, though they may be white to all outward appearance, are not so in their hearts. Of all the white races, the people of South Africa have exceeded all bounds in their treatment of the Indian people. They have begun to take steps to drive away the Indians and other Asiatic races from their country. What lesson will other nations take from the policy adopted by the Union Government towards India? Even the British Government have harassed Indians in a similar manner. They have tried to keep us in bondage. India has been recognised as an independent nation in the League of Nations and the British have tried to beguile us into the belief that they observe no differences between Whites and Blacks. But we must now be warned by the treatment given to Indians in South Africa. The salvation of Indians lies in non-co-operation against the British who are unjust in their deeds and very unsympathetic in their words. We should firmly adhere to the non-co-operation movement which we have taken up as the sovereign remedy for securing *Swaráj* and should convince the British that we are no longer willing to remain in their bondage.

Young India (14), 6th Apl.

52. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"Despite the mission of Sir Benjamin Robertson, the South African Commission has delivered an adverse finding.......... But the South African Commission has offered, or effected, no compromise. It has delivered the Indian in the hands of his white rival in trade. It has reaffirmed the principle of white supremacy, as Mr. Andrews so often puts it. The principle has almost become a passion and a religion.......... We dare not neglect our countrymen abroad. The battle of India's freedom involves the protection of the rights of the least of our countrymen, no matter where they might be situated. But at the present moment, I must invite our countrymen in South Africa to carry on their battle bravely and single-handed, and help us here in the best way they can. India's fate must be decided one way or the other (and so far as I know only one way) during this year. We shall be better able to protect them then, than now. The South African problem bears the same character as the problem at home. We too are fighting the religion of white supremacy. The refusal to recognise the Muslim claim, the encircling of the Arabs, the negotiations with the Ameer, the refusal to stop the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, and frankly to dismiss men who maltreated the Punjabees in 1919, are symptoms of the same disease. Either that supremacy must go in its entirety, or those of us, who recognise the tubercular nature of the disease must perish in the attempt to combat it. The Government of India, can, if they wish, put up an energetic and open fight against the proposed breach of faith which the Commission implies. The spirit of the settlement of 1918 was that the position of the Indian all over South Africa must be levelled up; not a single right then existing should be in any way endangered. The Commission has not only put its imprimatur on the encroachments already made on existing rights, but it has itself suggested further and egregious curtailment thereof. Between free nations such an authoritative pronouncement would lead to open rupture. The Report of the Commission can only spur my non-co-operation spirit to further effort."

There should be no licensing of bucket-shops but they should be wholly suppressed.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Apl.

53. "Our readers are aware that a Committee appointed by Government is now invstigating the remedies for the evil which the establishment of a large number of 'bucket-shops'—places, where unauthorised race-betting is carried on—has engendered in this city. It is obvious that nothing short of drastic legislation will put an end to the evil. In this connection we have come across a strange report for which we sincerely hope there is no basis. It is that some 'influential' parties are trying to persuade the Committee and the authorities that the evil would be best remedied, not by suppressing these gambling dens, but by licensing them in the manner of the liquor-shops.......... We cannot think of a more pernicious and reprehensible suggestion than this one. We have enough of licensed evil in this city and country not to stand in need of its extension,......... Gambling within the enclosures of the race course is bad enough, but to charter it broadcast in the city would be the acme of wickedness and folly, of which we cannot imagine Sir George Lloyd's Government being guilty. A system of licensed betting shops, such as is suggested, would lead to black-mail and other forms of corruption, in which the police would be the most active abettors, seeing that money passes freely through the fingers of those addicted to this form of gambling. It is to be hoped that the Committee will refuse to lend any countenace to the suggestion to license the shops. These dens must be sternly suppressed. If betting is to be permitted, it should be confined to the race enclosures only."

Grievances of the Hajis.

Akhbár-e-Islám (59), 7th Apl.

54. The attempts often made by owners of steamer companies to squeeze out money from Hajis are very cruel and sad. For example, whole tickets each worth Rs. 80 have to be bought for children aged from one and a half to two years. Messrs. Shustri and Company issue single tickets while Messrs. Turner Morrison and Company issue only return tickets, the reason for this being one of the new regulations under which Hajis have to produce a certificate that they deposited the value of the return ticket with the Protector of Pilgrims. There would no be wonder if Hajis coming from places outside India have to suffer unbearable hardships on account of these new regulations. Why should the Hajis be so much harassed? It was proper to increase the rates in the time of war. Government can control the rates for tickets now that there are so many steamers available. If Government do not wish to interfere with the freedom of the shipping trade, they should at least find out some middle course. By some means or other the Hajis should be free to carry out this principal religious duty of theirs without being oppressed by any burdens or restrictions imposed by laws. Are not Government bound to protect the religious freedom of the Hajis in accordance with the Proclamation of 1858? Government should see that the Hajis are not put to any trouble in securing certificates. The Muhammadans will not tolerate in future any harshness towards the Hajis, and should there spring up an agitation about this question in India, it will assume a hundred times more serious form than the Khilafat agitation. Moreover, the question of the Haj is not depending for its solution upon the good will or obstinacy of Mr. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of England. As the Government of India have to decide the question on their own authority, we earnestly hope that the Muhammadans of India will get justice at the hands of our present Viceroy Lord Reading.

Uselessness of the reforms.

Kesari (120), 5th Apl.

55. A recent Madras incident thoroughly exposes the worthlessness of the reforms. The members of the Madras Legislative Council disallowed a grant of 2 lakhs in connection with Forest development. The money was to be paid to the Perry Company for sawing wood.

But Lord Willingdon vetoed the Council's decision. The Madras Government did not stop there. In vetoing the Council's decision they said that it must be either ignorant of the matter or inspired by race-hatred. Such regard for justice is to be met with only under bureaucratic rule. This action of the Madras Government clearly shows whether it is the people who are inspired with race-hatrad or whether Government themselves are partial. Could not Lord Willingdon's Government give the contract to an Indian company? But where there is no will, there is no way.

Bombay Development Department reports.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 10th Apl.

***56.** "Sir George has a vigorous personality which he puts into his speeches as in his schemes, but His Excellency is happily free from the quality of the person who would seem strong without being really so, that would maintain what it has said it has said for all time. A welcome instance of this openness of mind is the announcement in His Excellency's speech, at the European Chamber of Commerce in Bombay last week, that Government hope very shortly to produce a report for issue to the public giving the fullest information regarding the details of the work of the Bombay Development Department up-to date......... This is the right and wise thing to do, and we are glad that it is going to be done soon. Only, we hope, not only what has been done up-to date but also what is intended to be done in future will be included in the report. What has been done cannot except to a small extent be undone, and it is as regards contemplated future operations that the public will find its main interest. As this report will be required for reference for some years, it should be produced in some substantial and at the same time handy form to stand the wear and tear of frequent use."

Comments on Mr. B. C. Pal's address as President of the Bengal Provincial Conference.
Gujaráti (17), 3rd Apl.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 3rd Apl.

57. Commenting upon the presidential address delivered by Mr. Pal at the Bengal Provincial Conference, the *Gujaráti* writes:—We are not surprised at the feeling of revolt caused among the people against the intolerant spirit of the non-co-operation movement. Violence of some sort or other is being practised all over the country. It is nothing short of violence to ridicule those who are addicted to drink and to force them to give it up. Strong language used against students and pleaders who do not boycott schools and law courts is also a kind of violence. In spite of Mr. Pal's divergence of opinion from Mr. Gandhi, he has suggested the boycott of schools and foreign goods. But even Mr. Gandhi seems to have lost hope in these methods owing to the unpreparedness of the people to carry them out. In our opinion there is a more patent force at our disposal than non-co-operation to make the opinion of India felt in England, and that is to form a people's party in the Provincial Legislative Councils and in Indian Legislative Assembly and thereby to fight against Government. The unity of popular representatives in the Councils will be able to achieve what the boycott of schools, law courts and foreign goods cannot do. It is the Councils that can fix the period during which *Swaráj* can be secured for India. We have all along been advocating the use of the Councils with a view to securing *Swaráj*. It is not yet too late and as suggested by the *Tribune*, it would be possible to fix the period for the advent of *Swaráj* in about five months. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* expresses gratification at the suggestion made by Mr. Pal to arrive at a compromise with Government and warns the people against the evil effects of non-co-operation.]

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the refusal of the Ahmedabad Municipality to thank Government for remitting the fine imposed on Ahmedabad in connection with the disturbances in April 1919.
Mahrátta (8), 10th Apl.

***58. Referring to the refusal of the Ahmedabad Municipality to thank Government for remitting the fine imposed on Ahmedabad in connection with the disturbances in April 1919, the *Mahrátta writes*:—"It seems that the Ahmedabad Municipality has not as yet the good fortune of having no *jo-hukum* member on its benches. One such member moved that the Collector's letter should be noted and that thanks of the Municipality be conveyed to Government. Evidently this proposal of conveying thanks could**

not be tolerated by any lover of honour and self-respect. To think of thanking Government for giving up their fiendish wish of extorting money from the innocent public was certainly disgraceful, silly and condemnable. Mr. Patel moved an amendment to the cringing resolution, and said: 'No thanks should be given as Government had conferred no favour at all.' We congratulate the Ahmedabad Municipality, not on the brave spirit of Mr. Patel—for that much courage is but to be expected in every true citizen—but on its having mercilessly crushed the foot-licking and tail-wagging tendency of the servile mover of the proposition. Would that every Municipality had declared: 'No tail-wagging here'."

NATIVE STATES.

Indian newspapers and Native Princes.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Apl.

59. 'S. D.' writing in the *Bombay Chronicle* takes objection to Sir Willian Vincent's statement in the Legislative Assembly that it was the duty of Government to protect Indian Princes from the attacks of newspapers and says:—" The short-sighted and unstatesman like policy of the Home Minister, to sacrifice the interest of the millions of Native States to the vanity and specious loyalty of the 700 rulers, will land the Government, whose hands are already full with unrest and discontent in British India, in greater difficulties. It will swell the ranks of Non-co-operation and spread discontent and resentment in Native States as well.......... The Home Member does not know he is putting his hand in a hornet's nest, and the attempts of enthusiasts to support despotic rule in Native States will be as futile and irritating in Native States as those of Metternich were in Italy against Liberalism which after all triumphed. The Maharaja of Kolhapur is after all a subject of the King-Emperor and, as such, cannot be allowed to rule as he likes over other subjects of the same King. It is, therefore, hoped that the Indian members appointed to consider the revision of the Press Act will not be led away by spurious arguments and sacrifice the interests and welfare of the 'suffering millions' of the Native States for the sake of 700 despots supported as they might be by Lord Sydenham and others of the 'Indian Emergency Committee' or their sympathisers in the Indian bureaucracy."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 15th April 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 16th April 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian Matters: Famine in Gujarát and alleged apathy of Government officials in helping the people 47

British Rule:

- Comments on Mr. Tairsi's cablegram to the Premier in connection with the Miners' strike 11
- Comments on the Honourable Mr. Hailey's reply at his recent Conference with the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau 10
- Deprecation of unseemly attacks on Government 12
- Government are the greatest propagandists of Bolshevism in India . 13
- Importance of observing the anniversary of the Jallianwalla tragedy as a day of mourning 14
- Indians cannot call the British Government Satanic so long as they themselves are under the sway of Satan 15
- India's representative should be given a voice at the time of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance 16
- Patriotism is a crime in the eyes of the C. P. and Berar Government . 17
- Reflections on the anniversary of Jallianwalla Bagh (13th April) ... 18 & 19
- Reflections on the money spent on New Delhi 20
- Satyagraha in Mulshi Petha (District Poona) in connection with acquisition of land for Tata & Co. . . . . 21—23
- The Satanic influence of Government on Indians who take up high posts 24

Congress. The Bezwada Sessions of the All-India — Committee . . 32—34

Excise: Alleged illicit practices of liquor shop-keepers at Ahmedabad should be stopped 48

Forest Department: Kánara Forest grievances inquiry committee . . 49 & 50

His Excellency the Viceroy:

- Appeal to Lord Reading to put a stop to the present repressive policy against national workers 29
- Comments on Lord Reading's proposed visit to Láhore . . . 30
- His Excellency Lord Reading's reply to the Indian Merchants' Chamber's address 31
- Lord Reading should resign as a protest against the obstinate and unsympathetic bureaucracy 28
- The task before His Excellency Lord Reading . . . . . 25—27

H 12—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Indians in the Colonies:

Comments on the decision of the Union Government to postpone Legislation based on the Asiatic Commission's report . . . 35

Comments on the Report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission 36

Falsity of the allegation that the black population of Kenya Colony is opposed to Indians 37

Mr. Gandhi's contradiction of the allegation that the strike in Fiji was due to a *sadhu* sent by him there 38

Reflections on the treatment given to Indians in the Colonies . . 39

Indian Press:

Policy of the new English paper *Vande Mataram* started at Hyderabad (Sind) 45

Policy of the *Lokamanya* newspaper 46

Lord Chelmsford: Review of Lord Chelmsford's *regime* 44

Non-co-operation:

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Pársis 1

Comments on the picketing of liquor-shops at Ahmedabad by non-co-operators 2

Lala Lajpatrai's attack on the Moderates in his recent speech in Bombay 3

Mr. M. K. Gandhi's reply to adverse criticism of the — movement . 4

Mr. Gandhi's reply to Mr. Riza Ali's appeal to him to suspend — . 5

Only total surrender by Government will kill the unrest in India . . 6

Reflections on the Satyagraha week 7

Silent work being done by non-co-operators 8

United Provinces Government's Circular against — 9

War:

Comments on the agreements made by the Bolshevists with Persia and Afghanistan 41

Comments on the Greek attack on Turkey in Anatolia. 40

How can Indians be asked "to forget and forgive" when England is consumed with the thirst of retaliation against Germany . . 42

The concessions made to Turkey in connection with the Treaty are due to fear and not to a sense of justice 43

MUNICIPALITIES—

Complaint against the Government's management of the drainage and water-supply of Poona City 52

Protest against the Bombay Municipality's Scheme for the improvement of the Fort locality 51

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Pársis.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 11th Apl., Eng. cols.

1. Commenting upon Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Pársis, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks :—"He has made a particular appeal to a small section of the community, to wit the Pársi liquor-shopkeepers, to stop the liquor traffic.......... We should be glad if his appeal gets a response from the Pársis. For we firmly believe that the Pársis must identify themselves with India, and throw in their lot with the rest of the Indians. It is both their interest and their duty. It would be a fatal folly on their part to keep aloof from the main currents of Indian nationalism, and endeavour to stand by themselves....... It may be said that Mr. Gandhi need not concern himself with what the Pársis would or would not do in the present political activities. They do not count one way or the other. But Mr. Gandhi, in our view, is rightly anxious to enlist Parsi sympathy in favour of his propaganda.......... The patriotism of the Parsis is, from the nature of causes, temperate and rational.......... It would be easy to rouse a body of Hindus or of Muhammadans against the foreign rulers, by a mere appeal to history irrespective of moral and practical considerations. Not so the Parsis. If the Parsis then are induced to join any political movement it must gain moral support by that fact. They cannot easily be influenced by racial and historical hatred against the British irrespective of the merits of the actual situation.......... Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation is an emotional movement. It has spiritual value, but little moral or practical justification.......... Mr. Gandhi is on firmer ground when he appeals to the Parsis to help him in combating social evils. There is none more devastating than the evil of drink. But social evils must be met by social effort. It is not right to mix up social reform with political agitation.......... However we trust Mr. Gandhi's appeal will have its effect upon the Parsis in rousing them to greater activity in the service of the motherland. His appeal is couched in unexceptionable terms, and is an eloquent testimony to the innate tenderness and chivalry of his nature. There is no word of threat, prejudice or ill-feeling. The worst that can be said of Mr. Gandhi is that he is a great sail carried off his feet by the exaltation of his own moral ideas."

Comments on the picketing of liquor-shops at Ahmedabad by non-co-operators.

Political Bhomiyo (77), 8th Apl.

2. In the course of a long article on the picketing of liquor-shops by non-co-operators in Ahmedabad the *Political Bhomiyo* writes :—Volunteers in white caps are seen standing in front of the liquor-shops. Apparently they seem humbly to request those who go to drink liquor not to do so. No one can raise any objection against such methods but some puzzling sights are also to be seen. While these people act in this manner, other young men forcibly snatch liquor bottles from people's hands. They are not prevented from doing so but on the contrary they are encouraged in their attempts at violence. If they happen to see any Muhammadan standing by, they try to persuade him to beat those who persist in drinking liquor. What does this mean? It means that Muhammadan enthusiasm is sought to be used as an instrument to achieve their purpose; and that it would be only Muhammadans who would fall victims to the law. Are these really non-violent methods of stopping people from going to liquor shops? There can be no doubt that, on account of this movement there will be friction between those who picket the liquor-shops and the liquor dealers. Government will then have to issue an order to the effect that those who picket should not stand within a particular distance from the liquor-shops because there would be danger of a breach of the peace. The volunteers are harassing those wo drink liquor on account of the quiescent attitude adopted by the authorities in reference to picketing. Owing to the apathy on the part of Government, the badmashes staying in the localities where liquor-shops are situated, harass those who drink liquor under the cloak of this movement. This does harm to the prestige of Government. No one can have any objection if the temperance movement had been undertaken on moral grounds and only to put an end to the evil habit of drink. It is evident that it is not

undertaken with such a high motive but only to support the harmful movement of non-co-operation, to decrease the excise revenue and thus cause financial loss to Government. For these reasons we cannot support this movement."

Lala Lajpatrai's attack on the Moderates in his recent speech in Bombay.
Mahrdtta (8), 17th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 11th Apl.

3. The *Mahrdtta* thus concludes an article in which it dwells on Lala Lajpatrai's attack on the Moderates in a recent speech of his in Bombay and the indignation caused thereby among the Moderates:—"Surely the Moderates cannot have their cake and eat it also. None can prevent them from giving help and friendly quarters to officials. But when they do so, they cannot expect to be honoured and praised by the people. When you pour abuse on the beloved leaders of the people from your seats in the Councils, you cannot expect to be worshipped as you step out of the Council Chambers. Moderates who have done absolutely nothing to redress the Punjáb grievances, or to repeal the black Acts and Laws, or to release the Martial Law and other political prisoners, are undoubtedly guilty of high treason. And when it is remembered that the Moderate and Liberal Ministers in some provinces have been a party to the policy of repression started by Government, it sounds very mild to say that the Moderates must stand condemned at the bar of public opinion. That the Moderates should raise indignant cries against the Lalaji's description is not strange. A sinner never likes to be called so. The Lalaji has 'set up a glass' wherein the Moderates may 'see their inmost parts,' and the Moderates may well abuse him for it!" [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks:—It seems that even a leader of the non-co-operation movement like Lala Lajpatrai has lost control over himself and that he has no hesitation in ridiculing and bringing into disrespect men belonging to the Moderate party. Does Lala Lajpatrai mean to say that the Moderates have become traitors by accepting the posts of Ministers under Government? The Extremists should study the work accomplished by the Moderates in the very first session of the Council of State, Legislative Assembly and the Provincial Councils, and they will then be convinced of the valuable services rendered by them to the country.]

Mr. M. K. Gandhi's reply to adverse criticism of the non-co-operation movement.
Young India (14), 13th April.

4. Replying to certain criticism on him by the *Times of India*, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"One article credits me with having suspended non-co-operation in that I advised the All-India Congress Committee to concentrate on men, money and the spinning wheel. I fear I cannot take the credit for I have not advised suspension; and I have already shown in answer to Mr. Riza Ali how it cannot be suspended. In the other article brought to my notice, I am not now 'the Mr. Gandhi of old' and, therefore, the reader is told, I will not admit defeat which non-co-operators are said to have suffered in the first stage. I see not only no defeat so far but I am amazed at the awakening among the people. I hold that it is a great thing to have created a strong public opinion against the institutions on which a Government builds its credit.......... The *Times of India* and other critics, who, I believe, are anxious to understand the inwardness of the struggle, will do well to appreciate the fact that not only I but all the leaders are doing their utmost to prevent anarchy. It is no use isolating me from the rest. The critics, who continue to suspect the Ali Brothers, do themselves and the cause a great injustice. The Brothers' position is perfectly clear and intelligible. To them violence is lawful under given circumstances.......... The British Government has no two opponents more honourable than the Brothers. They mean no ill in a spirit of wantonness. They are honestly and industriously endeavouring to secure a peaceful settlement. But should their effort prove vain, either for want of response from the Government or the people, as lovers of their faith, they will not hesitate to precipitate war if they could. I refuse to be considered so simple as to be readily taken in by my companions. I believe my companions to be

incapable of deceiving me. I believe them to be God-fearing, brave, and honourable men, whose association I prize as a privilege. As for my own attitude, whilst my faith would not permit me to invite or encourage a war of violence, I do contemplate with equanimity a state of war in preference to the present state of effeminate peace imposed by force of arms. And it is for that reason that I am taking part in this movement of non-violent non-co-operation even at the risk of anarchy being the ultimate result. The critics of non-co-operation might, if they will, see in every one an intense desire to prevent anarchy and bloodshed."

Mr. Gandhi's reply to Mr. Riza Ali's appeal to him to suspend non-co-operation,
Young India (14), 13th Apl.

5. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"Mr. Syed Riza Ali has addressed a public letter advising me to suspend non-co-operation, so as to give Lord Reading a chance of studying the situation in a calm atmosphere. In the first place, I see there is nothing in the atmosphere to prevent a study of the situation. In the second place, what disturbance there is, is either fomented by the authorities, or the situation is so mishandled as to give rise to bloodshed. In the Central Provinces the Government are foisting the drink traffic on a public that is enraged against it.......... In any case, Mr. Riza Ali should address his appeal to the permanent officials who are provoking the people and creating alarm in the country. Thirdly, it is not within the power of any one man, even if he wished it, to suspend a movement adopted by the nation through its representative assemblies. Fourthly, what does Mr. Riza Ali mean by suspension of non-co-operation? Should the title-holders temporarily recall their titles, the lawyers resume practice, the school-boys return to Government schools, the spinners put away their spinning wheels, carpenters cease making new wheels, and tipplers renew their acquaintance with the publicans? Does Mr. Riza Ali desire that national schools should for the time being close their doors?......... If Englishmen mean well by India, if Englishmen, who are dependent upon India for their maintenance, will be true to their salt, they must be reconciled to the abolition of the drink traffic and the total destruction of the traffic in foreign cloth and, therefore, also Lancashire cloth. Even when the Khilafat is fully protected, and the Punjab wound healed, the drink revenue cannot be revived nor the use of foreign cloth resumed. What surprises one is that there are intelligent and educated public workers in the country who do not see that this Government must proceed from wrong to wrong, so long as it does not cleanse itself of the original sins. No doubt it can, if it will, even without redressing the two wrongs, co-operate with the people in the two great dynamic movements—the battle against the drink evil and reinstatement of the spinning wheel in all its ancient dignity and purity. It will then break the edge of the two wrongs. Such a co-operation by the Government with the people will, however, increase the capacity of the people to ensure rectification of the two wrongs, and for that very reason the Government will not allow the peaceful progress of the drink campaign and boycott of foreign cloth by increased home-manufacture through the spinning wheel."

Only total surrender by Government will kill the unrest in India.
Vande Mâtaram (new), 14th Mar., Eng. cols.

6. "The Indian unrest is no temporary ebullion of temper. It has deeper roots than Sir Godfrey is willing to acknowledge. The nation has increased its vitality, its grit and its capacity for self-sacrifice. Intelligent recruits to non-violence are increasing every day by thousands, and nothing but total surrender by the Government will kill the unrest. With a Government at peace with its people, the Bolshevik, Afghan or Tribal menaces do not count. For a Government at war with its own people, there no end to internal or external dangers. The solution of the existing internal question will mean the removal of all other menaces. A Territorial Force of millions can sweep all menaces before its mighty onrush. But Government dreads the creation of such a force. The remedy lies in the hands of Government itself but it is deliberately blind. The problem of acute Indian unreset will continue so long

as the Government unrepentantly clings to power. It is however, the endeavour of the leaders of the nation to end the fight successfully within the year."

Reflections on the Satyagraha Week.
Praja Bandhu (30), 10th Apl., Eng. cols.; *Deshi Mitra* (66), 14th Apl.

7. "To-day is the fifth day of the Satyagraha Week. This time two years ago Rowlattism struck the heart of the nation, and brought forth the majesty of her Soul. Since then she has cast aside her old weakness, and New Life has been welling up from her inmost recesses and flooding every fibre of her frame. She has given up the old attitude of bending her knees and folding her hands before the Master's table for a few crumbs from his sumptuous dishes, and taken the strings of her destiny into her own hands. She has realised the immense potency of her limitless man-power, and a band of selfless workers is mobilising it with great tact and skill in the direction of *swaraj*, the goal of our national achievements and aspirations. If its efforts are crowned with success, as we have no doubt they will be, we shall offer to the world a new civilization based on the eternal rock of peace and love......... The fiat has gone forth for one crore of rupees, one crore of manhood and womanhood, and 20 *lakhs* of charkhas or spinning wheels. With the help of these 'men, money and munitions' India hopes to chase away the shadows of darkness from her soil, and light the lamp of liberty that will illuminate the remotest corners of the earth. May the God of Nations bless her, and endow her with His infinite strength and wisdom!" [Commenting upon the celebration of the Satyagraha Week, the *Deshi Mitra* writes:—The week has been celebrated throughout India in a satisfactory manner. It seems, therefore, that there will be no delay in securing *Swaraj* if we conduct the non-co-operation movement in its pure form. Indians cannot possibly forget the occurrences of the 6th and 13th April. The wounds caused by those occurrences may be healed up but the disgrace attached to them will not be erased from memory. Our wrongs in the matter of the Punjáb and Khilafat affairs have not yet been righted and we look up to Lord Reading for justice. We have no doubt that we shall attain the goal of our ambition if we carry out the programme sketched out by Mr. Gandhi.]

Silent work being done by non-co-operators.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Apl.

8. "What has caused the Indian Moderates to imagine that the Non-co-operation movement can be said to be in any sense a failure?......... They cannot understand a silent movement—silent for the very excellent reason that its members are hard at work constructing something for the good of India......... Already hundreds of the young men of India, who but a month or two ago were listless students in the schools are working, out among the villages, in the hot sun, with labourers, preaching by example the great truth of Indian motherhood, working for the emancipation of the poor and outcast from the thraldom of ignorance and the economic servitude from which a century of British rule has not released them. Can anybody say that those young men are not receiving better, more ennobling education through this loving service of their brothers than that they could obtain in any school or university? .... Thousands of Indians are now actively engaged in trying to eradicate the evil of drink from among the people, in education work, in striving to remove the blot on India which is implied in the mere thinking of the word 'untouchable' regarding anyone of Indian birth. From among these earnest workers, not the talkers, will the Indian leaders of the future rise."

United Provinces Government's circular against non-co-operation.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Apl.

9. Referring to a recent United Provinces Government circular against non-co-operation, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"In this circular, which is a clear declaration of a ruthless war against the non-co-operation movement, there is not, it will be seen, even the usual pretence of warning subordinate officialdom against excesses of zeal in the pursuit of their 'unpleasant' duty of putting down a political movement. On the other hand, Sir Harcourt Butler's Government seem to be apprehensive lest the men on the spot should

hesitate or fail to wield all the 'legitimate,' that is to say, both the legal and extra-legal, weapons which they, in virtue of their position as integral parts of the machinary, are in a position to resort to with impunity. Not only are all the weapons in the legal armoury of the State to be freely used but officers of all grades in the district are exhorted to leave no stone unturned to put down the movement. The rules forbidding Government servants from attending political meetings are thrown overboard with a view to enable the officials to conduct their recruiting campaign properly.......... Further, the pensioners, 'specially the military pensioners', are to be rallied to the 'cause' and made to justify the last link which holds them on to the Government side.......... In fine every Government servant 'worth his salt,' is to be pressed into service and the entire administrative machinary made to bear down, like a 'tank,' on the Non-co-operators. Lest any of the officials should still feel that the instructions contained in the circular are not comprehensive enough, Government remove all doubts on the subject by declaring that 'there is no intention that the hints given in this letter should be regarded as in any way exhaustive.' No more definite *carte blanche* than this could have been given by any superior authority to a subordinate.......... We must say that such an eventuality was not unexpected by the rank and file of the national movement and we have reason to believe that they are fully prepared to face the ordeal. Otherwise, they could not be deserving of the victory which they hope to win."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Hailey's reply at his recent Conference with the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 15th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 15th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 15th Apl.; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 16th Apl.

10. Commenting upon the reply given by the Honourable Mr. W. M. Hailey in his conference with the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in Bombay, the *Sánj Vartamán* writes :—Mr. Hailey's reply in the matter of the relief sought on the question of exchange is disappointing. It is a good rule not to interfere in the commercial transactions of individuals, but since the present muddle is due to the exchange policy of Government, it is they who should try to bring about a compromise and reimburse the Indian merchants for the loss they have suffered in the transactions entered under the supposition that exchange would be maintained at 2 shillings per rupee. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—The only portion of Mr. Hailey's reply that is likely to gratify the public is that which gives them an assurance that no more action will be taken by Government in the matter of exchange without consulting the Indian Legislature. We feel sure that the public will not fail to respond to the appeal made by Mr. Hailey in the matter of Government loans, but we would like to point out that it is a bad practice to allow Provincial Governments to raise loans only after the Government of India have raised theirs on favourable terms. Why should Provincial Governments be compelled to float their loans after the Government of India loans have been subscribed for? There ought to be no rivalry between Imperial and Provincial loans and all such loans should be floated simultaneously so that there would be no cause for any difference in their rates of interest. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses disappointment at Mr. Hailey's refusal to grant any relief to Indian merchants in the matter of exchange but expresses gratification that Government will not make any change in the financial policy without consulting the legislature. The *Bombay Samáchár* also considers the reply to be disappointing on the whole and wishes Mr. Hailey had given some definite assurance about rehabilitating the 3 and 3½ per cent. Government loans.]

Comments on Mr. Tairsi's cablegram to the Premier in connection with the miners' strike.

Bhárat Seva (16), 15th Apl.

11. The *Bhárat Seva* condemns the action taken by Mr. Lakhmidas Tairsi in sending a cablegram to the Prime Minister asking him to make use of General Dyer to deal with the critical situation arising out of the miners' impending strike and remarks :—It is disgraceful to make fun and to taunt Mr. Lloyd George thus when England is on the brink of civil war. The sender of the message is an avowed non-co-operationist and as such it is his duty to refrain from causing pain to any one. We do not think Mr. Gandhi will be gratified by the message referred to above which is on the very face of it unsympathetic and unkind in its tone.

Deprecation of unseemly attacks on Government.

Musáfir (166), 2nd Apl.

12. In Champaran one Ramchand has been arrested under section 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code for uttering the following words in his address: 'That Englishmen were originally monkeys but were transformed into human beings by pulling out their face-hair and washing their faces; that their eyes were cat-like and their bodies had a colour resembling white leprosy; that they came for a small favour but claimed everything and thus seized hold of the whole of India.' While perusing the above vaunt we are reminded of another uttered by one of our citizens of the Bhaiband community at Karáchi who said that the English came as beggars but settled down as masters. We cannot understand why these braggarts should forget their own past history at the time of delivering their harangues at public meetings. Were their forefathers rulers or have they also risen from lower ranks? In a fair fight it behoves a man to gain his point by means of arguments and not by the use of vituperative tongue. By bringing the present system of Government unnecessarily into contempt and causing innocent people to lose all respect for its laws and rules we can never bring any good to the country, nay we shall thereby only plunge the country into such chaos that it would be impossible for her to rise again. It would be well if the above vaunting fellows paid some heed to these remarks made by us.

Government are the greatest propagandists of Bolshevism in India.

Vande Mataram (new), 14th Mar., Eng. cols.

13. "The British Government both in England and India is horribly afraid of the Bolshevik attack on India. It would appear that the shrewd Bolshevik Commissars are doing their best to play upon the fears of the British Government and are setting afloat in the air all sorts of stories to unnerve the Government. There seems to be a Department for Eastern Propaganda at Moscow which is said to have submitted reports of its work to the Bolshevik Conference at Bremen......... There is no danger of foreign importation of Bolshevism in India. The greatest propagandists of Bolshevism is our Government itself."

Importance of observing the anniversary of the Jallianwalla tragedy as a day of mourning.

Karma Veera (88), 15th Apl.

14. In the contemporay History of India the 13th day of April 1919, will be remembered as the day on which the British Government, which poses as the *mábap* of the people, made a deep and incurable wound in the hearts of the Indian people. On that day, the British, by the ruthless massacre of Hindus and Muhammadans who were unarmed, innocent and peaceful and of young boys of ten or twelve years, betrayed the trust reposed in them by the people and showed that they were devoid of any sense of justice and gratitude. The blood which Hindus and Muhammadans shed while they were being butchered in this way, flowed in one undivided stream and cemented the unity of the two communities. The Indians, who had been fascinated by the sweet words of the British, realised on that day the deadly poison that was hidden in their breasts. It is true that the relatives and the well-wishers of those who were massacred in the Jallianwala Bagh suffered a grievous loss. But it is our firm belief that it is through such sufferings alone that an enslaved nation can find the path of its future happiness. History and the Puranas abound in instances which go to prove the truth of this assertion. According to the Mahabharata, the day on which the honour of the chaste Draupadi was violated was the very day on which the Pandawas took a solemn vow to destroy the Kauravas. Similarly, according to the Ramayana, Rama's resolve to destroy Ravana was made on the same day on which the latter abducted Seeta. Besides, if we look to the History of Italy, Switzerland and Poland, we shall find that the days on which these nations resolved to obtain their independence were exactly the days on which they had been subjected to the greatest sufferings.

Religious history proves the same thing still more clearly. The moment Christ was crucified the influence of Christianity began steadily to increase until it spread throughout the two continents of Europe and America. Since the day on which Muhammad, no longer able to bear the persecution of his enemies, fled to Medina the influence of Islam began to make itself felt with the greatest vigour. A great many of our people have suffered misfortunes and many others have died. But from these sufferings and these deaths India has obtained an instrument of perpetual happiness, and that instrument is the unity of Hindus and Moslems and their determination to make India free.

Indians cannot call the British Government satanic so long as they themselves are under the sway of Satan.

Navjivan (75), 10th Apl.

15. In the course of an article in a supplement to the *Navjivan*, Mr. Gandhi expresses strong disapproval of the use made by a village cartman of a stick with a spike at one end to goad the bullocks and make them run fast and gives vent to the following reflections:—If the cartman had given the question a thought he would have sympathised with the bullocks and refrained from using a spiked stick for driving them. The more I think in the matter the greater becomes the number of conditions we must fulfil to be considered fit for *Swaráj*. Where shall we fix the boundary if we have to secure *Swaráj* by self-purification? Will it be enough to consider the *Bhangi* as our real brother? What of the beasts? They have feelings of pleasure and pain just as we have. Some of us are clamouring for getting General Dyer hanged. What must be the judgment of God who listens to the complaints of the beasts against men? We Hindus consider the cows to be dear as our own lives and still we use the spike to drive the bullocks, overload them, give them the minimum amount of food and milk the cow to the last drop of blood. What right have we to ask the Mahommedans not to slaughter the cow? We sin against the beasts in a conscious manner, and so we cannot expect any pardon for our sins. *Swaráj* means the kingdom of righteousness. Removing the present form of Government and replacing it by a similar one would not mean *Swaráj*. We must be free from the sway of Satan before stigmatising the present form of Government as satanic. The present form of Government will cease as soon as we get ourselves free from the sway of Satan. It is on this account that I say that we can secure *Swaráj* in seven months. Actions follow as the natural consequences of thought, and so we can improve our conduct in a moment by merely changing our thoughts.

India's representative should be given a voice at the time of the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Apl.

16. **"It is uncertain as yet whether the 'representative' of India will be invited to press the Indian point of view regarding the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance which, it is understood, will be one of the important subjects to be considered by the Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers in London. From whatever point of view we consider the Alliance, it is of as much concern to India as to any of the other members of the British Commonwealth; and India, therefore, has as much right to be heard in connection with the renewal of the Alliance as Australia, Canada or any other Dominion.......... We referred two months ago to a statement by Mrs. Besant that Indians seeking to put an end to British domination in India would have to take into account not only the armed might of the entire British Empire, but also the support of Japan to the latter. The plain meaning of this warning is that Japan is bound by her alliance with Great Britain to assist the latter to put down any 'rebellious' movement in this country.......... But a Japanese journal, the *Asian Review*, undertook recently to allay our apprehensions by stating that by the alliance Japan is bound to assist England only when India is attacked by a third party from outside.......... But, obviously, India requires a more definite and authortitative assurance than the opinion of a solitary Japanese journal. The recesses of secret diplomacy are so inscrutable that only a clear and unambiguous assurance on the part of responsible Ministers can allay the suspicions of India in this respect. It is to be hoped that such an authoritative statement**

will be forthcoming at the June Conference and that the 'representative' of India will be permitted equal opportunities with the Dominions for discussing the terms of any alliance that may be contracted with Japan."

Patriotism is a crime in the eyes of the C. P. and Berar Government.
Mahrátta (8), 17h Apl.

*17. "We do not know to what length the C. P. and Berar Government will go in their frantic attempts to kill the public life in their province. It seems that they have lost all balance of mind and in their terror for non-co-operation they are dealing blows in the air. They held themselves to ridicule by their war against innocent caps and now they are putting their repressive screw on the devoted heads of the Government servants. In order to make this strategy effective, they are spreading their net far and wide and they mean to establish that even the Patils and Patwaris, who nominally held their lands as such, are also Government servants. A notice has been served by the Sub-Divisional officer of Yeotmal on Mr. G. N. Hood, one of the leading members of the Yeotmal Bar and a leading Nationalist, to show cause why proceedings should not be taken against him. It has been said in the notice that he is a Patil and Patwari of seven villages in Yeotmal sub-division and he has acted against the Government in taking part in political agitation freely and unreservedly. The list of offences given is indeed surprising.......... On the decision of the question as to whether the Patils and Patwaris own their lands on the sufferance of the Government hangs the fate of the public life in the Berars, because they have taken a prominent part in all public activities. But the question at issue is of greater import. Does it amount to working against the Government, if one is a secretary of the Ganapati festival? Is it an offence to be a member of the Home Rule League, or Congress Committee or District Association? If that is decided to be so, patriotism itself will be tabooed as a heinous offence under a Government that loudly professes to be a people's Government. The fact is that in spite of their boasted desire to put India on the road to Swarajya, the bureaucracy is directly antagonistic towards all organised public life in the country. In the Berars at least patriotism is a crime in the eyes of the Government.

Reflections on the anniversary of Jallianwalla Bagh (13th April).
Sánj Vartamán (33), 15th Apl., Eng. cols.

18. Writing about the anniversary of Jallianwalla Bagh, 13th April, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—"Amongst the hierarchy of Indian saints will figure, Dyer, O'Dwyer, Chelmsford, Irving and Bosworth Smith and other worthies!......... Indeed, India even now would have been trotting the same old path of meek submission and resignation, if the above worthies had not powerfully stirred up the Indians out of their lethargy. Do these criminals—we mean India's future saints—not deserve any thanks from us for performing so momentous a task? Indeed, we cannot thank them enough. It was a happy day when the Rowlatt Act was passed! And it was a happy inspiration when in the teeth of an unanimous opposition, Lord Chelmsford gave his sanction to the above Act! Poor man! He thought he was putting bounds on India's freedom! Innocent man! He was, in fact, signing the *magna charta* of India's freedom! India's eyes were opened by the passing of the Rowlatt Act and the process of opening continued till it culminated at Jallianwalla Bagh. Thus the importance and significance of the 13th April becomes manifest. Of all the days, this is the day for action. Of all the days, this is the day for making fresh resolutions. Every patriotic Indian should resolve that during the year he would, by word and action, contribute his mite, be it ever so humble, towards the attainment of his country's goal of destiny—Swaraj. The latter might come within six months, or six years, or sixty years, but our duty for our country is plain and open. Day after day, and year after year, let us be watching the pole-star of our destiny—Swaraj, and contributing by all our might and main for securing it."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Apl.

19. "The Jallianwalla massacre was a crime against humanity, and to-day, when Indians will remember the innocent victims who were mown down without cause or mercy, the emotions that will surge in their breasts

will be shared by all men and women to whatever race, creed or colour they belong.......... The redress of that wrong has been delayed so long that India has lost all hope of getting justice from Britain. Through Jallianwalla she has won her own freedom. What remains to be redeemed is Britain's honour. To-day she pays her homage of love to those whose sacrifice won freedom for her.......... Lord Reading is now amongst the people of India. We do not believe that he can avoid sharing the feelings for the slain that stir the hearts of Indians to-day. He has told them that he is determined to do the just and right thing by them. His decision to visit Lahore before going to Simla is a happy augury and one more proof of the earnestness and sincerity of his determination. We trust he will not fail to miss any opportunity of getting at the truth about the Punjab from all sources when he is in Lahore and he will strike a responsive chord in the heart of every Indian by visiting the Jallianwalla Bagh. His task is to redeem Britain's honour by doing justice to India. India has made it clear what justice she demands and is entitled to. She wants a practical repudiation of the motives and ideas which prompted the dragooning and humiliation of her sons and daughters in the Punjab."

Reflections on the money spent on New Delhi.
Hindu (163), 3rd Apl.

20 Money is being spent like water on New Delhi for the comforts of the bureaucracy. The blood sucked out from the Indians in the shape of taxation is being thus wasted by the bureaucracy. Our chief regret is, that our brothers in the Councils are a party to this sin. While on the one hand the Government is saying that there is not a single pie to spare to spend on improvements, on the other, crores of rupees are being thrown away to erect bungalows for the comfort of officers! Even an Anglo-Indian paper like the *Englishman* says that Government ought to stop the work of New Delhi at once! That officers should live luxuriously in bungalows at the expense of the tax-paying public in a country where hunger and disease are working havoc shows to what depths the system of administration in that country has fallen and become useless and unsympathetic. While Anglo-Indian papers have also taken exception to the proposed expenditure on New Delhi, the members of the Indian Legislature have done nothing in the matter. The latter are probably pleased at the prospect of witnessing fine roads and new bungalows of New Delhi and they long for those days when at each session of the Council they will revel in the luxury of that earthly paradise, no matter whether it has been erected from the blood of the poor subjects! Neither the members who call themselves the people's representatives nor the officers feel themselves concerned with the real good for the country. They care only for their own honour and enjoyment.

Satyagraha in Mulshi Peta (District Poona) in connection with acquisition of land for Tata and Company.
Mahrātta (8), 17th Apl.

*21. "It is said that delay is dangerous, but there are cases when it borders on criminality and such a case is presented by the Government of Bombay in dealing with the question of Mulshi. From the first, the Government have not grasped the spirit that had prompted the Mavalas of Mulshi Peta to resist all aggression on their homes under the specious clauses of the Land Acquisition Act. The Mavalas love their land dearly, so much so that they would rather die than leave their lands and homesteads.......... Secondly, there are ancient temples and places of worship which they will defend at the cost even of their lives. The very idea that these temples along with their houses and lands are to be perpetually submerged under water is revolting to them, and the dogged spirit of battle that courses along with blood in their veins impels them to resist by every possible means the intended attack on their rights.......... Under these circumstances the Government ought to have thought ten times before they consented to allow the Tata Company to develop their Hydro-electric schemes which involved the submerging of the lands of these Mavalas under water. The question ought to have been handled more carefully and tenderly than is done by the Government in this case. They never entered into the spirit of the Mavalas or ever consulted them or their leaders before they decided that it was a public purpose, and a purpose which warranted the deprivation of the lands of thousands of Mavalas.......... But even from the stand-point of practical consideration we ask whether it is worth while to sow discontent among thousands of people who would carry the cross of revenge with them, wherever they are driven to. The mighty Government and the 'courageous' Councillors who bask in their sunshine, may laugh at the thought, but we need not say that it is the accumulated effect of these small currents of discontent flowing through highly combustible material that directly produces the bursts of volcanoes. If the Government desires to remedy the evil they can do so even now. They must not yield their souls to the profit-grabbing capitalists. There is no use talking of compensations now. Because what can in this world compensate the loss of a loving heart, the loss of beloved land, or the loss of self-respect and honour?......... In the Legislative Council, when the question was discussed, Sir George Curtis, on behalf of the Government, promised in pompous terms thus-wise: 'The rate at which those compensations were going to be settled, would be public property in less than an hour and those of the Mulshi scheme in less than a week.' Weeks after weeks have elapsed and the rate is neither the public property nor the private property of any body. Where is that 'liberal compensation' 'in kind or money' promised to be given at an early date? The advisory committee by its resolution deferred Satyagraha 'in order that Government authorities may have fair opportunity to negotiate with land-holders and give definite pledges of satisfaction in respect of the so-called generous compensation promised in the Legislative Council or exchange of suitable land and also to enable the question of amendment of the Land Acquisition Act being taken up.' But the Government did not move a single inch. In a letter addressed to Mr. N. C. Kelkar by the Collector of Poona he simply informed him that the engineers of Tata Company were of opinion that no land would be submerged under water till the end of 1922. This bland assertion cannot be expected to improve matters. And lastly came the ill-timed and indiscreet speech of His Excellency in which he promised the full support of the Government to all such schemes, of course subject to adequate protection of existing rights, and it added fuel to the fire instead of pouring oil on troubled waters. The Mavalas therefore have a just and strong cause. Mahatma Gandhi had laid down three essential conditions which could justify Satyagraha and all three are present in this case. The three conditions are that the cause must be just, that the people must desire redress of the grievance and that the Satyagraha must be non-violent in its strictest sense. As shown above the cause is just and the people are ready to lay down their lives for their rights. In the notice to the Collector the signatories pledge themselves to observe strict non-violence. All these conditions will, we hope, ensure success of this Satyagraha. Of course, we cannot speculate upon the consequences. None can do it. Satyagraha by masses is not as yet practised on this side; however we can assure all that non-violence even under provocation would be the guiding feature of it. But will Government still intervene and stop the work of the dam? We know we shall be ridiculed by the capitalist press and also will be charged with 'perverse economics,' if we ask, what would Government have done, had there not been such 'conveniences' for the Hydro-electric schemes on this side of India. For the matter of that there are nations that go without such schemes. Why, even Bombay was and is as happy as it can be, without such schemes in the days past and even to-day. It can afford to go without these savings of coal and the consequent industrial advancement. The Nation does not care for this 'advancement' and it is both in the interest of the Government and the people to stop these schemes. Let us wait and see whether the whole matter comes to an honourable end."

Kesari (120), 12th Apl.; *Lokasangraha* (123), 14th Apl.; *Swardjya* (149), 14th Apl.; *Dnydn Prakdsh* (42), 13th Apl.

22. In spite of the decision of the committee appointed by the Baramati Conference to postpone *satyagraha*, the people of Mulshi Petha have resolved to resort to it from the Ramanavami day. The Collector's letter to Mr. N. C. Kelkar in connection with the question has been sent to us. Even if what the Collector says about the year upto which the Mulshi lands will not be submerged and about the early grant of compensation be true, it is not enough to satisfy the Mavalas, who demand that their lands should never be taken from them. The Governor's recent speech on the subject of the construction of similar other reservoirs has, we think, shattered whatever hopes might have been entertained with regard to the policy of Government. That speech must have had the effect of precipitating the decision of the people to commence passive resistance immediately. That speech was indeed a challenge to the people of Mulshi Petha. [The *Lokasangraha* remarks:—To destroy the homesteads of thousands of peasants in order to supply electricity to Bombay is inhuman. Is it justice to turn thousands of people out of their homes to fill the pockets of a few individuals in the name of industrial regeneration? Is it not better that Bombay should go without electricity than that thousands should be rendered homeless? Moreover, the ancient Hindu temples which stand on these sites will also be submerged. And will that not be a terrible shock to the religious sentiments of the people? There can be nothing more sad and exasperating than that Government should disregard the above facts and back up the Tata scheme simply to save a few thousand tons of coal? This is an indirect interference with people's religion. These temples are, moreover, to be destroyd in a valley in which only three centuries back the Mavalas sacrificed their lives for the sake of Shivaji! Did Government consult the Mavalas in the matter of this scheme? They know perfectly well that they will be crushed if Government interfere in this struggle in favour of the company. But will it be wise for Government to do so? The best thing that Government can do is to stop immediately the construction of the dam. The *Swarájya* hopes that His Excellency the Governor will see that the agriculturists of Mulshi are not deprived of their ancestral lands and that they hold the scales even between them and the Tata Company. The *Dnyán Prakásh* asks Government to announce the grant of very liberal compensation to the agriculturists of Mulshi and thinks that ample land can be found by Government to give in exchange to the agriculturists who do not want monetary compensation.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 16th Apl.

23. There is again *satyagraha* in the Bombay Presidency. It is now directed towards the hydro-electric scheme of Messrs. Tata Sons and Company for which Government have taken steps to acquire a certain area of land under the Land Acquisition Act. We are really sorry for the unrest among the villagers and Government should take immediate steps to remove it. At a time when the non-co-operation movement is going on and discontent is increasing among the people, this new disturbance is undesirable. Hence we hope that the Government of our sympathetic Governor Sir George Lloyd will lend a sympathetic ear and promptly remove the grievances of the people. The resolution on the subject passed at the last Session of the local Legislative Council stated that Government should take the necessary steps to pay liberal compensation to the owners of the land either in the shape of money or land. Hence the step taken by the people of Mulshi Peta is premature, hasty and frivolous. Sufficient time should be given to Government to put into practice the recommendations of the Council. Mr. Gupte sounded a note of warning in the Council by declaring that the people of Mulshi Petha had taken the *Satyagraha* vow because they had lost all hope of obtaining any justice from Government. But if Government have undertaken to compensate them liberally at once, we do not understand why the poor cultivators should pick up a quarrel either with Government or the Tata company. We still wish that the leading citizens of Poona would prevent them from taking this wrong step. We are sure that the Government of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will settle this matter satisfactorily.

The Satanic influence of Government on Indians who take up high posts.
Vande Mataram (new), 4th Apl.

24. The *Vande Mataram* quotes what Pandit Jagat Narain who is now a member of the Executive Council of the United Provinces said in the year 1916 about the new awakening in India, and remarks:—When Pandit Jagat Narain spoke the above words in 1916 he was a free man. But today when he is a Government member, he has made common cause with that Government by his assenting to the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act to the United

Provinces! But the poor Pandit is not to blame. The system of Government itself is such, that, however good a man may be, he gets ground down under its wheel if he happens to be entangled into its meshes. Even angels cannot get out of this "Satanic" system. This "Satanic" system is such that men get thoroughly demoralised under it. Mr. Chintamani, a Moderate leader, who is now a Minister, has also lent his support to the extension of the repressive policy to the United Provinces, although all the Moderate papers have condemned the action of the Government. Whether Moderates or Extremists, no sooner are they in Government employ or under Government control, than they would care a fig for the people. They would cooperate with the Government, little minding whether their brothers are killed or harassed. The present Government is called "satanic" because men like Pandit Jagat Narain and Chintamani have also made common cause with the Government in adopting repression. It is that satanic influence on such Indians which makes them do things against their own country.

The task before His Excellency Lord Reading.
Gujaráti (17), 10th Apl.; *Insáf* (72), 8th Apl.; *Model* (28), 10th Apl.

25. The non-co-operators have already expressed the opinion that Lord Reading will not be able to give justice to the Indian people as he will consult his colleagues in the Executive Council and the members of the new reformed Councils who are mostly Moderates and opposed to the non-co-operation movement. We are, however, of the opinion that Lord Reading, being of a judicial frame of mind, will arrive at no decision without hearing both sides. We do not think Lord Reading will give a hearing to the leaders of the non-co-operation movement unless they are prepared to discuss matters with him without making any preliminary conditions. Lord Reading commands the confidence of men of all shades of opinion in Parliament and so he will receive support from England in any policy that he chooses to adopt. Such a state of affairs has its advantages and disadvantages. On his landing at Bombay Lord Reading expressed his desire of doing justice and he will have to mix freely with the Indian people to know their grievances and to gain their esteem. It appears from his reply to the address of the Bombay Municipal Corporation that Lord Reading possesses a sympathetic heart and that he means to do justice irrespective of caste or creed. What more do the Indians want? Lord Reading will be able to allay public discontent if he succeeds in doing justice. [The *Insáf* writes:—"Feelings of gratification have engendered in the hearts of the people owing to the words of sympathy and hope uttered by Lord Reading on his landing at Bombay and high hopes are being raised that His Excellency will be able to right the wrongs inflicted upon India in the past. Should Lord Reading call a round-table conference of all popular leaders we feel sure that some compromise will be arrived at and a way will be found for introducing peace and happiness in the country. The *Model* remarks:—"Lord Reading should call a round-table conference of leaders of the people; but on no account should Mr. Gandhi be excluded from it. We do not, however think it necessary to suspend the non-co-operation movement even during the sitting of such a conference."]

Sind Vasi (168), 6th Apl.; *Bhárátwasi* (162), 6th Apl.

26. The speech of Lord Reading on his landing at Bombay is an encouraging one. We feel confident that the new Viceroy will do something substantial for India. The speech is interesting from several points of view to the reader. His Excellency made a gratifying response to the special reference that had been made in the address in regard to the ancient race to which he belonged. From such utterances of His Excellency we feel inclined to opine that he is not an ordinary man to make promises one day and to break them the next day like some of his weaker-minded predecessors. [The *Bhárátwasi* writes:—We welcome Lord Reading not because he comes as "our" Viceroy. So long as a foreigner or even our own countryman comes as Governor or as Governor-General without the consent of the Indians, however good he may be, it is not at all a matter for gratification or pride. Lord Reading himself will realise the justice of this remark. Notwithstanding that we welcome him because we hear that, he is a good man as can be concluded from his first speech. May he succeed in his object! May peace and quietude reign in this country in his time. As Lord Reading says he will await inquiry, so it behoves us to remain quiet and put no obstacles in his work.]

Hindu (163), 3rd Apl.

27. What heritage has been received by Lord Reading? Jallianwala massacres, Martial law atrocities, discontent and distrust all round, rancour and rage for violation of the British pledges in the matter of Khilafat, sorrow and lamentation among victims of the bureaucratic injustice, and empty reforms form the heritage of Lord Reading. The empty reforms having reduced the country to a state of bankruptcy have resulted in our losing even the last ray of hope that we had in the British raj. For Lord Reading, the post of Viceroyalty will not be a bed of roses but of thorns. We shall wait to see how he acquits himself in this post. There is only one way in which he can discharge his duties creditably, and that is, that he should punish the perpetrators of cruelties in the Punjab and give Indians an assurance that in future their lives would not be considered as worth nothing. If Lord Reading desires to have a peaceful time and to leave a good name behind, he ought to stand by Indians in the cause of the Khilafat, should sincerely try to restore them to their rights and if British Government fails to respond, should as a proof of his sincerity resign his post by way of protest. The Indians have entirely lost confidence in British justice and statesmanship and they are firmly resolved upon freeing themselves by securing *Swaraj* within one year. At this critical moment if Lord Reading wishes to make his regime successful he should like a true Englishman be at the head of the popular movement and by crushing the power of the bureaucracy establish *Swaraj* in the country. Thus alone the confidence of the people in British justice and statesmanship would be restored. Although Lord Reading has got a store of sorrows and anxieties as his heritage, he has a good opportunity too to win a great name for himself as well as to save the honour and glory of his own country. Let us see how he acquits himself.

Lord Reading should resign as a protest against the obstinate and unsympathetic bureaucracy.
Vande Mátaram (new), 14th Mar., Eng. cols.

28. "Lord Reading has been advertising his concern for the principle of justice a great deal. He has been promising us a rule of fairness and justice. As the forces of reaction in England and India begin to disclose themselves to his view, his expectations of his own future achievements in India seem to be undergoing revision.......... Let neither our new Viceroy nor those of our countrymen who are clinging to visions of better times under a 'just' Viceroy, labour under the delusion that an Indian Viceroy is a master of his own actions. He is as much in the grip of the I. C. S. as Czar Nicholas was in the grip of his aristocratic officialdom. If Lord Reading wishes to do justice to India, he can do it only by one action. He must within a month of his assumption of office tender his resignation as a protest against an obstinate and unsympathetic bureaucracy."

Appeal to Lord Reading to put a stop to the present repressive policy against national workers.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 13th Apl., Eng. Cols.

29. "The campaign of repression, as we all know, is the last legacy and gift to India of the ex-Viceroy. Contrary to his early declaration, a violent campaign of repression has been launched against all nationalist workers. Every day tells the same story. Good and earnest public workers, trying to educate the public opinion in the country are mercilessly caught and deprived of all liberty of speech or action. Newspapers that are engaged in the equally useful task of carrying on the propagandic work of national awakening, are either gagged mercilessly or indemnified in a heavy sum. Thus slowly but surely the act of exasperating the people is going on, and it is time Lord Reading should know at the earliest possible moment that unless, without loss of unnecessary time, the policy of his predecessor is reversed, there are likely to be consequences the gravity of which cannot easily be estimated......... We are firmly convinced that as long as non-co-operation adheres to the essence of non-violence, it is the Government's

duty to oppose the Gandhian teaching by propaganda only.......... Now the Government knows that the people are defenceless and without any arms and in a vast majority of cases are followers of the principle of non-violence, and hence, we think, that the Government is not at all playing the game by opposing non-violent measures. Apart from the injustice of the action, as we have repeatedly pointed out, the policy of repression is providing non-co-operation with a powerful fillip and thus the result is exactly the opposite of that desired by the Government. Those who know anything of mass-mentality know well that the public are likely to do quite the opposite of that they are forcibly commanded not to do."

Comments on Lord Reading's proposed visit to Láhore.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 12th Apl., Eng. cols.

30. Referring to Lord Reading's intention to visit Lahore, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—"This is the first notable point of difference between the present Viceroy and his predecessor. Lord Chelmsford refused, or never proposed, to visit Láhore or the Punjáb after the tragic occurrences of Jallianwala Bagh and elsewhere in the Punjáb. He never admitted that it was his first and urgent duty to enquire presonally and on the spot into the excesses practised in the Punjáb under the authority of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, who, in the opinion of Lord Chelmsford, was one of the 'greatest Lieutentant-Governors anywhere in India'.......... We need not speculate as to the object of Lord Reading's informal visit to Lahore. If it is a visit of personal investigation and inquiry no early announcement of results need be expected; if his Excellency has to announce any decision arrived at in consultation with the Secretary of State for India and the Cabinet we shall hear about it early enough. But the first surmise is more likely than the second and we deprecate any impatience on this particular subject. The great thing is that Lord Reading has lost no time in visiting Lahore and this fact by itself is one on which the country is to be congratulated. The trouble in the Punjab, great as it was, is by no means over. The policy of repression, if not pursued on so large or bitter a scale, has not been abandoned. The Seditious Meetings Act has been proclaimed in the Lahore district itself. Public leaders have been prohibited from attending or addressing public meetings. Then there is the tragedy at Nankana and the outburst of fanatical crimes among a section of the Sikhs. Has the situation been well handled or mishandled by the Punjáb Government? This is an important subject of enquiry and his Excellency the Viceroy will be in a position to make a local inquiry at Lahore.......... What is wanted just now is firmness and promptitude of decision and action. There has been no radical change in the bureaucracy of India. There is the same blind, unreasoning faith in force, the same dependence on repression to suppress national movements. Whatever else may be urged against the non-co-operation movement it is admittedly non-violent but everything possible is being done to drive it to violence. The serried ranks of the bureaucracy will be arrayed against the Viceroy when he attempts to do justice to India. But this will have to be faced and overcome. The urgency of the case needs no argument to prove it. If discontent is to be allayed, a beginning must be made at once. Tardy justice will be worse than useless. We take it that Lord Reading himself is of this opinion since he is visiting Láhore so early, and that the administration of justice with sympathy will be the immediate outcome of this visit."

His Excellency Lord Reading's reply to the Indian Merchants' Chamber's address.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Apl.

31. In the course of further comments on His Excellency Lord Reading's reply to the address of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, the *Bombay Chronicle* says:—"For our part, with all deference to the financial reputation of the Viceroy, with every desire not to complicate matters or prejudge issues, we cannot help observing that the influence of world factors in the specific currency muddle of India is exaggerated, if it is not specially created for personal ends by interested financiers.......... The Indian Currency had been managed, ever since 1899, on the basis of an artificially raised coin. We accepted payments for

our produce in this artificially appreciated currency in the faith that when we wanted the token rupee to be converted into the Standard Gold, we should have but to ask for it, and our Government would carry out our wishes. For were there not the great Reserves piling up year after year, and belonging to us? For twenty years we trusted, and in a month we were betrayed. For twenty years we saved and accumulated our resources, and in a month they were squandered away beyond the possibility of recovery.......... The Viceroy will have enough to do if he sticks to his task of doing justice to India. His Lordship is welcome not to decide until he has heard all sides. For our part we are convinced that the tragedy of the Reverse Councils could not possibly have occurred, had not India's currency been placed from the beginning of this century on a false foundation, had not India's accumulated resources been placed outside her territory and beyond her control.......... His Lordship hss told an expectant world that the Viceroyalty in India is going to be an era of justice. Does justice to the wronged involve and imply punishment to the wrong-doer? If it does, we cannot commend it too early to the attention of His Excellency that a reiteration of cosmic causes as having brought about the specific misfortunes of India will only too surely end in letting off the guilty parties, not only without punishment but also without their guilt being brought home to them, leaving thereby a legitimate doubt about the very existence of guilt at all. In the case of the currency muddle, strict, impartial justice demands that if wrong to the people of India is proved beyond the possibility of a doubt, means of reparation must be forthwith discovered. We have already suggested that the loss of 35 crores—the ostensible measure of the damage suffered—be made good by the British Imperial Government by replacing our securities, or be repaired by the Government of India by cancelling *pro tanto* our War contribution to England. We trust Lord Reading will have courage enough to enforce his decree, when he has judged and been able to allocate the blame, to fix the guilt, to devise the punishment."

The Bezwada Sessions of the All-India Congress Committee.
Gujaráti (17), 10th Apl.

32. When Indians were disappointed in all their attempts to secure justice from Government, they lost faith in British justice and had recourse to the non-violent non-co-operation movement advocated by Mr. Gandhi. The path of non-co-operation is full of difficulties and it is considered to be a dangerous one by some people. But the Nágpur Congress threw its traditions overboard and supported Mr. Gandhi's movement. Mr. Gandhi has given clear instructions to his followers to adhere to the principle of non-violence, but they have in their enthusiasm disregarded them and gone the length of disrespecting venerable leaders and ridiculing and boycotting those who are not of their opinion. It cannot, however, be said that Mr. Gandhi has failed to realise the evil effects of his movement. Moreover a consciousness of the failure of the movement and a desire to suspend it is apparent in the resolution Mr. Gandhi has submitted in the matter at the recent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bezwada, wherein he has stated that the country is not yet fit to take up civil disobedience. It will thus be seen that the Congress Committee has practically recommended the suspension of the programme adopted by the Congress at Nágpur on Mr. Gandhi's suggestion who has now realised that the people resort to mob-law in spite of the progress of non-co-operation. We are convinced that non-co-operation may be good for certain individuals but that it cannot possibly be adopted by a large mass of people as a means of self-purification What should now be done? We have not secured *swaraj* and our wrongs in the matter of the Punjáb and the Khilafat have not been redressed. In these circumstances, it is not possible to give up the non-co-operation movement. We have not even received an assurance about getting *swaraj* within a certain period of time. It will, therefore, be a great calamity to India if the Congress gives up the non-co-operation movement at this stage. Government have begun to take repressive measures against non-co-operation, but the leaders of the movement should not on that account cease to direct it on the right lines. Mr. Gandhi has appealed for a crore of rupees for the Tilak Memorial Fund. But people would like to know the details of the

scheme that may have been framed for using it. The fund should be utilised in such a manner as to secure the permanent interests of India.

Servant of India (10), 14th Apl.

33. "Whatever Mr. Gandhi's intention may be, a distinct tendency is observable in Nationalist quarters to regard the All-India Congress Committee's resolutions as practically suspending the non-co-operation movement. Indeed, the strongest argument urged by Mr. A. Rangaswami Aiyengar against the adoption of Mr. Gandhi's proposal to eject all but the actual practitioners of non-co-operation from the Congress executive bodies was just this, that since the work that lies in front of the Congress workers now is entirely unconnected with any of the recognised items of non-co-operation, but consists mainly in home-spinning and so forth, no objection can in reason be taken to the presence of the principle-*minus*-practice non-co-operationists on *Swarâj* Sabhas.......... If the movement, as to be conducted hereafter, is not even remotely connected with non-co-operation, one may ask, why was the country made to go through all the stress and strife of the last six months unnecessarily?......... Any one would accept spinning as a supplementary occupation, irrespective of his politics.......... The Viceroy may as well lead this movement of *charkas* as Mr. Gandhi. As non-co-operation is unnecessary to spinning in the future, so was it unnecessary in the past. It cannot be said that the movement could be originated only after non-co-operation had been practised for six months in councils, schools and law courts. Why then was non-co-operation foisted upon the country, and especially upon the Nationalists against their deepest instincts, if, after a few months, it has to give place to a movement which has as little connexion with non-co-operation as with its opposite."

Sânj Vartamân (33), 12th Apl.; *Bharat Seva* (16), 15th Apl.

34. We see much wisdom and foresight in the resolution arrived at by the All-India Congress Committee, which met at Bezwada at the suggestion of Mr. Gandhi to hold in abeyance the original programme of non-co-operation. The Committee has directed its energy towards the harmless but important work of collecting money for the Swaraj Fund, increasing of the membership of the Congress and reviving the hand-spinning and weaving industry of India. We have had enough of strong speeches criticising the policy of Government, but now we do not stand in need of such speeches. Such speeches bring the non-co-operation movement into discredit. We should try our best to collect funds for the Tilak Memorial Fund and to popularise the spinning wheel and do all in our power to keep the non-co-operation movement within the reasonable bounds suggested by the All-India Congress Committee. [The *Bharat Seva* considers the resolution of the Congress Committee as a confession of the failure of the non-co-operation movement and a desire on its part to suspend its operation.]

Comments on the decision of the Union Government to postpone legislation based on the Asiatic Commission's report.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Apl.

35. "The decision of the Union Government to postpone legislation based on the South African Asiatic Commission's report must be reckoned as a victory, however temporary, for the cause of our countrymen in the Union. It is obvious that the firm tone of Sir Benjamin Robertson's statement before the Commission and the strength of the feeling among Indians both in Africa and in this country has at last induced the Colonial office to cry a halt in the mad career of the South African Whites. The Union Government is now to be asked to give some weight to the views of the Government of India on the subject. It is to be hoped that the latter will not be deterred by any innate sense of 'Imperial' delicacy or courtesy from giving the Union Government a piece of their mind regarding the various acts of aggression by the latter and the consequences of persistence in such a policy.......... We hope and trust the Government of India, whatever their own opinions on the merits of 'compromise,' will, in interpreting the sentiments of our countrymen, here and abroad, say or do nothing that would convey to the colonials the impression that it is a bargain, and not a principle, that Indians are fighting for."

Comments on the report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission.

Gujaráti (17), 17th Apl., Eng. cols.

***36.** After remarking that the first part of the report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission, giving an historical survey of the whole question is quite unexceptionable, the *Gujaráti* writes :—" But the most extraordinary part of the affair is that their recommendations are in direct conflict with the spirit of the earlier part of their Report. What is most astonishing is that its president, who is a Judge of the High Court and must have drafted the Report, should have been a party to these recommendations. In Natal, the present restrictions are to be continued and the disablities of the Indians are not only to be maintained but enlarged. In the Transvaal Indians have claimed better educational facilities, enlarged franchise, the right to a minimum wage, and the right to own land. But the Commissioners have refused to support these demands. They recommend that Law 3 of 1885 relating to the Transvaal which prohibits the ownership of land by Asiatics, except in certain special places set apart for them, and other laws should remain in force. One of the reasons adduced in support of such a policy is that neither the Imperial Government nor the Government of India is now prepared to press for the repeal of that Law (3 of 1885). But Sir Benjamin Robertson's statement does not lend any countenance to this view. He pointed out that if the Asiatic's standard of living is to be raised, he must be permitted to own and occupy land. He recognised the difficulty of repealing the above and other restrictive Acts in consequence of hostile public opinion. But if the Indian is continually obstructed by insecurity of tenure and by the difficulty of obtaining land for residential purposes, it would be impossible for him to raise his standard of living. This is as plain as it can possibly be, and it is difficult to see how the Commission has misunderstood the position that was taken up by Sir Benjamin Robertson. The latter part of the Report makes it perfectly clear that the real motive underlying the recommendations is to conciliate the European settlers by pandering to their social prejudices. The Commissioners realise the injustice of driving the Indians to special locations for trading purposes. 'But such a scheme', they observe, 'will, at any rate, tend to ensure the removal of Asiatics from the immediate vicinity of European traders. And the social grievance arising from the contiguity of Asiatic residences with those of Europeans will also be obviated.' The spirit that has prompted this shameful recommendation is at the bottom of most of the restrictive, humiliating and harassing recommendations the Commissioners have embodied in their Report. In some instances they have tried to soften their rigour by suggesting the adoption of palliative or remedial measures. But that will not satisfy the Indian public. The vital question that the Imperial Government must now settle once for all relates to the position of Indians in the Empire, its colonies, protectorates and dependencies. The present situation is chaotic and is eminently calculated to add to the widespread discontent that is prevalent in the country. The South African Commission has not lightened the labours and difficulties of the Imperial Government but increased them a hundredfold by their illogical, timorous and unrighteous proposals."

Falsity of the allegation that the black population of Kenya Colony is opposed to Indians.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Apl.

37. " The statement of Lord Winterton in the House of Commons that 'the whole black population of Kenya was very strongly opposed to giving further rights to Indians' is an unmitigated falsehood......... Far from being inimical to Indians, the natives of East Africa, a large proportion of whom are Mussalmans, live in the best of frendship with the Indians, whom they have known for a far longer period of time than the White settlers......... It may be that, being deprived of franchise themselves, some of them are demanding representation in the Councils on a level with Indians, but this would not mean that they are opposed to the grant of franchise to Indians on principle. Moreover, by what means did His Lordship ascertain that the 'whole' black population was opposed to the Indian demands? How does he also propose 'to consult them' when they have been rendered voiceless by the Whites? The dodge is too patent to deceive any one. It is not the 'blacks' who are so violently opposed to the just demands of the Indians as the 'Whites,' who want to exploit the 'blacks' for their own aggrandisement."

Mr. Gandhi's contradiction of the allegation that the strike in Fiji was due to a *sadhu* sent by him there.

Young India (14), 13th Apl.

38. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Whether I am to be regarded as a reformer or a criminal, the situations I find myself in are most curious and often embarassing. The people credit me with supernatural powers when the only powers I have are derived from my scrupulous regard for truth, an unquenchable industry, fair play to opponents, readiness always to admit mistakes and an incessant appeal to reason. .... Similarly those who are not accustomed to absolutely honest dealings in politics persist in crediting me with all kinds of wickednesses. The *Morning Post* believes that the strike in Fiji was due to the efforts of a *sadhu* sent there by me. Now I do not know who the alleged *sadhu* is. I have certainly sent no one to Fiji to advice a strike. At the same time the strike having been declared in Fiji, the strikers have my sympathy. All the evidence in my possession shows that Fiji is a huge exploitation camp in which the poor Indian labourers are used by the sugar-planters for their fabulous profits."

Reflections on the treatment given to Indians in the Colonies.

Vande Mataram (new), 28th Mar., Eng. cols.

39. "The treatment meted out to Indians in the British Dominions is sufficient reason, irrespective of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, to make India decide to walk out of the Empire. The British Empire consists of seven partners and when five partners uniformly and as a policy kick at India, and the remaining partner, England, either looks on protestfully or endeavours half-heartedly to interfere, India must choose between freedom and kicks. The British Empire does not consist of England and India. There are five other unruly ill-mannered partners to be counted. Sir George Lowndes admitted the other day in one of the debating chambers at Delhi that 'the relations between India and the Dominions had never been satistactory', but he could not omit to play the usual game of throwing dust in the eyes of the councillors by opining 'but there was strong hope for the future, as India was now an equal member of the Empire'. So long as the British Parliament and the Indian Civil Service control the destinies of India, equality in the Empire in only a fantastic mirage and Sir George knows it as well as we do. That he should have yet the impudence to use the high-sounding phrase only proves the level of hypocrisy to which high officials can lower themselves."

Comments on the Greek attck on Turkey in Anatolia.

Insdf (72), 8th Apl.; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 10th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (21), 12th Apl.

40. For many years past the Christian countries are trying to destroy Turkish authority in Europe. Turkey is helpless on account of its weakness. The recent attack of Greece on Turkev is a sufficient proof of the desire to drive away all non-Christian people from Europe. Greece cannot defeat Turkey single-handed. It has attacked it without any cause because it is backed up by other Christian countries. Where is the League of Nations which was organised to secure peace for the whole world? Is not the League bound to protect small nationalities? England and America entered into war in order to protect a small country like Belgium. Why do they not take any steps against this attack of the Greeks? Do all these desire that the Turks should leave Europe bag and baggage? We do not understand why Greece should have taken such a hasty and improper step before the Turks have affixed their signature to the peace terms in London. The Indian Muhammadans are so much concerned with the preservation of the authority of Turkey, that they cannot tolerate this event. No Muhammadan can bear to see the Khilafat attacked or the holy places of Islam pass under the authority of any non-Muslim power. The Indian Muhammadans view with disgust this

step of Greece and they show their anger by passing resolutions to boycott Greek goods. They request England to protect Turkey and the Khilafat. England should not remain neutral if she wants to please seven crores of Muhammadans. The British Government should come forward to punish Greece for her wrong act and heal the injured feelings of Indian Muhammadans. We hope the Government of India will try to keep the Government in England informed of the true state of affairs and thus remove the discontent among Indian Muhammadans. [The *Praja Bandhu* remarks:—It is strange that the Allies have not tried to dissuade Greece from its attacks on Turkey. The Allies have refused to Turkey the necessary facilities for protecting herself against Greece. This conduct of the Allies is improper. From it we can only conclude that the Allies do not like it that Turkey should defeat Greece and be able to stand on its own legs again. Justice should be done to Turkey by the Allies in order to show that they are not influenced by religious fanaticism. The *Hindusthán* writes:—The information which we have received shows that England is secretly helping Greece. This help not only includes fighting men but also war materials. It must be the object of Englishmen, just as it is that of the Greeks, to drive the Turks bag and baggage out of Europe and establish Christianity everywhere in it.]

Comments on the agreements made by the Bolshevists with Persia and Afghanistan.

Bombay Samáchár (62), 13th Apl.; *Gujarát Vartamán* (69), 13th Apl.; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 10th Apl.; *Gramya Swarájya* (68), 12th Apl.

41. The Bolshivists have always been represented to us as freebooters and ruffians but the agreements they have recently concluded with Persia and Afghanistan do not tend to strengthen the adverse opinion held about them in various quarters. The terms of the agreements, on the other hand, go to show that the Bolshevists do not mean to encroach upon the liberty of other nations and that there is no truth in the fear entertained in certain quarters that they would overrun Persia and then invade India. All attempts made by Lord Curzon to get the Anglo-Persian agreement ratified have met with failure. Similarly the attempts made by the Government of India to negotiate with Afghanistan have failed and the Bolshevists have scored a success in Afghanistan. The causes of the success of the Bolshevists are quite apparent; they want to help other countries to secure freedom like their own and have foregone certain rights gained by Russia in Persia in the past to show that they are keen upon maintaining the privilege of self-determination according to the new agreement arrived at between Persia and Russia. The British troops will have to be withdrawn from Persia which will now get an opportunity of becoming self-contained. Russia has shown the magnanimity of restoring Afghan territory to that country and we think that India will be freed from a great menace if Britain adopts a liberal policy towards Persia and Afghanistan. [The *Gujarát Vartamán* writes:—The Bolshevists have already entered into an alliance with Persia and Afghanistan and as they entertain ambitions of invading India, it is to be seen what precautions the non-co-operationists, who mean to secure *Swaráj* in seven months, intend to take for our self-protection on the frontiers. Should it be the intention of the non-co-operationists to welcome the Bolshevists we have nothing to say. We have heard the non-co-operationists say that they prefer Bolshevism to British rule and we shall not be surprised if the non-co-operationists are raising all the present hubub to make the way smooth for the Bolshevists. We, however, feel sure that the arms of Government are strong enough to prevent any such contingency arising. Elsewhere the paper writes:—A new menace has arisen for India owing to the alliance made by Russia with Persia and Afghanistan. The question naturally arises whether British policy has failed in Persia and Afghanistan. The British Delegation to Kabul has not been able to achieve anything, while the Bolshevists have enlisted the sympathies of Moslem countries. In these circumstances, the need arises for strengthening our defences on the frontier. Our military expenditure is already high, but it will have to be enhanced if Persia and Afghanistan come under the sway of the Bolshevists. The *Praja Bandhu* writes:—The political alliance made by the Bolshevists with three Islamic powers in Asia cannot but be a source of anxiety to the British policy in Asia. The strength of Britain lies in recognising the independence of the Asiatic

nations, but now Russia has stolen a march upon Britain in diplomacy. Should, however, Britain desire to maintain its supremacy she should adopt a more liberal policy towards Asiatic nations. The *Gramya Swardjya* writes:—The Bolshevists have made such agreements with Persia and Afghanistan as would open the eyes of other nations. Government seem to have awakened to the possibility of a war on the frontier and have sent a deputation consisting of some members of the Legislative Assembly to the frontier so that they might make a recommendation for enhancing the military expenditure in that region. Government will thus get what they want and also secure credit for taking the people into their confidence.]

How can Indians be asked to "forget and forgive" when England is consumed with the thirst of retaliation against Germany.
Vande Mâtaram (new), 14th Mar., Eng. cols.

42. "When the Duke of Connaught was preaching to a dishonoured and humiliated nation here the gospel of 'Forgive and Forget', his countrymen were raging with anger at Germany's disinclination to surrender completely to the Allied cry of 'Indemnity and Reparation'. The thirst for retaliation is consuming the statesmen of England only a little less than it consumes the rulers of France. The Allied governments would carry their demand for reparation down to two generations yet to come. They have decreed the economic slavery of Germany for the benefit of England and France for the next 40 years! It ill becomes a representative of England to talk of 'Forgive and Forget' when the Allied forces are marching across German fields to enforce a claim for Reparation. Let the sinners pray for their own souls before preaching virtue to others."

The concessions made to Turkey in connection with the Treaty are due to fear and not to a sense of justice.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Apl.

43. In the course of a reply to an article in the Calcutta *Englishman* about the negotiations for the revision of the Turkish Treaty, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"The obvious reason why 'concessions' to the Muslims cannot be attributed to a sense of justice in the British Government is that the British Government does not possess a sense of justice, as has been shown by the Greek occupation of Thrace and Smyrna, the British occupation of Mesopotamia, the Anglo-Zionist occupation of Palestine, the French occupation of Syria, and the Allied occupation of Constantinople, as well as by other provisions of the Treaty of Sevres which show not only lack of any perception of abstract justice, but total absence of the sense of honour since everyone of these provisions breaks a solemn pledge given by the Government of England either to the Indian Muslims or the Arab Muslims during the war, or to the Turks at the armistice......... The concessions made to Turkey have been due to fear. It is a most unfortunate truth, well-known to British Labour no less than to the 'vested interests' in England and elsewhere, that the British Government now yields to nothing else. It will not keep its promises unless it is *afraid* to break them. Such is the result of reckless opportunism. We have no quarrel with the general tenour of the *Englishman's* remarks which show no favour whatsoever for the Greeks and seem to be inspired by kindly feeling for the Indian Muslims. 'The main point,' says the *Englishman*, 'is that there is no British sentiment in favour of the Greeks.' We believe that there is none among the English people. But the British Government undoubtedly supported the unjust pretensions of the Greeks to rule in Thrace and Asia Minor, and politicians 'in the know' were saying openly in London last September that a well-known Anglo-Greek financier, whose sympathy with Greek Imperialism is notorious, was running Lloyd George and Venizelos together."

Review of Lord Chelmsford's *regime*.
Hindu (163), 2nd Apl.

44. The *Hindu* thus concludes an article in which it reviews the *regime* of Lord Chelmsford:—Good-bye Lord Chelmsford! History will record your name in the category of Nadirshah and Tamur Lane and will prove to the world that England's glory, honour and grandeur were obliterated by one of her sons Lord Chelmsford by his wrong doings. If any one has shaken the foundation of the British rule he is Lord Chelmsford. May you while you are in England repent of your doings, may you feel regret for your deeds of omission and commission, and may you efface your misdeeds by tears of penitence! When throughout the remainder of your life you express real contrition for the past misdeeds and do some good deeds, then alone your soul would find some peace. We Indians feel sorry at your condition and fully sympathise with you. Brothers and countrymen now dwelling in heaven, who were the victims of Budge Budge and Jallianwala Bagh massacres, and of bullet-firing at Rai Barelli and other places, and brothers and countrymen who are still living but who had been subjected to the repressive policy of Lord Chelmsford, ye all forgive Lord Chelmsford heart and soul. Let his deeds be on his head! We should try step by step to secure our emancipation so that no human being might have an opportunity to practise such misdeeds again on us.

Policy of the new English paper *Vande Mataram* started at Hyderabad (Sind).
Vande Mataram (new), 14th Mar., Eng. cols.

45. "From this week the *Vande Mataram* will appear in English garb to help to keep the rest of India in touch with events in Sind. With regard to the policy of the paper the Editor regards it as sufficient to state that the paper will endeavour to contribute its mite to the national struggle for Swaraj within 'one year' by methods that are honourable and peaceful. He believes whole-heartedly in the wisdom of the Nagpur resolution on non-co-operation and it will be the duty of the paper to assist, in such manner, as it can, in its being properly carried out in this province, giving to the principle of non-violence the prominent place it deserves in the programme of Mahatma Gandhi."

Policy of the *Lokamanya* newspaper.
Lokamanya (new), 9th Apl.

46. The admirers of the late Lokamanya Tilak found it necessary to have a Maráthi daily in Bombay in order to propagate the principles for which that great man stood. That is why the paper has been named after him. *Swarajya* was the soul of Mr. Tilak's agitation. All the activities associated with his name had *Swarajya* for their objective. The policy of this paper will be the policy of Lokamanya Tilak as it is intended to be a memorial that will remind us of that great man every day of our lives.

Famine in Gujarát and alleged apathy of Government officials in helping the people.
The *Kaira Vartamán* (73), 13th Apl.

47. Owing to the failure of the last monsoon, the people of the villages of Gujarát are in great difficulties. It is really sad that Government officials do not view the condition of the people with adequate sympathy. The President of the Broach District Local Board has declared that Government rules in regard to the giving of relief to the people of villages are so framed that they are unable to help the people as they wish. But if the officials are really desirous of helping the people, they can do so to a certain extent by using their discretion. The work of helping the people is entrusted to Indian Government servants. But this does not mean that they will do all they can to afford relief. The Indian Government servants also form part of the Indian bureaucracy, and hence we cannot expect anything better from them. It is the first duty of Government to help those people from whom they get revenue so as to enable them to keep themselves alive in times of such difficulties. The more Government fail in discharging this duty, the more unpopular will they be. In addition, the land revenue assessment in several villages in Dhandhuka Taluka has been increased by three to four annas per rupee. Owing to shortage of rain, the cultivators of several villages in this taluka have not been able to sow any crops; and the increase in the assessment has come as a great calamity to them. This is a deplorable example of how the Revenue Department works in a famine year, keeping its eyes fixed only on the collection of revenue. As Government are so very backward in doing their duty by the people, the inhabitants of Gujerat should extend their helping hand to their countrymen.

48. "To what extent connivance at breaches of Excise rules obtains in a city like Ahmedabad, where the public are actively engaged in combating the drink evil, is told by the organising secretary of the local Sanitary Association in a letter to the press. He says that the liquor shops in the city are opened before the time, and closed late after the time on the prefext of counting the cash. Liquor is sold out in bottles for resale in obscure places like the riverside. It is sold to children under sixteen and is sold in larger quantities than permitted by the license to the same persons. Shops are kept open on Holi, Dhulpadva, Divali and New Year's Days, when they are closed in Bombay, Broach and other places. If the Excise authorities, and especially the new Indian Excise Minister, are genuine in their sympathies for the temperance cause, they ought to suppress with a stern hand such illicit practices as are complained of above and warn local Abkari officials against connivance at disregard of the regulations. Otherwise, the public will be led to think that the authorities are more in sympathy with the purveyors of liquor than with the temperance reformers."

Alleged illicit practices of liquor shop-keepers at Ahmedabad should be stopped.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Apl.

49. We welcome the reported intention of the Honourable Mr. Chunilal Mehta to appoint a committee to inquire into the grievances of the agriculturists in Kanara due to the working of the Forest Department. We request Government to publish at an early date information as regards the composition and the scope of inquiry of this committee. They should take care to see that men who can command the confidence of the people are in the majority in the committee. Similarly, if the scope of inquiry is made sufficiently wide, Government will be able to deal with grievances to be found in other districts besides Kanara. The condition of the Khánápur taluka in Belgaum district is similar to that of Kánara in respect of forest matters. Therefore, a good deal of expenditure can be saved if all grievances of a like nature are simultaneously inquired into. If Government accept our view, we would ask them to appoint on the committee representatives of the Belgaum District.

Kánara Forest grievances Inquiry Committee.
Dnyán Prakásh (42), 15th Apl.

50. It is not yet known what conclusions have been arrived at as a result of the inquiries conducted by Mr. Collins who came here for enquiring into our forest grievances. But from the reception which he was accorded at various places, one could see that his presence here was not at all desired by the people of the district. It appears also that Government have realized to some extent that the forest grievances of the Kánara District are real and serious. Frequent discussions at various meetings, the giving up of titles by some respectable gentlemen of this place and the personal visit of His Excellency the Governor for getting first-hand information about conditions prevailing here have, we understand, led to the appointment of a Committee for the consideration of our forest grievances. We understand also that this Committee will contain, besides Government officials, some prominent non-officials. This decision on the part of Government is no doubt praiseworthy, but the real object of appointing this Committee will be fulfilled only if the results obtained are satisfactory. Otherwise, it will only be a farce like the one which was enacted before. If, on the other hand, the members appointed to serve on this committee are persons, who are fully conversant with the forest grievances and who can fearlessly place their independent views before Government, then only will this new expedient of appointing a committee yield beneficial results. But the appointment of members known to be in the good graces of Government will serve no useful purpose. Since the forest grievances are the chief grievances of this district and since the redress of those grievances is indispensable to the welfare of the people of the district, we earnestly hope that Government will give their careful attention to this matter.

Kánára Leader (37), 5th Apl.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against the Bombay Municipality's Scheme for the improvement of the Fort locality.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 13th Apl.

51. The *Sánj Vartamán* strongly condemns the Bombay Municipality's Fort Improvement Scheme on the ground that the carrying out of it will cause great hardships owing to the prevailing house famine. It also thinks that the Fort locality is not so insanitary after all, there being still worse localities in Bombay. It thinks that there is no real need of a direct road between Hornby Road and Ballard Pier and denies that it is the duty of the Municipality to provide accommodation for mercantile and other offices. The paper concludes as follows:—We do not say that there should be no improvement of the Fort locality. We only say that there is no urgent need of constructing a new direct road from Hornby Road to Ballard Pier, and that on no account should a wise and enlightened civic body think it its duty to destroy houses and render the poor homeless. We are of opinion that they should first build more houses particularly for the poor and then destroy the old ones to improve the locality. It is an indescribable and unimaginable cruelty to turn people out of their homes at the present juncture in order to provide facilities for the construction of offices for merchants. We are sure that the Hindus, Muhammadans and Parsis will strongly protest against this scheme and that our city fathers will not sanction its execution. A few years ago, when a Committee was appointed for considering the Scheme, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah had raised strong objections against it and had condemned the policy of pulling down dwelling houses for building offices. At the present day, when Churchgate Street is being widened and there is a direct road from it to Queen's Road, to think of building another big and spacious road at three minutes' distance from Churchgate Street is opposed to common-sense and humanity and we hope that our city fathers will never accept this cruel and expensive scheme which will work havoc on the Fort locality and render the poor and middle classes homeless.

Complaint against Government's management of the drainage and water-supply of Poona City.

Lokasangraha (123), 11th Apl.

52. The plight of the inhabitants of Poona has become very miserable since Government assumed charge of the drainage and the water-supply of the city. On the strength of their authority they have reduced the City Municipality to a helpless condition. Their conduct in this respect is such as would put to shame even a bully. Government have forcibly taken the drainage system and the reservoirs under their management, although they belong to the Municipality, and exact as much money as they like from that body for their upkeep. Their management is worse than that of which the Municipality can ever be guilty of. The people are being supplied with impure water although two lakhs of rupees have been spent on water-works. We ask Government to put an end to the sufferings of the people of Poona City at an early date.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 22nd April 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian Matters : Famine in the Broach District 54

British Rule :

Comments on the cablegram sent by Mr. Tairsi to the Premier advising him to employ General Dyer to handle the coal strike . . 30
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Hailey's speech before the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau 18
Comments on the opening of the Bombay Labour office . . . . 19—22
Comments on the order of the Cantonment Magistrate of Dehra Dun about opening of shops on Satyagraha Day 28
Discourtesy shown to Lord Sinha during his visit to Puri 35
General Dyer and India 31
Government should institute an inquiry into the excesses of the Satya Shodhak Samajists in the Sátára District 29
Government's policy responsible for the unrest on the N.-W. Frontier. 26
India and Imperial preference 25
Lord Sinha and his Executive Council 34
Reflections on the miners' strike in England and Scotland . . . 32
Reflections on the 1921 Census figures 33
Representation of Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau on the Bombay Port Trust 27
The new sterling loan in England . . . . 23 & 24
The Satyagraha movement in Mulshi Peta (Poona) . . . . . 13—17
Forest Department : The Kánara Forest Committee and the duty of the people 55
His Excellency the Governor : Comments on the interview between — and certain selected persons at Karáchi. 12

His Excellency the Viceroy :

Comments on Lord Reading's visit to the Punjáb . . . . . 36—42
Lala Lajpatrai ought to have been interviewed by His Excellency Lord Reading at Láhore 43
Will Lord Reading be able to allay the present discontent in India? . 44
Indian Legislative Assembly : Mr. Gandhi's criticism of Sir William Vincent's statement in the — 45

Indians in Colonies :

Comments on the recently published correspondence between the Fiji Government and the Government of India on the Indian riots in Fiji 50
Comments on the Report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission . . . . 51 & 52

H 21—a Con

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Non-co-operation:

Appeal to the Pársis to give up the liquor trade 11
Comments on the celebration of the Satyagraha week 9
Comments on the repressive policy against the — movement . . 1—3
Mr. Gandhi and English education 10
The — movement is not a political movement 8
The — movement will not be suspended so long as Government do not purge themselves of their crimes against India 4
The success of the — movement . . . . 5 & 6
Vagaries of non-co-operators 7
Public Service: Comments on the retirement of Sir George Curtis from the Bombay Executive Council 53

War:

Comments on the war-time agreement between the British High Commissioner in Egypt and the Sherif of Mecca 48
How the Indian Muhammadans want the Treaty of Sevres to be amended 46
The Amir of Afghanistan and the British Government Mission . . 47
The question of the autonomy of Arabia 49

EDUCATION—

Comments on the refusal to the editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* to head the deputation of secondary teachers 56
Government of India 57

MUNICIPALITIES—

The Municipality's responsibility for the unhealthy condition of Bombay City 58

RAILWAYS—

Hardships of third class railway passengers 59

NATIVE STATES—

Protest against the reported appointment of Sir Charles Cleveland as Dewan of Jaipur 60

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the repressive policy against the non-co-operation movement.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 17th Apl.

1. Lord Reading, our new Viceroy, has come to India with the avowed intention of doing justice. But many of the provincial rulers have adopted a policy of repression and a doubt naturally arises in the minds of the Indian people as to whether Lord Reading will be able to carry out his intention of giving justice to the people of India. [The paper enumerates the various prosecutions launched against non-co-operationists in different provinces and remarks:—] We have enumerated these cases with a view to showing that criminal proceedings have been and are being instituted against popular leaders many of whom have been trying to educate public opinion and have no intention of spreading sedition or obstructing the work of Government in an illegal manner. Many public bodies have recorded their protests against the free use of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code that is being made. The Bombay Presidency Association has also sent a telegram to His Excellency Lord Reading protesting against the repressive policy adopted by provincial Governments and it is hoped that His Excellency will suspend the prosecutions that have been instituted against popular leaders. We do not mean to say that Government should not take steps to put down crime but that they should suspend the policy of repression that has been instituted against non-co-operationists. Many of these non-co-operationists refuse to furnish securities or to defend themselves on the ground that their cause is a just one. Laying aside the merits or demerits of individual non-co-operationists, the magistrates should try to find out the root-causes of the non-co-operation movement. Non-co-operation has its roots in the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs and it would not have come into existence but for them. Those magistrates who are dealing with non-co-operationists should ask their respective Governments to use their influence to get the root causes of the present discontent removed instead of placing restrictions on the liberty of speech or movement of these people and the provincial Governments should ask the Government of India to investigate into the causes of the present discontent and to get them removed.

Rájakáran (138), 17th Apl.

2. Commenting upon the legal proceedings taken against certain agitators in some provinces, the *Rájakáran* says that the condition of 75 per cent. of Indians has now become so very miserable that to them freedom and prison life are equally painful. The paper declares that the whole country has now become a vast prison and warns Government that they will not succeed in crushing the movement for *swarajya* by resorting to repression.

Kesari (120), 19th Apl.

3. Repression is in full swing. There is a sort of rivalry between the Governors of the various provinces as to who wins the place of honour. But Lord Sinha who was so far in the forefront has been eclipsed by the Governor of the United Provinces. This may be accounted for by the fact that some of the Moderates of that province have become mere instruments in the hands of Sir H. Butler. The effect of this repression, however, has been to strengthen the non-co-operation movement. And this has frightened the Bombay Government out of its cool-headedness. Fearful of the prospects of being called a weak Government it, too, is beginning to follow the policy of the other Governments. Professor Mansukhani has been arrested and packed off to some unknown destination by a goods train. How very hospitable! Our democratic and cool-headed Governor, deserves to be congratulated! The Bombay Government's attitude towards the Savarkar brothers had already exposed its heart. This incident makes its nature clearer. This policy of the Government has not failed to influence its subordinates. The doings of Mr. Bhimrao Deshpande, Mamlatdar of Yaval, clearly indicates which way the wind is blowing. All this makes us suspect that the Bombay Government has perhaps issued a circular like that of the Behar Government. If so, will Government publish it?

The non-co-operation movement will not be suspended so long as Government do not purge themselves of their crimes against India.

Young India (14), 20th Apl.

4. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" For me Non-co-operation is not suspended, and never will be, so long as the Government has not purged itself of the crimes against India—the Mussulmans and the Punjábees, and so long as the system is not changed to respond to the will of the nation. Surely it was necessary to remove the hallucination about titles, law-courts, schools and councils. I venture to think that on the whole the nationalists have responded nobly in regard to these items. There are no titled men among them, no nationalist lawyer who has not suspended practice has any public status among Non-co-operators, schools and colleges have furnished boys and girls who are now giving a good account of themselves and who, I make bold to say, will stagger humanity by their sacrifice when the time of their trial has arrived.......... The few who have given up their titles have shown the way to the others. All these are acting as leaven in the community. Now, there is little need for verbal propaganda among these special classes. The action and character of those who have renounced titles, schools, courts or councils, constitute a propaganda more telling and effective than speeches. National schools are multiplying themselves, boys are still leaving schools and colleges.......... When India as a whole will respond by action, I cannot say. But this I do say that the educated classes to whom the Congress has appealed will one day—and probably during this year,—respond in a manner worthy of the nation. But whether they do or not, the progress of the nation cannot be arrested by any person or class. The uneducated artisans, the women, the men in the street, are taking their share in the movement. The appeal to the educated classes paved the way for them......... The educated classes had to be put upon their trial. The beginning had to be made by and through them. Non-co-operation has hitherto, thank God, followed its natural course. Swadeshi propaganda in its intensive and exclusive form had to come and it has come in its order. It was, and is part of the non-co-operation programme. It is, I claim, the biggest, the safest, and the surest part. It could not be taken up earlier in its present form. The country had to see its way clear to the spinning wheel. It had to be purged of the old superstitions and prejudices. The country had to appreciate the futility of the boycott of British goods merely, and equally of all foreign goods. It had to see that it lost its liberty by giving up Swadeshi in cloth and that it would regain it by reverting to hand-spun and hand-woven cloth. It had to see that it lost its artistic taste and talent, when it innocently ceased to spin and weave by the hand. It had to see that it was not even so much the military drain, as the loss of this supplementary industry that sapped India's vitality and made famines an ever recurring event in Indian life. Men with faith in the spinning wheel had to rise in every province, and people had to appreciate true beauty and the use of *khaddar*. All these things have now happened. The crore men and women and the crore rupees are required to resuscitate this National *dharma*. The problem is not that of a few *charkas* but of putting *charkas* in every one of the six crore homes. The problem is that of manufacturing and distributing the whole of the cloth required by India. It cannot be done by one crore rupees. But if India gives one crore rupees, one crore men and women, and introduces two million *charkhas* in working order in as many homes before the 30th June, she is nearly ready for Swaraj. Because the effort will have created, in the nation as a whole, all the qualities that make a nation good, great, self-reliant and self-contained. When the nation has, by a voluntary effort completed its boycott of foreign cloth, it will be ready for Swaraj. Then I promise that the various forts in the Indian cities will, instead of being an insolent menace to the freedom of India, become play-grounds for her children. Then the relations between Englishmen and ourselves will have been purified. Then the Lancashire vote will have been sterilised. And Englishmen will, if they choose, remain in India as friends and equals, with one sole aim—truly of benefitting and helping India. Non-co-operation is a movement intended to invite Englishmen to cooperate with us on honourable terms or retire from our land. It is a movement to place our relations on a pure basis, to define them in a manner consistent with our self-respect and dignity. But call the movement by any other name. Call it 'Swadeshi and temperance.' Assume that all these previous months have been a waste of effort. I invite the Government and the moderate friends to cooperate with the nation in making hand-spinning universal and in making drinking a crime. Neither party need speculate as to the result of these two movements."

The success of the non-co-operation movement.
New Times (9), 15th Apl.

5. "The response to non-co-operation has, so far, been inadequate, but it has exceeded expectations. The movement has not yet proved a 'success'; the moment it is a success, we achieve *swaraj*. But neither is the movement a failure; it moves on every day. The masses, the merchants, the young men, the students, many even of those in government service are in sympathy with it. National Schools are multiplying; *charkhas* are being started in several towns and villages; the evil of drink is being driven out; Congress Committees are enrolling large numbers as members; swaraja songs are sung with enthusiasm; women, too, are in sympathy with the movement; and in every town, where the message has spread, the prestige of government has suffered. Even in villages the people are heard saying: The officials must not be masters but servants of the people.......... One thing non-co-operation has admittedly achieved: it has broken down the prestige of Government. The people demand to-day with an insistent consciousness of their rights that Government must be by the people, for the people.......... Nationalise the Government—is the cry heard to-day throughout the country. The current system of education, too, has been discredited. No one believes to-day with Sir Harcourt Butler that the Universities of India are the power-houses of freedom.......... The current system must go in education as in administration. This is the growing feeling throughout the country. With this is growing another feeling, that of self-reliance. With the progress of non-co-operation, the people have developed a robust sense of self-respect, a sensitive patriotism, a faith in India, a noble passion for freedom. Is it a small gain to the life of a people when they care little for official favours and feel that they must work out their salvation with the power of self-suffering? Such a People are on the Road—to—Freedom."

Mufid-e-Rozgár (171), 20th Apl.

6. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* draws a picture of those who would non-co-operate with Government so that the holy places of Islam be restored to Muslim overlordship and contrasts it with the picture of those who do not withdraw themselves from educational institutions, do not give up their titles, or relinquish their honorary offices, in fact do not do anything practical, and yet hold that the object will be attained by subservience and splashing ink. The paper declares that the non-co-operators are clearly obeying God. [Elsewhere it states that Egypt and Ireland are governed well enough, yet the inhabitants thereof desire self-government, and it condemns those Indians who hug their fetters and who want their brethren to be fettered like themselves.]

Vagaries of non-co-operators.
Gujaráti (17), 17th Apl.

7. The non-co-operation movement has been inaugurated with a view to subverting the British Government. Mr. Gandhi compares the present form of government to that of Ravana and advocates the boycott of schools as a part of his movement. Non-co-operationists have played upon the feelings of young boys, and so people have come to regard the advice given to boys to disobey their parents and guardians as a source of danger. Moreover, people object to the boycott of Government and aided schools without making any provision for the education of boys who follow the advice given to them. The present form of government is compared to that of Ravana. But what is meant by the policy of Ravana? Ravana observed his ceremonial religion in an orthodox fashion and was a worshipper of Shankara; his son and daughter-in-law were also pious, and his councillors were not devoid of morality. It appears from the description of Lanka as given in the Ramayana that the subjects of Ravana were both happy and wealthy. In these circumstances, it is rather a compliment to compare the British Government to that of Ravana. Ravana became the enemy of Ram on account of his marriage with Sita and so oppressed all the Brahmins that were friendly to Rama even outside his own dominions. From this point of view it is not proper to compare the policy of the British Government to that of Ravana. Rama was an ideal prince and an obedient son, but it is strange that those who admire him as our national hero do not desist from advising young students to disobey and insult their parents and teachers. Mr. Gandhi leads an ideal life and is tolerant of the views of other people, but his followers fall miserably short of the ideal set before them by Mr. Gandhi and they do not hesitate to consider those who do not agree with them as guilty of high treason. Lala Lajpatrai has given the Moderates very bad names for co-operating with Government in carrying out the new reforms. Moderates have no doubt extended their co-operation to Government and accepted posts as Ministers, but they cannot on that account be said to have forfeited their independence. There is no truth in the allegation made by the Lala that the Moderates have become one with the bureaucrats. Objection is raised against the Ministers having accepted salaries on the same scale as the Executive Councillors. But did not Messrs. Tilak and Pal while on deputation to England urge upon the British Government the necessity of paying the Ministers the same salary as the Executive Councillors? The Honourable Mr. Sastri is attacked for becoming a member of the Imperial Conference. At this rate Mr. Chhotani and Dr. Ansari would also come in for blame for accepting the invitation of Government to attend the London Near-East Conference. It is to be regretted that at a time when we are agitating for independence and justice from Government, we should not be prepared to act justly towards our brethren but should try to force our views upon them and thus expect them to be slavish.

The non-coperation movement is not a political movement.
Gujaráti Punch (19), 17th Apl., Eng. cols.

8. "Slowly but surely the fear expressed by Mr. Jinnah that the movement of non-co-operation is not a political one seems to be turning out true. Started as a protest against the Khilafat wrong—and later on the Punjáb wrong came to form a part of the grounds which gave it birth—the special session of the Congress enlarged its scope and declared as its goal the winning of Swaraj. Except, however, the political colour lent to it by the word Swaraj, there was very little in it which could have justified its being dubbed a political movement, and the country did not take long to realise it. The movement, however, thrived, and continues to thrive, on a parrot-like repetition of the admitted wrongs of the people and on the exasperating indifference of the Government of the country to the legitimate demands of the people. But for it the movement would have evoked far less response than it has done to-day, and with its disappearance much of that response will disappear too. The non-co-operation movement has from the very beginning, been a kind of socio-economic-political hotch-potch. Started with the clear object of paralysing the Government as the sole means of attaining the object, it began by paralysing the nation and when it was asked how the boycott of schools and law-courts could help us to win Swaraj, it was said that the non-co-operation movement was a purifying movement and that the purifying process was to begin by the withdrawal of all voluntary co-operation from a 'Satanic' Government. Asked further whether it did not look like cutting the nose to spite the face, it was said that the movement was one of self-help and self-reliance, and that while destruction had to be resorted to before the nation can take to construction, it would be one of the main planks of the non-co-operation programme to start national schools in the place of those destroyed.......... And now comes the Bezwada Conference which has once more shifted the line of work and asked the country to concentrate its attention on enrolling one crore of members under the Congress banner, raising one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraja fund, introducing twenty lacs spinning wheels into India, and on removing the habit of drink and untouchability from among the people. Thus after wasting the energy of the nation for more than six months on the futile campaign of destroying what cannot be destroyed and dividing the nation into two and more

camps, the non-co-operation movement, which was to paralyse the Government by resort to its progressive four stages, has come to be a mere movement of temperance and social reform. Now, however important these items may be for the progress of the nation, they certainly cannot make for the redress of the political wrongs of the country and for winning *swarajya* for it; and unless one were to derive the sorry consolation that this honourable retreat from executing an inherently impossible programme would make an amicable settlement with the Government of the country, easier of accomplishment, he would indeed find himself in a none-too-flattering position. And what is this the result of? It is the result of a woeful confusion of ideas on the exact nature of the form of *swaraj* that we want to see established in this country and the consequential inability to hit upon right means to achieve the end. Although '*swaraj* within a year' and '*swaraj* within six months' has been the common cant of political demagogues, with 99 per cent. of them it is a mere phonographic reproduction of the fiat that has gone forth from a sincere, if a bit utopian, brain.......... If *swaraj* is economic self-sufficiency and educational self-reliance, even granting that they were possible of accomplishment without political power which we believe they are not, they cannot be reached within a year. If, on the contrary, *swaraj* means power to determine the form of Government and power to control the affairs of one's country, that power has to be wrested from the unwilling hands of a powerful bureaucracy and neither temperance nor social reform nor any other movement short of Revolution can do it within a year.......... However, India must control her political destiny as completely and as early as possible and for that great pressure shall have to be exerted on the *de facto* Government of the country. Does the programme agreed upon by the Bezwada Conference lead us to exert that pressure? And if it does not, who can deny that the non-co-operation movement as a political movement—if at all it was one—has written its own epitaph at Bezwada?"

Comments on the celebration of the Satyagraha week.

Gujaráti (17), 17th Apl.; *Gujaráti Punch* (19), 17th Apl.

9. Commenting upon the observance of the anniversary of the Satyagraha week, the *Gujaráti* recounts the incidents that led to the tragedy of the Jallianwalla Bagh and remarks:—We believe that the occurrences at the Jallianwalla Bagh have removed the sources of disunion from India and have given rise to the awakening that will eventually effect its salvation. Government did not express regret for the evil deeds of their officials. The Satyagraha week is the result of Government's policy. Had it not been for the Punjáb affairs, the glamour of British justice would not have disappeared and people's faith and confidence in British justice would not have been shaken. Instead of condemning the actions of his officials, Lord Chelmsford defended them and so people had no way open to them to secure justice. The people of India refused to condone the sinful actions of Government officials in the Punjáb and so they have begun to observe the anniversaries of the 6th and 13th April. The Satyagraha week reminds us of the sinful occurrences in the Punjáb and brings home to us the determination of the people of India to assert themselves. It is gratifying to note that the Satyagraha week has passed off peaceably amidst fastings and *hartals*. [The *Gujaráti Punch* writes:—The Satyagraha week has passed off peacebly and it will continue to be observed in a similar manner every year so long as justice is not done in the matter of the Punjáb. Indians do not want to avenge themselves on those officials who are responsible for the Punjáb atrocities and all that they want now is that these officials should not be allowed to draw their pensions from the Indian treasury. Justice has not yet been done in the matter and so people despair getting justice and have betaken themselves to non-co-operation with a view to securing Swaraj under which they believe there will be no repetition of the atrocities of the Jallianwalla Bagh. No one would have dreamt that the 13th April 1919 would prove memorable and that it would serve to contribute to the building up of the soul-fource of India. There may be difference of opinion on the question of Swaraj, but all are unanimous in the matter of the grave injustice done to India on the 13th April. It is, therefore, desirable that the Satyagraha week should continue to be celebrated, and the new awakening continued till full justice is meted out to India.]

Mr. Gandhi and English education.
Servant of India (10), 21st Apl.

10. " So far as Mr. Gandhi is concerned, it may be safely asserted that in his list of sinful things to be shunned, education comes first, not because it is the most sinful of them, but because, according to him, it involves the least amount of sacrifice. This is his estimate of the present system of education : 'it is an unmitigated evil. I put my best energy to destroy that system. I don't say that we have got as yet any advantage from the system. Tilak and Ram Mohan Roy would have been far greater men if they had not the contagion of English learning.' That being the evolution of the education that is at present being imparted, he need feel no compunction in withdrawing the young hopefuls from it. Indeed, even apart from non-co-operation, he would make it his business to destroy seats of English-learning and disinfect the country against the contagion. And no one would blame him for taking the advantage of the prevalent bitterness against the Government to strike a blow for what would at all times be a desirable object to him—destruction of the present system of education. In selecting boycott of schools and colleges as one of the things to be carried out first, Mr. Gandhi, we must admit, is rightly following out his conception of the expedient, but what of the other non-co-operators who set on education a much higher value than he? "

Appeal to the Parsis to give up the liquor trade.
Broach Mitra (63), 17th Apl.

11. All accept the principle that liquor has ruined the people and the country. But the fact is that some people look upon the temperance movement to be full of dangers. The foreign Government ruling over India cannot tolerate the stoppage of the consumption of liquor owing to its greed for money. The income from liquor has much increased within the last ten years. Hence it is not strange if the greedy Government attempts to suppress the temperance movement. Just as many people drinking liquor give it up of their own accord, so also some wise liquor-sellers can give up selling it. The liquor-shop keepers are for the most part Parsis. Of course they will have to make financial sacrifices if they want to join this movement. If we want to lessen the income of Government how can we at the same time desire to increase our own incomes through the agency of a sinful trade? The first duty of Indians is to sacrifice themselves financially and then only can they ask Government to do likewise. The Parsis should give up this profession immediately for the sake of India and their fellow-countrymen. There are many other professions in which they can earn their livelihood. The regeneration of the country to some extent also depends upon economic sacrifices.

Comments on the interview between His Excellency the Governor and certain selected persons at Karáchi.
Kesari (120), 19th Apl.

12. So far the Governor of Bombay has been celebrated for his wisdom and statesmanship. But the incident which is said to have taken place during his visit to Karáchi, if true, shows him in a different light. And it seems to be true inasmuch as the report concerning it has not been contradicted since it was published in the *Vande Mataram*. Sir George is said to have shown a bad spirit during his interviews with some of the prominent men of Sind. He not only exposed the bitterness of his feelings towards the non-co-operation movement but also said that if the non-co-operators were disgusted with Government they had better leave the country. He further said that the non-co-operators will be treated in the same manner as the servants who are kicked out of the house for bad conduct. This shows that the non-co-operation movement has maddened even the sober and cool-headed Governor of Bombay. It is to be hoped that he will withdraw these insolent words. India belongs to the Indians and not to the white-skinned but black-hearted foreigners. The Governor's reference to servants is provocative in the extreme. It is a pity he should not know whether the bureaucracy or the people are servants. Fed on India's money, the bureaucracy has grown very insolent. There is only one way to bring it to its senses and that is to non-co-operate with it.

The Satyagraha movement in Mulshi Peta.
Mahrdtta (8), 24th Apl.

*13. "The bravery and fortitude with which the Mavalas carry on the struggle in the face of immense odds, the patience and the endurance with which they bear all sorts of physical privations, and the faith and the grim determination which inspire and sustain them, will go down in history as a unique and wonderful example of Satyagraha. This conduct reflects the greatest credit on their spirit and will convince the bitterest of their foes of the truth and justice of their cause. The first stage ot the struggle has left them victors on the field as the work of the construction of the monstrous wall of the dam had had to be abandoned and there could not be found a single labourer of the Tata Company at work in the dam during the whole week. An attempt was made by the representatives of the Tata Company to lure the Mavalas into peace by pouring into their ears some rigmarole of prospective money compensations; but it was proved that nothing was dearer to them than their 'Motherland.'......... The Tata men have now appealed to the Government authorities for succour and they are now engaged in deep consultation with them, and further developments of the struggle depend more upon the move of the Government than on that of the Tatas. This Satyagraha struggle is clearly a struggle of right against might. By all canons of ethics the Mavalas have every right to refuse to leave their lands, theirs hearths, their homes and their temples dearer to them than life. On the other side neither the Tata Company nor the Government that champions their industrial venture can plead an iota of claim upon the lands of the Mulshi Peta except on the ground of 'national industrial advancement' as conceived under the Land Acquisition Act. We hold the freedom of will over and above anything else, and refuse to invest any Act of law on earth with powers to deprive any man of his hearth and home against his wishes, even if it serves a national interest. We shall try to argue with him, we shall try to induce him, we shall try to convince him of the national good that will accrue from his sacrifice. But the engine of law must never be set in motion against that individual, much less against thousands of people involving a sacrifice of thousands of acres of land except under the gravest national emergency, such as war, which involves the life and death of the nation. In this case the Tata Company and the Government claim powers under the Land Acquisition Act, but it clearly argues injustice and absence of any moral right when they have to take recourse to the powers of the Act. Even the framers of the Act never intended to apply the Act in cases and on a scale like the present.......... Under the present scheme about 35 villages are to be submerged under water, and about 54 villages including the above will be directly affected. Sixteen square miles of land will be under water and nearly fifty square miles will be affected. Nearly ten thousand souls, including men, women and children are to be made destitute. The framers of the Land Acquisition Act never contemplated to play havoc on this scale. The plea of national advancement does not appeal to us, we admit, as we believe neither in the industrial advancement of a nation under foreign domination, nor in the capacity of rapacious capitalists to achieve it.......... It can be thus clearly seen that in this case at least the struggle is between the helpless Mavalas who are ready to sacrifice their lives to save their lands and the capitalists and Government who are determined to use their mighty resources to deprive them of their lands, hearths and homes, and whoever may succeed, the sympathy of all right-minded people will go with the Mavalas. We give elsewhere in full the letter written by the Collector of Poona to the Secretary of the Satyagraha-Sahayyak Mandal, in which he makes proposals of compensation in kind or money, but we are constrained to observe that these proposals at this stage come with ill grace.......... Even a little acquaintance with the history of the case will force the conviction that the matter would not have been brought to a crisis had Government expended one-tenth of their energy to meet the Mavalas half-way. But it seems it was not to be so. We cannot say what turn the affairs will take in the coming week. Although the Mavalas have truth, justice and right on their side, they can be crushed in no time by the might of legal and other resources that are always at the command of the Government. Probably next week all the preventive and penal sections of the legal armoury will be brought into requisition and an attempt will be made to overawe and browbeat the Mavalas by taking away the leaders from them. Some other ingenious methods that would suggest themselves to the resourceful minds of the authorities will also be adopted and the physical might of the Government will be paraded with all its awe and terror. The Mavalas and their leaders are also determined to face the situation boldly and sacrifice themselves for the sake of their cause. The situation is fraught with grave consequences, and we feel it is the duty of us all to try to avert the catastrophe. We counsel forbearance on both sides. We feel that the only solution out of the difficulty is to stop the work of construction of the dam for the time being, and during the four months of the monsoon, when the work has to be perforce stopped, to make genuine and sincere attempts to find a *via media* for reconciliation, of which we at least have not grown hopless. No considerations of prestige and credit should be allowed to stand in the way of temporary suspension of the work. Temporary suspension of work immediately would alone satisfy the Mavalas and would create an atmosphere in which talk of reconciliation and compromise would be carried on. We request the Government not to force the situation by recourse to the might of law. The times are critical, and it behoves all to do their best to save the country from a fresh orgy of exhibition of physical might. Fortunately the work has to be stopped anyhow after a month; then why not stop it now?"

Kesári (120), 19th Apl.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (42), 20th Apl.

14. So far the *satyagraha* in Mulshi Petha has been successful. It has resulted in stoppage of work and a meeting of the representatives of both sides. As this meeting was of a private character what transpired in it cannot be published. But the discussion that took place brings us positively to the conclusion that the responsibility for bringing the matter to a head lies with Government. We do not wish to give a political turn to this affair. But it is our honest opinion that were it not for Government, things would never have come to such a pass. Not that we absolve the company from all blame. The company has been selfish, but what else was to be expected from a commercial firm? But the same cannot be said of a Government which ought to know better and ought to be more concerned in the welfare of the ryots. The Government is as close to the ryots as the company is remote from them. Besides, as Government had not a pie to gain out of the scheme they should have more actively done their duty towards the ryots. Government's duty was not to forcibly take the lands from the agriculturists but to save them. In this connection we may say that even Mr. Purushottamdas, who is one of the directors of the Company, has thrown the blame on Government. We hold the Government to be more responsible because though the scheme may be profitable from various points of view, land is necessary for its execution which the company does not possess; hence the only course open to it was to secure it by entering into voluntary agreement with the agriculturists. There was no necessity for Government to interfere. Every day lands are being bought and sold. And though the agriculturists refuse to accept any compensation, the land required for the Company's operations would certainly have been, without much difficulty, secured before this. We believe this could be done even now if only the Company and Government are prepared for it. Government's conduct in such cases has been so indifferent and shameless that the people have come to look upon the Land Acquisition Act as an instrument of legal robbery. High-handedness in the application of this act is very common. Work on land is often begun even before notices are served on the owners. In spite of the recommendations of the Industrial Commission, Government has not yet even attempted to secure lands to be given in exchange to the landowners. Not that Government cannot secure lands. It is powerful enough to do it; but it will not do it. As always, Government is absolutely indifferent to the interests of the ryots. That is the root of the trouble. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks:—In this struggle much has been made of historical traditions, much has been made of the "mavlas of Shivaji". The cry has been raised that the mavlas of Shivaji are in danger. All this is ridiculous. It was also foolish on the part of the leaders of the movement to hoist the ochre-coloured flag of the Mahrattas on the embankment. The fight in which the people of Mulshi Petha are engaged is a fight for money and as such can have nothing to do with the flag which is a symbol of renunciation. Such tactics are calculated to turn the movement into political channels and are likely to make things unnecessarily difficult.]

Servant of India (10), 21st Apl.

15. "The campaign of passive resistance which the cultivators in Mulshi Peta (Poona District) have initiated with the assistance of some prominent persons in Poona has brought matters to a head. We have no hesitation in saying that the callousness of Government in an affair which involves the eviction of several thousands of persons is solely responsible for this recent development. In the Bombay Council Sir G. S. Curtis promised to lay all the facts relating to this question before the members immediately after his speech was over and also to submit the whole Mulshi Peta project to the public scrutiny within a week. Several weeks have since elapsed, and no information has as yet been published. So far as we are concerned, we fully realise the vast importance to the general progress of the country of such big schemes coming to fruition. We are anxious that they should be put through, but we insist that this ought to be done with the minimum hardship to the men displaced. We are by no means satisfied that in the present instance the interests of the cultivators are being sufficiently protected. Between the ryots who would not leave their lands on any terms and the Government which would not move at all to convince people that all just claims are being satisfied, it is easy to produce a crisis. We are now face to face with such a crisis, and one cannot help feeling that it is the Government which has provoked it. The owners of land just now are unwilling to listen to any proposal for compensation either in the form of money or an equivalent grant of land elsewhere. But we do not believe that if the terms are generous—and we do not see why they should not be generous—they will remain equally adamant. Should they persist in their present attitude even after Government gives them every facility to which they are entitled as to their resettlement in another place, their so-called *satyagraha*, having no moral basis, is doomed to fail.......... Where the Government is so heedless to public feeling, counsels of moderation such as those urged upon the people by Mr. Kelkar cannot, but be fruitless. Will the Government bestir themselves in time and make an earnest effort to satisfy reasonable demands ?"

Lokashahi (126), 18th Apl.; *Rájakáran* (138), 17th Apl.; *Kamgar Mitra* (119), 18th Apl.; *Bárámati Samáchár* (102), 22nd Apl.

16. Commenting upon the *satyagraha* movement at Mulshi, the *Lokashahi* writes:—The Governor of this Presidency averred that Government would assist in the construction of not only this work but several such others in order to develop industry. This means that Government are not prepared to listen to the grievances of the people of the Mulshi Peta. It is also rumoured that several soldiers were kept ready to fire upon the people of Mulshi on their resorting to *satyagraha*. This does not cause us surprise. The only difference, if firing had taken place, would have been that instead of dying of starvation by losing their lands, the people would have fallen victims to the rifles of Government's soldiers. [The *Rájakáran* writes:—It is unthinkable that the lands of Shiwaji's mavlas should be submerged under water by arrogant banias like the Tatas. The *Kamgar Mitra* warns Government that the consequences of the policy they have now been pursuing in regard to the Mulshi project will not fail to be most disastrous. According to the *Barámáti Samáchár* Government should have brought the Tata Company to account for throwing boiling water on the *Satyagrahis*.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 23rd Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 23rd Apl.

17. It is to be regretted that the villagers of the Mulshi Petha are being led astray in the name of non-co-operation and they have now been incited to such an extent that they have decided to refuse to part with their lands on any terms to the Tata Company. The villagers have become mere tools in the hands of certain interested individuals who mean to create disaffection and disturbances in the country. The Tata

Company will advance the good of the country by the stimulus it will give to industry by the supply of electric power and it is to be regretted that attempts are being made to stifle the industrial development of the country which will eventually lead to the early attainment of *Swaraj*. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the agitation in the Mulshi Petha and remarks:—It is to be regretted that Government have been very backward in taking the people into their confidence in the matter. The Deccan Liberal Federation have rightly protested against the delay in publishing the agreement entered into by Government with the Tata Company. Will the publication of the agreement in any way prejudice the interests of the company? Is it feared that such publication will disclose any secret arrangement arrived at between the company and Government? It is but natural that such doubts should arise in the minds of the people owing to the reticence of Government. People will not be satisefid as long as Government do not publish this agreement which has come to be regarded as a 'secret' document. The agriculturists of Mulshi Petha are an ignorant lot and are easily influenced by agitators. Why should not Government take steps to ensure adequate compensation to those who will be deprived of their lands?]

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Hailey's speech before the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Apl.

18. "Irresponsible and unresponsive as the Government of India have been in the past, we doubt if there has been any Minister, high-placed as Mr. Hailey, who has so systematically ignored Indian public opinion. The President of the Chamber has publicly complained about it. Certainly, since the days of Sir James Westland, there has been no Finance Minister so utterly unsympathetic, so regardless, so consistently working on the principle of treating with contempt suggestions from bodies representing Indian public opinion. It will not be the least of Lord Reading's task that he will have to deal with Ministers in whose fundamental articles of faith response to Indian public opinion has no place......... The President of the Chamber admitted, and Mr. Hailey is too keenly aware of his guilt not to seize upon the admission, that the present Indian trade depression is largely due to world causes. We submit the responsibility lies wholly at the door of the Finance Department of the Government of India, not merely in aggravating the situation, but in entirely creating it by their ill-advised haste to sell reverse councils......... Had our Government not been committed to large annual sterling payments, they would not have been anxious as they were at the fall of silver at the close of the last century. Had they not fixed the rupee at a value divorced from its intrinsic contents, there would have been no occasion to create any reserves that could be squandered......... It will occasion no surprise that not one of the suggestions placed before the Finance Member received whole-hearted support. The Chamber's anxiety about the holders of the depreciated Government securities received the reply of a warning against possibility of some of the lower securities having recently changed hands, and consequently the depreciation being not so unjust to the actual holders. Will the Finance Member tell us what exactly is the value of securites which have changed hands as alleged, who and what are their present holders, and whether there has been any depreciation since their last purchase? The mention of import duty on re-imported pearls was referred to Mr. Cook, who is probably in novitiate for the apostolic succession to Mr. Hailey......... To the suggestion that Indian financial questions should not be handled by the Secretary of State in Council, the reply was: 'I think the events of the last two months will have proved clearly to the country that it would be very unlikely that we should now be so rash as to attempt any wide changes in matters vitally affecting the finances of the country without coming to the legislature.' The force of camouflage can no further go. The only rejoinder is that the events of the last fourteen months prove that on the score of such rashness the Indian Government cannot afford to hesitate so long as Mr. Hailey holds the purse. And, then, unlikelier things have happened than that the present tame legislature should be asked to recast the ratio as it suits the Finance Department. There is one little suggestion, however, on which we think the airy nonchalance of our Finance Minister should not be suffered to pass unnoticed.

We are still unconvinced of the utility and advisability of two Committees—one in Calcutta and the other in Bombay—to investigate the problem of rehabilitating the depreciated Government stocks. The inconvenience of travel to members or witnesses is no reply to the possibility of creating a division of public opinion on such an important question, unless indeed it is of set policy that the Government have hit upon a duality of Committees, so that the overwhelmingly Anglo-Indian sentiment of Calcutta should be used to set off the markedly Indian opinion of Bombay. We trust the Government of Lord Reading will set itself against such transparent Machiavellisms, whatever the Government of Lord Chelmsford thought about them."

Comments on the opening of the Bombay Labour Office.

Mahratta (8), 24th Apl.

*19. " We never knew that anything like a Labour Office was brewing in the official circles, and so not unnaturally we have been a little surprised to learn that a Labour Office has been established by Government at the Bombay Secretariat. The Director of Information has sent to us what purports to be a 'certificate of birth' of the child, from which we gather that Government was led to bring such an office into existence on account of the pressing need for full and accurate information about many things concerning Labour. This justification of the office can, however, satisfy very few who know something about the recent progress of Labour movement in Bombay and elsewhere. There are leaders in Bombay who have done for labour much that is more valuable than collecting full and accurate information. The formation of various Labour Unions is not at all a neglected work in Bombay, and it will not be very long when every kind of labour will have its own union which can do things authoritatively on behalf of the workmen. The first Bombay session of the All-India Trade Unions Congress was a clear proof that Indian Labour was organising itself rapidly. To those who awakened Indian Labour to this extent, the work of collecting information was neither unknown nor difficult, and there is every reason to believe that they would have taken it up as soon as the pressure of the more important work allowed. Besides, the Government of Bombay has often thrown a damper on the Labour movement of the presidency. It witheld recognition from the Unions. It disappointed Mr. Baptista when he represented the cause of the mill-strikers. It extended an indirect indulgence to the Railway authorites and mill-owners when unjustifiable means were adopted to intimidate the strikers. And it behaved in a disreputable way in the matter of the Bombay Postmen's strike and the Tramwaymen's strike. The history of Labour during the past few years has generated a belief in the people's minds that whenever there is a tussel between the employer and the employee the active sympathies of Government incline towards the former. It is not, therefore, unreasonable if the new Labour Office of the Bombay Government is viewed with suspicion. Government's professions of neutrality between the Capitalist and the Labourer have been often proved to be mere 'sound and fury'; and examples of interested disinterest are not rare! The New Labour Office is not only a superfluity and probably a calamity, but it is an office with nebulous and ridiculous objects and functions. We are told 'It is not easy to delimit the functions of a labour office, for ultimately the workers, who constitute the great mass of the people, must be affected by nearly everything of importance that happens in the world'. If this be so, we beg to warn that those who will run this Labour Office will be pitifully overworked, starved, underpaid and soon done to death. For will they not be required, if the above statement of the office's functions be accepted, to be always at their desks entering in their record books everything that existed, exists, and will exist—not only things that directly affect the labour question, but even such things as the death rate of sparrows and crows in Bombay, the statistics of suicides in Japan, the cost of food daily consumed by the porter at Lloyd George's door, and the description of fried fish that is served at the poorest restaurant in London? The whole story of this Labour Office is ridiculous. No one ever expressed a desire that such an office should be run by Government. When various other things in the cause of Labour remain neglected, it is funny enough that Government should hasten to spend on a

Director, investigators, clerks, typists, and pigeon-holes, and call the whole group 'a Labour Office.' That such an office should be formed without the knowledge of men like Mr. Baptista who to-day can easily claim to be in the closest touch with all Labour questions, is not a very respectable fact. And besides, if the new Office is not going to do anything beyond collecting information and keeping it at the service of all, the present Director of Information could easily have been entrusted with the work. We consider it a waste of money to constitute an independent office for a business which can reasonably be expected to be done by an already existing office. The Labour Office is no more than a redundant offshoot of the Information Office, a useless overgrowth which deserves being cut away."

Hindusthán (21), 20th Apl.

20. Commenting upon the Press Note regarding the Bombay Labour Office issued by the Director of Information, the *Hindusthán* writes:—The chief object of Government in opening the Labour Office seems to be to secure control over all the activities carried on by popular leaders in the interests of the labouring classes. Government want to set up an "impartial authority" to ascertain facts supplied to them by the employers of labour and their employees. By "impartial authority" Government mean the Government officials sitting in the dark rooms of the Secretariat and not the accredited leaders of the labouring classes. Government on the one hand want to favour the capitalist and on the other to make a show of safeguarding the interests of the labouring classes and thus wean them from the influence of their own leaders and make them subservient to their own officials. The suggestion about establishing the Labour Office must have come from a Moderate leader of the labouring classes. The labouring classes will suffer if they give up their own leaders and go over to Government. The labour question is getting acute in this presidency and we do not think that the proposed Labour Office will be able to tackle with it in a successful manner in spite of its laying claim to be an "impartial authority".

Indian Social Reformer (7), 24th Apl.

***21.** "In Mr. Findlay Shirras, the Government of Bombay have secured a capable and tried man to direct the Bureau at the outset, but we trust he will be given a competent Indian Deputy who can take his place when he retires from the post. But more important than the increase of wages are measures which demand for their effective accomplishment not only large sums of money—that, of course, is essential—but trained workers animated by the spirit of social service. Such workers must be predominantly Indian. Our attention has been called to the appointment of an English lady as an adviser to the Government of India on questions affecting women workers in factories, and similar appointments are apparently to be made in the provinces. A valued correspondent unhesitatingly characterises these appointments as jobbery pure and simple, and we are inclined to agree with him that a sharp eye should be kept by Indian publicists on the operations of the Labour department that is being developed."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Apl.

22. "While few will dispute the uses to which a Labour Bureau, such such as is sought to be set up in Bombay, can be put, it is permissible to point out that its real utility will depend on the measure of confidence it will be able to inspire, not among the employers of labour—for they can always blindly rely on the authorities to safeguard their interests—but among the toiling masses of the workmen.......... From the statement of objects and functions of the Office which has been issued to the press it is apparent that, for the present at any rate, the Office does not intend to be anything more than a statistical bureau. Now statistics, especially labour statistics, have an undoubted value in the solution of the economic problems confronting this country.......... But the rub lies in the attitude of those who will handle these statistics. We saw not long ago the reprehensible use made of so-called statistics of the cattle-wealth of India by the head of the Publicity Bureau of Bengal.......... So, unless the personnel of the Labour Office maintains a scrupulously impartial attitude and proceeds about its task in ways which are above board and seeks the sympathy and co-operation of all irrespective of official rank and social status, and especially the co-operation of the labour leaders, its utility to the public and the labouring classes will be doubtful. The Office must justify itself fully before the public can be expected to acquiesce in its continuance after the present period of trial. But we frankly confess we are sceptical as to the utility of the Labour Bureau as it is constituted at present. We do not know what is the composition of the staff working under Mr. Shirras. We do not know if Government tried in the first instance to secure qualified Indians to hold the higher posts in the Department? And, finally, we have outlived the faith in imported experts, however able, who know nothing about conditions of life in the country, solving our domestic problems."

The new sterling loan in England.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Apr.

23. "We published yesterday a communique, dated Simla, the 20th April, announcing the issue of a prospectus in London for a new loan at 7 per cent. for £7,500,000. .... With the best will in the world we fail to see the necessity which has driven the Government of India to this extraordinary step, suicidal to their own credit apart altogether from the mischievous implications of such high rates of interest in the present state of the finances of the Government. The one point of public economy on which the country seems to be unanimous is the necessity of our Government adopting every possible means to restrict and reduce our foreign sterling obligations; for it is these obligations which have been at the bottom of our currency muddle for thirty years.......... The operation is unacceptable because the high rate of interest, given to the holders of our sterling securities and payable out of India, will foster expectations of an equally high rate in this country and consequently disorganise our industrial and commercial finance markets and intensify the depression that is already asserting itself.......... Government have solemnly declared their intention to rehabilitate the depreciating securities, and have adopted the most unusual expedient of a double committee to investigate a single problem. If after appointing a committee in Calcutta and Bombay, with express instructions to devise a scheme to restore the waning confidence in the public credit and arrest the decline in the value of the securities, Government should adopt such a programme of borrowing, when no case is made out for any borrowing at such a rate and in such a place, the efforts of the committees will prove utterly fruitless......... Will the money thus raised be used by the Government to pay for imports? Do they intend this loan raised in England to operate as so much fictitious export of Indian produce? Has it any connection, direct or indirect, with the present imbroglio in the cotton import trade and, if not, will the Government give a guarantee that, in conformity with the solemn declarations of the highest authorities, they will not interfere in the interest of English exporters and use the proceeds of the loan thus raised to satisfy their interested clamour? These are all questions as grave as they are fraught with possibilities of mischief; and we warn the Government of Lord Reading against allowing themselves to be made the dupes of the 'Home' authorities in this respect.......... We shall not now discuss the merits of the conversion scheme alleged to be tacked on to the main terms of the loan. If successful, it would add to the nominal burden of the debt of India a sum double the amount actually received under the present operation. The facility for conversion is confined, it will be noticed, to the holders of the sterling debt and not to those of the rupee debt. We shall suspend judgment on such a piece of what at first sight seems unpardonable duplicity, until we have an official explanation. But we must urge upon the Government of India the impolicy of the whole transaction, and record our earnest conviction that if the programme materialises without a murmur of protest from our Government they will find it difficult to justify themselves before their Legislative Assembly, who will be perfectly justified in objecting to any supplies being voted for the payment of interest or principal of such an inequitable transaction."

24. A strong protest should be raised against the floatation of an Indian Loan in England by the Secretary of State at a rate of interest higher than that offered for any of the loans issued by the Government of India. We cannot accept the argument that the Secretary of State had to issue the loan as the balance of trade is against India and that such a loan would be advantageous to India. The question of the loan should be discussed in the Imperial Legislative Assembly and all commercial bodies in India should agitate in the matter to strengthen the hands of the Assembly.

Praja Mitra and Pârsi (31), 23rd Apl.

India and Imperial preference.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 24th Apl.

***25.** "It is absurd on the face of it to ask India to adopt preference in favour of Colonies which of set purpose and declared policy differentiate against Indians who in one way or another have been mainly instrumental in developing them. The reciprocity resolution which was adopted at two Imperial Conferences on the motion of Lord Sinha, and with the approval of all the Colonial representatives, has remained a dead letter. The situation in South Africa is worse than ever before, that in Keniya territory threatens to over-shadow it. Fiji has become a byword and a scandal to the Empire. The official declaration that in ex-German territories mandated to British self-governing Colonies, the latter will be free to enforce the restrictions against Indians obtaining in them, thus making the position of Indians worse than under the Germans, has created intense dissatisfaction. To ask India, in this state of mind, to discuss Imperial preference is to assume that Indians are lost to all sense of injury. We trust the Indian representatives in the Imperial Conference will make this quite clear. Unless unmistakable assurances accompanied by adequate guarantees for their prompt fulfilment are forthcoming on this important feature of India's relations with the British colonies and Dominions, they should decline to embark on any formal discussion of proposals of Imperial Defence and Preference leading to conclusions which may be held to bind this country. We have no hope that the self-governing Colonies, especially the South African Union, will agree to any modification of their policy in deference to the larger interests of the British Empire. When Mr. Gokhale pressed the importance of Imperial considerations on the Ministers during his visit to South Africa, he was bluntly told by one of them that those considerations might have weight in London, but they had none with them. 'We have been dragged into the Empire against our wishes, and we do not care to guide our policy by any considerations except those of our own interests and sentiments.' We heard this from Mr. Gokhale himself. General Smuts and General Hertzog have their differences, but they are both one in their desire to see the last of British Indians in South Africa.......... It is matter for much satisfaction that on this important subject the Government of India are entirely one with the people of India. We have acknowledged before, and we do so once again, the country's obligations to Lord Chelmsford for the consistently strong attitude which his Government maintained on this question. Lord Reading, we are sure, will worthily uphold in this respect the wise and just policy of his predecessor."

Government's policy responsible for the unrest on the North-West frontier.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Apl.

26. Commenting on the unrest on the North-West Frontier, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"The construction of the Khyber Railway, the occupation of Waziristan, and the extension of frontier outposts far into tribal territory have brought about the present situation and there is unrest all along the frontier. The Amir is no less alarmed than are the tribes.......... The policy is full of present danger. If not reversed betimes, it is likely to lead to fresh frontier troubles and probably another Afghan war. The game of painting the frontier tribes and Afghans as more mischievous than they really are, and making them responsible for acts which are the direct and inevitable outcome of the frontier policy of the Government of India, has been played too long, and it is high time that it was given up. The abandonment of the Khyber Railway project immediately and the withdrawal from Waziristan and other outposts are the two things the

Government should do at once if there is to be peace along the frontier. Indian money must be spent on purely defensive operations. India will not grudge the amount. But she must be satisfied as to the *bona-fides* of the foreign policy of the Government. The recent picnic of seven 'representatives' of the people to the frontier cannot reassure the people on this point. These seven worthies were entertained to a dinner and a garden party, but whether they were let into the secrets of the frontier policy is another matter. The general view expressed by them, according to the Associated Press, was that 'nobody with first-hand knowledge could have any idea of the conditions under which our troops, both British and Indian, serve on the frontier and the discomforts under which they labour.' One member, indeed, 'is understood to have expressed his intention of publicly retracting his previously expressed belief that the British soldier in India lived in extreme luxury, as compared with the ordinary Indian inhabitant of the country.' That the British soldier has to put up with exceptional discomforts on the frontiers is common knowledge. But the experience of 'the British soldier in India' is certainly not so trying, and if the member concerned had taken care to enquire into the conditions of life of the British soldier respectively in Peshawar or Nowshera, not to speak of stations inland, he would have found that the former lived in extreme luxury as compared with the latter. But that is neither here nor there. The issue is that the seven worthies do not seem to have enquired into the merits of the frontier policy of the Government of India."

Representation of Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau on the Bombay Port Trust.

Bombay Samáchár (62), 20th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 19th Apl.

27. The Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau had made a representation to the local Government asking them to allow them to have the same number of representatives on the Board of the Port Trust as the Bombay Chamber of Commerce. The demand made by the Chamber is not premature or hasty; on the contrary, it is one that should have been made long ago. But we are sorry to note that the reply given by Government and the reasons urged by them therein are hardly satisfactory. It is India alone among the civilized countries of the world that has not yet completely accepted the principle of adequate representation of the people in the management of a responsible body concerned with the people and founded and run with their money. Hence we would once more request the Government of Bombay to accede to the reasonable demands of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* makes similar remarks and adds:—This is a clear injustice to the Indian merchant community. The interests of the people of this country and its merchants should have the first consideration. If the Government of Bombay believe that foreigners are to a greater extent interested in the business, etc., done through the port of Bombay, they should lay before the public the statistics on the subject. We are of opinion that there should be a majority of Indians on the Board of the Bombay Port Trust. Have the European merchants secured the monopoly of the trade and business in Bombay? Those days are gone when the exclusive authority of European merchants was tolerated. We hope Government will sympathetically consider the application of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.]

Comments on the order of the Cantonment Magistrate of Dehra Dun about opening of shops on Satyagraha day.

Young India (14), 21st Apl.

28. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"That O'Dwyerism is not dead in India has been demonstrated by the Cantonment Magistrate of Dehra Dun ordering on the Satyagraha day, that shops in his Cantonment must be opened, on pain of the shopkeepers' being banished from it, in the event of disobedience of his orders. Little do people know that in Cantonments Magistrates enjoy powers which are elsewhere exercised under Martial law. The residents within Cantonment limits are at the mercy of Magistrates. The wonder is that people have so long and so patiently put up with a system of Government conceived with a view to check their liberty to the point of enslaving them."

Government should institute an enquiry into the excesses of the Satya Samajists in Sátára District.

Prakásh (137), 20th Apl.

29. Government have addressed a communication to the President of the meeting held at Karad (Sátára) to protest against the excesses committed by the Satya Samajists at Garavde, inquiring whether any of the sufferers have lodged a complaint. We wish the Brahmins had the courage to make complaints; but their reluctance to adopt this course, through fear, was natural. The authorities, however, must not remain quiet simply because there has been no complaint. If Government do not take measures to prevent such occurrences, people will naturally conclude that they have their sanction. We suggest to the Government, therefore, that they should institute an inquiry without waiting for a complaint and put a stop to the excesses of the character of which the Satya Samajists have been guilty.

Comments on the cablegram sent by Mr. Tairsee to the Premier advising him to employ General Dyer to handle the coal strike.

Model (28), 17th Apl., Eng. cols.; *Hindusthán* (21), 20th Apl., Eng. cols.

30. "The telegraphic message sent by Mr. L. R. Tairsee to the Prime Minister is ironically instructive and sarcastically suggestive. We hope that the Prime Minister promptly takes up the suggestion and employs General Dyer 'the Saviour of India' to quell the Labour Movement in England. We are sure that if the 'gallant General' tries the same game in his motherland that he so cowardly played in this defenceless and unarmed country, he will be made to quit this world before he quells the movement, and the 'Saviour of India' will soon become the 'Martyr of England'; and then India would be relieved of the annual humility of this butcher's blood-stained pension, and the darkest spot that stains the honour of England will also disappear. Thus with one stroke he would relieve the Indian Exchequer and redeem England's honour, and also expedite the course of Divine Justice, for, the Ghosts of Jallianwalla Bagh Victims, having failed to obtain Justice in this selfish world, haunt the murderer's den, and will not rest in peace till retributive Justice is dealt out to the Satanic Culprit in the heavenly Court of Divinity." [The *Hindusthán* (weekly) writes:—"What a fine sense of sarcasm it shows to ask the Prime Minister to employ General Dyer in order to suppress the rebellion of the Triple Alliance in England. If Dyer suppresses it, there is no doubt that he will save the British Empire from the greatest calamity it has befallen it up till now! But can he take the steps he took in India to suppress it? If he does he would either be killed or ignominiously dismissed."]

General Dyer and India.

Lokashahi (126), 18th Apl.

31. The enemies of India in England are busy writing about the present condition of this country and devising means to ensure the safety of the Empire, and General Dyer has publicly declared that in case of necessity he would not hesitate to twist the necks of the Indians? This English wolf has already tasted our blood and is now drawing pension from our hard-earned money. Who can now say that this is not a proof of British integrity? But General Dyer and his friends should bear well in mind that Indians, too, will not hesitate to spill blood if it is absolutely necessary for their elevation. They will consider it more honourable to die while fighting for independence than to live in slavery.

Reflections on the miners' strike in England and Scotland.

Rájakáran (138), 17th Apl.

32. It is incorrect to say that we are not concerned with the miners' strike in England. England's Indian policy largely depends upon her own internal condition. When England is seething with discontent and disorders, our rulers here naturally hesitate to launch a policy of repression on a large scale. Therefore, we should vigorously push forward the non-co-operation movement at this time. It is owing to their poverty that the labourers in England are fighting with the rich. The poverty-stricken people of India, too, should non-co-operate with the rich and arrogant rulers here. A boycott of cotton goods of English manufacture will produce an excellent effect. We should also vigorously carry on the temperance movement at this time. It will reduce the revenue of Government and will thus compel them to listen to our demands. The Imperial authorities will have no other alternative but to give *swarájya* to India when they are simultaneously faced with a general strike in England and the non-co-operation movement here.

Reflections on the 1921 census figures.
Kesari (120), 19th Apl.

33. The Census figures for 1921 are significant. They reveal the economic and vital condition of the Indian people. During the last ten years the increase in the population of India has been only 1·2 per cent. A comparison of this rate of increase with those for other civilised countries clearly brings to light the nature of British rule in its vital aspects. Reference has been made to influenza, famines and such other causes to explain away this almost stationary condition of the population. But this argument does not hold water inasmuch as it cannot be said that countries like England and America never suffer from epidemics and famines. Besides, the difference between the rates of increase in India and these countries is so extraordinary that influenza and famines alone would never account for it. A comparison of the figures for the British territory and those for the Native States brings us to the same conclusion. The rate of increase is very much higher in the Native States than in the British districts. Now what is this due to? It is simply due to the fact that India has no freedom. The bureaucracy are absolute masters of the destinies of the people. The excessive land revenue and the intolerable burden of the cost of the foreign machinery of Government have left them economically helpless and therefore devitalised. The people's power of resistance is already weak and is diminishing day by day. It is the duty of every Indian to stop this process of degeneration; but it cannot be done without *swarájya*.

Lord Sinha and his Executive Council.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Apl.

34. "Lord Sinha had a splendid opportunity of vindicating his position as an independent Governor when a vacancy occurred in his Executive Council by the retirement of Sir Walter Maude. The strong resentment expressed by his countrymen both within and outside the Legislative Councils must have been fully within his knowledge. And yet he has sadly failed to discharge his responsibility to himself and his countrymen. He has appointed a European official to succeed Sir Walter Maude both as member of the Executive Council and President of the Legislative Council. The whole episode shows to what extent even the 'highest' placed Indian 'co-operators' are under the thumb of the bureaucracy. We shall not insult either the patriotism or intelligence of Lord Sinha by suggesting that he is honestly convinced that the preponderance of the European element in his Executive Council is necessary for the stability or good government of the province at whose head he is placed. It is the 'policy' of the bureaucracy that stands in the way of justice being done by Lord Sinha to his countrymen, and he has preferred humbly to bow down to it instead of manfully asserting his undoubted constitutional right to select the personnel of his Council. However, such is the price which the stalwarts of the new 'democracy' have to pay for their 'co-operation' with the bureaucracy."

Discourtesy shown to Lord Sinha during his visit to Puri.
***Indian Social Reformer* (7), 24th Apl.**

***35. "The *Indian Messenger* (Calcutta) rightly deplores the discourtesy shown to Lord Sinha during his recent official visit to Puri in Orissa. The *hartal*, observed on the occasion, was so complete that, says our contemporary, no coolies or carts could be found to remove his luggage.......... The *Messenger* is not right in stating that Lord Sinha had been singled out for this kind of treatment. Sir George Lloyd's visit to Sind recently was signalised by a *hartal* but no one heard of coolies and carts not being available to handle His Excellency's luggage. If any such thing had happened, Sind would probably have had a new Commissioner within twenty-four hours. We cannot help feeling that the Puri *hartal* would not have gone to the**

extreme lengths which it did, if the local authorities had not shown some prefunctoriness in their obligations to an Indian Governor. The impression is gaining ground that Lord Sinha is not showing sufficient confidence in himself in dealing with his officials.......... It is these men that His Excellency thought of engaging as his auxiliaries in combatting non-co-operation!"

Comments on Lord Reading's visit to the Punjab.
Gujaráti (17), 24th Apl. Eng. cols.

***36.** "We are glad to see that the new Viceroy has taken the earliest opportunity to pay at least a hurried visit to that unfortunate province. In his reply to the address of welcome presented by the Punjáb Chiefs' Association he paid a glowing tribute to the loyalty and devotion and the historic courage and gallantry manifested by the people of the Punjáb. We leave it to His Excellency to say whether these people did not deserve better treatment than the one that was dealt out to them by O'Dwyer and Lord Chelmsford's government. 'Ever since I was destined', observed Lord Reading, 'for the honour of the Viceroyalty, the shadow of Amritsar (to use the Duke's metaphor) has pursued me.' How is that shadow to be dispelled? The Duke's remedy was 'to let bygones be bygones, to forgive where forgiveness was needed, to forget the misunderstandings of the past and to unite in striving for the realisation and the promise of the future.' That appeal, excellent as it was, was not calculated to produce a permanent effect. His Excellency will do well to bear in mind that the proceedings in the Indian Legislative Assembly and Sir William Vincent's speech are not the last word on the subject. There is the dissenting minute of the minority in the Hunter Committee's report and the report of the Congress Sub-Committee. These cannot be ignored. The Martial Law Courts and their proceedings were little better than a farce, as has already been acknowledged by Government by releasing or granting amnesty to some of their victims. There are others who ought to receive the benefit of the same clemency. That ought to be done at the earliest opportunity. The grants of money to the Indian sufferers, even though revised on a more liberal scale, will not suffice to assuage public feeling. We welcome them as an act of justice. But the question still remains as to how far the heartless miscreants, who subjected Indians to outrageous humiliations, who treated young students with infamous cruelty and insulted Indian women, have been adequately punished. Great Britain is still pressing Germany for the punishment of Germans who acted with gross cruelty contrary to the laws of honourable warfare, and the people of India cannot be said to be wrong or called vindictive if they demand that the men, who were guilty of shameful and barbarous deeds, should be adequately punished. The principal of 'let bygones be bygones' need not be preached in this country. It is part of its ancient civilisation and religion. Vindictiveness is not a feature of Indian character. But even the human nature of Indians cannot be asked to transcend its limits and reconcile itself to gross outrages that are left virtually unpunished. The authors of the vile deeds ought to be at least dismissed from public service without pension and not allowed to fatten themselves by drawing salaries and pensions from the hard-earned money of the poor tax-payer. That is the least that Lord Reading is expected to do.......... The next best thing that can be done is to send away the offending officials outside the province where their obnoxious presence acts as an unbearable irritant.......... Let their valuable services, if they are to be continued, be transferred to other provinces or preferably to Ireland, where they will have as glorious opportunities to distinguish themselves. Justice imperatively demands some such measures, and we hope Lord Reading will not remain content with Sir William Vincent's one-sided and interested advocacy but proceed to do what is right in the light of his independent judgment. His Excellency has a golden opportunity to establish his moral prestige at the very outset of his career and rehabilitate that of the British Government, and we leave it to him to give effect to his promises uttered in England to do right or 'administer justice' irrespective of race, caste or creed."

Mahrátta (8) 24th Apl.

***37.** “We are afraid we cannot agree with those who are ready to be lost in raptures of joy at the trifling event of the new Viceroy's visit to Lahore and Amritsar. Lord Reading's goodness in taking the first opportunity to run up to Lahore looks striking only owing to the dark background of his predecessor's haughtiness in never taking a Punjab visit in his head. The Viceroy cannot claim to have obliged anybody by visiting Lahore and Amritsar. Besides, much of the glare is taken away from the Viceregal visit when we analyse the speech which Lord Reading delivered in reply to the address presented to him by the Punjáb Chiefs' Association. Though the object of the visit was not in any way connected with the dismal events of Amritsar, the Viceroy was driven by his delicate conscience and love of justice to say something about them. And what did he say, after all? Did he promise to do his best to secure the cancellation of pensions to Dyer and O'Dwyer? Did he express his heartfelt regret for the way in which British officers had brutally treated the people of the Punjáb? Did he hold out any promise to release the Martial Law prisoners? No. He only recounted, how on the recommendation of the Government of India, Mr. (*sic*) MacLagan was about to nominate a committee to remove the previous disproportion between the compensations paid to Indian and European sufferers. If Lord Reading is under the impression that payment of adequate compensations to the families of those who were killed at Amritsar will relieve him of his duty towards the Punjáb, it is the most deplorable misconception. Throughout the interval between his nomination and his actual assumption of Viceregal power in India, Lord Reading spoke and spoke about pure justice and equity and sympathy and all such attractive abstract ideas. And now on the very first occasion on which he could have displayed some harmony between the high-sounding words that lent brilliance to his speeches and his actual intentions, he broke down and moved in the settled bureaucratic grooves of ‘forgetfullness’ and ‘forgiveness’. The shadow of Amritsar which had pursued Lord Reading ever since he was destined for the honour of Viceroyalty is wonderfully tame if it could be sent away by the chink of a few silver pieces distributed amongst the relatives of those that were shot like so many ducks by a savage who wanted to have a goose-shooting day......... When the heart groans under the burden of dishonour, it is inhuman to consider lucre as the best and the last remedy.......... We can well understand the importance of removing the disproportion between compensations given to Indians and Europeans. But Lord Reading would be committing a very grave mistake in supposing that the Punjáb tragedy could be easily buried in forgetfulness only if people got generous compensations. We cannot help raising a note of warning that Lord Reading would never be successful in feeling India's pulse accurately if he proceeded to take such narrow views of things.”

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 24th Apl., Eng. cols.

***38.** “Lord Reading's speech at Láhore was an echo of the Duke of Connaught's memorable appeal at Delhi. ‘Forgive and forget the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past and work together for the future’ is the main theme of that appeal. Considering the present circumstances it is perhaps the best advice that one in Lord Reading's position could give. But there is a class of people in this country who seem determined not to listen to any conciliatory advice. As the Viceroy remarked, it is necessary that all should unite in a concentrated effort to reach, by practical and constitutional means, the end which is promised under the new Reforms. But there is a party that will have nothing to do with the Reforms and wants to throw them overboard. It will be satisfied with nothing more nor less than the complete possession of all power and authority in its own hands. If this party persists in its extreme demands it is difficult to see how Lord Reading, or even an angel from heaven, can do anything to satisfy them. Obstinacy in politics is worse than suicide.”

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th and 19th Apl.

39. “Lord Reading's speech at Lahore as it appears in the report of the Associated Press which we published yesterday is certain to cause disappointment among Indians many of whom are expecting the New Viceroy to behave as a *deus ex machina* who can redress the wrongs of India and dispel her troubles in the twinkling of an eye.......... Those who expect him to destroy the whole machine at once and at a single blow are certain to be disappointed. Nor does it seem to us at all desirable that the machine should be destroyed in that dramatic way. We ourselves shall be content if the new Viceroy in a diplomatic manner takes control of the bureaucratic machine as it exists to-day, keeping himself outside it, and simply alters its direction in the sense desired of Indians.......... The point in Lord Reading's speech at Lahore which is likely most to disappoint the Indian public is the reference to the 'reforms' as the 'first instalment' of swarajya. We are so tired of the instalment system. Is the birthright of a mighty nation a fit subject for this kind of jugglery? Is it to be doled out as a boon by those who stole it in the first place? That is to add insult to injury.......... If the British in India had set out deliberately to drive the Indian people mad, and make a danger where no danger was, they could not have chosen more effective means than the present elaborate system of espionage and repressive legislation, of which the obvious motive is distrust. That bad and quite unnecessary part of the machine must be destroyed immediately, or Lord Reading's conciliatory utterances must inevitably seem insincere to Indians. What is the use of asking them to forgive and forget the frightful exhibition of race hatred in the Punjáb, when the machinery for such another outburst is in readiness and actually at work in many provinces?......... If it were our privilege to counsel the new Viceroy we should give him only two words of advice and also of encouragement: 'Trust India'—not grudgingly and under surveillance, like a prisoner—but wholly and implicitly, like a free nation equal to your own.......... We, with many millions of Indians, are still waiting for Lord Reading to make some pronouncement with regard to the Khilafat question, showing that he realises its immense importance to the situation, and that he sees the golden opportunity it offers to the Governmeht of India to earn its right to be considered as the Indian Government. Until that question is settled in accord with the demands of Muslims and with England's promises, there may be talk of peace as there is now, but there will be no peace in India or in Asia; and Indias will be justified in their distrust of the Governments of India and of England." [In the next issue the paper writes:—"All India will gratefully appreciate the motive which inspired His Excellency the Viceroy to visit the Jallianwalla Bagh.......... His visit to the Jallianwalla Bagh is a fresh proof of the sincerity of purpose which animates him. We regret, however, that his reference to the Punjáb in the speech he delivered in reply to the address of the Punjáb Chiefs' Association will be regarded by the vast majority of the people of this country as an ill-advised one and not calculated to inspire full confidence among the latter that the purpose of his mission will be attained to their satisfaction.......... It is a noble thing to forgive and to let bygones be bygones. And let us assure His Excellency that no people in the world are by temperament as well as tradition more accustomed to let bygones be bygones and to forgive than Indians, as there are none in whom the sense of loyalty to their King is keener. Whose apppeal could be expected to be more effective with them than that of the uncle of their king? Why then did the appeal of His Royal Highness fall flat? It fell flat because it was divorced from the action that justice demanded. Does His Excellency imagine that where the Duke failed to evoke a response from a suffering and afflicted people by the charm of a platitude, he himself, exalted though is his position, is going to succeed? That is a question which we present to His Excellency to ponder over. Meanwhile, we may venture to ask: Is the speech of His Excellency the first fruit of his association with his entourage? Our suspicion in this respect is roused by His Excellency's reference to Sir William Vincent's speech in the Assembly on the Punjáb debate which, His Excellency said, 'will well repay perusal and study.' Sir William Vincent's precious speech has been read by everybody, and it does not surprise us to note that his present advisers have not acquainted Lord Reading with the inconvenient fact that the country has correctly appreciated the genuineness of 'the tears of regret' Sir William Vincent shed in that speech. We are glad that Lord Reading has paid special attention to the unfair distribution of money grants as between Indian and British sufferers during the Punjáb nightmare; and that Sir Edward Maclagan is appointing a Committee which will be charged with the duty of providing that the compensation payable to the Indian sufferers should be more generous and that the disproportion in the scale of payments to Indian, as compared with the British, should be removed.

The removal of this grievance will be a welcome, though belated, act of justice. But let us inform His Excellency that there are other greater wrongs which have yet to be repaired before India can feel that justice has been done to her. Nothing has brought home to her her position of helplessness and humiliation so acutely as the bitter knowledge that those who brutally outraged her honour have not only gone unpunished but have also been provided with pensions out of her revenues. Lord Reading has come to India with a determination, frequently reiterated, to see that justice is done to her. He told us when he landed in Bombay that he would hear all sides before he declared his policy. Why then his appeal to the people of India to forgive and to let bygones be bygones before justice has been done? Why then this strong leaning towards the assumption that the Punjáb question was closed with the debate in the Legislative Assembly and Sir William Vincent's speech?......... Lord Reading has done part of his duty in reading the report of the debate. But the greater part of his duty has not yet been done. It is to find out what the vast bulk of our countrymen, through the press and the platform, thought about that debate and Sir William Vincent's speech. Let him, therefore, know that the so-called 'representatives' of the people of India represent nobody but themselves, and that no Government was ever so much out of touch with the mass of the people as the present, though it shelters some Indians in its preserve. We do not say that His Excellency should not hear the views of the members of the Legislature and the Executive Council. But if he is anxious not to lose the confidence of the people of India in the sincerity of his desire for justice, let him never for a moment forget that the former do not speak the mind of the latter. As it is, having come to India to see justice triumphant, he has reversed the ordinary judicial procedure. It is the people of India who are wronged and who demand justice. Instead of hearing them first through their accredited representatives, instead of moving among them, he is proceeding to Simla, where the bureaucracy and its supporters will have an open field to exercise their subtle influence over him and imprint on his mind those first impressions which are difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate. Perhaps, His Excellency feels it is essential for him to go to Simla to master the details of administration. If so let him in the name of justice, which he has invoked in words so often, refrain, while he is engaged on this task, from expressing views which as a judge he should not express on a matter that is *sub-judice*."

Swarájya (149), 21st Apl.; *Indu Prakásh* (45), 19th Apl.

40. Lord Reading repeats the old and insipid refrain 'Forget and forgive', and asks the people to forget the mistakes made by English officials at Amritsar. Perhaps His Excellency does not know that English officials on their part are not inclined to forget the mistakes made by Indians. The debate in the Council of State on the release of the Savarkar brothers reveals the vindictiveness of the authorities. Instead of showing their willingness to forget the mistakes made by the Savarkar brothers some of the officials revived old memories. Surely it is not thus that a veil is drawn over the past. If Government officials are not prepared to forget the mistakes made by the people, why should they expect the latter to overlook theirs? There have been not a few minor Jallianwalla Baghs before and people remember them all. If Lord Reading desires that people should forget them he should do something more substantial than say to the people 'Forget and forgive'. [The *Indu Prakásh* says that such frequent appeals to the people to forget the past only serve to remind them of their grievances and declares that the desired end will not be achieved unless there is a real change in the attitude of the Government.]

Lokamanya (new), 20th Apl.; *Lokasangraha* (123), 21st Apl.

41. Whether Lord Reading has generosity and courage enough to deal justly with the people's demands is yet to be seen. But if we are to judge him by his Lahore speech he seems to be an astute statesman whose thoughts none would be able to fathom. Except his appeal to 'forget and forgive' there is nothing important in his speech. He has not even referred to those matters which alone are calculated to reconcile Indian opinion. His reference to the victims of the Jallianwalla massacre and compensation for them is indeed satisfactory; but it is an insignificant matter which will do nothing to placate Indian feeling. If His Excellency expects compensation to satisfy Indians he will be sorely disappointed. He has visited the Punjab and the Jallianwalla Bagh. We do hope that he will calmly think over the matter again and be true to his promise of giving justice to the Punjab and India. [The *Lokasangraha* remarks:—Ever since Lord Reading was appointed Viceroy he spoke of nothing but justice and his pronouncements raised great expectations among the people and His Excellency's decision to visit the Punjab even before going to Simla gave relief to their parched up mouths. But his speech at Lahore has dashed these hopes to the ground. It has disillusioned the people once for all. All praise to His Excellency for having made the nature of his mission clear to the country so soon. He has not come to India to do justice to her in essentials. He may have come here to do justice in such unimportant matters as the Nankana affair. He will never rehabilitate India's faith in British justice. He has fallen a victim to the bureaucratic tradition. His appeal to forget and forgive, the fact that he did not interview Lala Lajpatrai and many other things besides, clearly prove that. Does not Lord Reading know that the Duke of Connaught's appeal has been in vain? Is the spectacle of a murderous Dyer pensioned off, a foolish Chelmsford rewarded with titles and a tyrannical O'Dwyer commended for statesmanship consistent with sympathy? It will be better if Lord Reading ceases talking of justice. There is wisdom in silence.]

Sànj Vartamán (33), 18th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (21), 18th and 19th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 18th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 19th Apl.

42. The speech made by His Excellency Lord Reading at the garden party given in his honour by the Sardars of the the Punjab at Lahore will not fail to be received with deep disappointment throughout the country. We do not want to be unjust to Lord Reading, but we would like to state that there will be little chance of a compromise between Government and the non-co-operationists if His Exccellency has nothing more to offer than the advice he has given in his sppech. His Excellency has repeated the Duke of Connaught's advice to forgive and forget and we do not think that the repetition of the advice will create any impression on the minds of the Indian people. We want nothing but justice from Lord Reading and no good purpose will be served by the advice he has given to the Indian people at Lahore. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—The people will refuse to accept Lord Reading's advice when they have been made to expect justice from him. The reference made by Lord Reading to Sir William Vincent is very significant inasmuch as it serves to show the source of His Excellency's information and guidance. The speech goes to show that Lord Reading also has fallen a victim to his bureaucratic officials. We need not be surprised if the speech tends to stimulate the non-co-operation movement. We wanted bread but a stone has been given to us and stones will continue to be given to us as long as every Indian does not resort to non-co-operation. In the subsequent issue the paper writes:—Lord Reading has exposed his weakness at the very start and proved his inability to win over the hearts of the people. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also is of the opinion that the speech will create disappointment among the people who expected justice from Lord Reading in the Punjab affairs. It asks Lord Reading to use his influence to stop the pensions of General Dyer and other officers being paid from the Indian treasury. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, writes:—Lord Reading deserves to be congratulated upon the tact he has shown in taking the earliest opportunity of visiting the Punjab and trying to pacify the minds of the people. Who will not give a mead of praise to Lord Reading for the promptitude he has shown in bringing into effect the resolution about giving compensation without any distinction of colour or creed? We feel sure that the Viceroy's visit to Jallianwalla Bagh is a prelude to his administering justice in the matter of the atrocities committed there.]

Lala Lajpatrai ought to have been interviewed by His Excellency Lord Reading at Lahore.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Apl.

43. Referring to the interviews of His Excellency Lord Reading at Lahore with several leading citizens, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks :—"In this connection the *Tribune* regrets that Lala Lajpatrai, the man who by common consent can be said to represent the feeling of the entire province, was not invited. The statement of our contemporary that those responsible for making the selections quietly and deliberately left him out, of course, does not suprise us. For the bureaucracy have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing. The incident is important as emphasising the danger of Lord Reading unconsciously frustrating the purpose for which he has come to India by playing into the hands of his present advisers. If His Excellency proceeds with his task of investigating the truth along the familiar bureaucratic lines, the truth will always elude him. He can only find it out if he sets himself free from the trammels of officialdom and seeks the 'co-operation' of the people and their true representatives like Lala Lajpatrai. He should, of course, give ear to his official guides. But let him not allow them to 'manage' his investigations for him."

Will Lord Reading be able to allay the present discontent in India.
New Times (9), 14th Apl.

44. "Lord Reading has made several speeches since the announcement of his being appointed as Viceroy; but in India as in England he has been scrupulously silent as to the policy he would inaugurate. He desires to study personally the situation before formulating a policy. It is a situation unprecedented in the history of this country.......... To-day the non-co-operation movement has the sympathy and support of the masses ; to-day the movement has spread all over India and is strengthened by the united strength of the Hindus and Muslims. The movement is no longer treated with contempt by its opponents ; the gravity of the situation created by non-co-operation is now acknowledged by Anglo-Indians.......... Lord Reading has ability and experience ; high hopes are entertained of him in several quarters ; his statement that he would deal justice to India based upon equity and humanity and not upon law, has been welcomed throughout the country ; but he will not succeed unless he responds whole-heartedly to the National movement. He is India's first Viceroy of an Asiatic race ; will he look at the Indian problem from the Indian, not imperial point of view ? Then must he satisfy the three demands of the non-co-operation movement. He can help India ; will he do it ? He enjoys confidence of the Cabinet ; He can afford to disregard the bureaucracy as Lord Chelmsford, a weak Viceroy could not ; will he remedy the Khilafat and Punjáb wrongs ? And will he help India in securing the only guarantee against a repetition of the wrongs, *viz.*, *swaraj* ? 'Reforms' will not solve the problem ; 'reforms' refuse to be a success ; the country cannot go back upon its resolve to win *swaraj*, it can only go onward ; and Government must be put on the only basis which can endure—the consent of the people."

Mr. Gandhi's criticism of Sir William Vincent's statement in the Indian Legislative Assembly.
Young India (14), 20th Apl.

45. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"Sir William Vincent's speech before the Legislative Assembly makes painful reading. I shall hope that he has been kept in utter darkness by his informants and that the speech is ignorant, not unscrupulous. It is a plausible defence of the Government's policy of repression. It is a distortion or concoction of facts. It is an appeal to our cupidity and a misinterpretation of the motives of non-co-operationists. He says that the declared object of non-co-operationists is paralysis of the Government and that 'in their effort to achieve the object there is no source of discontent which they have not used.' Now both these statements are half-truths. The primary object of non-co-operation is nowhere stated to be paralysis of the Government. The primary object is self-purification. Its direct result must be paralysis of a Government which lives on our vices and weakness. Similarly it is a dangerous half-truth to say that we have left no source of discontent unused. We could not help using sources of legitimate discontent.

But non-co-operationists have rigidly refrained from using any and every discontent, if only because we would weaken our cause if we did. The illustration of what I mean will be best seen from the refutation of the very next sentence which Sir William has spoken in support of his contention: 'Wherever they find discord between employer and employee, there some agent or emissary of non-co-operation party proceeds at once to foster discontent and promote ill-feeling.' This is not only untrue, but it is an incitement to the two to oppose non-co-operation. The avowed policy of non-co-operation has been not to make political use of disputes between labour and capital. They have endeavoured to hold the balance evenly between the two—we would be fools if we wantonly set labour against capital. It would be just the way to play into the hands of a Government which would greatly strengthen its hold on the country by setting capitalists against labourers and *vice versa*.......... 'Where there is a racial ill-feeling', declares Sir William Vincent, 'these emissaries hurry on their evil errand.' He must know that this is a false statement. There is a racial feeling between Englishmen and Indians. There is the memory of Jallianwala—an evergreen. But 'these emissaries' have been veritable messengers of peace. They have everywhere restrained the fury of the unthinking. And I make bold to say that but for the existence of the spirit of non-violence, there would have been more innocent blood spilt inspite of the threat of Dyerism and O'Dwyerism. Our fault has lain in refusing to lick the boot that has kicked, in withdrawing co-operation until there was frank repentance. Non-co-operators are to be blessed for turning the fury of an outraged people from Englishmen to the system they are called upon to administer. But Sir William is nothing if he is not thorough in his attempt to divide and rule. He declaims: 'Where there are quarrels between landlord and tenant—have we not seen this in the United Provinces—there again proceed these emissaries of evil to propagate unrest, and stir up disorder.' Sir William should know that the tenant movement is under the control of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru whose one purpose regarding the tenants has been to educate them to be patient and calm. Sir William has simply attempted to set the landlords against the non-co-operation movement.......... Having attempted to set classes against masses, Sir William proceeds to paralyze both, with the feeling of helplessness and the fear of internal strife and aggression from without. Is Hindu-Muslim Unity such flimsy stuff that we shall begin to quarrel as soon as the British guns are withdrawn from our shores? Were we sixty years ago less able to protect ourselves than we are now? Or is it not a fact that judged by the western standard we were never so helpless as we are now? Self-government, as I have said before, connotes the power of self-protection, and a country which cannot protect itself is not prepared for immediate and complete self-government. In this one sentence Sir William has unwittingly condemned British rule and proved the necessity of immediate mending or ending of that rule. According to my method—the method of suffering or soulforce,—the country is to-day prepared for self-protection. According to Sir William's standard, the reforms have nothing in them to enable India even in a hundred years to arm herself for defence against a combination of world powers. Judged by that standard, the reforms do forge stronger the chains that bind India and make her feel helpless......... Even as Sir William has misrepresented non-co-operators' motives, so has he misconstrued their methods. We have not failed in our effort regarding the educated clases. I admit that the response in practice might have been greater from them. But I make bold to say that the vast majority of them are with us in spirit, though the flesh being weak, they are not able to make what from their point of view is a sacrifice. We have been trying to act on the masses from the commencement. We regard them as our mainstay, for it is they who have to attain *Swaraj*.......... Sir William has been extremely disingenuous in describing the Government's methods of dealing with non-co-operation. Defence of India Act, he will not use against men who have hurt nobody and who are restraining people from committing violence. But he is using ordinary statutes against them in an extraordinary manner under a license given to him by non-co-operators who will not challenge orders in a court of law. He will not conciliate the malcontents by granting Swaraj, for that would lead to anarchy. He does not bother his head about the two things which have caused all the unrest and which have acted like two active and corroding poisons in the Indian body—the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs. He does not tell us what catastrophe is likely to befall India if the Khilafat promises were redeemed and the Punjáb wound healed. He has ornamented his extraordinary speech with an ungentlemanly and insinuating attack upon the Ali Brothers who are putting up a noble fight for Islam and India, and a still more ungentlemanly attack on a 'gentleman of the name of Yakub Hasan', and an ungracious reference to his Turkish wife. As I have said it was painful for me to read the speech, still more painful to have to criticise it. I assure the reader that self-restrained as I am in language, the speech has been a severe strain upon my capacity for restraint. I have scored out many an adjective which I believe would accurately describe Sir William's performance."

How the Indian Muhammadans want the Treaty of Sevres to be amended.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Apl.

46. "What the Indian Muslims are anxious to secure is such a revision of the Treaty of Sevres as will restore the honour of England in the East, clear England of the charge of criminal fanaticism and enable them (the Muslims of the British realm) to live under British rule without breaking their religious obligations. If that is not done, since British Muslims are in no position to wage honourable warfare against Britain and no violence is lawful to them short of open war, all true Muslims are faced with the alternatives of emigration to some Muslim country or agitation for complete detachment of the Government of India from the Government of England.......... The Government of England has assumed of its own free will the mantle of the Czardom and stands forth to-day as the enemy of Islam.......... See what England has actually done! Far from being generous towards her Eastern 'enemy'—an 'enemy' of her own making,—she has not even kept her solemn promises; she has deliberately broken every promise which she made solemnly and openly to Eastern peoples and has kept faith only in her shady secret deals with fellow 'Christians' ...... Surely this and her betrayal of her Arab 'friends' is enough to justify more violent assertions than any that are yet reported from the lips of Muslim agitators. It is the Government of England by its actions which has made the agitation, and goes on increasing it. There never has been any need of 'agitators' rather of restrainers; for Gandhi and the Ali brothers have in fact restrained the agitations and guided it in honourable, peaceful ways. The ground of all their bitterness is disappointment and disillusionment with England, which they once admired. It is not a matter which can be settled by a trifling reduction of the unjust concessions made to Greece in Asia Minor. It is a matter concerning the future relations of every loyal Muslim with the British Government."

The Amir of Afghanistan and the British Government Mission.
Rájakáran (138), 17th Apl.

47. The Amir of Afghanistan has concluded treaties with Persia, Turkey and Russia, but he does not wish to enter into any sort of agreement with the Government of India. It is evident, therefore, that the British mission at Kabul which is begging for a treaty will have to return empty-handed. If Afghanistan concludes a treaty of alliance with Persia and Angora and if these Muhammadan States have the support of the Russian Soviet Government, England's influence in Asia will practically come to an end. The Muhammadan countries should master European arts and earn the credit of eliminating European supremacy entirely from Asia.

Comments on the war time agreement between the British High Commissioner in Egypt and the Sherif of Mecca.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Apl. (2), *24th Apl., Sunday Edition.

48. "A document which purports to be an authentic copy of the agreement signed by the British High Commissioner in Egypt on behalf of England, on the strength of which the Sherif of Mecca broke his allegiance to the Sultan-Khalif and came into the war upon the side of England, has reached India recently from an Arabian source. As it is certain to be widely circulated among Muslims we give the text of it; and may say that its terms are in accordance with the rumours current at the time in European diplomatic

circles, and with assertions made at divers times with regard to England's solemn obligation to the Arabs by the Amir Faisal and his representatives. [Here follows the text of the Agreement.] Let those who still maintain that England has dealt honourably in arranging the Treaty of Sevres consider (1) the above agreement with the Grand Sherif of Mecca which secured the latter's armed assistance in the war; (2) the Sykes-Picot compact made between England and France, a few months later, which in effect gave Syria to France and Palestine to Britain, both being already promised by a serious treaty to the 'King of the Hejjaz.' It is absolutely certain that the Arabs would not have rebelled against their lawful sovereign on behalf of England if they had known that Palestine, which contains the second Holy Place of El Islam, and the great Arabic speaking city of Damascus were, as a consequence of their act, to be transferred to Christian domination; (3) the promises, in most earnest and impressive language, of self-determination and complete self-Government made to the peoples of (*a*) Mesopotamia, (*b*) Palestine, and (*c*) Syria, by the British Government by proclamation as well as every vehicle of propaganda, in contradiction both of the Sykes-Picot arrangement and the Hejjaz treaty. Those peoples, though they speak Arabic, regard the wild Arabs of the Hejjaz as far more foreign to them than the Turks with whom they had intermarried, living on good terms for centuries. They were averse to foreign rule of any kind, and would have regarded the treaty with Sherif Huseyn, had they been acquainted with the terms of it, as an excellent reason to continue fighting for the Ottoman Government. The British Government has no doubt shown cleverness in these transactions, by means of which it has deliberately duped the Arab peoples for whom it professed friendship, and towards whom it undertook engagements which may really be considered open and official when compared with the hole-and-corner nature of the Sykes-Picot understanding and the very private—we say frankly, shady—nature of its obligation to the Greeks. But its cleverness, more reminiscent of the wily Levantine than of the Englishman, will cost the British Empire dear since it has aliented Asia. A saintly Asiatic has called the present British Government Satanic. Recalling the whole course of British policy in the Near East from the Turkish Revolution till to-day, we consider that to call that Government Satanic is to libel Satan, who, by all obtainable accounts, does keep his promises." [*Atropos* makes similar remarks in the Sunday edition of the paper.]

The question of the autonomy of Arabia.
Muslim Herald (172), 22nd Apl.

49. Referring to the remarks of the *Leader* newspaper of Allahabad to the effect that the Musalmans of India were showing undue concern about the autonomy of Arabia—greater concern in fact than that exhibited by its former rulers, that is, the Turks,—the *Muslim Herald* declares that the question about Arab autonomy is a religious question like the suzerainty of the holy places of Islam, and the Turks have wisely left both to the discretion of the Musalmans of the whole world. It states that the Turks are engaged in obtaining complete mastery over their own homes in the same way as the Indians or Egyptians are labouring for self-government for their repective countries, and declares that the Turks would join other Moslems in the demand for an autonomous Arabia as soon as they have set their own house in order, just as the Afghans have joined Indian Musalmans in this affair. The paper concludes by observing that the Moslems all over the world would never be at rest till Arabia is put under a genuine Muslim Government.

Comments on recently published correspondence between the Fiji Government and the Government of India on the Indian riots in Fiji.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Apl.

50. Referring to the published summary of the correspondence between the Fiji Government and the Government of India regarding the Indian riots in the Islands, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"One would have expected the Government of this country to ascertain and publish without the least delay the fullest particulars of the strike which has been in progress for more than a month. But they have done nothing of the kind.......... There is not much comfort to be derived from the fact that the Government of India have tried to ascertain from the Fiji Government the reasons for the deportation of 'Sadhu Bashisnath Muni' to India, seeing that they do not even mildly remonstrate against such a high-handed action. The Fiji

Government's excuse for deporting the Sadhu is that he is 'an undesirable immigrant causing unrest in the colony'. In other words, he is putting heart into his poor and ignorant countrymen whom the Fiji Planters, backed up by officials, wish to keep in a state of perpetual semi-slavery. We know how Mr. and Mrs. Manilal became 'undesirable', as soon as they took up the cause of the down-trodden 'coolies' and taught them the value of organisation."

Comments on the report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 20th Apl., Eng. cols.

51. "For downright prevarication, inconsistency and coming to false conclusions by trying to prove that right is wrong, the invertebrate Report of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission will take hard to beat. It is with the deepest regret that we have to say that for expediency the Commission has thrown truth overboard, and for placating the Whites of South Africa. It has not hesitated to mete out shame-faced injustice and insult to the poor Indian residents of this justice-forsaken country. One of the oft-repeated contentions of the South Africanders is that the mode of living of the Indians is scandalously filthy and a violation of all sanitary laws. In short, they advanced that the Indians were a menace to the country. Now the Commission has arrived at the conclusion that this so-called menace is a pure myth and a delusion and yet, strange to say this same precious Commission sees no reason or purpose to recommend the repeal of any of the oppressive measures which disfigure the Statute Book. On the contrary, to prove conclusively that right is wrong it proposes restrictions upon the Indians' right to land in Natal.......... One of the mean accusations of the South African Whites is to allege that the Indians are grossly immoral and that they are improperly 'familiar' with white women. The Commission proves that there is not a particle of evidence in support of this accusation. Another accusation avers that Indian business methods are dishonest. Disproving this, the Commission rightly points out that the Indian is a formidable competitor of the European and that in the business economy of the country the Indian trader supplies a distinct want by fulfilling a useful purpose and that towards his customers he is both fair and considerate. Thus in all the major counts the Indians come out with flying colours.......... In fact, in the Report the Commissioners have done full justice to the Indian case. They themselves have shown that the existing restrictive measures are unnecessary, and yet most strange to say—and here they show that right is wrong,—'the Commission goes on to recommend the continuance of restrictions and the extension of disabilities in Natal, and refuses to accede to the Indian claims for better educational facilities, increased franchise, the right to a minimum wage, and the right to own land in the Transvaal. Could inconsistency, could injustice and illogicality go any further? We have no hesitation in saying that the Commission has proved itself to be a farce. The Report is not worth the paper on which it is printed and its recommendations are a tissue of falsehoods that no government with a particle of sense, justice and equity, would ever take into consideration. Regretfully we must acknowledge that the Commissioners have proved themselves unworthy of the duty entrusted to them and have virtually betrayed their trust. They knew that the public opinion was against the Indians and in order to placate this opinion they have murdered justice downright. They were afraid to irritate public opinion but they were not afraid to do gross injustice to their fellow-citizens. Will General Smuts, the South African Premier, carry out the recommendations contained in the Report? If he does, he will prove himself unworthy of his high position and will himself be a party in the perpetration of a gross act of injustice to the Indians."

Servant of India (10), 21st Apl.

52. "The worst fears entertained about the Asiatic Commission in South Africa have been fully realised. It was appointed at the instance of the European community, and the Indian settlers in South Africa accepted it in the hope that any impartial committee that would go into the question of their grievances could not help recommending the repeal of the Act of 1919 which had imposed upon them new disabilities in the Transvaal, and the reform of the licensing law throughout the Union. Instead they now find that the Commission have advised the retention of the Trading and Land Act of 1919 and the extension of the restrictive measures to new provinces. All the hopes of the South African Indian community have thus been dashed to the ground. And the most pitiful part of the whole affair is, that the Commission give no reasons for the conclusions at which they arrive......... The latter (*i.e.*, Indians) had a right at least to expect that the Commission would consider the question of the repeal of the 1919 Act, but they seem to have ruled it out as beyond their competence. And yet it is this very Act which led to the appointment of the Commission......... This Act was in controversy when the Commission were appointed, and they were appointed to settle the controversy. And how do the Commission do it? By merely recording their opinion, unsupported by any reasons, that it should remain in force. In that summary way has been dismissed the very important question of land-owning rights.......... The Commission has opened up a number of complicated questions by recommending voluntary segregation. In what manner this suggestion is to be worked out is yet unknown, but we have an unconquerable prejudice against the formation of ghettos for any particular community. They do not seem to be less odious because, ostensibly they are formed on the voluntary principle. We say ostensibly, because it will take very much to convince us that no compulsion is to be practised. Anyway, racial segregation is open to the most serious objection *per se*, and we cannot persuade ourselves that the segregation which the South African Commission recommends is free from it in any respect. The Commission, instead of alleviating the grave situation in which Indians find themselves, have aggravated it to an intolerable degree, and we can only hope that the Imperial Peace Cabinet will find a satisfactory solution of the question. It is a question that tests the very foundation of the Empire, and if Indians do not find a remedy in its decisions, the Empire will cease to have any significance for them."

Comments on the retirement of Sir George Curtis from the Bombay Executive Council.
Mahrátta (8), 24th Apl.

***53.** "Very few would regard with regret the event of Sir George Curtis' retirement during the last week from his service.......... For length and variety his record of services is no doubt remarkable, but it deplorably lacks the qualities which go to secure for a man the title of a benefactor of the ryots. Mr. Curtis particularly attracted public attention when as the Chief Secretary to Lord Willingdon's Government he exhibited his inexhaustible powers of ruling the people with an iron rod, and proved how a Counsellor could hold the ruler under his thumb. In the affairs of the Government of Bombay people then thought that the hand of the Chief Secretary was visible more than that of the Governor himself.......... In the Legislative Council Mr. Curtis was ever ready to play the 'defender' of the bureaucracy by silencing the non-official members with irresponsible bluffs of threats. .... Without possessing any conspicuous qualities of head and heart, Mr. Curtis surprised all by falsifying the astronomical truth that the planet must go round the sun, inasmuch as he succeeded in making his superiors, even the Governor, rotate round him."

Famine in the Broach District.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 18th Apl.

54. Mr. Dhanwantrai Bhupatrai Desai writes to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* about the famine conditions prevailing in the Broach District :—The hardships in the famine-stricken villages of Broach District are increasing. The cultivating classes in Vaghra and Jambusar talukas do not get sufficient food to eat. The crops have failed. It seems our Government are not willing to give to the cultivating classes all the help that it can possibly give. It seems the Broach District authorities and the local Famine Relief Committee look with displeasure upon the cultivating classes. It has also been found that the information which Government have received regarding the crops is totally false. When attempts are made to convey information to Government on the subject, they do not even show the liberality of giving their ear to it. Government persist in saying that they will only suspend the revenue and not remit it. Is this proper? Even cattle do not get sufficient fodder and water. Will Government obstinately adhere to their determination even when their children—the subjects—starve for want of food? Government should immediately call for fresh anna valuations of the crops. They should immediately remit the revenue for the year 1920-21 due from those cultivators whom the Village Panchayats recommend for the concession. They should at their own expense start cottage industries suited to the district for the benefit of the cultivators by way of famine relief. The Broach District Famine Relief Committee should immediately investigate this matter and afford proper help. The labouring classes can resort to the work of digging tanks, building roads, etc. But will the Bombay Government and other charitable people not help those people who are reduced to poverty owing to the famine but who still want to maintain their respectability?

The Kánara Forest Committee and the duty of the people.

Kánara News (40), 14th Apl.

55. We have already pointed out that the Kánara Forest Committee would only be a convenient instrument for giving a set-back to our agitation. Some people, however, might argue that the times have changed and that a new era has dawned in the country and that with the Minister under our control we might hope for a satisfactory solution of the forest problem. But we should remember that the position of the Minister is far from being independent and that it would be impossible for him to hold his office for a single day without cultivating the good graces of the Governor. If the Governor changes his views, then only we might expect any good from this Committee. But from the hurried manner in which the Press Note was published by Government and steps taken to give effect to their decisions, we can very easily realise whether the Government have any intention of changing their views. The revision of the salaries of primary teachers was left to the decision of the Minister even by the Committee which was appointed to make recommendations on the subject. Why did then Government make such haste in the matter of the Forest grievances only? Were Government inspired with over-enthusiasm for the redress of the forest grievances? Or was it due to the fear that the Minister when once established in office might have his own way in dealing with the situation? [A correspondent in the same paper says:—Co-operators and followers of Mahatma Gandhi should unite on this occasion and make every attempt to bring out all the facts connected with the forest grievances and lay them before the Committee. They should explain to the people what their duty is on the present occasion and should give all the encouragement needed by them in the fulfilment of the same. This is no time for begging. They should plainly say to the Committee. "These are our rights, and if you cannot see your way to grant them to us of your own accord, we shall manage to get them from you by our own efforts." With this our duty ends, no matter what the Committee might do in its turn.]

EDUCATION.

Comments on the refusal to the Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer* to head the deputation of secondary teachers.

Praja Bandhu (30), 17th Apl., Eng. cols.

56. Referring to the refusal of permission by the Minister of Education, Bombay, to Mr. Natrajan, Editor of the *Indian Social Reformer*, to head the deputation of secondary teachers, the *Praja Bandhu* writes:—"The reason alleged by the Minister of Education for adopting such a novel procedure, is that there is a recent circular of the Government of India, which debars those that are not the members of the service from leading such deputations of Government servants. We are not in possession of the Government of India circular, and hence we are not in a position to offer any comments upon it. But we make bold to put before the public our views upon the constitutional aspects of the question. We are strongly of opinion that any circulars, emanating from the Government of India, should not have been binding upon the provincial Governments, so far as transferred subjects are concerned. We hold that it is the province of the Minister in charge of the transferred subjects and the

Provincial Legislative Councils to lay down the Government policy as regards transferred subjects, and the Government of India should have absolutely no voice in the matter. If our Indian Ministers succumb to the weakness of submitting to the Government of India circulars, they will be greatly handicapped in their efforts to bring about reforms in transferred subjects and the Reforms Bill will be further whittled down to a great extent. It is, however, for the non-official members of the Legislative Council interested in the success of the Reforms to discuss the constitutional aspect of this question in the Council and get the question solved."

Government of India and higher education.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Apl.

57. Commenting on the letter of the Calcutta University Syndicate protesting against the stoppage of the Government of India's grant to the University, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"The Syndicate's letter effectively explodes the hollow plea of the educational authorities in this country that they have consistently promoted the expansion of education and shows conclusively how, on the other hand, their policy of fussy interference, in season and out of season, has materially retarded the progress of education and made the task of the labourers in the field unnecessarily unpleasant. The record of the Bombay University too will bear ample testimony to the mischief resulting from such uncalled-for interference on the part of the educational 'experts' of Government. The vehement protest which the Syndicate of the Calcutta University has entered against this pernicious policy will, we hope, bring home to the officials concerned the folly of their attitude of arrogance and suspicion and teach them to behave better in the future. The Indian Universities have passed the age when they could put up with such truculence in obsequious humility. The bureaucratic mind, however, is loth to reconcile itself to the idea that these institutions are not still in the leading strings of officialdom. The Calcutta University has done well to explode this fond delusion."

MUNICIPALITIES.

The Municipality's responsibility for the unhealthy condition of Bombay City.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 21st Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 22nd Apl.

58. We cannot help saying that the mismanagement in the Bombay City Municipality is becoming worse day by day. We are glad that a resolution requesting the Municipal Commissioner to report about the deterioration in the public health and the steps that are being taken to combat influenza and other allied infectious diseases has been passed in a meeting of the Corporation last Manday. In the course of the discussion on this resolution, the shortage of water was rightly considered to be the main cause of the insanitary condition of the city. Since the last month, the daily mortality of the city has exceeded two hundred and now there are all chances of its mounting up to three hundred or more in a short time. Taking into consideration the seriousness of the question, the Corporation should realize the importance of taking the necessary steps as soon as possible. The figures supplied by the Municipal Commissioner about the water supplied to the city are misleading. He said that thirty gallons per head are supplied daily. But water supplied to factories, mills and gardens is included in the total figure of water supplied to the city. Deducting the water thus consumed, much less than thirty gallons is supplied daily per head. Besides the question of the shortage of water, the public health of the city is also endangered by the filthy condition of the roads, buildings, lanes and bylanes. We hope that when considering the report asked for from the Municipal Commissioner, the Corporation will awake from its deep torpor, show enthusiasm for the due discharge of its duties, deal with the matter in a far-sighted manner and try its best to safeguard the interests of the people of the city. [The *Sánj Vartamán* adds:—The figures about the daily mortality supplied by the Health Department are absolutely unsatisfactory. The Health Department should supply the public with separate figures of daily attacks of influenza and pneumonia and the deaths resulting therefrom not only for the city as a whole but for each ward separately. The mortality has been increasing since January and it is due to the virulence of the influenza and pneumonia epidemics. Hence we fail to understand why the Health Department do not publish separate figures of the attacks and deaths due to these diseases. It was the duty of the Municipality to have published these figures in time. But it is really sad that although these diseases have been raging since January, yet the public of Bombay were not warned about them at all in January. These diseases are at present raging violently in Bombay. The Commissioner assures us that they have no connection with the scarcity of water or the insanitary condition of the city. But we are sorry to say that we are unable to agree with his view. We are of opinion that these diseases are indirectly connected with the insanitary condition of the city. The Commissioner admits that the city is not kept as clean as it ought to be. The Bombay Municipal revenue amounts to one crore an a quarter. Why is the Bombay Municipality unable to keep the city clean in spite of an annual expenditure of lakhs of rupees on it? On the one hand the Municipality ordered the closing of the wells and on the other it compelled the landlords to build latrines with flushing apparatus. Not a drop of water can be had now for days and days to keep these latrines clean. The management of the Bombay Municipality can only be improved when the real representatives of the tax-payers became members of the Corporation with the sole objects of serving the city.]

RAILWAYS.

Hardships of third class railway passengers.
Bombay Chronicle (Sunday edition) (2), 24th Apl.

59. 'Atropos' writes in the *Bombay Chronible* (Sunday edition):—"The hardships suffered by third class travellers on the railways in India baffle description.......... During some of my recent peregrinations on the spacious platforms of the Victoria Terminus I had opportunities to see perspiring masses of humanity huddled together—packed veritably like sardines in a tin—relieving their pent up feelings by calling a thousand imprecations on the Railway authorities. The 'legend to carry 12 passengers' or 'to carry 24 passengers' so conspicuously displayed in our railway compartmets is only honoured in the breach. Something is rotten in the state of Denmark. Will our transport minister actively engage himself in the good cause of relieving the sufferings of third class passengers who contribute the lion's share of railway earning, and cover himself with honour and glory—and incidentally earn the deserved thanks of thousands of third class passengers."

NATIVE STATES.

Protest against the reported appointment of Sir Charles Cleveland as Dewan of Jaipur.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Apl.

60. "The *Bengalee* understands that Sir Charles Cleveland, Director-General of Crimes, who has just retired from the Indian Civil Service, has been appointed Dewan of Jaipur.......... The post which Sir Charles Cleveland has just vacated was one of the most influential and it is natural to expect that he and the Jaipur Durbar had come in touch with each other often. Hence, the appointment is open to the inference that it is in return for favours done much more than for beneficial results to come. We do not mean to say that the Jaipur Durbar should not be at liberty to appoint as Dewan whomsoever it likes. But when 'influential' personages make the posts they have just vacated but stepping stones to higher appoinments in Feudatory States, with which they had previously overt or covert relations, the policy underlying such appointments becomes objectionable on grounds of public welfare."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 29th April 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 30th April 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian matters: Complaint about famine conditions in certain districts of the Bombay Presidency . . . 59

British Rule:

Alleged justification of the Punjáb Martial Law excesses in the Administration Report of the North-West Frontier Province . 22
Comments on the appointment of the Committee to inquire into the position of Indian students in England . . . 31 & 32
Comments on the orders of Government permitting Government Officers to defend and explain Government's policy in public. . 23
Comments on the riot at Málegaon . . . 14
Complaint about alleged ill-treatment of Indians serving under Government in Mesopotamia . . . 24
Government and the drink traffic . . . 36
Government's conduct towards the poorer classes of the people . . 37
Protest against the 7 per cent. Sterling loan . . . 28—30
Real causes of the decline of the population in Kánara . . . 35
Reflections on the anniversary of the deportation of Mr. Horniman . 25—27
Satyagraha in Mulshi Peta . . . 15—21
The Census work for Bombay City should be done over again by the Bombay Municipality . . . 34
The new Labour Department is not likely to be of much use to the working classes . . . 33
Congress and Conferences: The Káthiáwár Political Conference. . . 60
Forest Department: Comments on the visit of the Honourable Mr. Chunilal Mehta to Kánara . . . 57
Development of Bombay: Question of an underground railway between Church Gate and Colaba (Bombay) . . . 58
His Excellency the Governor: Comments on the views alleged to have been expressed by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd at the interview granted by him to leading men of Sind at Karáchi. . . . 47—49

His Excellency the Viceroy:

Appeal to His Excellency Lord Reading to put a stop to the repressive measures against non-co-operation . . . 45
Comments on Lord Reading's visit to the Punjáb . . . 38—44
What Lord Reading should do to remove the discontent in India . 46
Indian Legislative Assembly: Comments on the discussion on the Esher Committee's Report in the Legislative Assembly . . . 50

B 31—8 Con

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Indian Legislative Councils: What members of the Legislative Councils should do during the recess 51

Indians in the Colonies:

Comments on the recommendations of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission 56

Refusal of Legislative Council representation to Indians in Uganda . 55

Non-co-operation:

Appeal to Jains to support the — mevement 9

Appeal to Mr. Gandhi and other non-co-operationist leaders to make a clear pronouncement in regard to their attitude on the subject of forming friendly relations with Afghanistan 5

Comments on the withdrawal of the order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code served on Swami Satya Dev by the District Magistrate, Almora 10

Deprecation of violence and disturbances among the people themselves . 6

Mr. Gandhi's opinion of English education 12

Mr. Gandhi's reply to Mr. G. K. Nariman's criticism of his open letter to the Parsis 11

Mrs. Beasant's attack on — 13

Repression against — . . . . 1—4

The meaning of — 8

What the Moderates should do to bring non-co-operators to the right path 7

War:

Comments on the alleged secret treaty between the British Government and the Sheriff of Mecca 52

The Sheriff of Mecca and the Khilafat 53

Turkish protest against operations of the Greek fleet in the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora 54

EDUCATION—

Complaint about there being no provision for a lectureship in Urdu in the Bombay Presidency 61

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the Surat Municipality's resolution to present an address to Mr. Gandhi 64

Plea for strict supervision of the hotels and boarding houses in the Bombay City 63

The Bombay Corporation and Mnnicipal franchise 62

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Repression against non-co-operation.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Apl.

1. "The reports coming from various parts of Sind indicate that the tide of repression is running strong in that province just at present. The people of this Presidency have been congratulating themselves that the local authorities have not, so far, lost their heads like some of the other provincial administrations and embarked on the campaign of hunting down the non-co-operators. The remoteness of Sind from the head-quarters of Government, however, appears to have led the 'men on the spot' in that province to imagine that their pranks and misdeeds will hardly come to the notice of the higher authorities and that, if they come at all, they will be overlooked......... Reports of wholesale arrests of Congress and Khilafat workers and raids on their offices are coming daily. In Shikárpur, leading citizens numbering over 40, are under arrest and the whole city is in turmoil. To what a pass things have come in that city can be seen from the report we published on Tuesday of the police being engaged in the innocent pastime of throwing stones at the people! The remonstrance of the 'loyal' and anti-non-co-operationist president of the Municipality at such unseemly, if not dangerous, conduct, resulted only in the polite retort, 'clear out, or I will arrest you.' Prominent co-operators recently told us that they are standing between India and anarchy. But evidently, the anarchy they have in mind is not the legalised anarchy of the type which prevails in Shikárpur. As bulwarks against such anarchy, they are of no use to the powers that be. If our co-operationist friends imagine otherwise, they will certainly run the risk, like Mr. Murlidhar, of being mistaken for their less fortunate countrymen, and arrested. The happenings in Sind are not calculated to reassure those who put faith in the level-headedness of Sir George Lloyd's Government and who still earnestly hope that the reign of justice, which the new Viceroy has stated he will help to re-establish, will dawn before long. While assurances are as plentiful as blackberries, deeds that will carry conviction to the heart are woefully lacking. Almost the entire province of Sind is now handed over to the wolves of repression. If steps are not soon taken to arrest their depredations, it will not be very long before their clamour is heard nearer our own doors. The people of Sind, and especially those who have dedicated their lives to the service of the country at this critical juncture, are, no doubt, fully prepared to face the ordeal. We have seen several of them, in all parts of the country, refusing to defend themselves and joyfully entering the prisons with their country's name on their lips. All Honour to these brave souls! But, we ask in all honesty, whether in the face of the wholesale arrests and indiscriminate raids, brutal assaults on peaceful citizens in broad daylight and stone throwing on the public by police hirelings, it will be still pretended that the means the authorities are resorting to to put down the movement of non-co-operation are lawful, non-violent and civilised? If by such methods the authorities hope to strengthen public confidence in the administration and to deepen the loyalty of the masses towards the rulers, they are sadly mistaken. They are, on the other hand, sapping the very foundations of this public confidence and this loyalty, which have already been so rudely shaken in the last two years."

New Times (9), 23rd Apl.

2. "For us, the non-co-operators, the present is an hour of test. We have on the one hand to face repression started by Government and on the other the misunderstanding of our Moderate friends. The country in spite of all obstacles has to carry through the programme of non-co-operation to a successful issue. We have still to make sacrifices worthy of the great cause we seek to uphold. Throughout India, in spite of professions and announcements, a policy of repression has been started. If there is any sign of a 'new era' having been inaugurated it is the indifference of the bureaucracy to popular unrest. In Sind the prosecutions and trials of political workers are an outstanding feature of the political situation. Prominent political workers are being tried at Karáchi, Sukkur and Jacobábád; and to-day comes the news of 38 more

arrests from Shikárpur. This has considerably excited the city and a complete *hartal* was observed there to-day. We earnestly hope the citizens of Shikárpur will keep their heads cool and help forward the movement of non-co-operation. There is abundant enthusiasm at Shikárpur for the movement. In the wholesale arrests of several political workers and respectable citizens the police have helped national enthusiasm at Shikárpur. There are cynics who urge that the movement has failed. Not so think the Government and the police. Mahatma Gandhi seems very optimistic.......... There will be few who will share the optimism of Mahatma Gandhi, but the basis of the whole movement is faith and hope, and in that spirit alone should we face the new situation full of trials and difficulties."

Lokashahi (126), 25th Apl.

3. Commenting upon the sentence of imprisonment for two years passed on one Mahavirsing, a political agitator in the United Provinces, and abusive language alleged to have been used by the trying Magistrate towards the prisoner, the *Lokashahi* writes :—If justice dispensed by such men is to guide the barque of British Rule in India, then we think it will only succeed in upsetting it. When the administration of justice is entrusted to such asses, the people take that duty upon themselves. It then goes by the name of rebellion or revolution. And the foundation of such a revolutionary movement is laid by such officials by their own stupidity. [Elsewhere the paper writes :—[Government convict our leaders unjustly and send them to prison because we are wanting in manliness. Would they have dared to treat them so if we had that attribute? The whites look upon India as their property, earned for them by their forbears, and are busy plundering it. Men like Colonel Wedgwood whom we admire at first do not hesitate in the end to belittle our non-co-operation movement, which is to ensure our salvation, and thus accomplish our ruin. Even Sir George Lloyd who is supposed to be a great man among the bureaucrats looks upon Indians as his servants and treats them with contempt! Indeed, this fat Saheb who eats our food has absolutely no right to call us his servants. But we who are the real masters are not in a position to curb the tongue of one who is not ashamed thus to exceed his authority in an ungrateful manner; and this is a proof of our want of manliness.

Gujaráti (17), 1st May, Eng. cols.

*4. Referring to the policy of repression adopted by the authorities in the C. P. against the non-co-operation movement, the *Gujaráti* writes :—" The original decision arrived at by Lord Chelmsford's Government not to meddle with the movement, unless and until the activities of its propagators were, in the opinion of the authorities, likely to break the public peace and tranquillity or result in the use of violence, was a very sensible one, and we are sorry the C. P. Government or the heads of certain departments have transgressed the institutions in question. But it is very likely that the new orders which permit local officials to discountenance the movement are being readily availed of for discouraging every overt manifestation of feeling which savours of non-co-operation. If this attitude can be justified, then Government will have to issue orders even for prohibiting the use of *Khadi*. At what stage will they stop their meddlesomeness and leave their subordinates to their own choice in the matter of their sartorial tastes and requirements? What we are most astonished to learn is the order issued by the Judicial Commissioner of the C. P. prohibiting the use of Gandhi caps by clerks in the Judicial Department. That is not, in our opinion, a very judicial attitude to take up. Government have always opposed the introduction of local option in the matter of regulation of liquor-shops on the flimsy ground that it interferes with the private liberty of individuals to eat and drink what they like. Surely it can be more sensibly urged that Government have no right arbitrarily to regulate the dress or tastes of their subordinates. If the authorities will not get nervous and will learn to be more sensible, they will do well to leave the Gandhi caps to find their own level in the sartorial institutions of the country. Their activities can be more usefully directed to incidents like those which are reported to have occurred at Shikárpur. If the following account accurately represents what actually happened in that town, the matter urgently demands the attention of the leaders of the non-co-operation movement. The incidents that took place at Nagpur were not quite creditable to the parties concerned, and the alleged occurrences at Shikarpur, if they have been faithfully reported, disclose a serious state of affairs." [Here follows an account of the Shikárpur incident.]

Appeal to Mr. Gandhi and other non-co-operationist leaders to make a clear pronouncement in regard to their attitude on the subject of forming friendly relations with Afghanistan.

Bharatwasi (162), 13th Apl.

5. We are of the opinion that now when Mr. Mahomed Ali has openly expressed his ideas, and the Ali Brothers' Afghan policy is freely being discussed, the All-India Congress Committee should declare their clear and definite views on the situation. And before that is done, Mahatma Gandhi, Lala Lajpatrai, Srijut Das, Mr. Kelkar and the Madras leaders also, should make a clear pronouncement on it. We have no hesitation in saying that those who would like to be friends with the Afghans are not friendly to India. However brave they may be, and whatever their religious or political views may be, they are not the well-wishers of the country. If Lala Lajpatrai and his friends consider those as enemies of the country who have entered the Councils with a view to guide the affairs of the country, we ask, what should those people who wish to join the Afghans, and with that end in view associate with the ledders of such a movement, and stand shoulder to shoulder with them in the political and religious affairs, be called? We do not care a bit if this writing on our part annoys anybody in any way. We are prepared also to put up with any hardships that may come upon us as a result of thus freely speaking our mind. But under no circumstances can we look on in silence or with indifference in regard to the preparations that are afoot for the country's ruin. Some of our friends say that they would see as to what to do, when such a contingency occurs, but we consider such a sort of indifference a crime. While such is the attitude of the non-co-operationists, and these are the inclinations of the Ali Brothers, there are also hot preparations amongst the Afghans and the Turks on the one hand, and for creating disturbances amongst the army here on the other. We consider it our duty to sound a note of warning to our brothers against such a dangerous situation; we shall also consider it our duty to put forth our every effort to save the country from such a calamity. Our friends and the non-co-operationists leaders are not the only beings who have had the monopoly of patriotism given them. We know that those who are styled as "the enemies of the nation" will, with a view to save Bharat from running headlong into a new hell, be ready to sacrifice their lives.

Deprecation of violence and disturbances among the people themselves.

Bhàratwasi (162), 23rd Apl

6. Instances of violences and disturbances are becoming rife day by day. It is indeed surprising and regrettable that such violence is committed by the people not against Government but against each other. Leaving other places we take the case of Sind. [The paper here refers to the disturbances in Karáchi, Sukkur and Shikárpur and proceeds:—] The present tension among the people must somehow find an outlet to burst. It is the inevitable law of nature. It is impossible to expect peace where there is the seed of dissension. When people fight amongst themselves, strike blows and inflict injuries, is it not expected of the Government to interfere? Of course when the Government interferes, there will be plenty of squabbling, and specially so in Sind, where the police is notoriously defective which consiberably spoils matters instead of improving them. But there cannot be the least doubt that many a time the people are themselves responsible for originating quarrels. And yet some always see the hands of the 'satanic' Government in every such quarrel. We frankly aver that, however great be the fault of the Government and specially of the police in certain cases, still there are several matters in which our own people are wholly to blame and it befits us in such cases to make a frank avowal of our own fault. Owing to the passions of the people being roused, the atmosphere is now full

of munition, and one match is quite sufficient for its bursting. Our only regret is that our own people are spoiling our own cause.

What the Moderates should do to bring non-co-operators to the right path.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 1st May.

*7. Mr. G. B. Trivedi, M.L.C., concludes an article on his experiences among non-co-operators at Karáchi as follows:—"Before I close, I should like to record what I have learnt from this visit. I was strongly impressed and convinced that although the programme of the work of non-co-operation had not been carried out as vigorously as it was trumpeted, the spirit of the people was changed. There is real awakening amongst the masses. The time for ridiculing the movement has passed. Repression will strengthen rather than wipe it out. The best statesmanship both on the part of the co-operators and the Government is to go and find out the real grievances and understanding them from the Indian point of view to remedy them. Indifference and callousness will only drive the sufferers to the rank of discontents. I believe it is the duty of the Liberals to go amongst our people. People may be non-co-operators but after all they are our own kith and kin. If they find that you go to them out of real spirit of sympathy and service they will welcome you and explain you the situation. It is then for you to put the grievances before the authorities and see that they are removed. This is real co-operation, real mediation between the Governors and the governed. If we cannot do this and merely go on abusing and laughing at non-co-operation, we cannot but deserve Lalaji's condemnation. I welcome it as a trumpet sound to awaken the Liberals from their lethargy. Undaunted and unmindful of vilifications and misunderstandings, let us mix more freely amongst real sufferers and bring to them understanding and relief. Thus only can the Liberals justify their existence. Do not be afraid of the people. Trust in them. They are yours. If they find that you are sympathetic and sincere in your wishes to serve the people they will welcome you, be you clad in Khadi or not."

The meaning of non-co-operation.

Kesari (120), 26th Apl.

8. Mr. Gandhi has explained his meaning of the expression '*swarájya* in one year'. He says: 'If we do not attain *swarájya* in 6 months it does not mean that my principles are faulty, but it means that the requisite conditions have not been fulfilled.' The opponents of the Congress pretend that the people will rise against Mr. Gandhi and committ disturbances if *swarájya* is not won in the stated time. But the people are sensible enough to know that they themselves will be responsible for the failure—if there is a failure. Mahatma Gandhi has awakened in the people a sense of their rights by declaring that *swarájya* could be had in one year. With regard to the boycott of law courts we may say that the principle has its limitations. For instance, it would be foolish to expect an average man to refrain from defending himself when falsely charged. Just as people may ordinarily avail themselves of the post office, so we think they may without harm avail themselves of law courts. *Satyagraha*, when dealing with honest and conscientious men, would be all right. But wicked men would prosper if they once come to know that their opponnents have foresworn law courts. Just as it is wrong to tell lies for fear of punishment, so it is equally wrong to admit false charges and walk into prison. In short, it may be glorious to refrain from having anything to with law courts on any account; but it is not expedient.

Appeal to Jains to support the non-co-operation movement.

Jain Mitra (86), 28th Apl.

9. It is the imperative duty of the Jains to pay due attention to the resolution about non-co-operation passed by the Congress. We would, therefore, draw their attention to Mr. Gandhi's letter appearing in the *Kartavya* of Etawa, dated the 9th April, as the things Mr. Gandhi has asked us to do would help us in our individual progress as also in that of the country as a whole. [Here the paper reproduces the letter and remarks:—Dear readers, you should pay careful heed to what has been said in the above letter and try to carry out the instructions contained therein to the best of your abilities.]

Comments on the withdrawal of the order under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code served on Swami Satya Dev by the District Magistrate, Almora.

Mahrátta (8), 1st May.

***10.** Referring to the two letters written by Swami Satya Dev to the Deputy Commissioner, Almora, with regard to the notice served on him under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"Every reader of these two letters would certainly congratulate Swami Satya Dev on the unbending fortitude which he has shown. The result of Swami Satya Dev's letters has been the withdrawal of the order. The bold fight which the Swamiji put up with the Deputy Commissioner is to be valued for the revelation it makes of the spirit that inspires all true non-co-operators. The most marked feature of the non-co-operation movement is the frankness and openness with which it is conducted. If the non-co-operator thinks it his duty to disobey a magisterial order, he makes no secret of it. He feels what is true and he speaks out whatever he feels. There is absolutely no violence, no underhand business. Everything is overboard. Swami Satya Dev's story is only one of the many which prove beyond doubt that the movement of non-co-operation is a struggle between right and might. To those who bluster that non-co-operation may lead to anarchy this may serve as an eye-opener if at all anything can."

Mr. Gandhi's reply to Mr. G. K. Nariman's criticism of his open letter to the Parsis.

Navjivan (75), 24th Apl.

11. In reply to certain doubts raised by Mr. G. K. Nariman against the non-co-operation movement [*vide* paragraph No. 10 of Weekly Report No. 14 of 1921] Mr. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—Our belief that we cannot do without the British for some time to come is the source of our misfortune, and *swaraj* consists in getting rid of such a notion. Were we in a bad plight before the advent of the British? It is discreditable for ourselves to think that we shall have internecine quarrels the moment they leave us. Granting for the sake of argument that the fears come true, we must take the risk with a view to get rid of the British domination. It shows weakness to ask me to enlist the sympathies of all the Hindus towards the non-co-operation movement before expecting the Parsis to join in. Both the Hindus and Parsis are Indians. If the Parsis are convinced of the utility of the movement they should take to it even if no Hindu joins it. I must admit that one who considers the spinning-wheel to be a chimera is not likely to be favourably inclined towards non-co-operation. But it is my firm belief that true knowledge will spread throughout India in a gradual manner. We have become beggars on account of our neglect of the spinning-wheel and we shall be rich only when we do our duty in respect of it. It is to be regretted that Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and other leaders have not joined the movement, but when leaders disagree the public should make their own choice. There will be no progress if we wait for complete unanimity of opinion. Each will have to make one's own choice in *swaraj*. It may be true that I might not be able to understand the Khilafat question in spite of my efforts to study it carefully. However, I do not think that there is an irreconcilable conflict between Hinduism and Muhammadanism. I am not aware that the Khalif must wage a *Jehad* or religious war once in every ten years. There is nothing in my African experiences to lead me to think that the Muhammadans should not be in the possession of the Jazirat-ul Arab. I feel confident that there is no exaggeration in my statements about the Punjáb affairs. The co-operation of Lala Harkishanlal with Government affords me greater reason to resort to non-co-operation. If a person like the Lala feels so little for the disgrace of the Punjáb we should non-co-operate with a view to make up for his deficiency. The principle of non-violence pervades through all the religions and it is not the monopoly of Jain religion. It betrays ignorance of the Jain religion to think that fastings enjoined by it are suicidal. Mr. Nariman ridicules the ultimate aim of non-violence, and on the other hand considers my movement as one that encourages violence; this goes to show that he has not understood the principle of non-violence. It is the principle of non-co-operation not to hate the wicked in spite of knowing their wickedness. I cannot free the people from the hate they feel by concealing the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs from them. It is, however, my duty to keep the people quiet in spite of their knowledge of these atrocities. It constitutes no violence if some people are subjected to sufferings owing to the *hartals*. If a man tries to discharge his duty, he cannot be held responsible if some people suffer by it. If I refrain from taking opium I cannot be held responsible for causing loss to the opium seller. Mr. Nariman seems to be under the impression that I have not directed my energies towards opium and other drugs; but I must tell him that efforts are being made to check all evil habits. Picketing of liquor shops is possible because people are tempted into them. Again, Parsis are conducting liquor shops and I would specially appeal to them to give up their trade. I would also make a similar request to the opium sellers.

Mr. Gandhi's opinion of English education.
Young India (14), 27th Apl.

12. Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"It is my considered opinion that English education in the manner it has been given has emasculated the English-educated Indian, it has put a severe strain upon the Indian students' nervous energy, and has made of us imitators. The process of displacing the vernacular has been one of the saddest chapters in the British connection. Rammohan Rai would have been a greater reformer, and Lokmanya Tilak would have been a greater scholar, if they had not to start with the handicap of having to think in English and transmit their thoughts chiefly in English. Their effect on their own people, marvellous as it was, would have been greater if they had been brought up under a less unnatural system. No doubt they both gained from their knowledge of the rich treasures of English literature. But these should have been accessible to them through their own vernaculars.......... I do believe that Chaitanya, Kabir, Nának, Guru Govindsing, Siváji, and Pratáp were greater men than Rammohan Rai and Tilak.......... I refuse to believe that the Raja and the Lokmanya could not have thought the thoughts they did without a knowledge of the English language. Of all the superstitions that affect India, none is so great as that a knowledge of the English language is necessary for imbibing ideas of liberty and developing accuracy of thought. It should be remembered that there has been only one system of education before the country for the past fifty years, and only one medium of expression forced on the country. We have, therefore, no data before us as to what we would have been but for the education in the existing schools and colleges. This, however, we do know that India to-day is poorer than fifty years ago, less able to defend herself, and her children have less stamina. I need not be told that that is due to the defect in the system of Government. The system of education is its most defective part. It was conceived and born in error, for the English rulers honestly believed the indigenous system to be worse than useless. It has been nurtured in sin, for the tendency has been to dwarf the Indian body, mind and soul."

Mrs. Besant's attack on non-co-operation.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 1st May.

*13. Referring to Mrs. Besant's criticism of the non-co-operation movement in the course of her presidential speech at the Reforms Conference in Malabar, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"She seems to think that the main defect of the movement—instead of its only strength, as many of us think—is that it originates with Mahatma Gandhi and has him for its leader. The curious thing is that several Englishmen in India, who never professed to have Indianised themselves, quite clearly see that, while non-co-operation is full of error, it is a symptom of deep-seated causes which demand attention, that as such it has served on the whole a useful purpose, and that Mahatma Gandhi, however much one may deplore some of the incidents of his non-co-operation programme, is entitled to the credit due to every man who disinterestedly follows the truth as he sees it. If Mrs. Annie Besant had left Mr. Gandhi alone, and devoted her eloquence to a criticism of non-co-operation from an impersonal standpoint, this part of her address would have gained in dignity and forcefulness. As it is, it is rather a petifogging effort which is rather more likely to prejudice the open-minded readers against those who are opposed to non-co-operation."

Comments on the riot at Malegaon.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 29th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 30th Apl.; *Lokamánya* (new), 30th Apl.; *Sandesh* (141), 29th Apl.

14. The *Sánj Vartamán* narrates the incidents of the riot that took place at Malegaon and remarks:—It was the duty of the people to obey the order issued by the police, prohibiting the carrying of sticks whether it was proper or not. The non-co-operation movement does not mean that people should disobey the orders of the police or any other authorities. If the people of Malegaon had but respected this order, no such serious event would have happened. We are very sorry to witness such scenes of violence in the Bombay Presidency. Police have been murdered cruelly. People have committed a great blunder in doing this in a fit of excitement. They have disgraced the non-co-operation movement by means of such bloodshed. The country does not want such non-co-operators who have committed these murders and still pretend to be non-co-operators. We are protesting against the Punjáb atrocities and are asking for justice from Government and an assurance that such attrocities will not happen in future. Is the bloodshed at Malegaon less horrible than the bloodshed caused by the Punjáb authorities at which we express our horror? Can the injustice done to us be removed by causing such bloodshed? The burning alive of the Police Inspector is an inhuman and brutal act. This sad event has cast a slur on the good name of the Bombay Presidency. The non-co-operation movement is disgraced on account of such bloodshed. The people of India feel ashamed owing to such events. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks:—We cannot form any definite opinion about these events because the information received upto now is incomplete. But one thing has been proved, namely, that as a result of the non-co-operation movement an insignificant event assumes a very serious form very rapidly, and the people, once excited, justly or unjustly, at once lose control over themselves. We have been requesting the non-co-operators from the beginning not to play with fire because the results are generally very serious. The events at Malegaon and other places show that the people do not possess sufficient patience to endure the hardships arising out of the non-co-operation movement. Hence the leaders of the non-co-operation movement should reconsider the question. Some will say, 'What are the non-co-operators to do if the people are given cause for excitement by the officials?' We have been saying from time to time that non-co-operation, satyagraha, and hartals are double-edged weapons. Those who utilize these weapons to assert their rights suffer harm along with other innocent people. We hope the leaders of the non-co-operation movement will take warning betimes from the events at Malegaon, and after giving up this movement adopt some better and safer methods, which will preserve peace and order, for the attainment of *swaraj* for India. The non-co-operation movement intensifies the disaffection towards officials. The times are very critical. Officials think many times before using their full powers, and the leaders of the poople should also ponder deeply before advocating non-co-operation. The *Lokamanya* remarks:—Whether the police first fired on the people or not, our Muhammadan brethren ought to have shown their patience on the occasion. All will condemn them for the terrible outrages committed. But it cannot be said that the violence was the result of Mr. Gandhi's Khilafat agitation which is a peaceful movement. The *Sandesh* asks His Excellency the Governor to at once visit the scene of disturbance and see matters for himself.]

Satyagraha in Mulshi Peta.

Mahrátta (8), 1st May.

***15.** Referring to the postponement by the Tata Company of work on the Mulshi Dam till after Divali, Mr. N. C. Kelkar writes in the *Mahrátta*:—" So far so good. I must say, moreover, that while the conduct of the Mavalas has of course been admirable, that of the officers of the Company and Government has been equally so. Except for the unpleasant incident of the hot water showered, in the course of their work, upon the Satyagrahis by the Company's workmen on the first day, both Mr. Bhabha, the Company's representative and Mr. Cameron, the Company's engineer, behaved in a considerate and conciliatory manner throughout. No less pleasant was the surprise from the studiously non-intervening attitude of the District

Magistrate who did not even once visit the scene of the agitation, and of the District Superintendent of Police who was present on the scene throughout, but whose presence was such an unmixed service of confidence both to the Company and the Mavlas that nothing would go amiss so far as he was concerned. The temporary stoppage of the work, however, is just the time when we must begin to think of what is to happen after the 7th of November. For when the truce ends, and if it ends without Government making the proper move in the matter, we shall be brought back face to face with the old situation but only in a more tense and clinched form. The present cessation of work by the Company is more in the nature of a necessity than a virtue. In any case the work would have to be stopped within two weeks as the Mulshi Peta begins to receive summer showers by that time and all work in the valley would become impossible of itself. Further the Company could not, at this time, replace on a large scale the labourers that would leave the work as the result of the entreaties of the Satyagrahis. But things will be different in November next. The Company will then return to the work with full preparations and a fixed determination; and I wonder if either Mr. Bhabha or Mr. Cameron will be able then to keep their temper in such admirable trim as on the present occasion. On the other hand, the Mavlas will naturally be more fitted for Satyagraha by their experience of organisation and braced up by their *interim* success to renew the struggle with even greater energy and confidence than before. And then, I am afraid, the Magisterial and Police officers will probably give up their present policy of non-intervention and a mixed scene of repression and suffering will have to be witnessed.......... I definitely charge Government with responsibility for the present position. The Satyagraha agitation is the result of their past sins of commission as well as omission under the shelter of the L. A. Act.......... It is possible to cite an erratic instance here or there in which even more than an adequate compensation might have been paid; but that must be only a rare and erratic exception which proves nothing to the purpose except the unprincipled and whimsical nature of the compensation operations. But if on the other hand it were the vogue to pay adequate compensation, and in addition to that a consolatory bonus in proportion to the harshness of dispossession in each case, land-owners could be found ready to reconcile themselves to the hardship. At any rate the general public would not sympathise with them in their unreasonable croakings if the land were to their knowledge acquired for an honest public purpose. I feel confident that if a commission were appointed to inquire into the land acquiring operations during the last few years, my contention would be proved to the hilt. I do not really see why Government should not ask a syndicate like the Tata Company to make an honest effort to acquire lands by private negotiations in the first instance. The method, I am told, has been successfully tried in the Nagar and Sholápur districts already. It is conceivable that it may be immoral in a given case to tempt a land-owner to part with his land by taking advantage of his difficulties or his cupidity; but all reasonable people will stop at the line drawn by the freedom of the individual to do what he likes with his property. No blame would then attach to any transaction of private negotiation, even supposing the compensation may be inadequate.......... And supposing the Company had by this method acquired eighty or ninety per cent. of the lands then Government, if convinced of the public benefit of the scheme, might justifiably help the Company by going to their aid with the L. A. Act for the remaining few cases. The odium in that case would naturally become minimised. It has been admitted on behalf of the Company in the Legislative Council that the Mulshi tank would result in a saving of one crore and thirty-seven lacs every year to the industrial proprietors mostly in the city of Bombay. Now, I put it as a plain proposition that this is obviously an 'unearned profit' to these companies, and that they are to get it for a great number of years. Now supposing a sum representing only two years' profit at this rate were made available in advance, say by the joint efforts of the Company and these industrial proprietors as the immediate beneficiaries, and the Government as the reversioner, one could easily guarantee that most of the lands in the Mulshi Peta could have been purchased by private negotiations.......... But why should the Company even try to look at the matter from this point of view when they get handy the sharp and swift weapon of the L. A. Act and the obliging leverage of the Government to operate it? I do recognise the amount of pure sentiment in the minds of some of the Mavalas in this respect; on the other hand I recognise the small amount of reason underlying the official contention that the Mulshi scheme is a public purpose. But private negotiations could have been the best ground for reconciling this sentiment as well as this reason, and the world would not have heard anything of this agitation if eventually the L. A. Act had to be applied to overcome the opposition of an extraordinarily firm land-owner here or there. But taking things even at the present advanced stage, I do contend that it is absolutely the duty of the Bombay Government to find a suitable exchange of land for the expropriated Mavalas and offer to make a model agricultural colony of them before notices under Section 6 of the L. A. Act are served on them. I refuse to recognise that the fact that the Company has already spent 75 lacs of rupees (?) on the work, has any bearing on the issue. For one thing, the expenditure has been incurred before a formal agreement between the Government and the Company has been signed. And as between the equities on the side of the Company and those on the side of the unfortunate and distressed Mavalas, the latter should certainly weigh more heavily with any reasonable man, and so should they also with the Government. The Poona Collector tries to blame the Mavalas for not telling him the quantity and the quality of the land they require. It is absurd to ask a Satyagrahi to name his second best in detail in this fashion. Nor, I believe, can the Poona Collector by himself do all that is required in this matter. It is for the Bombay Government to put a special officer on duty to make a scheme of land exchange and colonisation, and then satisfy the public, at any rate, by giving a detailed description of the scheme. Similarly Government must take hypothetical cases of land in Mulshi and declare the manner in which they are going to arrive at the amount of compensation. I may frankly say that the people have absolutely no confidence in either the Company or the Government when they, parrot-like, simply utter the word 'liberal compensation' or extremely liberal compensation.' Only concrete instances and calculations can satisfy a reasonably-minded third person that the actual award would be as good as the spoken word. I welcome the official attitude of meeting the Satyagraha by only persistent publicity. None can complain of a peaceful attitude like this. But Government must remember that the advisers of the Mavalas, who are probably under a discount already, will feel no power in their elbow if they wish to make headway with their advice to the Mavalas, if Government will only speak, as in the past, with a vague and muffled voice like the prophet of Khorasan. In the meanwhile the Satyagraha movement would naturally only gain in strength by every moment of inactivity on the part of Government. In fact the position is already unfortunately so tight that Government might as well ask the Company to give up the scheme and compensate it for their own unbusinesslike procedure, rather than comtemplate opposition to the Satyagraha movement. Government have only to thank themselves for coming to such an odd corner, and the sooner they make up their mind in the right direction the better for all concerned."

Young India (14), 27th Apl.

16. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes as follows about *Satyagraha* in Mulshi Petha:—"My heart goes out to these poor people. I wish the great house of Tatas instead of standing on their legal rights, will reason with the people themselves and do whatever they wish in consultation with them. I have some experience of Land Acquisition Acts. I had nearly eighty cases to deal with. Here the reason for the acquisition was not industrial development but insanitation. I know that the people dispossessed never got the exact equivalent. What is the value of all the boons that the Tata scheme claims to confer upon India, if it is to be at the unwilling expense of even one poor man? I dare say that the problem of disease and poverty can be easily solved, and the survivors will live in luxury, if the three crore half-starved men and women and lacs of the decrepit humanity were shot and their bodies utilized for manure or their bones utilized for making knife handles. And yet no one but a lunatic will put up such a suggestion. Is the case any weaker when men and

women are not to be shot, but compulsorily dispossessed of their valued lands about which sentiment, romance, and all that makes life worth living have grown up? I suggest to the custodians of the great name that they would more truly advance India's interest if they will defer to the wishes of their weak and helpless countrymen."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Apl.

17. "If the Government had any proper sense of its responsibility towards the people of India, if it cared a rap about the future welfare of the country, it would have peremptorily refused to any profiteering company the 'right' to oust one Indian peasant from the land which he and his fathers before him cultivated for the country's good. The condition of Bombay alone is quite sufficient evidence of the evil of encouraging the growth of urban industry at the expense of agriculture and of village handicrafts. The degradation of men, women and children, who once were Indian peasants, can be seen in every street. An Indian Government worthy of the name would concentrate its efforts on improvement of the village life and the increase in contentment of the rural population—the saving work which Mahatma Gandhi and his followers are trying hard to do before it is too late—instead of helping to impose on India a yoke which Europe is preparing to throw off. An Indian Government worthy of the name would bid the profiteering company withdraw its tentacles from Mulshi Petha, back into the already desolated urban area, and never dare to stretch them forth again to desolate the quiet useful country which breeds healthy folk."

Kesari (120), 26th Apl.

18. Ten days have now passed since the Mulshi people commenced passive resistance. The company has been forced to stop work. In the communications from the Collector to the *Satyagraha* Commitee there is not a single word which would induce the Mavalas to give up *Satyagraha.* Government have not given any assurance that they will offer land in return. Under these circumstances there is only one thing for the people to do, and and that is to carry on the movement to its successful issue. Government seem to have decided to handle this question with peaceful means. The intention is praiseworthy. They, however, must do more than merely prevent the police from interfering unnecessarily. They must make it impossible for the officers of the Tata Company to resort to violence, such as throwing hot water on the passive resisters. It would be a crime to do the least harm to the poor Mavalas who are defending their rights by means of passive resistance.

Swardjya (149), 28th Apl.

19. Mr. Gupte's resolution recommending the stoppage of work at Mulshi was very proper and it would have been accepted by the Council had Rao Bahadur Kale not been so officious as to introduce his amendment. But what was impossible of attainment inside the Council was made possible outside it by a resort to *Satyagraha.*]

Hindusthán (21), 27th Apl.; *Gramya Swardjya* (68), 26th Apl.

20. The Mavalas may be mere peasants, but how can they be said to be ignorant of the present situation? Why should these people be deprived of their beloved homes, fields and temples? They are expected to make such heavy sacrifices for the sake of capitalists and Government! The Satyagraha of the Mavalas fulfils all the three conditions laid down by Mr. Gandhi for observing it. It is wrong to think that the Mavalas have taken to Satyagraha at the instigation of other people. However, the situation in Mulshi Petha has arrived at a critical stage owing to the conflict between the soul force of the people and the brute force of Government. The sympathies of all truth-loving people will be with the Satyagrahis of Mulshi Petha. [The *Gramya Swardjya* writes:—His Excellency does not merely confine himself to making empty threats such as those he uttered during his interview with certain people at Karáchi, but spares no pains to put his views into actual practice as is seen from the application of the Land Acquisition Act in Mulshi Petha. He has begun with compelling the sons of the soil to vacate their homes. But he seems to forget that he has to deal with the descendants of the brave Shivaji. The people of Mulshi Petha

appealed to Government against the encroachments upon their lands by the Tata Company, but their appeals fell on deaf ears. Government evidently exists for the capitalist and not for the poor. The people of Mulshi Petha have now taken to Satyagraha; and as they fulfil all the three conditions laid down by Mr. Gandhi, we have no doubt that their efforts will be crowned with success.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 26th and 29th Apl.

21. We regret to have to say that deliberate attempts are being made in certain quarters to inflame the minds of the people in respect of the Mulshi Petha scheme of Messrs. Tata and Company. Those who are thus inciting the poor and illiterate peasants of the Mulshi Petha to offer illegal resistance to the progress of the work cannot be said to be the well-wishers of the country. The Mulshi Petha scheme is the key of the industrial progress of the Presidency and its execution will tend to lessen the economic difficulties of the people. Those who are inciting the people are fully aware of the advantages of the scheme but they are telling lies to the people as according to their own statement they do not like such enterprises to be taken up before securing *swaraj*. It might, therefore, be said that they want to spite Government by cutting the nose of the people. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—Mr. Gandhi's advice to the people of Mulshi Petha transcends all bounds. The Mulshi Petha scheme will not merely serve the interests of a private company, but it is also a work of public interest as will be seen from the fact that one of the terms of the agreement empowers Government to buy up the whole concern after fifty years of its existence. We fail to understand how Mr. Gandhi and his followers can profess to serve the public interests by trying to defeat an enterprise which is a purely *swadeshi* one.]

Alleged justification of the Punjáb Martial Law excesses in the Administration Report of the North-West Frontier Province.

Hindusthán (22), 24th Apl., Eng. cols.

22. "His Excellency Lord Reading has repeated at Lahore the exhortation of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught to forgive and forget. Our leaders have time after time reminded the Government that this duty of forgiving and forgetting does not, and should not, rest with one party only. How far Government is really repentant will be seen from the following appearing in the Administration Report of the North-West Frontier Provinces :—'At the same time it must be stated that the stern punishment meted out to the authors of violence in the Punjáb materially assisted in keeping the lawless elemants in this province within bounds.' This obviously justifies the action taken in the Punjáb; and later on again the Report revives the fiction, of which we heard so much at the time, that the people themselves showed no hostility to martial law! Will His Excellency Lord Reading see for himself how the official world is still unrepentant and how throughout all their reports there breathes still that spirit of bluff and zabernism, without putting an end to which India will not be able to breathe freely and peacefully?"

Comments on the orders of Government permitting Government Officers to defend and explain Government's policy in public.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 25th Apl., Eng. cols.

23. "The Government of India have decided, with the approval of the Secretary of State, that in future, subject to certain clear limitations, Government officers will be allowed to explain and defend in public the policy of the Government. This evidence of belated wisdom on the part of Government should be welcomed. The muzzling of any class of people is, in all conditions, a course of doubtful wisdom. Free and frank discussion of matters of public interest cannot hurt anybody. On the other hand, the policy of muzzling and repression has been the cause of much mischief and misunderstanding. The acute unrest and the extreme opinions which to-day prevail in the country would not have arisen, if people had been free to express and exchange views on current politics......... There have been gross perversions and misrepresentations of the motives and intentions of the Government. Much mischief has been done. The Government now almost at the eleventh hour, seek to remedy the mischief by clearing the air of misrepresentations......... Politics in India has always meant

attacking the Government. Now it has come to mean seeking to destroy the Government. Government have at last awaked to the necessity of giving a different kind of political education. They see the necessity of explaining and persuading, arguing and refuting. Nobody need be sorry for this. Let there be general freedom of discussion, and ventilation of views on all sides. We hope the work will be more intelligently done than has been the case with the publicity propaganda. The atmosphere will be all the better if false rumours and representations are dispelled, and if the policy of Government, so often mistaken, is explained and defended by responsible and well-informed officials."

Complaint about alleged ill-treatment of Indians serving under Government in Mesopotamia.
Young India (14), 27th Apl.

24. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I often received complaints of ill-treatment from Mesopotamia and from those who have returned from Mesopotamia. Every one of the correspondents has written about the inhuman treatment received by them. The latest letter was not received by me. Maulana Shaukat Ali, one of the recipients, has forwarded his copy to me. I can no longer withhold publication of such letters. The complainants are at least entitled to the relief that publicity of their grievances may bring them. A helpless India cannot do more for her exiles. The letter is signed by three persons. I purposely refrain from publishing their names in order to protect them against harm being done to them by their officers. The writers complain of ill-treatment by the Arabs. I do not wonder. Helpless themselves, the Arabs vent their wrath against the Indian soldiers and clerks in the hope, I suppose, that they will not dare to offer service in Mesopotamia. Let me hope that the publicity I am giving the letter will deter others from being allured thereto by tempting offers. In no case should a self-respecting Indian make of the misfortune of the brave Arabs a means of livelihood. I give the letter word for word as received, omitting reference to the corps after the name of victims."

Reflections on the anniversary of the deportation of Mr. Horniman.
Mahrátta (8), 1st May.

***25.** "Mixed feelings of sorrow and indignation rise in the heart at the thought that two weary years have passed over the sad event of Mr. B. G. Horniman's sudden deportation from a sick-bed, and yet there is no hope of his return to India. The whole story of the deportation is scandalous and it is in itself a sufficient proof of bureaucratic tyranny which was and still is a menace to the safety of Indian life and liberty......... Once again Mr. Horniman has thrown out a challenge to be tried in an open court of law. The trial has been ever avoided, and Mr. Montagu has shelved the responsibility to release Mr. Horniman to Sir George Lloyd's shoulders. But his shoulders only shrug, his lips are sealed, and his hands do not move. In deporting Mr. Horniman the Government of Bombay murdered justice most inhumanly and now they are sending the new Reforms to the scaffold in not making amends for the past."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Apl.

26. Referring to the compulsory exile of Mr. Horniman from Bombay the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"The war played havoc with the nerves and conscience of everybody, in particular of all those who were held responsible in any way for the defence of British policy through thick and thin. All kinds of arbitrary and unrighteous deeds were done unthinkingly and as a matter of routine, through fear. That war-time madness is now over; that it was a madness has been tacitly admitted by the Government of India through its spokesmen, who express the wish to let bygones be bygones. How can Indians consider the wrongs done to them bygones, while B. G. Horniman is not allowed to come back to his home and friends? This deportation of an Englishman without a trial or even any statement of his crime, defended or condoned as it has been by British statesmen, marks the laps of men in power from 'British' standards at an anxious and exciting moment. The prolongation of the victim's exile must appear to the onlooking crowd to indicate the renunciation of those standards in cold blood and permanently."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 26th Apl.; *Hindusthán* (21), 26th Apl.; *Indu Prakásh* (45), 29th Apl.

27. It is now two years that Mr. Horniman has been deported from India. Mr. Horniman has repeatedly asked the Secretary of State to substantiate the charges levelled against him, but the latter has given merely evasive replies. Mr. Horniman has, in reality, committed no offence, but he was deported because he was a "dangerous person" to bureaucratic officials, as he indulged in trenchant and independent criticism of Government and their officials. It need not be wondered, therefore, that such a critic was considered as "dangerous". Government officials always stood in dread of Mr. Horniman's pen. It is to be regretted that the unjust order against Mr. Horniman has not been cancelled in spite of continued popular protests for the last two years. The Bombay public wishes Mr. Horniman back amongst themselves; and we would, therefore, appeal to His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to exercise his authority to allow Mr. Horniman to come to India and thus remove the flagrant injustice that has been done to him. His Excellency has kept his head cool at a time when a policy of repression is being adopted in other provinces against the non-co-operation movement and so we appreciate his excellent policy. But if His Excellency can remove the unjust and arbitrary order passed against Mr. Horniman there will be greater sense of contentment amongst the people and they will thank him with all their hearts. [The *Hindusthán* dwells upon the services rendered by Mr. Horniman to the cause of Indian Nationalism and remarks :—Sir George Lloyd gained a good reputation amongst the people in in the early part of his tenure of office and no one thought that he would commit such an offence as that of deporting Mr. Horniman. But he has now been weighed in the balance and found wanting. The *Indu Prakásh* wries :—Though we did not see eye to eye with Mr. Horniman in all matters we must say that Government committed a serious mistake in deporting him. We hope Lord Reading will cancel the deportation order and thus conciliate public opinion.]

Protest against the 7 per cent. Sterling loan.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Apl.

28. "The reply of the Financial Secretary to the protest of the Indian Merchants' Chamber in respect of the new Sterling Loan issued by the Secretary of State in London is a masterpiece of impertinence. To the Chamber's apprehension that the wanton increase in the rate of the interest will prove disastrous to the value of the Indian securities, Mr. Cook merely opposes the possible deduction made by the heavy Income Tax of England, and the consequent reduction in the net yield to the investor. We are glad to obtain this indirect confirmation of our serious objection to this loan, that India is deliberately made to suffer a heavy burden so that the English Exchequer may benefit from the transaction. For India must pay the full burden of the 7 per cent. interest so that England may make a handsome revenue.......... Until the country has been told what grave reasons of public policy has compelled the Secretary of State to adopt such disastrous measures we refuse to accept the *bona fides* of this transaction and shall continue to offer the most relentless opposition to such acts which betray a wanton disregard of the true interests of India.......... We demand that the Government, if they intend to use the proceeds of this loan, in any way to meddle with the Anglo-Indian exchange, shall state and define their intentions at the earliest moment, and not spring a surprise upon the country with the logic of the *fait accompli*. Before they divert the proceeds of this or any other sterling loan to the rehabilitation of the exchange, we should like to know what has become of the Gold Standard Reserve, as also the rate of interest earned by the Indian resources in England. If the Government will revive Exchange by borrowing in England, we do not know how far they may have to go, what burden of a permanent kind may have to be added to the Indian Tax-payer's shoulders to achieve the goal and what degree of certainty and stability there will be when the goal is achieved.......... Reading between the lines of this reply, we think the Secretary of State, following the usual policy, has embarked upon this course without consulting beforehand the Government of India, leaving them to explain his action as they best can to a justly indignant public. We commend this characteristic piece of duplicity in high quarters to the Finance Minister and ask how far his boast that in serious questions of finance the Government of India cannot now allow the Home authorities to act without ascertaining the wishes of India in the matter in advance is true."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 26th Apl.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 27th Apl.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 26th Apl.

29. The reply given by the Finance Secretary of the Government of India to the protest made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau against the issue in England of a 7 per cent. sterling loan is of quite an unsatisfactory nature. India has suffered immensely by the currency policy of Government. India has never paid such high rates of interest on any loan here or abroad, and so it will have an adverse effect on the market rates of existing rupee loans, with the result that Government will have to pay a higher rate of interest on any loans they might raise hereafter. It is quite natural the loan in question should have been subscribed for within a few hours of the flotation owing to its high rate of interest. Government argue that the loan is subject to income tax and that the net yield to capitalists will be something below 5 per cent. But who will pay the 2 per cent. to the Income Tax Office in England? It is the Indian Treasury that will have to pay 7 per cent. interest on the loan. Is it just to tax the Indian treasury thus? [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Government reply is evasive and does not at all refer to the main issues raised by the Indian Merchants' Chamber. We feel sure the Chamber will make no delay in exposing the hollowness of the Government reply. Let us hope that a resolution will be brought in the Legislative Assembly calling upon Government not to raise any loan without consulting the Indian Legislature and to issue all loans in India and in Indian currency. We have reason to believe that the Government reply has not been seen by Lord Reading, who possesses wide experience in financial matters. We feel sure His Excellency would never have given his approval to it. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* fully endorses the protest raised by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau and expresses hope that Lord Reading's Government will give sympathetic consideration to it.]

Indian Social Reformer (7), 1st May.

***30.** "The 7½ million sterling loan at 7 per cent. which the Secretary of State for India has suddenly issued seems to be quite like the Reverse Councils business of last year, a piece of midsummer madness and an orgy of exploitation. .... The objection to this loan is not that it was issued in England but against the high rate offered. This has been conveniently ignored in the Government *communique* issued by Mr. Cook, the Financial Secretary. We wonder whether the men who wrote this *communique* and signed it themselves believe in the argument they have used, so palpably ingenious and unconvincing it is. Has India become so insolvent, is her credit so low that she should raise loans at 7 per cent? Even last year's loans of 6 per cent. and 6½ per cent. were bad enough in all conscience.......... The Secretary of State could easily have issued a 6 per cent. loan as witness the huge over-subscription and the premium on the stock. Now India will have to pay hard cash of £75,000 more in interest every year than if the loan were at 6 per cent. and this is a gamble in loan following a gamble in Exchange. Again, if the object of the loan is for productive expenditure, where is the need for offering such conversion terms and such interest?......... The Government *communique* is entirely unsatisfactory and here is a clear case for Lord Reading's 'Justice and Equity' to intervene. Perhaps, these are not meant for 'legalised plunder'. There is a growing feeling that the attitude of Mr. Montagu and the India Council is more than indifferent to the financial well-being of India."

Comments on the appointment of the Committee to inquire into the position of Indian students in England.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 1st May, Eng. cols.

***31.** "The appointment of a Committee to inquire into the arrangements for training Indian students in England is no doubt the result of the frequent complaints that have been made that Indian students in England are not treated as well as they ought to be and that they do not receive sufficient facilities for prosecuting their studies. Racial feeling is said to be at the bottom of this indifferent treatment meted out to Indian students. If so the misunderstandings and prejudices which may be the cause of such feeling should be removed after careful investigation. The Secretary of State has done well to appoint on the Committee two well-known Indian educationists who may be relied upon to handle the problem with good judgment and ability. At the present time there are at least 1,000 Indian students in the Universities of England......... It is clear that when all these students return to their native country after completing their studies in England they will exercise a by-no-means negligible influence on the society around them and on the general political situation of the country. A good deal will depend upon the impression, favourable or otherwise, which they may have formed of their student-life in England. It is a matter of regret, therefore, to observe that many Indian students who have studied in the best English Universities return to this country with no favourable impression of the treatment they receive during their stay in England or of the life they led in and out of college......... It is said that Indian students cannot obtain admission in good English families, who cannot afford to keep a large number of domestic servants owing to increased wages and therefore find it impossible to take boarders. We hope this excuse is not true. If there is any Indian student, be he the son of a prince or a millionaire, who goes to England with the expectation that there will be servants to wait upon him and to answer his every call, he had better stay at home where there are plenty of servants to wait upon him......... Considering the increasing difficulty that Indian students find to obtain entrance into English Universities through want of sufficient accommodation, is it not now time to abolish the custom of taking Civil Service and other examinations in England? Why should the Indian student be required to go thousands of miles away in order to qualify for service or profession in his own country?"

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 29th Apl.

32. It is matter for no small gratification that Indians have been appointed on the Indian Students Inquiry Committee appointed in England. But it is rather disappointing to find that the Bombay University has not been represented thereon. We hope the Government of Bombay will draw the attention of the Government of India to the injustice done to the Bombay University in the matter. Indian students find serious difficulties during their stay in England, and the colour prejudice shown towards them in that country tends to accentuate the existing discontent in India. The Government of Great Britain should use their influence to secure unrestricted admissions of the sons and daughters of India to British factories and British educational institutions. With a view to strengthening the bonds of friendship between England and India let us hope that the Lytton Committee will realise the hope we are led to entertain about it.

The new Labour Department is not likely to be of much use to the working classes.

Sandesh (141), 21st Apl.

33. The workers are fortunate in that Government now consider the problem of labour of sufficient importance to justify the creation of a new department. We have no doubt that the objects of Government in creating the department are very good. We are, however, doubtful as to how far this department will be of use to the workers. Sometimes, although the aims of Government are excellent, their measures prove immensely injurious to the people. There is every likelihood that the creation of the new Labour Department will come under this category. This department will be of use to the workers only when there is a real change in the angle of Government's vision. In the absence of such a change it will only provide the means of enabling a European officer to draw a fat salary. Mr. Shirras is appointed to the post and we congratulate him on his good luck. Mr. Shirras may be well-intentioned, and we make no doubt that he will try his best to serve the workers' cause. We fear, however, that this department will not be of any use to the workers and it will be a sort of a net spread before them. In every country to which Indian labourers emigrate there is an officer who is supposed to look after their interests. The experience of Indian labourers about these officers is not very encouraging. They are practically unable to give them any protection; but, on the contrary, are instrumental in enhancing their hardships.

The Census work for Bombay City should be done over again by the Bombay Municipality.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 27th Apl.

34. Some of the opinions expressed by the Superintendent of Census in the Bombay census report should not be allowed to pass unchallenged. He maintains that the rate of increase in the population of Bombay City in the previous decades has been the same as it has been in the last ten years and hence the complaint about inaccuracy of enumeration should not be given any weight. We declare that this is only a false argument. Those who have raised complaints are able to say from their own experience that there was no enumeration in certain localities at all. Is the Superindendent of Census prepared to show us the census papers for our locality? According to him, besides the non-co-operators, Government servants also expressed their resentment against this additional work thrown upon them. There is no wonder if there has been mismanagement in the census operations under such circumstances. We suggest to the Superintendent of Census to issue a circular inviting those who have neither seen the census papers nor the enumerators during the operations to notify it in writing to him. We are also of opinion that the enumeration work should not be done at night. Few would like to court the danger of visiting at midnight in Bombay certain localities which are both insanitary and vile in other respects. Considering the manners and customs of the people of this country, it should be borne in mind that they do not look with favour upon the presence of strangers at night at their houses for any reason. Looking to all the circumstances, the best time for enumeration is from two to five in the afternoon and the census day should be declared to be a public holiday to be strictly observed by all. Another important remedy is to choose two or three of the leading men of a particular locality for the work of enumeration. Considering the very dangerous health conditions in Bombay City at present, it is not wise to rest satisfied with the present false enumeration. We would suggest to the Municipal authorities the desirability of at once getting the census work done again through the agency of reliable hands.

Real causes of the decline of the population in Kánara.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Apl.

35. In the course of its comments on the Census Superintendent's note on the returns of the last census of the Bombay Presidency, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"But the most alarming phenomenon is to be seen in the Kánara District, the population of which has been steadily dwindling since 1891. In this latter year the total stood at 440,000; to-day it stands at 401,000, which is only 3,000 ahead of the total of 1872. The Superintendent says that the cause of this steep and continuously accelerated fall is 'variously diagnosed by different individual thinkers.' We are told that the reason which the people themselves often give is the increase in the prevalence of wild pigs, whose ravages render cultivation both laborious and unremunerative. But this is putting very mildly the bitter complaint of the people against the ruinous forest policy of the authorities in the district. By restricting the cultivable land rigorously and recklessly adding to the reserved forest areas the Forest Department has deprived a large section of the population of their entire means of livelihood and sent them adrift towards the coast tracts. The percentage of population dependent on an acre of cultivable land in Kánara when compared with that in other forest districts in the Presidency is nearly double that of the latter. Neither influenza nor malaria is sufficient to account for the systematic decimation of the population that has been going on ever since the disastrous operations of the Forest Department began. It is acknowledged by the Census Superintendent that the region is 'one of certain

rainfall and a pleasant climate.' How is it then that the population of the district shows such steady decline during the last forty years? Unless the ruinous policy which sets a higher value on *sal* than on human life is given up, we do not see how the district will ever be able to prosper."

Government and the drink traffic.
Karma Veera (88), 29th Apl.

36. The vigorous agitation which is going on in the country against the liquor traffic is a sure sign of the success of the movement. The educated and uneducated, the literate as well as the illiterate, have taken part in this movement and are pushing on their work with an energy which is undiminished by the trouble and sufferings to which they are subjected by the wicked Government with a view to thwart and suppress the movement. This is an indication of the courage and the self-respect which is awakening in the hearts of the people. In the fulfilment of this holy mission, we shall have to count upon three enemies fighting against us, *viz.*, the drinkers, the contractors and Government. But the drinkers are not our real enemies. They have entered the enemy's camp chiefly because they have fallen a helpless prey to the evil habit of drinking which has almost deprived them of the superior instincts of man. The contractors who come next are not also our real enemies. They are our enemies so far as their money paid by them to the Government is concerned. But in their hearts, they have not entertained any evil motives of doing deliberate harm to the people. They even agree to close their shops immediately if their money is returned to them. The third enemy, however, is our real enemy. Not a single act of the Government is calculated to do good to the people. The object of Government in spreading and encouraging the drink habit is to completely ruin us. Government often tell us that they encourage this liquor traffic only for the sake of revenue and that they have no evil motives. But, would it be proper to give poison to the people and then say that they had no intention of killing them? No doubt, this Government is rightly described as a satanic Government.

Government's conduct towards the poorer classes of the people.
Karma Veera (88), 29th Apl.

37. It is an established fact that a Government which rules by force and coercion is specially oppresive towards the poorer classes of the country. About eighty per cent. of the population of India sustains itself by agriculture and as these people are by nature of a peaceful temperament, the Government officials take great pleasure in harassing them in all possible ways. Cases of forced labour are occurring everyday in every village, to remind the people of their helplessness and servitude. From the Governor down to the policeman of the lowest rank, every body looks upon these agriculturists as their bondsmen who are bound to serve them from generation to generation. If, however, we turn to the legal aspect of the question we shall find that forced labour is nowhere countenanced by law which on the other hand clearly defines it as illegal. But in practice it is quite different. We cannot help saying, therefore, that this Government has sweet words on its lips but it contains in its heart poison of the deadliest type.

Comments on Lord Reading's visit to the Punjab.
Gujaráti (17), 24th Apl.; *Gujarát Vartamán* (69), 27th Apl.

38. Lord Reading, no doubt, visited the Punjáb but the officials have deceived him. He called for interview some men who were represented as popular leaders by the officials. Communal leaders cannot be said to be popular leaders. It is the duty of Lord Reading to educate public opinion by according interviews to popular leaders. Why should Government officials fight shy of the Extremists? Has Lord Reading to conciliate public opinion or the opinion of the so-called communal leaders? Should not Mr. Gandhi, Lala Lajpatrai and Mr. Das have been invited? We do not think that the advice given by Lord Reading to forgive and forget is his last word on the question. But if it would happen to be so, we must say that the Indians are not likely to forget the Punjáb affairs or to forgive the culprits responsible for them. The dismissal of an official or two would not pacify the public. The whole lot of them must be dismissed and General Dyer should not be allowed to draw his pension from the Indian Treasury. Why should a Committee be appointed to fix the renumeration for the Indians, when the officials have already fixed the amounts for Europeans? Could not the officials in the Punjáb do the work? [The *Gujarát Vartamán*, on the other hand, writes:—In spite of pressure of work Reading has found time to pay a visit to the Punjab and has adopted practical steps to pacify the minds of the people. He has not even failed to express his sympathy for the recent incidents of Nankana. Government policy has already begun to take a turn for the better. Lord Reading is said to have come to India with extraordinary powers, and so we shall not be surprised, as suggested by Colonel Wedgwood, if Mr. Gandhi gives the go-bye to his non-co-operation movement. If Lord Reading fails to remove the present discontent by peaceful methods, we have no reason to think that he will not resort to sterner means to gain his object.]

Rájakáran (138), 24th Apl.; *Lokasatta* (124), 23rd Apl.

39. According to our experience a Viceroy, however liberal his principles might be in the beginning, becomes an out-and-out autocrat after spending a few months among the bureaucracy here. Lord Hardinge alone did not allow his conscience to be entirely in the keeping of that body. A really independent Viceroy should drive away old fossils like Sir William Vincent or, at any rate, he should decline to follow their advice. White officials who spend a number of years in India become so very autocratic that their sense of justice practically disappears, Sir George Lloyd maintained a certain amount of independence for a few months after his arrival in this country, but he is now thoroughly caught in the net of the bureaucracy and is not likely to do any good to the people. In all probability the same thing will happen in the case of Lord Reading. If the Viceroy is really able and willing to give justice to India, he should cause Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer to be arrested and should bring them to trial before a mixed tribunal, consisting of Europeans and Indians. From Lord Reading's public utterances, however, there does not appear to be much room for hope. There are clear signs that he, too, will soon be a puppet in the hands of the bureaucracy. [The *Lokasatta* writes:—Lord Reading advises the people to forget the past and to concentrate on making the reforms a success. We never expected that the tainted bureaucratic atmosphere would so soon influence the attitude of the Viceroy. But then no Viceroy can possibly run counter to the present policy of the bureaucracy. This will continue to happen so long as Indians have no voice in the selection of their Viceroy. We can very well imagine what sort of justice we shall get at His Excellency's hands.]

Kesari (120), 26th Apl.

40. His Excellency Lord Reading visited Lahore and there at a dinner party given by the Punjáb Chiefs' Association he expressed his heartfelt sorrow at the happenings in the Punjáb. We are not surprised that he has done so. Any self-respecting Englishman cannot think of Jallianwalla Bagh without sorrow, shame and indignation. But we are sorry that His Excellency has done nothing better than repeat the stale words of the Duke of Connaught. What right has the Government to ask to be forgiven? They have done nothing to heal the wounds of the Punjáb. On behalf of Indian public opinion we ask Lord Reading to give justice to India and then talk of forgiveness. His Excellency has been talking time and again of giving justice to India. He must prove his good intention by actions, not by words.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 24th Apl., Eng. cols.

41. "Unfortunate is the only adjective with which we can qualify the speech that His Excellency Lord Reading delivered at a garden party at Láhore. 'Forget and forgive' is the common cant of officials, high and low, in this country. But the question is what are we to forget and to forgive? Are we to forget that the theory of preventive massacre, initiated by the high priest of Prussianism in this country, has received a practical approval of the Government of the land or are we to forgive General Dyer for his 'error of judgment' which he never so much as even acknowledges which cost India so much innocent blood and the honour of a native? Are we further to forgive that 'humane' general who has been hailed as the Saviour of the Punjáb and rewarded with a fat purse by his countrymen many of whom eat the salt of this country and that his supporters, direct and indirect, have been openly rewarded by the Government in one way or the other, or are we to forgive the Government of India for granting him unemployment pay and retaining others in their services? What are we to forget and what to forgive? Forget, indeed, we cannot, nor even forgive......... When Lord Reading declared the meting out of justice as the sole purpose of his mission to India his words found a responsive echo in the Indian heart. The feeling, thus roused, gained strength when His Excellency asked for time to make first hand enquiries and the disappointment that will be caused by His Excellency being a party to the repetition of the sickening cant of 'Forget and Forgive' will be all the greater for that. We respectfully ask, is the gaining of first hand information for which task His Excellency asked for time in Bombay complete in Lahore? If it is, we cannot but deplore it. If it is not, then why be a party to the repetition of a cant which has become none the less odious because of its association with highly-placed persons, and which is sure to make the task of reconciliation considerably more difficult?......... What she wants to-day is the eloquence of deeds, not of more words and unless His Excellency is prepared to supply that, nothing else that he will say or do will satisfy her."

Mahrátta (8), 1st May.

***42.** "Our comments in the last issue on Lord Reading's Lahore visit gather strength as the news comes that the Punjáb Government has extended, for another period of six months, the application to Lahore, Amritsar and Sheikhpura of the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act. It cannot be said that Lord Reading does not know of this repressive order, for the thing has been done with the approval of the Government of India on the representation of the Punjáb Government. His Excellency the Viceroy visited Lahore and Amritsar, and at both places he struck dulcet notes on his favourite violin which has the two strings of 'forget' and 'forgive'! The utility of his talk of justice and sympathy is revealed by this order of the Punjáb Government. In jusification of its new order the Government says that 'excitement of a dangerous character continues in the central Punjáb and incitements to violence and disorder are frequently given at meetings held under cover of legal exemptions'. We fail to find the slightest corroboration of the above statement in any of the Punjáb papers. The plea of dangerous atmosphere and incitements to violence is utterly baseless, and the Punjáb Government has injured the feelings of the people unnecessarily. Mr Maclagan is supposed to be a kind-hearted Governor and Lord Reading—well, his professions of unalloyed justice are yet ringing in the ears of the people! That an unprovoked repressive measure should be visited on the Punjáb with such a Governor and such a Viceroy has its own moral, and the shrewd public will not take long to understand it. Lord Reading's violin of 'forget' and 'forgive' will, we are afraid, very soon be out of tune and hung up on the wall!"

Hindu (163), 20th Apl.

43. Many entertained hopes that Lord Reading, the new Viceroy, would do something on his arrival in India! But he too repeated what the Duke of Connaught before him said:—Forget the past. No doubt the new Viceroy uttered many sweet and sympathising words in his speech at Lahore, but have sympathising words ever helped in redressing grievances? Mere words cannot remove the pain India is suffering now. The remedy for such a pain is *swaraj* alone and Indians cannot lie peacefully without *swaraj* now. Lord Reading is mistaken in thinking that the Indians will forget the Jallianwalla incident. But the nation can forgive the offenders only when it is assured that it has secured the power to hold such offenders responsible for such crimes, to punish them in a fitting manner and to prevent the recurrence of such atrocities. How can we forget Jallianwalla, or how can we, forgiving the offenders, co-operate with them when we see with our own eyes that those who were subjected to hardships are still being oppressed. Our brothers are still in jails and if we weep over their sorrows we too are sent to jails. Such is the repression in India now that the people are sentenced only for giving expression to the wrongs done to them.

How, therefore, can we co-operate with those who, though they oppress us, yet prevent us from crying? What change has been wrought in the bureaucratic ways under the new reforms, or with the coming of the Duke or the Viceroy so that we may entertain a hope for the better? On the contrary new methods of repression are resorted to! Many brave youths lie shut up in the cells of jails. Notwithstanding all this the Viceroy asks us to let bygones be bygones and to work in co-operation! To speak such words to the oppressed is as it were putting salt on the wounds!

Praja Bandhu (30), 24th Apl., Eng. cols.

44. "Lord Reading also succumbed to the insidious poison of the bureaucratic atmosphere in India. His reverence for 'justice and sympathy' has melted down, and now he has nothing but 'the simple and moving words of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught' regarding the 'shadow of Amritsar'......... Is this the 'justice and sympathy' which Lord Reading was until only recently emphasising with such unparalleled reiteration? Will 'justice' be done, if the people 'forget and forgive?' Let us assure those who stand in need of assurance that under the sun there are no people more accustomed by temperament and tradition to the divine virtue of forgiveness than the people of India. They would have readily forgotten the Punjáb tragedy, and believed again in the 'sympathetic justice of the Government'; but at the same time it is to be remembered that they hold in trust the liberty and safety of generations unborn. These cannot be secured if every time they 'forget and forgive' the tragedies of the type of the Punjáb. The bureaucratic system with its armoury of repressive legislation is still there, holding out the threats of Dyerian and O'Dwyerian regimes. Until, therefore, it is destroyed the people cannot be expected to 'forget and forgive' and 'let bygones be bygones.'......... To find out truth and mete out justice in its pristine purity the judge must shake himself free from all trammels and hear both the sides of the case. This Lord Reading has not done, and hence his failure. But the failure of Lord Reading will not go in vain. It will complete the dis-illusionment of the people. They will fully realize the utter futility of depending for justice on even the best men of England."

Appeal to His Excellency Lord Reading to put a stop to the repressive measures against non-co-operators.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Apl.

45. The *Bombay Chronicle* referrs to the disorders alleged to have been provoked by the police at the Ottapalam (Malabar) and says:—"We give prominence to this outburst of police hooliganism, because we regard it as symptomatic of the peril that is involved in the campaign of repression on which the Vincent-cum-Sapru combination has embarked. Whatever the motive, which inspires the authors of this campaign, the consequence, so far as Lord Reading is concerned, will be a complete surrender, on his part, to the policy of his present advisers. .... The non-co-operators have a terrible ordeal to pass through—and throughout the last few months we have seen how firmly and loyally they have adhered to the motive-force of their movement—non-violence—in face of provocation of the most aggressive type.......... An ingenious legal brain in the Government of India has evolved a new weapon of repression in the shape of the seemingly harmless section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which has been ruthlessly and illegally resorted to in hundreds of cases. Operations on a minor scale have not been wanting. Now, having regard to attendant circumstances, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, in not a few cases, the effect intended by local officials has been to goad the people to violence with a view to justify the policy of repression. The people have, fortunately, shown an extraordinary spirit of self-restraint which is mainly the fruit of the non-co-operation movement. But the self-restraint of the people has, it is evident, angered the authorities in some places and their provocative methods have led to some violence. The unfortunate incident at Malegaon will be deplored by none so much as by the non-co-operators......... We do not, for obvious reasons, wish to say anything more about this unfortunate matter, for the present, as the full details of the tragic incident are not yet available. Our present purpose is to draw the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the inevitable danger of the policy to which he is being rushed by his present advisers to commit himself......... If they (the Indians) are not finally to lose faith in the sincerity of his purpose to do justice, His Excellency must immediately set himself to the performance of his prime duty—and that is to cry halt to the mad campaign of repression and, as soon as he can, to descend from the Olympian heights, meet the people and their representatives face to face and learn from them what really ails the country."

What Lord Reading should do to remove the discontent in India.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 26th Apl., Eng. cols.

46. "As we have hinted in the past, discontent in the country against the existing political system has always been present, and the part played therein by the non-co-operation movement has been to fan it into flames. We are convinced that if the germ of discontent had not been present in the past, non-co-operation would never have succeeded so much as it has done upto now. Evidently the ground was ripe for receiving such a germ, thanks chiefly to the retrogressive policy of the Government in the past and most assuredly to the unsympathetic policy taken up by Lord Chelmsford's Government recently.......... From this it will be seen that in the present political discontent the Government is only finding its own chicks that it hatched so long ago coming home to roost at last. Unless this fact is thoroughly recognised by those responsible for the Government of the country there is little chance for the people to settle down in their usual avocations of a peaceful life. A bold policy cast altogether on different lines to those now followed would yet win back the country to the side of the Government. The success so far of non-co-operation is chiefly due to the fact that it lays before the public something in the nature of a panacea for freeing them from the existing political system of the country. Under the circumstance we have every reason to believe that non-co-operation will still further make its progress unless Lord Reading takes courage in both the hands and strikes out a bold policy of genuine sympathy and statesmanship divorced from half-hearted tinkering adopted specially for the purpose of tiding away present difficulties. .... The task before Lord Reading is arduous in all conscience, but it is not beyond the pale or ability of one, who addresses himself to it with the sole and only purpose of doing good to this country with the belief that in serving her best was the best service for the King and the Empire."

Comments on the views alleged to have been expressed by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd at the interview granted by him to leading men of Sind at Karáchi.

Hindusthán (21), 27th Apl.; *Gramya Swarájya* (68), 26th Apl.

47. Those who fight for freedom have to put up with innumerable insults and slanders; but Indians are indebted to a gentleman like the Governor of Bombay for the worst, the most irresponsible and regrettable insult. The words which he is alleged to have uttered about non-co-operation when he visited Karáchi a short time ago pierce the heart through and through. We here give a summary of his speech which we have taken from the *Vande Matarám* of Hyderabad (Sind). "His Excellency condemned the non-co-operation movement, and said that if the non-co-operators are dissatisfied with Government, they should leave the country. If servants do not behave properly, they deserve to be driven away after being beaten." It is really very difficult to deal with such words patiently. We will only say this much that the harshest utterances of the so-called "rebel" leaders of India does not help to weaken the foundations of the British Empire in India so much as such utterances of officials. Is there any trace of good manners or wisdom or sense of justice in the above words of His Excellency the Governor? Should a responsible officer of Government utter such words at any time? It is altogether a different question whether Sir George Lloyd likes non-co-operation or not. The important point is, what right has a man holding such illiberal views to rule an ancient and civilized nation? Is all State policy now to be summed up in insultting words? It was believed that the Governor of this Presidency was a man of quiet temper and possessing cool-headedness. His reputation for high statesmanship was considerable because non-co-operators have been less harassed here than in other parts of the country. But if the above words uttered by him are true, there seems to have come over a change in his policy. If he continues to follow this policy, it is doubtful whether he will be as much respected by the people as before. [The *Gramya Swarajya* gives a substance of His Excellency's alleged remarks and adds :—These facts appeared in the *Mahratta* as well as the *Servant* of Calcutta. The *Servant* remarks that Sir George Lloyd is a very gentle and clever man. But this would seem to show that there is a screw loose in his head. If he is prepared to stick to his own words, we will respectfully ask Sir George Lloyd himself. to leave India according to the law laid down by him ; because a Governor is a servant of India, and India pays his salary. His Excellency asks the sons of India to leave it as if India were his property. It seems Sir George Lloyd is also under the influence of some evil spirit. He has begun to reveal himself in his true colours, but he forgets how necessary it is for one in these present times to keep careful watch over one's conduct and utterances.]

Chandrodaya (36), 17th Apl.

48. The *Vande Mataram* of Hyderabad (Sind), has published details of an interview which the Governor had with some persons who had evidently incurred the displeasure of the local authorities. The Governor is said to have told them that the non-co-operators if they were not satisfied with the present Government should leave the country and that the servant who does not behave himself properly with his master will be kicked out of the country. If what the paper says be true, we are very much surprised how such unjust and ungracious utterances could drop from the lips of a just Governor like Sir George Lloyd. It is the obvious duty of the Provincial Governors and the Viceroy to consider what the opinions of the non-co-operators are and to what extent they represent the truth. People cannot be considered to be disloyal simply by reason of their being non-co-operators. If they turn disloyal, the Government is strong enough to punish them. But if the non-co-operators carry on their agitation by peaceful means, they cannot be driven out of the country. It is equally surprising to know that the Government will drive out of the country those who do not co-operate with them, just as the master turns out the servant for not behaving properly with him. The Governor ought to have considered as to who was the master in the present case—the Government or the people. It is very disappointing that he did not do it.

Kâthiâwâr Opinion (26), 24th Apl.

49. We entertained respect for the alertness, quiet disposition and courtesy of the Governor of Bombay, His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. It was owing to the courage displayed by him that peace was preserved to a great extent in the Bombay Presidency on certain critical occasions. The calmness displayed by His Excellency is worthy of praise as compared with the policy of repression against non-co-operation now pursued in several other provinces. Any one who entertains a high opinion of His Excellency the Governor cannot but be sorry if the account regarding his visit to Sind published in the *Vande Mataram* of Hyderabad (Sind) be true. There is no objection to accepting this account as true seeing that no attempt has as yet been made by Government to contradict it. [The paper then reproduces the account published in the *Vande Mataram* and adds :—But one thing is proved by this, namely, that those who say that the non-co-operation movement is conducted by a handful of people and that it has not the support of the majority of the people of the country, have begun to tremble at the effect produced by it. What surprises us very much is that His Excellency the Governor should not have taken any trouble to think at the time of uttering such words. We still wish that the account published is false, and even if it is true, we wish His Excellency will show the wisdom of withdrawing the words. His Excellency the Governor has no right to say that the non-co-operators should leave the country and that they should be driven away like servants. India belongs to Indians. The white people may, if they like, drive away the Indians from South Africa or from any of the other colonies ; but we do not believe that, with the exception of the Almighty, anybody has now any right to drive away Indians from India. His Excellency the Governor quotes the instance of a servant. But what is the definition of a servant ? Is he one who

receives pay as a servant or is he one who pays? Our wonder becomes boundless at seeing that such a learned and wise man as His Excellency the Governor should be eager to compare the non-co-operators with servants.]

Comments on the discussion on the Esher Committee's Report in the Legislative Assembly.
Servant of India (10), 28th Apl.

50. "The best stroke of work done by the Legislative Assembly in its first session was, undoubtedly, in connexion with the Esher Report, which, by its implications and cool assumptions even more than by expressed recommendations, had naturally caused the utmost alarm among the thinking people of this country. If to-day the country stands relieved from the incidence of the most objectionable portions of that report, it is due in a large measure to the able advocacy of the Indian cause by Sir Sivaswami Aiyer, whose services in this matter it is hard to overestimate. .... The alarm occasioned by the Report was to a large extent dispelled by the official pronouncement repudiating the commitments with which the Report had seemed to saddle India—that had already been done, but, on a subsequent occasion, the Assembly expressed its opinion on some other questions of army administration. By far the most important among these was the one relating to the ultimate authority over military matters, and the country cannot congratulate the Assembly on the way in which it dealt with this issue of far-reaching consequence. Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer proposed that the army administration in India should be assimilated to that in England, so that in this country the principle of civilian control over the military might be established as it is in England. This proposal was rejected by the Assembly, and, as the official report of the proceedings now shows, rejected because of a lack of just appreciation of the great constitutional principle involved in it. The Assembly was far too much occupied with the equality of Indian and European members of the Viceroy's executive council (which for the moment would be attained by retaining the Commander-in-Chief on the Council and restricting him only to his department) to give any serious thought to the doctrine, which is considered axiomatic in all constitutionally developed countries, that the ultimate controlling authority over military policy must be civilian. We are not unmindful of the advantages which will accrue to the country by having on the supreme executive council an equal number of Indians and Europeans, but we are not prepared to achieve this equality—temporarily—at the sacrifice of a greater cause, the establishment of civil control over the army.......... While such distinguished Indian members of the Assembly as Mr. Seshagiri Aiyyar and Dr. Gour busied themselves with picking imaginary holes in a constitutional maxim accepted all over the world, the Government spokesman himself informed the House that the proposal 'is at present under the consideration of his Majesy's Government. . . . They will welcome an expression of the Assembly' on it. And this was the opinion expressed by the leading representatives of the people, that the executive council cannot be 'denuded' of the Commander-in-Chief!"

What members of the Legislative Councils should do during the recess.
Gujaráti Punch (19), 24th Apl., Eng. cols.

51. Discussing the question as to what the members of the Legislative Councils should do during the recess, the *Gujaráti Punch* remarks:—"Lord Chelmsford has asked them to go into the country and to educate the electorate. We would ask them to do the same, although from a different view point. When Lord Chelsmford advised them to take to political speechifying, he must have one idea uppermost in his mind—that of combating non-co-operation by a counter-propaganda.......... Consequently what we want our legislators to do is to go to their electorates and talk practical politics. Non-co-operation as the burning topic of the day will no doubt come up for discussion, but if any useful work is to do done, we must assign it its proper position—a mere means to an end. The end is the good of the country; co-operation, opposition and non-co-operation are all means to that end. And when each of the above is viewed in that light, then, and then only will our public life be worth the name.......... The fact is the people are not prepared to hear apologists of the Government, and opponents of non-co-operation are not heard only because they are believed to be mere apologists of the

Government. Our legislators must, therefore, approach their electorates from a broader view point, assign, in their turn, to non-co-operation its rightful position of being a means to an end and then proceed to convince the people of the superiority of their method. And if they are not mere apologists of the Government pledged to killing non-co-operation for the sake of killing it but that they differ from it for sounder reasons, the people will come to lend them a respectful hearing."

Comments on the alleged secret treaty between the British Government and the Shariff of Mecca.
Young India (14), 27th Apl.

52. Referring to secret treaties, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" Such seems to be the treaty unearthed by the *Bombay Chronicle*, and said to have been entered into between the British Government and the Shariff of Mecca. If it is true, it shows the depth to which the British ministers descended for the purpose of gaining their end; and now that the end is reached, they treat their own written words as so much waste paper. Is it any wonder that millions of Indians have lost faith in Great Britain and refuse to co-operate with her so long as she will not retrace her steps and purify herself of the corruption that is eating into her moral being ? "

The Sharif of Mecca and the Khilafat.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Apl.

53. Referring to an interview given by the Amir Faisal to Mr. Kaderbhoy of Bombay on S. S. *Malva* in the course of which the former explained his own attitude and that of his father the King of Arabia towards the Khilafat during the war, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—" The Amir laid stress upon the broken faith of England in his case. He and his father have been betrayed and disappointed. But so far as they personally are concerned the Indian Muslims think that in their disappointment and betrayal they have but reaped the just reward of their betrayal of Islam. It is possible that they did not at the time realise the enormity of their crime—indeed, the Amir Faisal almost said as much,—that they were never told by their tempters that it was the intention of England utterly to humiliate and ruin Turkey. But the fact that they rebelled for motives of mere self-aggrandisement, raising a European cry of nationality which has no meaning in Islam; and that by so doing they destroyed the last great Muslim Empire at its moment of revival, must for ever stand against them in the minds of Muslims. Now they, with every Muslim, can see the wrong that they have done to *El Islam* by their apostasy and having failed to get the sumptuous bribe which they were promised they are sorry and repentant. Would they have been so sorry if they had received the coveted reward their fellow-Muslims who have watched their conduct closely cannot help inquiring. Is the repentance other than skin-deep. That is for them to prove before the world. Only by open championship of the Ottoman Khilafat now, in its hour of greatest need, can the Sharifian house of Mecca regain its former honour in the Muslim world. The Amir Faisal, in his talk with Mr. Kaderbhoy held out the promise of a manifesto to propitiate the Indian Muslims. The only propitiation that a Muslim has a right to offer for wrong-doing is redress. 'You Arabs and our poor deluded soldiers lost for us the Holy Land; do now your Muslim duty; help us by your manful efforts to regain what we have lost to the Khilafat. Do that, you are once more our brothers': that, we believe, will be the answer of the Indian Musulmans to any manifesto they receive from the Sharif of Mecca."

Turkish protest against operations of the Greek Fleet in the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Apl.

54. " The Turkish protest against operations, evidently warlike, by the Greek Fleet in the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora is the first that we have heard of this new feature of British neutrality. The Turkish navy being non-existent owing to the terms enforced by England at the armistice, and the Allies—of whom the British act as senior partner—having the control of the Dardanelles, the only entrance from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Marmora, which ought to be by right a Turkish lake, the passage of the Greek fleet through the Straits may be compatible with strict neutrality, but it is not so with fair play. It remains to be seen what will be the fate of the Turkish protest. The fate of other Turkish protests, we suppose. The present writer still recalls the earnestness with which a former Turkish Minister of the Interior once begged him not to give himself the trouble of opposing the injustice of the Powers towards Turkey: 'You will do no good,' he said 'You will only cause yourself fresh grief, as we do, by opposing them. They have no thought at all for us; they wish us dead. It is a *parti pris.*' And he also recalls how when, after the Balkan War, the Turks sent as their representative to a London Conference a statesman wellknown as an expert in international law, that expert was quite pleasantly informed by the second in command of the British Foreign Office that International Law did not apply to Turkey!"

Refusal of Legislative Council representation to Indians in Uganda.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Apl.

55. "Though fully aware of the Indian demand for equal franchise, the Government of Uganda has deliberately ignored the demand by setting up last month a Legislative Council in which no elected representative of Indians will be entitled to sit. Government propose to nominate an Indian to 'represent' the Indian community, which numbers more than 4,000 in the Colony, while the 900 and odd whites are entitled to send two *elected* representatives. Thus, once again, the position of Indians in a Protectorate is reduced to one of subordination to a minority of Whites, the solemn pledges of Viceroys and Cabinet Ministers notwithstanding. Is it a matter for surprise that our countrymen in Uganda should refuse to accept the arrangement and should have declared a general *hartal* as a sign of their mourning and resentment on the day of the opening of the Council? Here is another opportunity for the new Viceroy to redeem his pledge to do justice to Indians. How long will they have to wait for a sign from him that he is moving in the desired direction?"

Comments on the recommendations of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission.
Political Bhomiyo (77), 22nd Apl., Eng. cols.

56. Commenting on the recommendations of the South African Asiatic Inquiry Commission, the *Political Bhomiyo* remarks:—"These recommendations are patently in direct conflict with the spirit of the preceding part of the Report. The illogicality of the whole thing is certainly astounding. Fear of hostile public opinion could be the only explanation for this most astonishing procedure. That the Commission should have been influenced by such a fear comes as a rude jolt to one's confidence in the canons of justice and fairplay. It is obvious from the Report that the Commissioners are favourably disposed towards the Indians, and that they have been well impressed by the views put forward by Sir Benjamin Robertson on behalf of the Government of India. It is also evident that the Commissioners have realized that the anti-Asiatic agitation is entirely ill-founded and absurdly hysterical. That in spite of this the Commissioners should have made such disgraceful recommendations plainly indicates that they have not had the courage of their convictions. They were apprehensive of the outcry which would have been raised by those holding anti-Asiatic views, if the Asiatic grievances had been redressed and concessions made to the Asiatics. The Commission's duty was to give impartial justice in spite of the hysterical hubub of the anti-Asiatics. It has failed in its duty. The timorousness and pusillanimity of the Report has created an extremely difficult position and has instead of allaying discontent in any way caused widespread disappointment."

Comments on the visit of the Honourable Mr. Chunilal Mehta to Kánara.
Kánara News (40), 21st Apl.

57. The Honourable Mr. Chunilal Mehta, the Minister for forests, came and went. The ryots of the country do not know when he arrived and when he departed. We have, therefore, to inform them through the papers about the fact of his arrival and departure. He commenced his tour in the company of officials and he ended it in the same company. It is said that even the trees in the forests appeared like so many thieves to the *ex*-Chief Conservator, when he looked at them through his glasses. We do not know, however, how the ryots will appear when viewed through the glasses of the present Chief Conservator. But we do not understand how Mr. Mehta can expect to see anything else than the green forest, by flying through the district in a motor car and taking a view of things through the glasses of the Chief Conservator. How can he understand anything about the fields and gardens? On the whole we cannot but view with great disappointment this first visit of the Minister. We shall also not be surprised if the Minister on return to Bombay wants to know what are the grievances of the ryots and whether they do not get enough of ghee and sugar.

Question of an underground railway between Church Gate and Colaba, (Bombay).

Bombay Samáchár (62), 29th Apl.; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 27th Apl.

58. Commenting upon the question of an underground railway from Church Gate Station to the Colaba Station brought before the Improvement Trust Board, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—It seems that no details about the railway have been furnished to the Board. The expenditure on the underground railway will evidently be borne by Government, and such a railway cannot be expected to pay its own way, and the extra burden will have to be defrayed from the amount raised by the Development Loan which was raised for affording housing accommodation to middle class people. The use of the money for building the underground railway can scarcely be considered as justifiable. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—The present railway line from Colaba to Church Gate is a necessity to the people of Bombay and Government are mistaken in thinking that the needs of the people of Colaba will be satisfied by motor cars and tramways. As it is, people living in the Colaba locality are greatly inconvenienced owing to inadequate means of locomotion, and the contemplated removal of the present railway line will constitute a serious blunder on the part of Government. There is no underground railway in any part of India, and we do not think that the scheme of an underground railway in Bombay is in any way practical or practicable.]

Complaint about famine conditions in certain districts of the Bombay Presidency.

Gujaráti (17), 24th Apl.

59. In view of the tremendous rise in the prices of grains, etc., during the war and after, it is difficult to decide whether the present condition of things is to be regarded as a case of famine or one of only high prices. There is a general cry that there is famine in the Ahmednagar, Násik, Panch Maháls and Broach districts in the Bombay Presidency. We do not understand why Government are silent on this matter. It is stated in the papers that there is famine in the Panch Maháls and the authorities do not help the people at all and hence illiterate classes like the Bhils fall victims to death. The question is whether there is not sufficient grain and fodder in other parts of the country which can be transported to the said districts by means of railways or whether the people in them have not money enough to buy this imported corn. Children are taught that one of the advantages of railways is that they can carry corn for famine relief from one district to another. Are these railways now unable to confer this benefit on the famine-stricken, or is it the case that prices have gone up so high that in spite of doing hard manual labour one cannot earn sufficient wages to provide for a single meal? It is said that the hardships can be partially relieved by starting famine relief works. But the prices rule so high at present that the wages given under the provisions of the Famine Relief Code are quite inadequate and grain sufficient to maintain one person cannot be bought with the wages given on the relief works. People do not like to join the works started by Government owing to this reason. Hence Government should increase the rate of wages. But why have Government not declared famine in the above districts in spite of the fact that half of the *Chaitra* month is over? On the other hand those who talk about the existence of famine, say that we supply work by giving spinning-wheels in the Panch Maháls. The wages earned by working from eight to ten hours on the famine relief works are the same as those earned by working for twelve hours on the spinning-wheel, and the famine-stricken people cannot be expected to be satisfied with such poor wages. Whatever might be the case, the Government of Bombay should immediately declare its policy in this matter.

The Kathiawad Political Conference.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Apl.

60. Referring to the work before the Kathiawad Political Conference the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"Many of the Indian States, as at present administered, constitute a clog to Indian progress, political, social and material. It is particularly so in the generality of States in Kathiawad. There are, no doubt, one or two notable exceptions, but considered as a whole, they constitute a veritable Augean stable which requires to be cleaned through and through. .... They have in many cases bartered away to aliens rights of exploitation of the industrial resources of the State, which ought to have been retained for their own subjects. Then there is the abuse of powers of the Ruler by way of internments of 'obnoxious' subjects without trial and confiscation of their properties without justification. The resort to forced labour and other illegal exactions are also among the crying grievances of the subject of the States. All these have to be redressed. The Kathiawad Conference, to which this work of cleansing the Augean stables has been entrusted, has begun its task in the right spirit. We wish the Conference Godspeed in its work."

EDUCATION.

Complaint about there being no provision for a lectureship in Urdu in the Bombay Presidency.
Muslim Herald (172), 29th Apl.

61. When the Honourable Mr. Paranjpe presented the Educational Budget last March, he moved for a grant for five lecturers who would teach the vernaculars of this Presidency to students of the B.A. classes. When the Budget was under discussion, we thought that provision would be made for Urdu along with other vernaculars, particularly as it is gaining in importance every day, and Government have admitted it to be a vernacular of the Bombay Presidency since a long time. But we read, with great sorrow, a recent advertisement calling for applications for these lectureships; for poor Urdu has been left out of it. Provision has, of course, been made for two lecturers in Marathi, two in Gujarati, and one in Kanarese. Admitting that Ahmedabad and Dhárwár are centres of Gujarati and Kanarese respectively, and the claims of Marathi and Gujarati should be met both at Bombay and Poona, we hold that provision should have been made for a lecturer in Urdu at the Elphinstone College, Bombay. We are at a loss to understand the reason which led to the unceremonious rejection of Urdu. We thought facilities would be amply provided for a great advance in the cultivation of the vernaculars during the 'new era'. While we are glad to see that arrangements have been made for teaching some vernaculars in the very first year of the Reformed Council we are, at the same time deeply aggrieved to see that the claims of Urdu have been utterly disregarded. Ever since the Tripoli War, the position which Urdu occupies in the Bombay Presidency has become very important. If no provision for Urdu is made quickly, doubts will arise against the policy of the Minister of Education, and the Musalmans will think that Government have thrown overboard their own resolution of 1914 on this subject and are bent on putting obstacles in the path of Moslem education. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the number of students reading in Urdu is small or will be small, we are constrained to inquire as to how many students showed a desire to study Sociology when the Bombay University appointed Sir Prtrick Geddes as a Professor on Rs. 1,000 per month. As far as we know not a single student had offered himself. But when the appointment was made students began to take up Sociology in gradually increasing numbers. Similar was the case with the Lectureship of Persian at the Dhárwár College: when the post was provisionally created for a couple of years in 1918 there were very few students of Persian in that College, their number increased in the following year, and assumed quite respectable proportions in the third year. Even an Assistant Lecturer has now been appointed there.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The Bombay Corporation and Municipal franchise.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Apl.

62. "It is to be hoped that the good sense of the Bombay Municipa Corporation will reassert itself and that the suggestion of Government that it shall lower the qualification to municipal franchise to a rental of Rs. 10 in place of Rs. 20 recommended by the Corporation will be adopted with a good grace by that body. Our present City Fathers have earned an unenviable notoriety for their capitalistic leanings, and there will be some among them who will resist to the last the extension of the franchise to the poor and middle classes. But we still hope that the majority of the members have a higher sense of their responsibilities and that they will not deny any longer to the vast majority of the citizens the privilege which has so long been withheld from them......... In their communication, Government, unnecessarily we think, raise an issue for which there is no warrant. Government say that if an examination of the figures of the voting strength of the various communities under the lowered qualification shows that they are adversely affected 'Government will be prepared to consider most carefully any suggestions which the Corporation may have to offer with a view to safeguard the interests of important minorities'. We do not know which are the 'communities' and 'important minorities' which Government have in view. We can think of none. We trust that it is is not the intention of Government to foist the mischievous principle of communal representation on the constitution of this city. We have pulled on all these years without this noxious poison of communal hatred being injected into the municipal constitution. If Government imagine that any particular 'minority' or 'community' has gone without representation and that its 'interests' will thereby suffer, Government can certainly make use of the powers of nomination, which they will be reserving for themselves under the Act, to appoint a member of the minority or community adversely affected. But there is absolutely no need, we assure them, to poison the springs of Local Self-Government in *Urbs Prima in Indis* by the pernicious principle of communal representation."

Plea for strict supervision of hotels and boarding houses in Bombay City.

Model (28), 24th Apl.

63. The mortality has gone up very high in Bombay City now and the safety of the people is in danger owing to influenza and pneumonia. In these circumstances, the Municipal authorities should keep a close watch on the kind of food that the people get to eat. The majority of the hotels are located in dark and dirty rooms, and the food supplied in them is very harmful to the people. Swarms of flies and insects infest the eatables kept in such hotels. The surplus of the previous day, *e. g.*, rotting vegetables, are supplied to the customers on the next day. Ghee, oil and flour of a very inferior quality are used. There is no attempt at ventilation, proper supply of water, and cleanliness in a majority of the boarding-houses and hotels. A variety of officials should every now and then daily examine these death-traps which charge the people what they like and yet ruin their health. If articles of food like cooked pulse, rice and vegetables are allowed to remain for a long time, germs are produced and they help to spread diseases. Such food should be daily examined and destroyed and its use prohibited. If, in spite of this, the hotel-keepers persist in their practices a special law should be framed, providing for the cancellation of their licenses and their punishment either with a big fine or with imprisonment. This is a question affecting the interests of the public at large, because more than half of the people of Bombay are at the mercy of these hotel-keepers.

Comments on the Surat Municipality's resolution to present an address to Mr. Gandhi.

Gujarát Mitra (18), 24th Apl., Eng. cols.; *Deshi Mitra* (66), 28th Apl.

64. Referring to the resolution of the Surat Municipality to present an address to Mr. Gandhi, the *Gujarát Mitra* writes:—"Both the manner and the procedure which the meeting adopted in arriving at the decision call for strong disapproval and protest from all who will give the matter the slightest thought. Apart from a civic body in the position of a Municipality presenting an address to one occupying a position which Mr.

Gandhi does among Indians, we are sorry to have to condemn in the strongest possible language the action of the Corporation which deliberately and of set purpose flouted all canons of decency and procedure to be expected of a responsible public body in voting an address to Mr. Gandhi without so much as letting the Council know what the address which they wanted to present him with the very next day was to be like or what it contained. The whole affair was so monstrous that it took breath very nearly out of anyone to realise that a civic body knowing its position and responsibilities could set at naught in so light-hearted a fashion all that is, and must be considered to be, precious and inviolable canons and privileges of all lawfully constituted public bodies. It was nothing short of open and most barefaced jobbery, to put it most mildly, for a public body to have made a pretence and a show of submitting a member's motion to the Council for the presentation of the address for consideration, and to have refused it the opportunity to know, much less to discuss, the address which was going to be presented, to anyone, in whatever eminence of station for, and on behalf of, the city of which it stood as a representative. The shortness of time pleaded with such pious disregard of every other consideration but ill-concealed its utter hollowness, when it is known that for several days past the report that the Municipality of Surat will present an address to Mr. Gandhi was not only a matter of public knowledge in and outside the city, but the day and even the hour for the ceremony were known to have been settled beforehand in the programme of Mr. Gandhi's visit to the city on that day with a definiteness which, we must say, took not a few by surprise. .... The whole thing to our mind wears such an undignified and ridiculous look that we would fain not enlarge upon it further than saying that instead of doing the recipient of the address honour the local Municipality has by behaving in the manner it has done as a corporate and representative public body, brought on it nothing save the just condemnation of all sensible and right thinking citizens......... It is open as noon-day light that the occasion was merely exploited by some who happened now to find a place on the body to serve their own political ends and get a declaration of their creed as it were of blind submission to all that the Congress may hereafter do and thus try to import into the affairs of a civic body discussions of a kind which cannot possibly be dissociated from politics, and as such cannot be too strongly condemned on that account. [The *Deshi Mitra*, on the other hand, condemns the attitude of those members of the Surat Municipal Corporation who raised obstacles in the way of presenting an address to Mr. Gandhi. It remarks:—The main question that they should have examined was whether an address of welcome should be given to Mr. Gandhi or not. The only possible reply to this question is that it was quite proper. Was it proper, then, for them to have brought forward obstacles in a just and proper cause? If addresses are presented to Government officials and public money is spent on them, why should a popular Municipality hesitate to present an address to a leader of the people who has dedicated his life to the cause of the country and try to save money thereby? Where lies the impropriety even if the Municipality were to present an address in the name of the people? The Municipality is managed with the people's money, the representatives of the people are on it and they have every right to take such action on behalf of the people. Hence the address presented to Mr. Gandhi in the name of the people is quite proper. Those co-operators who have hitherto adopted the policy of opposing the non-co-operators in the meetings of the Municipality should do so only when there is some justification for it.]

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 6th May 1921.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 7th May 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged hypocrisy of Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire deputation on the subject of increased import duties on foreign piecegoods . 32
Alleged outrages by Satya-Samajists in the Sátára District . . . 35
Anniversary of Mr. Horniman's deportation . . . . 36 & 37
Comments on Government's intention to pay more liberal compensation to the Indian victims of the Martial Law outrages in the Punjáb 31
Comments on the Jails Committee's report on the Andamans . . 33
Comments on the Malegaon riot . . . . 14—21
Comments on the treatment of Mr. Yakub Hassan in jail . . . 30
Complaint about delay in the publication of official reports . . . 38
Evacuation of the Andamans 34
Government servants in India are the bond slaves of Government . . 28
Interests of the British and Indians are opposed to each other . . 40
Necessity of the equality of all British subjects before the law . . 29
Satyagraha in Mulshi Petha . . . . 22—27
The new Labour Department 39
Excise: Criticism of Government's Abkari policy 57

His Excellency the Viceroy:

His Excellency the Viceroy and the Punjáb Martial Law prisoners still in Jail 43
Lord Reading has succumbed to the Civil Service within a fortnight . 42
What is Lord Reading doing? 41

Indians in the Colonies:

Indians in South Africa 52
India should retaliate against the Colonies that ill-treat Indians . . 54
South African Commission's recommendations to segregate Asiatics from Europeans 53
The position of Indians as citizens of the British Empire . . . 55

Judicial Matters:

Comments on the sentence of eighteen months' rigirous imprisonment passed against three young boys for creating disturbance at the auction of country liquor shops at Karáchi 50
Comments on the sentence of six months' imprisonment passed on 6 young students by the District Magistrate, Pratapgad (U. P.), for distributing pamphlets 51
Comments on the sentence passed on Swami Govindanand at Karáchi (Sind) . . . . 46—49

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Military Matters: Alleged hardships caused to the people by the ball practice of the military in Haveli (Poona) 56

Non-co-operation:

Appeal to Mr. Gandhi to clear his position with regard to the declaration of the Ali Brothers to help Afghanistan in an invasion of India 3

Comments on the Bombay Government's Press note regarding Nadiád Municipality's refusal to accept Government educational grant . . . . 9 & 10

Comments on the new — programme to concentrate on the spinning-wheel and suspending starting new Nationalist Schools . . 12

Comments on the order of the Judicial Commissioner, Central Provinces, prohibiting the use of the Gandhi cap by clerks in his Department 6

Criticism of Government's repressive policy against the — movement . 4 & 5

Dangers of the — movement 11

Mr. Gandhi's views on the fear of an Afghan invasion 2

Mr. Gandhi's views on the uses of the *hartal* . . . . . . 7 & 8

Position of Indian Muslims as regards the — movement . . . 1

The fruits of — 13

Police:

Alleged ill-treatment of 4 small boys by the — at Sukkur (Sind) . . 45

Dacoities in the Kaira District 44

EDUCATION—

Government Resolution on the Director of Public Instruction's Report for 1919-20 . . . . 58 & 59

MUNICIPALITIES—

Approval of the presentation of an address to Mr. Gandhi by the Broach Municipality 60

Comments on the Surat Municipality's address to Mr. Gandhi . . . 61

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the exclusion of certain newspapers from the Gwalior State . 62

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Position of Indian Muslims as regards the non-co-operation movement.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th May.

1. "The position of the Muslims in the non-co-operation movement is depicted by opponents of that movement as obscure. It is obscure only by misrepresentation, being in part most simple, clear and honest. The British Government, having shown itself a treacherous and cruel enemy to Islam, it is the duty of every loyal Musulman to wage Jihad against that Government. The term Jihad is in the vulgar mind restricted to violent warfare. It properly denotes the whole endeavour of the Muslim for good against evil, beginning with the conquest of a man's own lusts. It cannot include murder, seditious plotting of any kind of dubious or evil action. Therefore, as far as violent methods are concerned, the Muslims are restricted by their sacred law to open honourable war. But other methods are included in the term Jihad. Every prophet waged Jihad in one form or another.......... When the British failed to keep the solemn promises which they had made to Muslims in the time of war, and it became evident that one chief object of the war had been to humiliate Islam and reduce the Muslims of the till then independent Muslim Empire to dependence upon Christian Powers, the Indian Muslims saw how they had been deceived. They saw that the Turks had waged a true Jihad for the defence of Islam against the designs of the Allies, and that their poor misguided soldiers who had died for England in the war had died the death of worse than infidels—of traitors to Islam. According to the sacred law, to submit to England was to acquiesce in her misdeeds. From the moment that her treachery was seen it was Jihad for every Muslim worthy of the name against the British Government. In the minds of the vulgar the term Jihad has, as we have said, become identified with violence—even, strange to say, sporadic violence, like the running amok of frenzied individuals. The only violence which can be included in the term Jihad is honourable war waged in defence of the oppressed with due respect for all non-combatants and public wealth, and strict observance of Islamic laws of war, which are exceedingly human.......... The Indian Muslims naturally wish that they were not a subject people; they wish that it were in their power to go to war with England, and Shaukat Ali and Muhammad Ali say so frankly. But it is not at present in their power to go to war, and while that is the case they are bound by their religious obligations faithfully to pursue the policy of non-violent non-co-operation as the Prophet did for thirteen years of hardship. The Ali Brothers and Mahatma Gandhi are non-conspirators. They are as open as the day, too open and high-minded ever to take rank with politicians of the breed now ruling England, who are born conspirators. Sooner or later, if England persists in her anti-Muslim policy, the Muslims will not fight without Allies in Asia and in Europe. The Ali Brothers and Mahatma Gandhi, we ourselves, all the Khilafat workers in the country, are trying to prevent that; and if the Government of India espoused our cause whole-heartedly it could be prevented and England might recover her good name in Asia. A Government official gave it recently as his opinion that a bullet was the thing for everyone of us. The petty Government official seldom thinks. Possessed with power and guide he takes the tyrant's course, and so quite naturally, without thinking, chooses violence, which in the present state of India leads at once to anarchy, which has in turn to be repressed, with bad results in bitter memories. If every petty despot under Government—Indian as well as English—were put in jail to-day, India would be better governed and much happier."

Mr. Gandhi's views on the fear of an Afghan invasion.

Young India (14), 4th May.

2. "The readers will find elsewhere a string of questions put by a correspondent. The most important relate to a speech delivered by Maulana Mahomad Ali on the fear of an Afghan invasion. I have not read Maulana Mahomad Ali's speech referred to by the correspondent. But whether he does or not, I would, in a sense, certainly assist the Amir of Afghanistan if he waged war against the British Government. That is to say, I would openly tell my countrymen that it would be a crime to help a

Government which had lost the confidence of the nation to remain in power. On the other hand, I would not ask Indians to raise levies for the Amir. That would be against the creed of non-violence accepted by both Hindus and Muslims for the purpose of the Khilafat, the Punjáb and Swaráj. And I apprehend that Maulana Mahomed Ali could not mean more in his speech than what I have suggested. He could not very well do otherwise, so long as the Hindu-Muslim compact subsists. The Muslims are free to dissolve the compact. But it would be found upon an examination of the case, that the compact is undissolvable. Dissolution of the compact means destruction of India's purpose. I cannot conceive the present possibility of Hindus and Moslems entering upon a joint armed revolt. And the Moslems can hardly expect to succeed with any plan of an armed revolt. However, I warn the readers against believing in the bogey of an Afghan invasion. Their own millitary writers have often let us into the secret that many of the punitive expeditions were manufactured for giving the soldiers a training or keeping idle armed men occupied. A weak, disarmed, helpless, credulous India does not know how this Government has kept her under its hypnotic spell. Even some of the best of us to-day really believe that the military budget is being piled up for protecting India against foreign aggression. I suggest that it is being piled up for want of faith in the Sikhs, the Gurkhas, the Pathans, and the Rajputs, *i. e.*, for the want of faith in us and for the purpose of keeping us under forced subjection. My belief (I write under correction) is that the anxiety of the Government always to have treaty with the Amir was based not so much upon the fear of a Russian invasion as upon the fear of losing the confidence of the Indian soldiery. To-day there is certainly no fear of a Russian invasion. I have never believed in the Bolshevik menace. And why should any Indian Government, to use the favourite phrase of the erstwhile idol of Bengal, 'broad-based upon a people's affection', fear Russian, Bolshevik or any menace? Surely a contented and a powerful India (all the more), in alliance with Great Britain, can any day meet any invasion upon her. But this Government has deliberately emasculated us, kept us under the perpetual fear of our neighbours and the whole world, and drained India of her splendid resources so that she has lost faith in herself either for defence or for dealing with the simple problem of the growing poverty. I, therefore, do certainly hope that the Amir will not enter into any treaty with this Government. Any such treaty can only mean unholy bargain against Islam and India. This Government being unwilling to part with O'Dwyerism as an 'emergency' measure, being unwilling to keep its faith with the Muslims (I must decline to treat the Government of India separately from the Imperial Government) and being unwilling to let India rise to her full height, wants Afghanisthan to enter into a treaty of offence against India. I hope that there is but one opinion so far as non-co-operators are concerned. Whilst unwilling ourselves, we cannot wish others to co-operate with the Government."

Appeal to Mr. Gandhi to clear his position with regard to the declaration of the Ali Brothers to help Afghanistan in an invasion of India.

Bharatwasi (162), 26th Apl.

3. Both parties are working for the same noble cause. Mahatmaji has positively disliked the idea of his lieutenants or followers doubting the sincerity of the opposite party. We for ourselves have not doubted the sincerity of non-co-operators although we have criticised some of the ways and principles adopted by them. But when it is being openly said by them that they would help the Afghans if they invade the country, we needs must ask our friends to open their eyes and consider well the situation which is getting out of their hands. We give credit to the Ali Brothers for a frank avowal of their policy. What we do not understand is that Mahatmaji and co-workers in the face of such a frank avowal on the part of the Ali Brothers should ask us not to mistrust them. We on the contrary have full faith in the Ali Brothers. They will act up to what they say. They openly say that they will assist the Afghans if they come to fight the English and they will also ask Muhammadans to draw the sword. The Afghan since a long time has been having an eye on India. In 1919, even before the non-co-operation movement of Mahatma Gandhi came to be started

here, the Afghan declared war against the English. Very likely he might again declare war, now that he has the support of Russia and Turkey. Mr. Mahomed Ali's League has also passed a resolution asking the Afghans not to negotiate any peace treaty with the English. Such resolutions and utterances of Mr. Mahomed Ali are surely being reported to Afghanistan. Is not this a clear encouragement for the Afghan? As soon as the Afghan proclaims that he is coming to fight the British, Mr. Mahomed Ali will ask Muhammadans to draw the sword. Mahatma Gandhi also will not assist the 'Satanic' government. He will on the contrary ask the Indian Army to withdraw their help. Suppose such a contingency arises, namely, the Afghans, Turks and Russians invade the country, Mahatma asks the Indian Army to withdraw their help from the British Government and Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Company draw their swords, what will be the position? Some non-co-operators say that Mr. Mahomed Ali will not be allowed to remain in the country as soon as he asks Muhammadans to draw the sword. Others ask whence will come so many swords? We wish to tell them that men of the Indian Army have good many swords at their disposal. Moreover the frontier tribes who can join the enemy possess good many weapons of war. The Balochis and Birohis also possess many arms. Above all the deep-rooted sedition in the country would be a great source of help to the enemy. We would request Mahatma Gandhi to deal with this question in detail for which we shall be very thankful to him.

Criticism of Government's repressive policy against the non-co-operation movement.

Vande Mataram (new), 11th Apl.

4. "The U. P. Government has asked its officials to use all legitimate means to oppose non-co-operation. There will now be, among the unpatriotic officials, something in the nature of competition to outdo one another, in stamping out the pestilential movement from their respective jurisdictions and thus win favour and promotion at the hands of their 'masters'. What subtle and varied forms 'legitimate means' can take, when employed by an official in the rural areas of the country is not a secret either to political workers or to the Government itself.......... The news from Kharar in Ambala district, that the local officials there have prohibited the cry of 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai' and songs or speeches in favour of non-co-operation, if correct, is extremely significant. It gives the lie to Sir William Vincent's baseless assertion that Government has interfered with the non-co-operation movement only where there has been actual violence or incitement to violence. The Kharar news shows that officials are out to crush the movement as such......... It does not improve the prestige of Government, if, while trying its best to suppress the movement, it pretends to interfere only in case of an outbreak of, or incitement to, violence. But the cat is let out of the bag by the U. P. Government. In its circular to the Commissioners, Government servants are encouraged to declare themselves against the 'revolutionary' movement, and are authorised to oppose it openly and by every legitimate means in their power. The position is quite simple and we cannot understand why Government should fight shy of a frank statement of it. The Indian nation has, in view of grave wrongs yet unredressed, resolved to end the existing system of Government by non-violent non-co-operation. The Government, naturally greedy of power and unwilling to relinquish it fast enough, wishes, in self-preservation, to crush the movement. The nation is frank and openly declares its resolve. The Government is equally resolute in its opposition but true to its character and traditions, it does not wish to be frank. The U. P. Government, however, has come out with the truth, that violence or no violence, the movement must be crushed. The conflict between the nation and the Government is evidently approaching a crisis. We have every confidence that the attempt to kill the movement by repression will fail. It will on the contrary recoil on the Government."

Vande Mataram (new), 22nd May.

5. "So repression has begun in right earnest. There are daily reports of prosecutions, rather persecutions of citizens in every province. It seems the Government has committed itself to the policy of combating non-co-operation before it is too late. And each instance only gives further evidence of the weakness of the

Government in whose name the prosecutions are launched forth. Notes are produced in court which were never taken at the meeting; evidence is given by witnesses who never heard the speeches; the prosecution brings forth witnesses against whom a trial is pending for a criminal offience! And still it is said that justice is the primary concern of British Law Courts. But non-co-operation is an accomplished fact; and there is no doubt about it. By their ill-advised policy the Government are destroying the basis of public peace and tranquility. Many a time those very citizens who are now undergoing trial for sedition have performed the duty of the Police in helping to quiet the people under provoking circumstance when any police interference would surely have created trouble. And when all those who have had great share of service to their credit are taken away from our midst (for we understand the Government intends emptying the country of all leaders) it stands to reason if the mob left without their guidance will keep itself under restraint. And it is not in a spirit of preserving the law that punishments are meted out; but underlying all these trials is a spirit of vengeance. Imagine eighteen months rigorous, for crying 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai' at the auction of liquor shops; and the delinquents were merely youths. The Government is furious and only betrays signs of complete irresponsibility. Those who expected better things from Lord Reading are completely disillusioned......... It would be futile to have high hopes in Lord Reading. Lord Reading has left the English shores. In England the change in the Ministry results in a clear change of policy; but the Indian politics do not admit of any such change. The departures and arrivals of Viceroys do not affect its course. It goes on peacefully, singing its own incorrigible tunes, despite the change of Viceroys and Secretaries of State, of the visits of the King and Prince of Wales, inspite of the numerous and solemn Proclamations issued from the Throne."

Comments on the order of the Judicial Commissioner, Central Provinces, prohibiting the use of the Gandhi cap by clerks in his Department.
Mahrátta (8), 8th May.

***6.** Referring to the order of the Judicial Commissioner, Central Provinces, prohibiting the use of the Gandhi cap by clerks in his Department, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"It is meet that the clerks of the Central Provinces have submitted a bold, clear and frank memorial to the Governor and the Judicial Commissioner. In the memorial the clerks very significantly observe: "We are exceedingly sorry to note that Government are straining our loyalty too much and they are sowing the seed of dissatisfaction in the rank and file of the Government service. We have ruefully begun to doubt whether our personal liberties are safe in the hands of a Government which chooses to prescribe a particular dress". No other words could be more expressive of the present relations between Government and their servants. The foolishness and high-handedness of officials have already taxed the patience and loyalty of their subordinates to a degree, and they have begun to feel as if their birth-rights are not safe in the hands of the bureaucrats. The Gandhi cap order of the Central Provinces Judicial Commissioner is only one of the many instances which clearly show how the bureaucrats are driving the poor subjects to desperation!!"

Mr. Gandhi's views on the uses of the *hartal*.
Young India (14), 4th May.

7. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"*Hartals* are either meant as a protest againt something extraordinary or a religious demonstration. There was no meaning in declaring a *hartal* when His Excellency the Governor visited Karachi. If it was meant to be a demonstration against him personally, it was bad taste, for, in my opinion, he is among the wisest officials and but for the vicious system he is called upon to administer he would make a popular Governor. *Hartals* for imprisonments or discharges are equally bad taste. Imprisonments must not inspire fear in us. Under an unjust Government, imprisonments of innocent men must be regarded as their ordinary lot even as disease is the ordinary state of persons living in insanitary conditions. The Government will cease to imprison us when we cease to fear imprisonments. The Government will cease to exist or (which is the same thing) will reform itself, when its most frightful punishments, even Dyerism, fail to strike us with fear. *Hartals* therefore in regard to imprisonments are a system of nervous fear and must therefore be tabooed. I quite agree with the I. S. R. that local leaders ought not to declare *hartals* without reference to headquarters. As a rule I would say, save the 6th and 13th April, every other *hartal* should be declared by the All-India Congress Committee and the Central Khilafat Committee in conjunction. It will be a misfortune to cheapen the *hartals*."

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 4th May.

8. We wish success to Mr. Gandhi's endeavours to put an end to the excessively large number of *hartals* that are being observed by the non-co-operationists. We, however, do not think that the interests of the country will be served in any way by the statement made by Mr. Gandhi to the effect that *Swaráj* will come nearer to us when the jails are filled with innocent people. We are concerned to see that Mr. Gandhi still persists in his policy of non-co-operation in spite of the horrible occurrences at Madras, Nágpur and Malegaum. These incidents ought to be taken as a warning by the leaders of the non-co-operation movement and to induce them to effect a change in their tactics. We welcome Mr. Gandhi's advice to his followers not to resort to *hartals* and hope that he will soon issue similar advice to them in the matter of non-co-operation.

Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding Nadiád Municipality's refusal to accept Government Educational grant.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 2nd May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 2nd May.

9. The Press Note issued by Government in the Education Department regarding the action taken by the Nadiád Municipality in connection with the non-co-operation movement will, we hope, act as an eye-opener to that Municipality and other similarly minded municipalities. While expressing their approval of the proposal that a municipality which is able and willing to do so should defray the cost of primary education from its own funds, Government have diplomatically retained the power of inspection and control vested in them by statute. Mr. Gandhi means to teach the students that the British Government is a satanic Government and that the education imparted in Government schools would make them slaves. No Government will allow such ideas to be in the minds of boys, and the Press Note makes it clear that Government possess the right of putting down such teachings and that they mean to exercise that right. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also approves of the Press Note, and hopes that the advocates of National education will take a warning that they cannot go headlong in the matter of primary education as they mean to do and thanks Government for asserting its right of inspection and control.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd May.

10. "The Government of Bombay have done well clearly to define their attitude towards the attempts of certain municipalities in the Presidency to nationalise their schools by foregoing the Government grant and thereby removing, as far as possible, official interference with the conduct of these schools. Government state that they have no objection to any municipality defraying the cost of such schools from its own funds. Indeed, they commend the proposal, as they say, 'it releases for use in less prosperous localities a certain amount of the money which is at the disposal of Government for educational purposes.' Such sweet reasonableness on the part of Government, though some may regard it as rare, will doubtless be highly welcomed......... Government only make this condition that 'the powers of inspection and control vested in Government by statute must remain unimpaired and unaffected' by the decision of the Municipality to defray its own cost and that these powers will be used. But how exactly Government will proceed to enforce their powers of 'inspection' and 'control' over institutions for the upkeep of which they do not pay is not made clear. Are the public to assume that Government officials will pester the institutions with their attentions to the point of provocation and that a policy of constant 'nagging' will be pursued towards the Municipality daring to go out of the beaten path? Government would be wise in interfering as little as possible

with Municipal institutions.......... Since Government have undertaken to respect the right of Municipalities to manage their own schools, they should not seek to undermine this right by devious ways under supposed statutory powers. For the rest, Government are welcome to set up any number of schools they like in any municipality, so long as they do not proceed to do so in a spirit of indecent or malicious rivalry and do not waste public funds thereby."

Dangers of the non-co-opration movement.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 8th Apl., Eng. cols.

*11. "A shrewd observer of the non-co-operation movement once predicted that it would sooner or later create bitterness and hatred not only between Indians and Englishmen but between Indians and Indians themselves. Judging from the tragic events that have taken place recently at Malegaon, the serious riot at Giridhi, and the various disturbances and quarrels that have broken out in several parts of the country, it would seem as if this prediction were coming true. It does not require any very great sagacity to see which way the wind is blowing, though it is difficult to say what will be the ultimate result of a movement which is intended to destroy the present order of things and substitute something else in its place is not as yet clearly defined or understood.......... The *Satyagraha* disturbances of 1918 were a clear warning to Mr. Gandhi and his followers. They may be pardoned for their first folly; and did not Mr. Gandhi himself acknowledge his 'Himalayan mistake' and commit penance for it in sackcloth and ashes? But what excuse, what defence can there be for those who still wilfully persist in following the same dangerous course? We are told that the danger has been removed by impressing upon the people the importance of non-violence. We know what non-violence means. It consists in exciting the passions and the hatred of unthinking masses by making strong, emotional speeches.......... We give every credit to Mr. Gandhi for his self-restraint in thought and his evident desire to impress upon his followers the importance of non-violence. But the fact remains that those who go about preaching the non-co-operation doctrine in the land, and they are many, are neither so self-restrained nor so careful. There are many people who think that Mr. Gandhi is too good and tender-hearted a man to allow any violence to take place. If the movement takes a violent shape they say he will immediately cry halt or retire to the mountains. They have misunderstood the character and the mentality of the man. Mr. Gandhi is an implacable idealist so enamoured of his own fancies that nothing less than a deluge could shake them out of his mind. It is clear from his writings and speeches that he fully understands the dire consequences that may result from his movement, and that he is determined to go to any length, to take any risk, rather than forsake his fancies."

Comments on the new non-co-operation programme to concentrate on the spinning-wheel and suspending starting new nationalist schools.
Bhdratwasi (162), 28th Apl.

12. Adverting to the exhortation to the non-co-operators to concentrate all their efforts on the spinning-wheels and to stop starting new national schools, the *Bharatwasi* writes:—Here we might be permitted to ask a few questions of the leaders of the non-co-operation movement. You at first advised people to start new national schools on the ground that the present ones were dependent for their maintenance on the 'Satanic' government. You went so far as to say that it was a religious duty to start new schools and it was sinful to remain in the present ones. When the people following your advice are now opening new national schools you are disallowing them from doing so, which means that you are permitting them to send their boys for study in schools belonging to the 'Satanic' government. Where is now your plea of 'religious duty' and 'irreligious act'? It does not behove you to act in this manner by bringing in the name of 'religion' and 'God'. The Congress decision is, that the present schools should be boycotted and new ones started in their place, but you are now making the whole affair topsy turvy. You say that every rupee as well as man is now wanted for a different purpose. It means that money, etc., hitherto employed in the starting of national schools is all wasted and you feel sorry for it. If it is so, it is also clear that you feel

disgusted with your own institutions. Why do you not then advise people to withdraw their children from them? You can then convert them to cotton factories where parents, if they like, can send their children to manufacture yarn. It was only a month ago that these leaders had recommended boycott of the 'Satanic' schools with a view to secure *swaraj* for the country. They are now preventing the opening of the new national schools which means that study in the 'Satanic' schools is being recommended by them, so that all hope of *swaraj* is now at an end.

The fruits of non-co-operation.

Gujarāti (17), 8th May, Eng. cols.

***13.** "The destruction of good manners and the growth of the spirit of irreverance, irresponsibility and insolence in its most aggressive and offensive forms are the direct fruits of the campaign of non-co-operation. What a priceless moral asset is being destroyed in all parts of the country is but little appreciated by the promoters of the movement. But let them bear in mind that they cannot absolve themselves from responsibility for this fearfully infectious moral demoralisation, and that these unhealthy forces will not fail to react, like a boomerang, upon their authors. Mr. Arvindo Ghose made the discovery too late and had to make room for men whom he could no longer control. Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Jayakar and a handfull of their followers, who at one time thought of soaring high in the heavens with the help of youthful aviators, have found themselves in a similar plight. They can no longer see where they are. The Moderates, whether right or wrong, have definitely known from the very outset where they are or ought to be. Lala Lajpatrai has been changing colours so often that he is now qualified only for denouncing or abusing those who differ from him. Mahatma Gandhi himself has had to shift his principles and methods to suit varying exigencies, although he himself is perhaps not fully conscious of the transformations through which he and his programme and principles have been passing. All these considerations make one despair of the present situation in India. But we feel satisfied that, though this period of transition and readjustment is full of painful trials and discouragements, high hopes and deep despair, India has better days in store for her along the lines on which England and her self-governing Colonies have marched to their goal, provided Indian leaders do not depend entirely upon the statesmanship of the British Government but themselves think, speak and act like responsible and farseeing statesmen."

Comments on the Malegaon riot.

Praja Mitra and Pārsi (31), 5th May, Eng. cols.

14. "This is not a matter which touches the inhabitants of a place like Malegaon alone. It is of vital importance to all who have the good of the country at heart and who are interested in the well-ordered progress of their country. Such events must open the eyes of all well-wishers of their country to the baneful effects of the propaganda of non-co-operation. If the minds of the populace are unsettled, if the respect for authority and established Government is undermined, if the common people are made to lose their sense of discipline, it will certainly not be to the good of the country.......... What good can be done by inciting uneducated and ignorant people to resist law and authority? The day is not far distant when our own countrymen will be called upon to undertake the Government of the country; how difficult will it then prove for the administration of the future if the respect of the people for law and order is shaken to its foundations? Mr. Gandhi's movement of non-co-operation is supposed to be based on non-violence, on soul-fource and such other visionary ideas; but when we come down to earth and have to deal with the easily excitable masses, we find that such ideas vanish into air, into thin air, and leave not a wreck behind. And then the apostle of non-violence will come forward and talk of his 'Himalayan mistake' and will advise more fasting and repentance! But what the country now stands most in need of is the practical organiser and the constructive mind; and not idealists and Mahatmas."

15. **Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"If the facts reported in the press are substantially correct, Malegaon non-co-operators have been false to their creed, their faith and their country. They have put back the hand of the clock of progress. Non-violence is**

***Young India* (14), 4th May.**

the rock on which the whole structure of non-co-operation is built. Take that away and every act of renunciation comes to naught—as artificial fruit is no more than a showy nothing. The murder of the men who were evidently doing their duty was, if the report is correct, deliberate. It was a cowardly attack. Certain men wilfully broke the law, and invited punishment. There could be no justification for resentment of such imprisonment. Those who commit violence of the Malegaon type are the real co-operators with the Government. The latter will gladly lose a few officers if thereby they could kill non-co-operation. A few more such murders and we shall forfeit the sympathy of the masses. I am convinced that the people will not tolerate violence on our part. They are by nature peaceful and they have welcomed non-co-operation because it is deliberately non-violent. What must we do then? We must ceaselessly preach against violence alike in public and in private. We must not show any sympathy to the evil-doers. We must advise the men who have taken part in the murders to surrender themselves if they are at all repentant. The workers must be doubly careful in their talks. They must cease to talk of evil of the Government and the officials, whether European or Indian. Bluster must give place to the work of building up put before the nation by the Congress.......... All police orders must be strictly obeyed. There should be no processions or *hartals* when known workers are prosecuted or imprisoned. If we welcome imprisonments of innocent men, as we must, we ought to cultivate innocence and congratulate ourselves when we are punished for holding opinions, or for doing things that we consider it our duty to do, *i.e.*, for spinning, or collecting funds, or getting names for the Congress register. There should be no civil disobedience. We have undertaken to stand the gravest provocation and remain non-violent. Let us be careful lest the hour of our triumph be, by our folly, the hour of our defeat and humiliation."

Lokasangraha (123), 7th May.

16. The *Lokasangraha*, while deploring the loss of life and destruction of property at Malegaon, remarks:—Mahatma Gandhi and his followers have been appealing to the exasperated Muhammadans to be peaceful. If they, owing to the intensity of their exasperation, occasionally burst out in acts of violence, how are the non-co-operators to be held guilty? The guilt lies not with those who advise them to be peaceful but with those who offer provocation to them. It must not be forgotten that when the police accustomed to practice *zoolum* and injustice sprinkle salt water on hearts wounded by the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs and murder six persons and wound twelve, unarmed people naturally feel impelled to wreak vengeance on them. We do not mean to justify the outrages committed, but only want to show how papers like the *Dnyán Prakásh* are sometimes guilty of treason against their own people when they place the responsibility for such occurrences on the wrong party.

Kesári (120), 3rd May; *Indu Prakash* (45), 3rd May.

17. We cannot but say, from what we have learnt of the Malegaon tragedy, that it forms the climax of the thoughtless wickedness of the offenders. It does not appear that there was any more serious cause for this sudden outburst than that the sub-inspector gave expression to some provocative expressions. If such small matters are to result in such brutalities, then peace will be banished from the world in no time. Besides, if the people were ordered by the Magistrate to go to meetings without sticks, it was improper for them, as non-violent non-co-operators, to go there with sticks in spite of that order. We do not think any real friend of non-co-operation is involved in this disturbance. And if any such was involved, we do not think the non-co-operation movement can be held responsible for it; for just as Government cannot be held responsible for the acts of its individual officers or servants, the movement cannot be held to be at fault on account of the action of individual agitators. Yet all well-wishers of the movement must openly condemn such outrages. [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—The events that took place at Malegaon will come as an eye-opener to both to the non-co-operators and to Government. The Malegaon tragedy shows the danger of the non-co-operation movement, and how it might end. We had already more than once given expression to our fears that, though it might remain non-violent in so far as the Hindus were concerned, the movement was very likely to lead to bloodshed in the hands of our Muhammadan brethren. Government also must take a lesson from these events. If it be true that not a single European officer was present either at the town or in the vicinity on the day of the disturbance, then the question arises as to the utility of having high-paid European officers. Whose mistake was it that the maintenance of peace at a town of rowdies like Malegaon was entrusted to a small police party? What was the Collector of Násik doing in the jungles of Satana when commotion has already prevailed among the people of Malegaon for a fortnight? Mr. Simcox is at present the Collector of Násik, and it is a matter of notoriety that whereever he goes there riots take place. The riot originated in the order of the District Magistrate prohibiting people from carrying sticks. Why was such an order passed? What right has the District Magistrate to issue such an order? Did he get the sanction of his superiors to issue that order? Was it a big offence for the Khilafat volunteers to carry sticks to keep order in crowds? The severe punishment of Rs. 50 fine for the offence seems to be disproportionate. Though the Khilafat people were responsible for the outrages it must not be forgotten that they were primarily caused by the high-handed actions of the local officers. It is stated that some of the district officers are waiting for opportunities to bring about a change in our Governor's policy not to allow repression in the Presidency. We hope the higher authorities will not be taken in by the Malegaon incident and that the attempts being made to sow dissensions between Hindus and Muhammadans by taking advantage of the burning of a Hindu temple in the riots will fail.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 8th May.

***18.** "The Málegaon outburst of arson and murder is clear proof that the popular mind in some places has been worked up to an unhealthy pitch of excitability and, in the face of the deliberate statement of the Revenue Commissioner that it is due to previous propaganda work, it is the duty as well as the interest of Congress leaders, by an independent local investigation, to convince the public that non-co-operation propaganda was not responsible for the state of mind which found vent in the criminal violence of the Málegaon mob. They ought to recognize that for the moment, the cruel happenings in Málegaon have deeply prejudiced their movement and that if they do not promptly and emphatically repudiate and condemn them, they will have to thank themselves if the public sympathy for their central purpose is overwhelmed by the public digust at their incidental accompaniments."

Servant of India (10), 5th May.

19. "There seems to have been a widespread complaint amongst the people of Malegaon against the Foujdar of the place, who it would appear was unnecessarily provocative in his dealings with the Khilafat leaders and the Khilafat volunteers of the place. In a town, four-fifths of whose population consists of Mussalmans, deeply agitated over the Khilafat wrong the police officials must be men imbued with sympathy for Muslim sentiments; but in Malegaon, we are told, it was otherwise. Whatever may have been the sins of the local officials, however, they were not such as to lend a shadow of justification for the heinous crimes that were perpetrated by the rioters. The non-co-operation leaders have been the first to condemn their outrages, and in view of this fact we hope there will be no attempt to establish a connexion between the tragedy and non-co-operators. We particularly deplore the Commissioner's reference to Mr. Gandhi as one who would view anarchy with equanimity in circumstances in which such taunts are singularly misplaced. Nor is Mr. Gandhi's utterance correctly understood. He at least hates violence like poison and will never encourage it either in speech or action. His will always be a restraining influence."

Dnyán Prakásh (42), 5th May; *Swarájya* (149), 5th May; *Sandesh* (141), 4th May.

20. It is said that some of the officials at Malegaon were high-handed. Supposing this to be quite true, it does not justify the conduct of the mob. It is very easy to excite the people but quite impossible to restrain them when so excited. It is necessary, therefore, to think well before launching a movement likely to make the people lose their heads. Mr. Gandhi would never have launched the non-co-operatton movement if he had a better acquaintance with human nature. The excesses committed by the people of Malegaon will no doubt be universally condemned. It is absolutely necessary that those found guilty are suitably punished. Peace is necessary for progress and, therefore, he who breaks it deliberately is an enemy not only of Government but of the whole community. We hope Government will see to it that the innocent do not suffer while they take steps to bring the guilty to justice. [The *Swarajya*, while denouncing the excesses, regrets that the authorities at Malegaon did not realise that the days when the poor people could be safely harassed are gone. The *Sandesh* writes :—The Commissioner, C. D., made inquiries about the families of the Sub-Inspector and the Police Constables who were killed. Was it not equally his duty to enquire about the families of the other people who were killed during the disturbances? The Sub-Inspector was as much to blame as the rioters for the unhappy events. While the people were guilty of improper conduct the Sub-Inspector, too, had disgraced his calling by disguising himself as a woman. Why was then all the sympathy reserved for the family of the Sub-Inspector alone?]

**Gujaráti* (17), 8th May, Eng. cols.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 3rd May.

21. "The story of the disturbances at Malegaon is a dreadful affair and ought to open the eyes of those who do not yet realise the potentialities of great mischief with which such incidents are fraught. An attempt has been made by an 'impartial' organ of non-co-operators to explain away the horrible episodes connected with the disturbances and lay almost the whole responsibility for them on the shoulders of Bhaskerrao, the Police Sub-Inspector who was brutally belaboured with *lathies* and thrown into the burning flames!......... We will take it that Bhaskerrao was indiscreet in the use of his language towards the non-co-operators. But we put it to every sane man whether he deserved to be murdered in the horrible way adopted by the mob. That he had to fire on the crowd in self-defence when he was surrounded in Pophale's temple by thousands of excited people must be admitted. But what justification was there for setting fire to a Hindu place of worship, though it was a private temple, and to Mr. Pophale's house and kill the Sub-Inspector in a barbarous and inhuman fashion? What reason was there to ill-treat the Mamlatdar and the Resident Magistrate who has been seriously injured, for raiding the houses of prominent Muhammadans who counselled moderation in regard to the Khilafat question, looting shops and indulging in other forms of shameful violence?......... The people of India demanded suitable punishment of General Dyer and other officials for the massacre that took place at the Jallianwalla Bagh and the other enormities committed in the Punjáb. In the present instance the lives of the Sub-Inspector and four constables were sacrificed in a 'satanic' fashion. How can a different standard of legal and moral responsibility be applied in such a case?" [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks :—Whatever might be the cause of the riot at Málegaon, the non-co-operators as well as the co-operators cannot but be sincerely sorry for the damage done to life and property. There is no doubt that this disturbance arose out of a difference of opinion between non-co-operators and co-operators. All non-co-operators do not possess the same disposition and patience as Mr. Gandhi. The occurrences at Malegaon also show how much the non-co-operation movement is fraught with danger. Hence we have always been raising our voice against the movement. We appeal to Mr. Gandhi to do his utmost to stop such disturbances.]

Satyagraha in Mulshi Petha.

Gujaráti (17), 1st May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 3rd May.

22. Mr. Gandhi is opposed to the establishment of factories. and so he has opined that the work commenced by Tata and Company should be given up if a single individual residing in the Mulshi Petha raises an objection to it. At this rate no tank or any work of public utility can be undertaken. Mr. Gandhi may be right in theory, but it would be very difficult to put his theory into practice. The Tata Company is prepared to pay substantial compensation to the people who have to part with their lands; and it is now

a year that they have begun work and during that period they have purchased large tracts of land and spent about seventy-five lakhs over their works. It is strange that the Mavalas should raise an objection in connection with their lands after a period of one year! They commenced Satyagraha and lay themselves prostrate on the dam that was being erected. The dam had to be watered to make it firm and certain newspapers have complained that the water sprinkled on the men was scorching hot. No reasonable man can have the least doubt that there is much of exaggeration in the statement. It cannot be believed that the Tata Company specially boiled water with a view to scorching the skins of the Satyagrahis. It is possible that water passing through heated pipes must have become warm, but it could not possibly be hot enough to scorch the skin. The Mavalas should have taken objection when the work was commenced; and it is strange that they should trot out their sentiments for their ancestral lands after twelve months. The ghâts afford the only suitable site for the erection of hydro-electric works and an alternative site cannot be chosen for them. The question now arises as to whether private property can be acquired under the Land Acquisition Act for a public purpose. We are of the opinion that those who have influence with the Mavalas would have done better to advise them to press for adequate compensation instead of asking them to resort to Satyagraha. [The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* deprecates the attempts that are being made by certain agitators to incite the Mavalas against Government and the Tata Company.]

Kesari (120), 3rd May.

23. The result of the *Satyagraha* at Mulshi has been that the work of the company has been stopped till November. We do not think that this question has been settled permanently. Though the Mavalas have won the fight so far, it is certain that the company will come back to it with increased strength. Every right-minded person will of course wish that the Mavalas should win. But whether they will win without sufferings or by undergoing sufferings depends upon Government. It is said that the stoppage of work involves a good deal of loss. But who suffers the loss? Either the company or the Government or both. If the company suffer it suffers deservedly because it began its work high-handedly before the agreement with Government was executed. If Government suffers it means that the people will have to pay. The people, however, will not object to being put to loss if that will win victory for the Mavalas. The loss involved in the stoppage of work is nothing compared to the loss to which the Mavalas will be put if the work is carried on. They depend on their land for their livelihood, and if they are turned out of it where will they turn to? They will be turned into miserable wage-earners till they get lands in exchange? We doubt if they will. Government may make promises now; but when the time comes it may turn round and cut the throats of the Mavalas by saying that lands are not available. And what are the people to do then? The history of the administration of the Land Acquisition Act in this country is far from encouraging. It is not even certain that the people will get resonable compensation. It is more difficult now than it was in the earlier stages of the struggle to conciliate the Mavalas. It is, however, open to Government to make the attempt yet.

Swarâjya (149), 5th May; *Lokashahi* (126), 2nd May.

24. Commenting upon the Mulshi deadlock, the *Swarâjya* writes:— The authorities tell us that a copious supply of electrical energy is necessary for the development of our trade and industry; but the policy hitherto pursued by the English is directed towards ruining our trade and developing their own. People have completely lost faith in the English in respect of their trade policy as a result of their past experience. They have come to doubt their sincerity; for which they should thank themselves. We have no doubt that a plentiful supply of electrical energy will prove beneficial to this country; and if we had *swarajya* we would have produced it and secured for our nation all the advantages to be derived therefrom. It is clear, however, that in our present state of dependence, such big undertakings will only strengthen the power of others. Indians no longer desire thus to add to their chains. They do not want to see their own peasantry rendered destitute to add to the wealth of foreign capitalists. [The *Lokashahi* writes:—The value of the victory won by the Mavlas is very great. They were opposed by multi-millionaires like the Tatas, backed by the Government, at whose head is a fool like Sir George Lloyd. People are no longer so simple as to rely on the empty pledges of Government. They are now prepared to fight for truth; and high officials should bear well in mind that the time for bludgeon-rule is gone.]

Gramya Swarajya (68), 3rd May; *Model* (28), 1st May.

25. Truth triumphs under the Divine dispensation. But soul-force and Satyagraha have to be used against those who practise injustice. Mr. Gandhi was the first man to teach Indians the use of Satyagraha in South Africa. The Mavalas seem to have practised Satyagraha to perfection. Their cause was just and their determination was firm and they were ready to sacrifice their all. It is no small injustice to dishouse poor people for the comforts of a few individuals. The Tata Company lays claim to serving India by its work. India is a land of spiritualism and it does not stand in need of material gains. The Mavalas have shown by their Satyagraha that they do not wish to be crushed under injustice. The Satyagraha movement has triumphed and the Mavalas have compelled the Tata Company to stop their work. [The *Model* writes:—The Tata Company have taken the firm decision of the Mavalas into consideration and have used their commercial foresight in suspending the work till the next Divali. This will go a great way in assuaging the excited feelings of the Mavalas. The Mavalas deserve to be congratulated on the peaceful manner in which they conducted their agitation.]

Servant of India (10), 5th May.

26. "The Mulshi Peta affair has for the present come to a close, the construction of the dam being suspended tilll November. This is really no very great concession to the popular agitation, for the works would in any case have had to be stopped during the monsoon, and it is not long before the monsoon is expected to break in Poona. We hope, however, that the intervening period will be turned to good account by the Hydro-Electric Company and the Bombay Government in perfecting their plans of land exchange and colonisation, so that there will be no resurgence of *Satyagraha* in November. The peasants of course, for the present, rule out the question of compensation altogether. Those who speak of compensation are considered by them as only injuring their cause. But Mr. Kelkar himself still talks of compensation, in the hope, evidently, that the Mavalas, assured of adequate compensation and facilities of colonization, will abandon their present position.......... Mr. Kelkar for the moment stands discredited, and others who counsel moderation, but it should not be difficult to buy off the opposition of the peasant if really liberal terms are offered, and the Company can afford to pay generous terms."

Gujaráti Punch (19), 1st May.

27. Every day manifests fresh signs about the awakening in India. This awakening cannot be put down as the nation has begun to understand things. People used to put up with their wrongs patiently and resigned themselves to fate by considering themselves as a weak nation. But the late war has opened their eyes. The people have come to realise how a disarmed nation can secure its goal by soul force, and as a consequence, therefore, we see people everywhere resorting to such righteous and marvellously effective movements as non-co-operation and satyagraha. Uptill two years ago people hoped to get their wrongs redressed by sending petitions and passing resolutions at public meetings. But when they realised that such petitions and resolutions are thrown into the waste paper basket they betook themselves to Satyagraha. The wrong done to Kaira in the matter of revenue assessments was removed by Satyagraha; and the Satyagraha agitation against the Rowlatt Bills would have succeeded in achieving its object, but certain ill-conceived disturbances created by those who did not understand what Satyagraha was frustrated its hopes. But these incidents do not detract from the importance of Satyagraha. Our readers must be aware that we supported the Satyagraha in the matter of Kaira and the Rowlatt Bills as we have considered the movement as harmless. Satyagraha has now been begun in the Mulshi Peta. The Tata Company have enumerated the advantages of their works; but we must also take into consideration the objections urged by the people of Mulshi Peta. Government have now been confronted with a difficult question. The Mavalas object to what Government have permitted. The Mavalas will suffer patiently even if Government make use of their police or military force. They will willingly go to prison if they are sent there. But this will not put an end to the trouble. Government should stop the work and cancel the agreement entered with the Tata Company. It is in the interests of the country that Government should refrain from making use of force. The question of Mulshi Peta is agitating the Deccan for the present, but it is feared that it will agitate the whole country and the matter will assume a serious aspect if Government make use of force. It is the duty of Government to be forewarned; and we wish that Government and the Tata Company will take the firm determination and opposition of the Mavalas into consideration and put a stop to the work.

Government servants in India are the bond slaves of Government.
Vande Mataram (new), 25th Apl.

28. "Government servants in India are the bond slaves of Government At least that is how most of them conduct themselves in regard to political matters. Government too treats them as if they had sold their souls and conscience to Government. How else can one explain the command of Lord Sinha to all the Government servants of Behar to oppose the non-co-operation movement, even though some of them may be in complete sympathy with the movement? Things are different in England. During the recent miners' strike trouble in London, the Civil Service Confederation issued a manifesto in sympathy with the miners which repeated the pledge given last year by the Home Secretary to the effect that the civil servants could not be called on to undertake duties not reasonably within their contract. In India public servants are men and not soul-less machines; they should be able to secure for themselves the same position of honourable service as the England public servant has secured and not continue for one day longer in the position of traitors to their own motherland which they have been called upon to occupy."

Necessity of the equality of all British subjects before the law.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th May.

29. "The European Association of Darjeeling talks of the 'birthright' of Britishers to be tried by a British judiciary, but we should like to know if this 'birthright' is confined to the British Empire only or extends to all parts of the world. What becomes of the birthright when a Britisher commits an offence in, say, French territory? .... The present privileged position of Europeans in this country is an injustice which the children of the soil have put up with too long and should be terminated without delay. The Darjeeling Association suggeste that their 'birthright' should be retained intact for Britishers, and that a similar right may be conferred on Indians too. But this arrangement will dislocate the whole machinery of judicial administration, and we do not think that it will commend itself to any sane statesman. Only the perfect equality of all British subjects, of whatever race, before the law and equal facilities for them to obtain justice will solve the problem. Britishers must give up the idea that they will be able to boss the show wherever they go."

Comments on the treatment of Yakub Hassan in jail.
New Times (9), 29th Apl.

30. "The *Hindu* of Madras in its issue of April 23rd complains about the inhuman and callous treatment of the Madras Government towards Mr. Yakub Hassan who has been recently sentenced to jail. The ill-ventilated and narrow cell coupled with its other concomitants of jail have told upon his health and induced symptoms of bronchial asthma. We are amazed to learn that, notwithstanding the warning that the disease will be developed in consequence of the onset of the ensuing weather and that he has been down with the disease since a month back, he is not permitted to take the medicine prescribed by an eminent physician of Madras even though the medical officer in charge believes in the efficacy of some of its constituents. This is the treatment accorded by the Madras Government to a political prisoner like Mr. Yakub Hassan. One can imagine to what extent must this want of feeling and apathy be strained in the case of so many ordinary political prisoners rotting in jail, when even such a prominent person is not being shown an ordinary sense of humanity."

Comments on Government's intention to pay more liberal compensation to the Indian victims of the Martial Law outrages in the Punjáb.
Mahrátta (8), 8th May.

*31. Referring to the resolution passed by the Eighth Punjáb Provincial Conference, expressing contempt at the Government announcement that greater compensation would be paid to the Indian victims of the Martial Law outrages, the *Mahrátta* remarks :—"It may perhaps be consistent with the sun-dried principles of justice that govern a court of law to think that the removal of disproportion between the compensations granted to Europeans and Indians makes matters even. But if we have to take Lord Reading at his declarations, he has come over to India to dispense a 'wider' justice, to deal with Indians with a very sympathetic heart, and to value natural equity beyond everything. It may perhaps be pleaded that when he ordered the payment of proportionate and liberal compensations to the aggrieved families in the Punjáb, Lord Reading thought that the Punjábees would rejoice over his act of justice. Now, however, through the resolution to which we have referred above, the Punjábees have expressed their bitterest resentment of all pecuniary offers. They look upon the money as blood-stained and untouchable. With this resolution before him, it now remains to be seen if Lord Reading corrects his ideas about the grievances of the Punjábees and acts accordingly."

Alleged hypocrisy of Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire deputation on the subject of increased import duties on foreign piece-goods.
Vande Mataram (new), 4th Apl.

32. "The dishonesty and hypocrisy of most official pronouncements on the higher problems of Indian politics is really disgusting. Fine phrases, with no correspondence with actuality, disfigure there speeches, without now deceiving a disillusioned nation. They only go to confirm the opinion about the character of the bureaucracy. In reply to the delegation of Lancashire cotton manufacturers, Mr. Montagu very piously declared that whatever might be the result of fiscal policy for India, she should have the same liberty as Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada and South Africa had, and yet only a minute before that he had stated, 'only exceptional circumstances would justify the Secretary of State intervening in matters purely of Indian interest where the Government and the legislature were in agreement.' If India is to have the same liberty as the Dominions, what is the meaning of this right of intervention under exceptional circumstances? If words have any significance, we cannot have the same liberty as the Dominions in theory and yet work under limitations on that liberty in actual fact which do not exist in the Dominions......... Let us have no more hypocritical declarations twisting the truth before Lancashire to show that England cannot interfere, and then when the need for interference sometimes arises turning round and claiming that England can under exceptional circumstances interfere even when Government and legislature here both agree."

Comments on the Jails Committee's Report on the Andamans.
Servant of India (10), 5th May.

33. "The Jails Committee's revelations in regard to the state of things which is existing and has been existing for an unbroken period of sixty years [in the Andamans] will send a wave of indignation throughout the country. .... Nothing gives a truer idea of the low states of public life in India than the fact that we have allowed this cesspool of immorality to continue for more than half a century without any effective protest.......... The greatest difficulty in the Andamans as elsewhere was the overwhelming preponderance of the male sex and a paucity of women.......... There was only one woman to

every six men and the result may be well imagined. Again there was an orgie of unnatural practices when convicts went out to work in association......... By a curious irony of fate transportation to the Andamans commenced a year after it was put a stop to in England, and for over sixty years, owing to the supineness characteristic of our people, we have let the thing go on after it was discarded by England as radically bad. At last it is to be stopped here also. But we must say that we are not satisfied either that transportation is still necessary for the worst class of criminals or that any intermediate period is necessary before the evil is completely abolished. The Committee's report seems to us to be particularly week in that portion where it maintains that it is desirable to retain transportation for habitual criminals. The only reasons it gives are that it is best to provide for the safe custody of such criminals outside the country and that it would tighten the administration of Indian prisons in general if the latter were to give shelter to particularly dangerous convicts. Neither of these arguments is convincing. As the Rajah of Pudukottah has observed in his minute of dissent, if separate prisons are maintained for the confinement of such criminals the same purpose would be served at a smaller cost."

Evacuation of the Andamans.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th May.

34. "At the last meeting of the Legislative Assembly, the Home Member was good enough to announce that the Andamans would be abandoned as a penal settlement and that the convicts doomed to endure that domicile of death, would be transferred to establishments in India. There was, however, the sinister proviso 'gradually' governing the ultimate execution of the decision. During the last two years we had some disclosures of the condition of the Andamans, a place as dear to the bureaucracy as Siberia was to the Tsars. The report of the Indian Jails Committee has a chapter on transportation and the Andamans, which describes the scourge of the settlement and condemns, as far as official language can, the jail discipline affected by the lion-tamers in charge of the island......... The Government have with them more details of the infamy of the Andamans settlement, but they are anxious to hide them while lending a helping hand for the suppression of the scandal. The following notice will show that officials are not in a hurry about putting an end to the iniquitous system they have been nourishing for decades. [Here the paper quotes the notice of the Chief Commissioner of the Andamans regarding the evacultion of the islands and goes on :—] Just fancy the cold-blooded deliberation with which Colonel Beadon talks of the Settlement being expected to dwindle down through such normal occurrences as 'death, releases and such transfers as may be made from time to time'! It is also understood that this expert is of the view that total abandonment is ill-advised, as that cesspool of iniquity is in his judgment amenable to improvement. And the Home Member's insistence on the word 'gradual'—a term of geological import when officials ask for special duration of time—makes us feel alarmed at prospective dilatoriness. 'Where is the money?' 'Where is the space?' 'Where are the officials?' These are pleasant questions to fling in the face of people who plead for mercy and our little Tsars enjoy discomfiting people with conundrums of the kind. India has the means and power of reclaiming these human derelicts manufactured through years of bureaucratic industry. Costlier and more difficult problems have been solved in twenty-four hours in this country, and if the Home Department is going to say ditto to Colonel Beadon or to carry a long correspondence over that gentleman's opinions of local reform, the problem will lie shelved with the label 'gradually' to silence critics."

Alleged outrages by Satyasamajists in the Sátára District.
Kesari (120), 3rd May; *Lokasangaraha* (123), 23rd Apl., and 2nd May.

35. Outrages by the Satyasamájists again took place in Patan taluka (District Sátára) on the 18th and 22nd of last month. While the Collector was at Patan, on the 18th, four Marathas of Vadhul beat Mr. G. A. Joshi, the vice-president of the Taluka Board. So also they spoiled the water of a brook—the water of which was used for drinking purposes—by pouring kerosine oil into it. For a long time the Collector seems to be enjoying the fun of the whole thing. Complaints on the subject were made some days back to the Commissioner, Mr. Pratt, by Mr. Altekar, a pleader of Karad; but nothing has come out the interview. Who is to check their violence—the Government or the people? [A correspondent writes in the *Lokasangraha*:—I am told that about six thousand rupees have been levied as blackmail from the Brahmin inhabitants Navdi, Gavade, Mandrul, and other villages in the Patan Taluka by the Satyasamajists by means of threats. The Brahmins have sent away their families elsewhere and are living in the villages alone and they have begun to think that it is the Satyasamajists and not the British who are ruling there. Government are, no doubt, encouraging the Satyasamajists by their policy of silence. A correspondent of the paper, writing in a subsequet issue, refers to the alleged assault on the vice-president of the Taluka Board and declares that persecution of the Brahmins would not cease unless Mr. Moysey, the Collector, is transferred elsewhere.]

Anniversary of Mr. Horniman's deportation.
Gujarâti Punch (19), 1st May, Eng. cols.

36. Referring to the anniversary of the deportation of Mr. Horniman, the *Gujarâti Punch* remarks:—"That the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy should have used a panicky situation—mostly of its own creation—to get rid of one of its critics is one of the tragedies of public life in this country—a tragedy which is a constant reminder to workers in that field of the stern fact that what little liberty they enjoy smacks of sufferance rather than of right. How we are to reconcile this and a thousand other similar instances with the tall talk of a welcome change in the official angle of vision, only those who indulge in it can tell. But one thing is certain. And it is that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy seems to be willing neither to meet the challenge of an open trial nor of a revocation of its arbitrary order and the light-hearted shifting of the burden of responsibility from one shoulder to another gives one the impression that whatever the Indian public may think of that sad event, the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy at any rate does not even so much as look upon the deprivation of an individual's birthright of free speech and free action by an executive stroke of the pen as an event that needs so much as even a bestowal of serious consideration. However it is an intolerable state of affairs and the Indian public must put forth far greater efforts than hitherto to remedy it."

Lokashahi (126), 2nd May.

37. The *Lokashahi* says that Government deported Mr. Horniman because he was not a sycophant and because he every now and then put obstructions in the way of their satanic administration. According to the paper, popular leaders who try to achieve the good of the people are looked upon by Government as their enemies. Referring to the public meetings held calling upon Government to allow Mr. Horniman to return to India, the paper remarks that the zoological collection, which is called Government, has of late become so very shameless that protest meetings fail to produce any effect on it.

Complaint about delay in the publication of official reports.
Bombay Samâchâr (62), 6th May.

38. Very often there is undue delay in the publication of Government reports and these publications, therefore, fail to produce the necessary impression on the public. It at times happens that these reports are published long after the suggestions embodied in them are carried out and so the public get no opportunity of expressing their views on them. These reflections are suggested by the recently published annual report on trade (*sic*) for the year 1919-20. People tolerated such delays in the publication of Government reports in the past as they did not take interest in public affairs. But now people have begun to take interest in public affairs and so it is desirable that Government reports should be published as early as possibe in order to enable the members of Councils to study them. Information published in Government reports would be very useful to the members of Councils and Government would do well to get all their reports published without undue delay.

The new Labour Department.

Arya Vaibhav (98), 28th Apl.

39. The *Arya Vaibhav* says the bureaucracy always try to create new posts with a view to providing fat salaries for their kith and kin and points to the creation of the Labour Department in support of its statement. It complains that the Government of Bombay never recognised the workers' unions and have always tried to suppress the labour movement. It tells Government the people will never have any faith in the utility of the new department since they have always sided with the capitalists.

Interests of the British and Indians opposed to each other.

Shubhodaya (94), 28th Apl.

40. Those who ruled our country in the past were the real kings. They had all the qualities which a king should possess in harmony with our own customs and traditions. But our rulers of the present day do not deserve the appellation of king. The meaning of the (Kánarese) word for King (Arasa) is 'he who pleases the subjects'. But it would not be very far from the truth if the word in these days is interpreted as 'he who has no sentiment.' The administration of our country for the last 150 years by our rulers justifies this interpretation. If British industries are to prosper, our industries must be stopped. We must supply to England all the food stuffs for a dainty feast, while we should be satified with the chaff which is left behind. They will collect taxes from us by forcing us to sell our homes and our possessions. We and our wives and children have to work to provide comforts for them. We have to supply timber for building upper storeys to their houses while we spend our days in cottages. We starve ourselves and pay the expenses of a huge army; while our rulers use it for extending their Empire. Every Englishman whatever be his status at home draws a fat salary in our country while we cannot earn a single pie toiling day and night. The gold mines in our country are for the use of the Britishers while coins of tin and leather are allotted to us as our own share. All the spacious and airy plots are reserved for them while we can scarcely obtain a small corner infested with all kinds of insects and germs. So, in all these ways our interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of our rulers. It is not, however, enough to say that our rulers are neglecting our interests. What we want to emphasize is that they have been following a system of government which is meant to destroy us.

What is Lord Reading doing?

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 5th May; *Hindusthán* (21), 2nd May.

41. It is only a month that Lord Reading arrived in India and still people are impatiently asking what he is doing. Such impatience is not quite unnatural, but it is not, at any rate, justifiable. People have begun to ask in a bantering tone as to when Lord Reading is going to fulfil the hopes raised by the declarations he made about doing justice. When Lord Reading has issued orders for observing no distinction of colour in the matter of distribution of compensation to sufferers in the Punjáb, some people have come forward with the advice that no compensation should be accepted from tainted hands! Is it not adding to the difficulties of Lord Reading? Let us hope that the advice of not accepting compensation will be withdrawn. Lord Reading is known to be in communication with provincial authorities and popular leaders and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's visit to Simla must have some bearing on the question. A question is being asked why Lord Reading has not invited the leaders of the non-co-operation movement. But it must be borne in mind that Mr. Gandhi has issued orders to his followers not to co-operate with Lord Reading till he expresses his repentance. Would such an attitude on the part of the non-co-operators induce Lord Reading to invite them? Such eccentricity on the part of the non-co-operators has helped to strengthen the hands of certain officials in putting repressive laws into operation. In the present circumstances, it is our duty to place our case in the hands of one who means to do us justice and to render him all possible help in the matter. [The *Hindusthán*, on the other hand, writes:— [It is now a month that Lord Reading has been in India. What is he doing? What are his intentions? Does he possess the courage to tackle the Indian affairs before they become unmanagable? Is he prepared to admit that he is not able to administer justice if he feels so? It is now high time that Lord Reading should make a declaration of his policy so that people may take him at his worth and may not build unnecessarily high hopes upon him.]

Lord Reading has succumbed to the Civil Service within a fortnight.
Vande Mataram (new), 25th Apl.

42. "Some people are pinning their faith on Lord Reading doing 'justice to India'. We have no such illusion. We do not believe in his power. We believe in the power of the I. C. S.......... The situation in India is such that either he must rule or the I. C. S. As we wrote a few weeks ago, if Lord Reading wishes to act honestly and justly, he will find he has to resign his Viceroyalty in a month's time. Three weeks have passed since his arrival and his actions have belied his boasts of sympathy and justice. On landing in Bombay, he tried to impress us by protestations of having an open mind, free to come to an impartial and independent judgment about the Indian situation. Within a fortnight of it, he trotted out the Duke's futile formula of 'Forget and Forgive'. So we now take it that he has formed a definite opinion about the position of affairs in the country. If any doubt were left on the point, it was removed by his omitting to include Lala Lajpat Rai among those he interviewed during his visit to Lahore. Not that Lalaji or we care for such interviews.......... But we note the omission because it indicates the state of Lord Reading's mind and proves that he has by now made up his mind and that against the view of the Congress. There is no meaning in any further talk of justice and sympathy. The Viceroy has succumbed to the Civil Service in a brief fortnight. It has been a rapid though a great fall. It disappoints none but those who wrongly hoped. It will only nerve others to greater efforts to see that the Civil Service in its turn succumbs to the nation."

His Excellency the Viceroy and the Punjáb Martial Law prisoners still in jail.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd May.

43. "The report that the Viceroy has called for the records of the cases of the Martial Law prisoners who are still undergoing sentence is welcome so far as it goes. During his recent visit to the Punjáb His Excellency must have been struck by the existence of a strong feeling of resentment among the public at the non-release of these prisonors. Now that Lord Reading has asked for the records, we may congratulate him on his sense of justice, but at the same time it is necessary to point out to His Excellency that the records by themselves afford incomplete and unsatisfactory material to go on. Not only were most of the 'Judges' constituting the martial-law tribunals strangers to law and justice and tainted by political prejudices, but the evidence on which they relied also was one-sided and tainted beyond imagination. If Lord Reading is really anxious to do strict justice, he ought carefully to go through the report of the Congress Sub-Committe on the Punjáb disturbances and the evidence it has collected. The report will show how 'evidence' was manufactured by the police and their underlings to ruin innocent people.......... While recognising fully the weight of authority which Lord Reading, as a past Chief Justice of Great Britain, may bring to the task, we repeat that unless he is omniscient like Providence he will not be able to do strict justice to the accused if he does not take into consideration the unsatisfactory character of both the personnel of the Courts which tried them and the evidenee on which they were convicted."

Dacoities in the Kaira District..
Insáf (72), 29th Apl.

44. The *Insaf* enumerates the hardships of the people of the Kaira District due to famine and the constant fear of robberies and dacoities. It then alludes to the meeting of the local leaders convened by the Collector for the purpose of discussing the question as to what steps should be taken to combat the menace. It then remarks:—As the people are deprived of their arms since the last sixty years, they tremble even at the report of a cracker. How can they then protect themselves against dacoits

armed to the teeth? Hence the people should be given full liberty to keep arms, so that they may fearlessly defend themselves. In the course of the meeting, the Collector advanced a strong argument against the free grant of arms licenses, namely, that two or three license-holders were deprived of their arms by the dacoits, and that, therefore, those who possess arms should be able to give an assurance that they can safeguard their arms. We do not understand what he means to say by this. The real way of defending oneself against robbers and dacoits is to possess arms. The grievances of the people cannot be redressed by keeping low-paid police.

Alleged ill-treatment of 4 small boys by the Police at Sukkur (Sind).

Vande Mataram (new), 11th Apl.

45. "The Sukkur officials are doing just the thing wanted. They are increasing the enthusiasm of the citizens by lawless repression. At the huge evening meeting, after a remarkably successful *hartal* on the 6th April, four young boys of ages varying from 8 to 10, came to the platform and related how, while singing songs about *Swaraj*, they were held up by some police official and taken to a Magistrate's Court, where someone, who, they thought, was either the Magistrate or a police officer, ordered them not to give lectures in Sukkur. One boy was handcuffed, and the other three were given three cuts each. When, after whipping the fourth boy, the official again repeated his warning about not delivering lectures, the boy retorted that they would continue to give lectures and the police were welcome to send them to jail. The boy received 6 more cuts for his true manlines. When our mighty Government has not so far dared to touch Mahatma Gandhi—its strongest opponent,—but wreaks its vengeance on little boys of 8 years, it is conclusive proof that Government admits its impotency and moral defeat. Such foolish action, however, can only help us forward in our work. The more of it, the better for us."

Comments on the sentence passed on Swami Govindanand at Karáchi (Sind).

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th May.

46. "If any single event were needed to demonstrate the hollowness of the claim of the Indian bureaucracy to have turned a new leaf and responded to the appeal of the Duke of Connaught 'to forgive and forget', it is furnished by the sentence of five years' transportation imposed on Swami Govindanand of Karáchi.......... If the few sentences which the Associated Press correspondent has quoted are among the worst remarks made by the Swami, the sooner the law of sedition, under which such a sentence as above can be inflicted for uttering words like those spoken by the Swami, is abolished, the better for the reputation of the Government of this country. If it were a crime to speak of 'people's determination to obtain *Swaraj* within a year', of their being 'sick of British rule,' of its being 'a disgrace to live an hour longer after December without having *Swaraj*,' of Government being guilty of sins like those perpetrated in the Punjáb, then no Indian worker in the political cause would be safe, for these are the very sentiments we have been hearing for the past so many months from the mouths of Indian leaders, from Mr. Gandhi downwards. In the case of Swami Govindanand, there appear to be some particular reasons why the C. I. D. and the bureaucracy were anxious to be rid of him.......... It is not the first time that the Swami has become the subject of the attentions of the C. I. D. From early 1914 till April 1918, the C. I. D. were instrumental in clapping the Swami—then known as Prof. Mansukhani, M. A., ex-professor of Fergusson, Nágpur, Muzafferpore, and Bankipore Colleges—in jail, first in Alipore, and then in solitary confinement in Yerrawda,—and all these years, so far as our information goes, without a trial and without being informed of his offence. His sole 'offence' consisted of having been a passenger by the ill-fated 'Komagata Maru,' which brought the Sikh emigrants from Canada. During his internment the C. I. D. must have fully gauged the strength of character of this extraordinary young Sindhi and since they failed to break his spirit they must have vowed a vendetta against him, of which we see the result to-day.......... In this connection there is a widespread belief in Karáchi and elsewhere in Sind that the real reason for the arrest of the Swami was not so much his seditious speeches, but his alleged part in bringing about a *hartal* in

Karáchi on the occasion of the visit to the city by Sir George Lloyd in March last. Local officialdom is understood to have been mightily offended at the completeness of the *hartal* and to have resolved on getting rid of the obnoxious and 'stakeless' Swami in the way they have now done. Whether the popular belief is based on fact or not, the sentence of five years' transportation for an offence such as the Swami was charged with cannot but be pronounced to be vindictive in the extreme and to be a disgrace to officialdom in Sind."

New Times (9), 3rd May.

47. "The sentence of five years' transportation in the case of Swami Govindanand under section 124-A is, to say the least, a travesty of justice. The trial has ended not in vindicating justice but in convicting a political worker who showed rare courage and zeal. In the political life of the province, Swami Govindanand was one of the very few possessed of a strong intellectual equipment for a study and discussion of the Indian problem. But such a man is precisely the one of whose liberty the official mind in its present mood is sensitive; and in sentencing him to five years' transportation, the Sind bureaucracy has shown that it still believes in fighting the non-co-operation movement by a policy of rigorous repression. That policy, we feel sure, will fail if only political workers in the Province face their convictions in the admirable spirit in which Swami Govindanand has faced his to-day."

Mahrátta (8), 8th May.

***48.** "It is extremely disconcerting to hear the news of the sentence of five years' deportation passed upon Swami Govindanand of Karáchi. The disproportion of the sentence and the alleged crime is so evident that every one will feel, as he learns it, as if the British courts of justice are under the dark domination of the spectre of savage vengeance. Swami Govindanand is a scholar, a thinker, a philosopher and a patriot, and his proud bearing and fearless acts and words are such as to make any timorous Government feel nervous about him. Like a true Swami he refused to defend himself in a Law Court which, according to his innermost convictions, was deserted by the Goddess of Justice. This was a brave deed, but it cleared the field for the Court, and vindictive punishment of Swami Govindanand grew an easy affair.......... If Karachi slumbers while Swami Govindanand drags the days of deportation out of India, his noble sufferings will be no better than seeds thrown on a barren hard rock. His determined refusal to defend himself has brought the calamity of deportation upon him, and it will be regarded as a valued service of the Nation only if it creates a proportionately mighty awakening in the province in which it was his pleasure to work: otherwise Swami Govindanand will have suffered to no purpose."

Lokamanya (new), 6th May; *Lokasangraha* (123), 6th May.

49. The speech for which Swami Govindanand was sentenced for five years follows no other line of thought than that of Mahatma Gandhi. The sentence puts one in mind of Lokamanya Tilak's punishment of six years' transportation. What was achieved by Government by the severe punishments inflicted in those days? Did not the vindictive spirit which inspired Justice Davar's judgment recoil upon the head of Government itself? Has not Government learnt the lesson of the futility of a repressive policy? It appears as if certain vindictive magistrates and police officers of Lord Sydenham's regimé are still in power in Sind and they are urging upon Government the necessity of crushing out the Khilafat and *Swarajya* movements by every means fair or foul, as Sind is a frontier province with a population mainly Muhammadan. This is false advice. For, if the menace on the frontier does materialise, the fruits of such heavy punishments will not fail to be felt, and Sind and the Punjab will be turned into another Ireland. Government will thus, by their repressive policy, court the very dangers to avert which they have introduced repression. Repression in the Punjab and Sind at a time when the position of England has become so precarious in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and on the frontier means the aggravation of the danger. It is alleged that the movement of Mahatma Gandhi was responsible for the

Afghan war and for the increase in the army for the maintenance of internal peace in India. It would, however, be more just to hold officials infected with the vindictive spirit of Lord Sydenham responsible for the result. [The *Lokasangraha* remarks :—The terrible sentence passed on the Swami clearly proves that the Sind officials have become completely possessed with the autocratic spirit pervading the Punjáb. The attitude taken up by him during the trial clearly proves his mental courage and devotion to religion. We hope that his spirit will enable him to outlive the five years' incarceration and join the people again in the battle for *swarájya.*]

Comments on the sentence of eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment passed against three young boys for creating disturbance at the auction of country liquor-shops at Karáchi.

Hindu (163), 24th Apl.

50. At Karáchi when the auction of country liquor-shops was going on some little boys created a little disturbance. There was no casualty nor any act of incendiarism. Innocent mischief was all that was played. Yet the City Magistrate of Karáchi without sufficient grounds has sentenced three youngsters each to an inhuman punishment of eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment. Even the big police officials in charge of the case had considered that the sentence for such a trivial offence, if proved, would be two or three months at the most. But Mian Nabibux, on whom the new honour of the City Magistrateship of Karáchi has been conferred, must show himself in his true colours and demonstrate in some manner that he is true to his salt. This is out-heroding Herod. We are not pained at the infliction of such an inhuman punishment. Such sentences will only lead us to our goal early. We are glad that such sentences demonstrate to us how the trace of humanity has altogether disappeared from the present system of Government. The system wanting in humanity is a Satanic system. We have full faith in the innocence of the three youths who have now been convicted. They have been punished not because they created some disturbance but because they were helping the national cause to the best of their ability in uprooting the present wicked system. The officials could not bear to see them doing such noble service and they had their revenge by punishing them unjustly. But the officials seem to forget that truth cannot be suppressed by repression and tyranny.

Comments on the sentence of six months' imprisonment passed on 6 young students by the District Magistrate, Pratapgad, United Province, for distributing pamphlets.

Mahrátta (8), 8th May.

*51. "The vagaries of British justice are indeed incomprehensible! A child of 12 may be shot under Martial Law for conspiring against the established Government, and a man may escape whole and sound in spite of his having murdered a poor Indian coolie in broad daylight! A youthful composer of a short poem may be thrown into prison to rot for his whole life, and a General may shoot the rayats like so many beasts of prey without losing his pension! As if to remind us that such events are not things of the past, the Indian courts of law almost every day commit some fantastic extravagances. The District Magistrate of Pratapgad recently sentenced six young students to six months' imprisonment for distributing a leaflet entitled. 'A message to Kisans.' We were struck to hear the news of this merciless sentence passed upon tender boys for the simple offence of having distributed a leaflet among the Kisans; and we were extremely eager to read this 'dangerous' leaflet which if we accept the District Magistrate's way of thinking, must have contained very explosive revolutionary preachings. But as we read the leaflet as it is printed in the *Independent* we find neither dynamite nor gunpowder in it, but a simple and sober advice to the Kisans. The leaflet is written by as great a man as Motilal Nehru, and not only is it completely void of the least incitement to violence against Government, but on the contrary, it exhorts the Kisans to 'bear all punishment cheerfully and in good humour'.......... The District Magistrate must be in possession of a very strange olfactory organ to have smelt sedition in this innocent pamphlet. If it becomes seditious to preach passive fortitude and to ask people to speak the truth and to commit no excess of any kind, and if it grows customary with Magistrates to punish youthful boys for having distributed leaflets containing the advice to suffer without grudge, we are afraid, it will soon be necessary to hang all those who explain the Bible or the Gita. The action of the Pratapgad Magistrate is most condemnable and it is not without its element of cowardice. Motilal Nehru who wrote the pamphlet and his son who distributed its copies in the Court itself were left untouched by the Magistrate and only small boys were made the prey of cruel terrorism. This fact is significant as it shows that Government is shunning honourable battle with stalwart leaders and is giving vent to its fury by pouncing upon insignificant camp followers. We cannot help saying that it is such actions of Government officials that are responsible for stirring up the forces of disorder in some parts of the country."

Indians in South Africa.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th May.

52. "The discussion in the Union House of Assembly on the Asiatic question clearly discloses the grave dangers which are confronting anew our countrymen in South Africa and of the possibility of their having to wage a war of self-defence more bitter and more prolonged, perhaps, than all the past struggles.......... It is true, Mr. Duncan was careful to remind his countrymen that India was a member of the League of Nations and, therefore, at some future date, if not just at present, they would have to count upon her seeking redress of her grievances through the League. But, evidently, Mr. Duncan as well as his Government do not believe that India will be able to make her voice heard in the near future, and it is not difficult to understand why they are anxious to deal with India before the latter is able to assert herself. They believe that if India is once faced with settled facts, she will not be able to undo the mischief later.......... We have fully exposed the flagrant breach of faith involved in the recommendations of the Asiatic Commission. Not only is no guarantee forthcoming from the Union Government that such breach of faith will not be committed, but we see attempts made on the sly, even before the Government have come to any decision, to carry out the mischievous suggestions contained in the Committee's report. The Municipalities have already begun ear-marking certain 'locations' for Indians, while the licensing officers are refusing, on some dishonest plea or other, the renewal of the licenses of some of the Indian traders.......... That the Government themselves are in whole-hearted sympathy with the unscrupulous campaign of hounding out the Indians will be patent to anyone who scans between the lines of Mr. Duncan's speech. He has declared, on behalf of Government, that he is prepared to accept the motion of the Natal member, which, going a step further than the proposal of the Asiatic Commission, advocates compulsory segregation of Indians both in rural and urban areas.......... In the existing circumstances, therefore, it is practically certain that legalised segregation will be enforced in the Union before long. But, as we have always maintained, the situation can be retrieved even at the eleventh hour, by the Government of India courageously coming forward to declare that they as well as the people of India will never put up with such an insult to the sense of self-respect of the nation. We wait to see whether Lord Reading will rise equal to the situation and speak out as Lord Hardinge did on a memorable occasion."

South African Commission's recommendations to segregate Asiatics from Europeans.
Servant of India (10), 5th May.

53. "One of the principal recommendations of the South African Commission's report is that in the Transvaal and Natal separate areas should be established for Asiatics both for residential and trading purposes, and that the Asiatics who live and trade outside these areas should be persuaded to move into Asiatic areas. This, the Committee claim, is a scheme of voluntary segregation, devised in the interest of Asiatics as well as Europeans.......... And what is the reason for the recommendation? Nothing else than that the Europeans cannot tolerate the presence of Asiatics in their immediate neighbourhood—or even at a distance. The intermingling of races 'is repugnant to the feelings and instincts of even the poorer class of whites in this country.' Thus the Indian are to be unabashedly sacrified on the altar of race prejudice of the Europeans........

The Government of India have already protested against thse recommendations, and we hope that the Imperial authorities will do justice to India where the Commission have failed."

India should retaliate against the colonies that ill-treat Indians.
Mahrátta (8), 8th May.

*54. "The disappointing report of the Asiatic Commission regarding segregation in South Africa and other problems of Indian interests in that country is now being followed by events which are gradually taking away all hopes about the vindication of the rights of Indians there. The election of General Smuts was an omen in itself. And now a message through Reuter's special service brings the news of a discussion in the Union Assembly which centred round the question of segregation.......... Mr. Marwick, a Natal member, moved a resolution requesting Government to draft a legislation in accordance with the Report of the Asiatic Commission about allocating to the Asiatic community separate and distinct areas, rural and urban, in the Union where they might develop in accordance with their own differing needs and standards of civilisation. We have repeatedly pointed out how all these occurrences in South Africa are only a proof of either the utter helplessness or the want of genuine desire of the British Government to protect the rights of Indians in the colonies. Whichever the case may be, it remains true that if the Natal and Transvaal Whites insist upon subjecting Indian settlers to great hardships, Indians must certainly retaliate and pay them in the same coin.......... Mr. Marwick, the mover of the resolution to which we have referred, tried to substantiate his attitude towards Indians by quoting the resolution of the Imperial Conference recognising that the Dominion Governments should have complete control of their population. This reference clearly shows that the Dominion Governments are not inclined to respect the wishes of the British Government so far as the Anti-Indian campaign of the African Whites is concerned. If that be so, and we have scarcely any doubt about it, it is now time for India to adopt a policy of retaliation in this respect. A resolution that the Imperial War Conference of 1917 has already sanctioned such a policy, and hence it is in India's interests that some strong Emigration Legislation be soon brought into force instead of Mr. Barnes' insipid Emigration Bill."

The position of Indians as citizens of the British Empire.
Vande Mataram (new), 25th Apl.

55. "The Governor of Kenya Colony, administered under the control of a Secretary of State for the Colonies, responsible for his policy to the British Parliament, does not evidently include Indians amongst British subjects. They do not treat India as if it were in the Empire. They give to Chinese and Russians the rights they deny to British Indians. And yet there are some sane, sober and wise patriots of India who hug the Empire which thus kicks at them. They frantically cling to partners who are vigorously pushing them out. Sanity, sobriety and wisdom dictate this self-respecting attitude. This triple alliance of political virtues advises inaction (euphemistically called patience and hope) when faced with the humiliating restrictions of the colour bar. It advises one more long-winded petition to Mr. Montagu or Lord Reading when only 20 per cent. of the allotted money is spent for the education of the children of a community which is more numerous than any other and whose members contribute the major part of taxation. And yet His Majesty's representative promised us *swaraj* 'within the Empire' and 'co-operative' India went into ecstacies at the unintended insult. There can be no *swaraj* within the Empire until and unless there is no racial inequality within it. Then India will be England's equal in fact, not in words, and the Empire will become a meaningless fiction."

Alleged hardships caused to the people by the ball practice of the military in Háveli (Poona).
Kesari (120), 3rd May.

56. We hope the Collector of Poona has been informed of what transpired at the Háveli Taluka Conference that met in the last week, regarding the great hardships caused to the inhabitants of the village of Vakad and its neighbourhood on account of the ball practice of the military. The people are required temporarily to vacate their houses during the practice with the

result that thefts are committed in them. The crops also suffer owing to the military passing through the fields without any restriction. If the Collector has been informed of all this, what steps does he intend to take to remedy these troubles? It is his duty at least to send for the speakers at the Conference to ascertain whether the grievances are real. Another complaint has also come to our ears. It is that the military rob and beat travellers on the Alandi Road. People dare not pass by that road even by day except in companies. Recently a military man stabbed a traveller named Alaku Tamboli in the stomach and the poor man had to be taken to the Chiroli hospital for treatment. Of course every camp has its black sheep, but the duty of the authorities will not end by simply quoting this general truth.

Criticism of Government's Abkari policy.

Young India (14), 4th May; *Vijaya* (95), 7th May.

57. In the course of the fourth instalment of a contributed article on "Excise", *Young India* prints a table comparing the consumption of country liquor in India for the year 1901-02 with that for 1911-12. It then remarks:—"The increase in consumption is staggering. In Bombay, Madras, and the Punjáb the consumption of country spirits has almost doubled in a decade; in Bengal it has more than trebled from 8 lakh gallons to 18¾ lakh gallons, while in the Central Provinces the consumption of country spirits has quadrupled. Surely, this is enough to show that the enhanced taxation was not designed to lessen the drink habit. The real policy, as we stated before, is to increase the drink-evil. We shall examine the details of this policy in one province. For obvious reasons we choose the Presidency of Bombay. [Here follows a statement giving the consumption of country-liquor, toddy and opium and hemp drugs in the Bombay Presidency during each of the three year 1908-09, 1913-14 and 1918-19.] The above statement bears eloquent testimony to the Government's real policy. It shows a steady increase in the consumption of country spirits, toddy, and, what is even worse, opium and other drugs. While the consumption of country liquor does not call for any special comment, that of toddy must be regarded as phenomenal: an increase in consumption from 6 crore gallons to nearly 13 crore gallons is, indeed, a terrible phenomenon. Nor has any explanation been vouchsafed to us for this sudden partiality of the people to toddy. The consumption per head of country liquor increased from 7·2 drams in 1908-09 to 7·3 in 1913-14 and 7·4 in 1918-19. The consumption of toddy increased by over 100 per cent. in ten years and that of drugs by 13 per cent. in the same period. It should not, however, be understood that consumption increases every year: but there is certainly a large increase in every decade. Is this what the Government mean by their declared policy of minimising temptation to those who do not drink, and preventing excess among those who do? The statistics for drunkenness serve only to show that even drunkenness is on the increase in the Presidency. There was an increase of 1,936 in the number of convictions for drunkenness in a period of 8 years in one province alone. These statistics, however, give no correct estimate. An observer of such things cannot but notice the smallness of the number of people convicted for being drunk on the premises. We have seen at least half a dozen people reeling, much the worse for liquor, in front of a drinking booth in as many hours. The reader will see with us that the drink evil in spite of, really on account of, the Government's policy, has been on the increase." [The *Vijaya*, in the course of a leading article on non-co-operation, written in verse, declares that the cruel Government by selling the poison of liquor to Indians is sending to England every year over six crores of rupees, loaded in ships.]

EDUCATION.

Government Resolution on the Director of Public Instruction's Report for 1919-20.

Indian Social Reformer (7) 8th May.

***58.** "The Government Resolution reviewing the working of the Educational Department 1919-20 was published last month. This is not a model of expeditiousness, but even after twelve months' delay in producing it, the review is a vapid string of commonplaces. As regards secondary education, parents and guardians are solemnly exhorted to realise the dangerous results which are likely to follow from this propaganda—the antecedent to 'this' is left to be supplied by the reader—and to take the 'necessary steps to counteract it in the interest of their sons' walfare'. From the juxtaposition of sentences, one would be lead to think that Government expect that the effects of political agitation will be cured by the medical supervision of schools and hostels!......... But the gem of the resolution is certainly the two sentences devoted to women's education. These deserve to be textually reproduced: 'The greatest difficulty in connection with the female education is the provision of teachers. So long as the teaching profession *is regarded as degrading for women*, all efforts to improve the education of girls will be seriously retarded.' The italics are ours. We knew that Indian women as a rule do not look with favour upon careers outside matrimony, but it is news to us that the teaching profession is regarded as *degrading* for women, like the profession of bhangis or butchers for men. We should certainly like to have proof of this statement which, we think, is an extremely loose and inaccurate one, calculated, appearing as it does in a Government Resolution, to convey and to create a more disagreeable impression of the existing state of things than the facts warrant. There are several Indian women working as teachers, and so far from their being regarded as being engaged in a degrading profession, they are highly respected for their independence and patriotism in prefering a career of public beneficence to one of private and personal comfort. The statement in the Government review is an insult to them, and we think that it ought to be promptly and publicly withdrawn."

Lokamanya (new), 6th May.

59. This is the first resolution of Government on education in the Presidency after the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye assumed the office of Educational Minister. While reading it, one is disappointed to see that the avowed principles of the Minister, such as compulsory primary education, compulsory female education and the like, have failed to make any impression on Government. He has joined hands with the old bureaucracy in repeating the cry that the funds are inadequate while the expenses are heavy. One is likely to doubt from the perusel of the resolution whether the present Honourable Mr. Paranjpye is the same gentleman who made so much fuss about compulsory female education in the Poona Municipality. This clearly proves that it is utterly impossible for the ministers to carry out their own principles in the administration in opposition to the bureaucracy. Under the circumstances, it appears that even 30 years of ministership will not enable a Minister to carry out in the administration his professed principles. Why should, then, spirited persons like the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye take up such appointments simply for the sake of their handsome salary?

MUNICIPALITIES.

Approval of the presentation of an address to Mr. Gandhi by the Broach Municipality.

Broach Mitra (63), 1st May.

60. The Municipality as well as the people of Broach are to be congratulated on their decision in favour of presenting an address to Mr. Gandhi. The resolution passed by the Broach Municipality about presenting an address to Mr. Gandhi will be particularly noteworthy in the history of local self-government of Broach. Mr. Gandhi has received many addresses of welcome and will receive many more. Of course, he is not at all anxious to receive an address of welcome from the Broach Municipality. But it is really the good fortune of the people of Broach that they have had such a valuable opportunity of presenting an address to him. It is only the recognition by the people of Broach of Mr. Gandhi's services to the country.

Comments on the Surat Municipality's address to Mr. Gandhi.

Gujarati (17), 1st May.

61. Non-co-operationists have now begun to capture Municipalities. People hope that these men will effect improvements in Municipal administration and remove the grievances of the people. The Surat Municipality affords an example of how the non-co-operationists mean to subvert the satanic administration of Government and to establish their own system. Mr. Gandhi was to visit Surat in the

morning of the 19th April and it was known everywhere that he was to be presented with an address inscribed on a copper plate on the same day that Mr. Gandhi's programme was announced; but the people of Surat and even the Municipal Corporators did not know the contents of the draft of the address twelve hours beforehand! It is an irony of fate that the non-co-operationists are falling victims to the very policy of the British they are denouncing. The discussion that took place when the draft address was discussed by the Municipality goes to show the intolerance of the non-co-operationists. It is strange that while Mr. Gandhi forbids Municipalities from taking grants from Government he at the same time accepts addresses from the Municipalities who will have to seek the sanction of Government for incurring expenditure on them.

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the exclusion of certain newspapers from the Gwalior State.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th May.

62. "Not remembering any particular 'offence' we might have given to the Gwalior State, we can only conclude that the inclusion of this journal in the *index expurgtorius* of the State is intended only as a general compliment, which the State has thought fit to pay to some of our contemporaries as well.......... It is, no doubt, an unpleasant business for an Indian State to have to secure 'fame' by promulgating bans like this against the indigenous press and political workers. It is on this account that Sir William Vincent and his colleagues are anxious, so we understand, to oblige their proteges, the States, by amending the law of sedition so as to make all unpleasant criticism of these States a 'crime.' When the Government of India have succeeded in doing this, there will be no occasion for the States to resort to such unpleasant devices as the Gwalior Durbar has sought refuge in, for there will be the Paramount Power, which will make the State's cause its own and bring the offending journal or agitator to book. We have, however, only one question to ask of the Gwalior Durbar, whether it really believes that by burying its head in the sand like a camel it will be able to ward off all unpleasant criticism of its administration and whether such a policy will not intensify the abuses from which light is sought to be shut out."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 13th May 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 14th May 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on the opening of the Bombay Labour Office . . . 18
Comments on the recommendations of the Deck Passengers' Committee. 17
Comments on the riot at Malegaon . . . . 7—11
Disloyalty to the people should be punishable just as disloyalty to the Sovereign 16
Fullest details regarding the British mission to Kabul should be published 21
Government should give a living wage to the workmen in their own factories 19
Protest against the Tata Company being allowed to construct a railway line on a public road in the Poona District 15
Satyagraha in Mulshi Petha . . . . 12—14
The 7 per cent. Indian loan in England 22
What India's representatives at the Imperial Cabinet meeting should do 20
Development of Bombay: Comments on the report of the Development Department for the period ending 31st March 1921 50
Excise: British and Indian Governments have stood in the way of the abolition of the opium traffic 51
His Excellency the Governor: Comments on the contradiction by the Director of Information of the report of the interview at Karáchi between His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and leading Sindhis . . 32—34

His Excellency the Viceroy:

Appeal to Lord Reading to improve the condition of subjects of Native States 31
Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Simla Municipality's address . . . . 23—27
His Excellency Lord Reading and the Punjáb Martial Law prisoners . 28—30
Indians in the Colonies: Duty of the Government of India towards Indians in East Africa 52

Judicial Matters:

Comments on the Fourth Presidency Magistrate's decision in the Kohinoor mill case 41
Comments on the judgment in the case of Swami Govindanand of Karáchi . . . . 36—39
Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Waman Gopal Joshi of Amraoti 35
Protest against delay in the hearing of the Sinjhoro Police torture case 42
Protest against sentence passed in the United Provinces on young men for distributing a handbill 40

H 45—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Non-co-operation:

Appeal to Mr. M. K. Gandhi to retire to the Himalayas now that his followers are having recourse to violence 6

Comments on the Bombay Government's order on the subject of the refusal of Nadiád Municipality to accept the Government educational grant . . . . 3 & 4

Comments on the methods said to have been pursued by the followers of Mr. Gandhi 5

The Ali Brothers and the Afghan menace to India 2

Worldly rather than religious considerations would weigh with Afghanistan in attacking India 1

Police: Evils of the Cinema 49

Posts and Telegraphs: Appeal to Government to better the lot of the postmen 53

Public service: Protest against Mr. Thompson being allowed to resume charge of the Chief Secretaryship of the Punjáb Government . 48

War:

Comments on the plans for the resettlement of the middle East disclosed by the *Daily Telegraph* 47

Comments on the latest reparation terms offered to Germany . . 43

Prospects of the revision of the Turkish Treaty 44

The Allies and the Greek attack on Turkey 46

The Indian Moslem delegation and the revised terms of the Turkish Treaty 45

EDUCATION—

Alleged extravagance in providing for female education in Dhárwár . . 55

The Educational Minister's alleged neglect of primary education . . 54

MUNICIPALITIES—

The Bombay Municipality's Fort Improvement Scheme 56

NATIVE STATES—

An attack on His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur 57

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Worldly rather than religious considerations would weigh with Afghanistan in attacking India.

Bharatvási (162), 7th May.

1. Referring to the letter addressed by the Ali Brothers to the Government of India which appeared in a recent issue of the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Bharatvási* remarks:—We differ entirely from the views expressed by Mr. Mahomed Ali. We feel that this politico-religious union with Afghanistan will spell ruin to this country. How can the Ali Brothers be sure that both the Afghans and the Frontier tribes, when attacking India, are actuated by religious considerations to punish the English, and have no idea of harming this country. This Khilafat question has cropped up only recently. But history repeatedly shows that India has been ruined by these Northern tribes. One thing is quite clear, that the Afghan has no religious regard for his co-religionists. Had he any such regard, the poor oppressed Muhajarins would not have been so wretchedly treated by him and turned out from Afghanistan. Evidently mundane considerations weigh with Afghanistan more than religion. But what is there to prevent it from giving out that its invasion of India is prompted by religious motives? It must necessarily offer some such plausible excuse to enlist the sympathy and support of the Indian Muhammadans, and the Ali Brothers will then readily come forward to assist the Afghan invaders. We for ourselves are not likely to be deceived so easily by such a false plea. Moreover, it is our firm belief that all the sufferings of this world, and specially of India, have had their source in religious bigotry; and we do not, therefore, like that India should suffer once again through the same cause.

The Ali Brothers and the Afghan menace to India.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 15th May.

*2. Referring to a recent speech of Mr. Mahomed Ali about Afghanistan waging war against the British Government, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"The intention of the Amir, in the event of his waging war against the British Government of India, can only be ascertained after the result, whether it is to liberate India from British rule or to subjugate India to Afghan rule. Mere proclamations will be no more than scraps of paper as proclamations of other nations in similar cases have been. If Mr. Mahomed Ali and his brother are prepared to accept the assurance of the Amir as regards his intention, there will be many others who will not be able to do so in view of the lessons of history and previous experience of Afghan invasions. The worthy Maulanas may be reminded—what they seem to have assiduously forgotten several times of late in their speeches—that India has successfully resisted all attempts in the past and shows no disposition now or in the future to be absorbed into the Khalifat or any other religio-political scheme of Islam. As between the British and an Afghan connection, the people of India, including the overwhelming mass of Muhammadans require no assistance from the Maulanas in making their choice."

Comments on the Bombay Government Order on the subject of the refusal of Nadiad Municipality to accept the Government educational grant.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 8th May, Eng. cols.

3. "The order of the Government of Bombay (Transferred Departments) defining 'their attitude on the general question' raised by the refusal of the Nadiad Municipality to accept Government grant for its primary schools makes refreshing reading. It lays down the admirable principle that so long as any Municipality carries out the obligation imposed on it under section 54 (1) (*p*) of the Bombay District Municipal Act to 'make reasonable provision for establishing and maintaining primary school' 'there is no objection to the Municipality defraying the cost from its own funds; the proposal is in fact a commendable one, as it releases for use in less prosperous localities a certain amount of the money which is at the disposal of Government for educational purposes.' Now, this is the only attitude which a Government anxious to avoid all possible friction can adopt, and we are glad the Bombay Government has done it.......... The only condition

which Government, however, have placed on the Nadiad Municipality is that they will be free to determine on their own account whether the education that it provides is 'reasonable' or not and that this they will do through its inspecting staff. In other words, Government propose to continue their power of 'inspection and control.' Now it would be too premature to say what this would mean in practice. If 'inspection' were to be resorted to only with a view to determine the quality and quantity of education imparted by a Municipality, and in no petty intermeddling spirit, then there can be little to complain of about it. If, on the contrary, the powers of 'inspection' which Government proposes to reserve to itself were to mean in practice unnecessary interference with a view to strangulate all-initiative and independence it would be taking away with the left hand what is given by the right. The refusal to accept Government grant is obviously resorted to for one purpose—to enjoy greater freedom in framing its educational policy. And if that purpose were not to be attained by the refusal to accept Government grant it would serve no useful purpose to forego it. We wish Government will not whittle down that power in practice. There is another point which is touched by the Government in that order and it is with respect to their intention to open some Government institutions within the municipal limits of Nadiad. Government are free to open as many schools as are needed in any town, city or village over and above those opened by any local body. The only thing to be guarded against is that the two agencies should not regard one another as their rival, and if that were possible, we believe people at large will gain rather than lose by it."

Gujaráti (17), 8th May.

4. The Press Note issued by the Bombay Government regarding the action taken by the Nadiad Municipality in connection with the non-co-operation movement redoounds credit upon them. The Press Note makes it clear that the Government of Bombay are not anxious to cast education in the same steriotyped mould. We hope that Government will extend their liberality and will not compel the Municipality to use only the prescribed text books but allow it to make its own selection in respect thereof and to try experiments in educational methods. The tact shown by Government in the matter has falsified the boast of the non-co-operationists that Government would be paralysed by the refusal of Municipalities to accept the Government educational grant. Government have no doubt retained their right of inspection and control, but we feel confident that they will not allow their Educational Inspectors to needlessly interfere in the affairs of the Municipal schools. This Press Note is likely to throw cold water on the enthusiasm displayed by municipalities to refuse Government grants.

Comments on the methods said to have been pursued by the followers of Mr. Gandhi.

Sind Sudhár (167), 30th Apl.

5. The ways adopted by the followers of Mr. Gandhi to carry out the injunctions of the Congress are rather strange. They think that whatever they do is all good. Without due regard to the promptings of their own conscience they have allowed themselves to be led by their own desires and have spread the poison of non-co-operation among village as well as town people. They deliver lectures in which they misinterpret the intentions of the Government. They raise false rumours, *e. g.*, the holy places in Mesopotamia have been bombarded; such rumours spread like wildfire. When any police arrangements are made with a view to stop disturbances near liquor shops they do not hesitate telling people that the Government policy is to thwart the temperance movement. Non-co-operators have now directed their attention to fairs, etc., where large assemblages of people collect. In the name of religion they collect money from the people and at the same time distribute their scandalous leaflets and deliver harrangues of the same kind there. When they are restrained from doing so they raise a hue and cry that their religion is in danger and quote miscellaneous proclamations relating to the assurance given by the Government of religious freedom. If someone of the opposite party acts in like manner they at once come down upon him. In these days, however, there are certain rules of courtesy and propriety which should at any rate prevent them from behaving in the manner they have done.

Appeal to Mr. M. K. Gandhi to retire to the Himalayas now that his followers are having recourse to violence.

Sind Vâsi (168), 6th May.

6. When Mahatma Gandhi started his non-co-operation movement he stated in clear terms that he would be obliged to retire from public life and go to the Himalayas if his followers had recourse to violence and gave vent to feelings of anger and hatred. Now everyone knows how they behaved during the first stage of this movement, what mischievous means they adopted to compel boys to leave schools and colleges, and what methods were resorted to by them to prevent Moderate leaders from delivering addresses to the public. These things, however, were not so serious as to cause the Mahatmaji to carry out his declared intention. But the wrongs recently committed by non-co-operators at Malegon, Giridi and other places are not different from those committed at the Jallianwalla Bagh. Destruction of life and property, both public and private, has been terrible. Our advice, therefore, to Mahatma Gandhi is that he should now hasten his departure to the Himalayas, else we fear his followers will still further discredit his name and the social work done so far by him will also receive a severe blow. He has repeatedly exhorted his followers to suffer and sacrifice themselves. But they have turned a deaf ear to all his injunctions. Under these circumstances, we feel the time has come when he should finally declare in unequivocal terms whether he condemns or approves of the actions of his adherents. The public will then be in a position to know which course to follow—adoption of revolutionary methods or co-operation with Government and the members of the Councils to save the country from destruction.

Comments on the riot at Malegaon.

Young India (14), 11th May.

7. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I observe that there is a tendency to minimise the guilt of non-co-operators at Malegaon. No amount of provocation by the Sub-Inspector could possibly justify retaliation by the non-co-operators. I am not examining the case from the legal standpoint. I am concerned only with the non-co-operator's. He is bound under his oath not to retaliate even under the gravest provocation......... I would have hailed with joy the immolation of Malegaon non-co-operators if they had died bravely and without providing any justification. That would have brought the day of India's freedom nearer. As it was, who gave the first provocation, again, from the non-co-operator's standpoint? Did they or did they not try to overawe the police? These delirious demonstrations when any of us is arrested are, as I have already observed before, an unseemly exhibition of our anxiety to avoid imprisonment. We have chosen a standard of judgment for ourselves and we must abide by it. I retain the opinion that the non-co-operators, so far as the facts hitherto brought to light show, committed a grievous breach of the code of non-violent non-co-operation. I would ask the public who are interested in the Khilafat or *swaraj*, religiously to refrain from all demonstrations over the arrest or imprisonment of even their dearest leaders. I would hold it no honour to me for the public to proclaim a *hartal* or hold meetings if I was arrested or Maulana Shaukat Ali for that matter. I would welcome and expect in any such event a complete immediate boycott of all foreign cloth, a more energetic adoption of the spinning-wheel, a more vigorous collection on behalf of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and a flooding of Congress offices for registration as members. I would certainly expect the emptying of Government schools and colleges and more suspensions of practice by lawyers. Killing officers and burning buildings will not only retard the advent of *swaraj* and the righting of the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs, but are likely to lead to utter demoralisation of the nation. We must, therefore, scrupulously avoid all occasions which would excite the passions of the mob and lead them into undesirable or criminal conduct."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 15th May.

*8. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's condemnation of the Malegaon outrages, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"This is what was expected of the Mahatma and we earnestly trust that his earnest words will not pass unheeded by his following. At the same time we are bound to say that there are signs which show that Mahatma Gandhi's controlling influence is weakening and that non-co-operation in the eyes of the masses is coming to mean that every man is to be a law unto himself. We are sure that the Mahatma himself cannot be unaware of this deterioration. His instinct for such things is unerring. We cannot help thinking that it is now time formally to suspend non-co-operation so that the masses may realise that the authentic leaders of the movement have a higher and more scrupulous conception of law and order than the bureaucracy which it is the aim of all Indian political parties to displace."

Gujaráti (17), 8th May.

9. Mr. Gandhi has been exhorting people to take to non-violent non-co-operation but since it is not possible for him to test the capacity of each of his followers it has become easy for turbulent spirits to flock to his standard and thus sow the seeds of anarchy in the country. Mr. Gandhi has, no doubt, denounced the excesses of his followers, but we are constrained to say that the latter consider themselves as well established and so accept only such precepts of Mr. Gandhi as suit their purposes and go even to the length of considering Mr. Gandhi as their instrument in accomplishing their secret aims. In their attempts to secure *Swaraj*, the non-co-operationists have excited the feelings of the people to such a pitch that public safety and private property have been jeopardised. Mr. Gandhi, while commenting upon the Malegaon riots wites in the *Young India*:—"Malegaon non-co-operationists have been false to their creed, their faith and their country, etc., etc." [*vide* paragraph 15 of Weekly Report No. 19 of 1921]. We welcome such a pronouncement from Mr. Gandhi. When the Sikhs asked Mr. Gandhi's advice in the Nankana affair he exhorted them not to resort to the courts of law and to wait till *Swaraj* was secured, but now he asks his followers to advise the men who have taken part in the murders at Malegaon to surrender themselves! Should murderers surrender themselves to a "Satanic" Government, and can they expect to secure justice from it? Mr. Gandhi seems to have changed his views. Mr. Gandhi gave similar advice to those who had cut the telegraph wires and removed the railway line near Nadiád. But did a single culprit come out to offer himself to justice? Many people come forward to follow Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement, but they neither observe the rules laid down by him nor do they carry out the advice given by him after they indulged in excesses. Mr. Gandhi is a visionary, but his followers are composed of ordinary people. [Elsewhere the paper writes:—The incidents at Malegaon and other places are really regrettable and these will serve to open the eyes of those who take delight in blindly following the non-co-operation movement. The Police Sub-Inspector of Malegaon might have insulted the men, but was it proper on their part to murder and burn him? The tendency shown by the people at Malegoon and Shikárpur is similar to the one displayed during the disturbances at Nadiad and Viramgam. If the murder of the Sub-Inspector can be considered as justifiable, as is being done by the Special 'Commissioner' of the *Bombay Chronicle*, the actions of General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer in taking revenge upon the people of Amritsar for the murder of five Europeans and the insult to Miss Noble can also be justified.]

Hindusthán (21), 7th May; *Model* (28), 8th May; *Gramya Swarájya* (68), 10th May; *Political Bhomiyo* (77), 13th May.

10. The Anglo-Indians as well as the co-operators are of opinion that the Malegaon riots are due to the non-co-operation movement. But the organized movement of non-co-operation is not at all responsible for it. On the contrary, those who talk loudly of peace and order have been found to have stirred up this unhappy disturbance. In spite of this, the non-co-operation movement and its sacred leader have been unnecessarily blamed. If the high-handed officials of Government do not take any steps which might tend to excite the quiet people, there will be no occasion for violence. Hence we ask Government whether they prefer violence or non-violence. If Government want to purify themselves and the people by the movement of non-violent non-co-operation, we request them, their co-operating

friends and their high-handed officials to allow the movement to go on as it does and not to adopt a repressive policy. A repressive policy cannot put an end to this movement because it has taken deep root in the hearts of the people. [The *Model* remarks :—The hearts of all lovers of peace must have been grieved by these occurrences. We do not want to discuss further the cause of the disturbance and allied matters. But we request the authorities not to catch hold of innocent persons in their search for guilty persons. We have faith in the policy of the Governor of Bombay, His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. The peace which is reigning in the Bombay Presidency during his administration, in spite of the fact that it has taken a leading part in every political movement, is due to His Excellency's policy. The *Gramya Swardjya* remarks :—Our heart is full of grief owing to the occurrences at Malegaon. What else does it prove except the failure of the people to appreciate the mighty efforts and unremitting labours of a great leader? Non-violence is the basic principle underlying the non-co-operation movement. Whoever may have been guilty of causing the disturbance at Malegaon, there can be no doubt that those who were guilty of it cannot lay claim to the title of non-co-operators. The people of Malegaon are certainly responsible for these terrible occurrences, and they certainly have no right to being called non-co-operators. Non-violence should be observed not only by the non-co-operators but also by the Moderates and Government. People will not get complete independence so long as they do not follow this principle. The *Political Bhomiyo* discusses at length the violent character of the non-co-operation movement and remarks :—The occurrences at Malegaon are horrifying. The atrocities committed by the Indians there are brutal and disgraceful. They are a proof of the evil effects of violent speeches which lead people astray. If the non-co-operators really wanted to observe non-violence, why did they at all require lathis? Formerly the non-co-operators used only to speak ill of the officials. But here they have gone one step further and tried to shed the blood of Indian officials. Did the non-co-operators of Malegaon act according to what Mr. Gandhi said in regard to obeying all civil and criminal laws? Mr. Gandhi should take note of each and every act of the non-co-operators at Malegaon. Suppose the non-co-operators get the power in their own hands, is this the way in which they will conduct their *swardjya*? Will not Mr. Gandhi realise the true state of affairs?]

Rastra Veer (new), 9th May.

11. Mahatma Gandhi has condemned the atrocities committed at Malegaon and the Extremist papers have echoed his condemnation and shed crocodile tears. We are not at all surprised at the occurrence of these riots. They are, we think, the natural sequence of what has gone before and we have reason to fear that similar disturbances will occur at many other places henceforward. What we are surprised at is the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and his followers. To call the British Government satanic and the meanest on earth in speeches delivered before the common people and then to expect them to remain peaceful is like expecting poisonous seed to bring forth delicious fruit. It is a pity that the non-co-operators fail to see that these atrocities do no harm to Government, but only help to stifle public agitation and afford Government a plausible excuse, not only to maintain the present repressive legislation but also to add to it.

Satyagraha in Mulshi Petha.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 8th May.

12. The Mavlas of Mulshi Petha have by their Satyagraha compelled the Tata Company to suspend their operation and have thus gained a temporary victory. It does not mean, however, that the Tata Company will cease to take possession of the lands belonging to the Mulshi Petha with the aid of the Land Acquisition Act after the 7th November 1921 or that they will not continue the work after that date. The Mavlas are firm in their resolve not to part with their lands and we cannot hope for any amicable settlement of the dispute after six months. The best solution of the difficulty would be for the Tata Company to give up their scheme altogether. What we said in our last issue about the success of the movement has come true [*vide* paragraph 27, Weekly

Report No. 19 of 1921] and feel sure that nothing will stand in their way if they continue to pursue their legitimate agitation in the righteous cause they have embraced. Let us hope that common sense will prevail with the Tata Company and that they will give up their Mulshi Petha Scheme.

Kesari (120), 10th May.

13. Government have published in detail the rates of compensation to be given for the lands to be taken up in Mulshi Petha. The new method adopted in ascertaining the value of the lands is of course welcome, but still the scheme is marred by the flaw that the work of estimating the values of the lands has been entrusted not to a panchayat but to a Government official. For the present, however, we are not much concerned with that question as it will arise only if the Mavlas agree to accept compensation for their lands. In this connection we would earnestly urge upon Government first to ascertion whether the Mavlas are willing to accept compensation according to the new plan, and to execute the legal contract with the company only if it is found that most of the people are prepared to accept the terms. Should the Mavlas be found unwilling Government should neither enter into the agreement nor try to enforce the Land Acquisition Act against them.

Lokashahi (126), 9th May.

14. Commenting upon the Mulshi deadlock the *Lokhashahi* writes:— The Land Acquisition Act is itself an illegal measure and so action taken under it can have no moral backing. What law is this which renders thousands of people homeless for the benefit of a handful of capitalists? And why should not people trample under foot such an unlawful and tyrannical law? No one has any right to expel anyone from the land of his birth, and if any satanic Government exercises such a right, the people should not tolerate it. The Mavalas should stick to *Satyagraha* and should, if need be, lay down their lives but should not agree to part with their lands.

Protest against the Tata Company being allowed to construct a railway line on a public road in the Poona District.

Kesari (120), 10th May.

15. The Inamdars and ryats of the village of Sheri having refused to give their lands to the Tata Company to construct a railway in connection with the Mulshi dam, the railway work had to be stopped. But as Government are more anxious to look after the interests of the Company than after the ryats' interests, the District Officers have allowed the Company to use the public road for constructing the railway. The road is only 18 feet wide, and if one-third of it is taken up for the railway the remaining portion would become very dangerous for use by loaded bullock carts, motors, etc. It was the duty of the Collector to take these things into consideration. Is he the servant of the public or of the Company? Can he be said to be true to his salt in granting the aforesaid permission? The question has nothing to do either with the Mulshi dam or with *Satyagraha*. As it has to do only with the safety of the ryats, we hope the Collector will do his duty to them and either cancel the permission given or give orders to broaden the road and oblige the company to fence off the railway line.

Disloyalty to the people should be punishable just as disloyalty to the Sovereign.

Karma Veer (new), 13th May.

16. The relations between the Sovereign and the subjects should be similar to those which exist between a father and his children. The principal duty of the Sovereign is to rule his subjects kindly and with justice. It does not matter much if strict impartiality is not observed in the administration of justice, when the contending parties are the subjects themselves. But when the contending parties are the Sovereign on the one hand and the subjects on the other, justice should be given with the strictest impartiality. Otherwise the subjects will lose their confidence in the Sovereign. But there is little scope for these principles in the satanic system of Government established by our rulers in this country. Especially, when disputes arise between the subjects and the covereign, there is not the least hope of justice being obtained by the subjects, even if truth is on their side.

The British Government is a foreign Government and they have no moral or religious right to rule over our country. They may rule here only by the strength of their arms. But things done by the strength of the arm cannot be all just. To rule our country without our consent is the greatest injustice that could be done to us by Government. It is, therefore, the duty of every patriotic son of India to make every effort to get this injustice redressed by destroying this irresponsible system of Government and establishing a democratic system in its stead. The British Government have been arresting patriotic people doing this duty on the charge of disloyalty and sending them to jail. These people might have been disloyal to the British system of Government; but no logic can prove that they are guilty of disloyalty to the Sovereign. There can be no disloyalty to those who have no claim to sovereingty in this country. How then is such a thing as disloyalty to the Sovereign possible in India? Even if it is considered that George V is the Sovereign of India, no Indian has been disloyal to him till now nor will he ever be in future. But those who are sending hundreds of our people to jail on the charge of disloyalty and committing these excesses in the name of justice are guilty of being disloyal to the people. The officials seem to think, however, that disloyalty to the people cannot be punished in this country in the same way as disloyalty to the sovereign is punished. It is alright so long as power remains vested in their hands. But if we just cast a glance at history, it can be easily realized how such autocratic exercise of power is punished.

Comments on the recommendations of the Deck Passengers' Committee.

Gujaráti (17), 15th May, Eng. cols.

*17. "What fate the recommendations of the Deck Passengers' Committee will meet with it is difficult to say. But unless Government enforce them with strict impartiality and resist the powerful influence of the companies, the condition of the deck passengers will be no better than what it is. Mr. Robertson's report was a scathing condemnation of the treatment meted out to third-class railway passengers. Whilst slight improvement is discernible in some of the arrangements made for their comfort, their grievances are to-day almost as serious as they were before. The hardships to which Indian female passengers are subjected would be a disgrace to any civilised country. One has simply to examine the condition of the women's compartments in any train and on any day in order to satisfy himself with what inhumanity helpless women and children are treated in course of their journeys by rail. The same remark applies to voyages by sea. The worthlessness of the tall talk about chivalry towards women and humanity towards children can be at once realised any day at any of our important railway stations and ports. Will the recommendations of the Deck Passengers' Committee put a stop to the inhumanity of the present system? They seem to be sensible and satisfactory so far as they go, though everything will depend upon the spirit in which they are given effect to. The Committee recommends that every passenger should receive ten square feet of space instead of six. It also recommends the appointment of passenger inspectors, more medical officers, the installation of adequate water-taps, the allotment of intermediate accommodation and catering shops in all ships. Experience will show how far these suggestions have been carried out and how far the shipping companies have succeeded in evading their enforcement or in inventing all kinds of excuses for failing to give effect to them. We hope Government will see that the recommendations of the Deck Passengers' Committee are not quietly pigeonholed like those of the Committee appointed by Lord Reay's Government."

Comments on the opening of the Bombay Labour Office.

Gujaráti (17), 15th May, Eng. cols.

18. "In connection with the recent strikes in Bombay the one problem which the employers of labour, the public at large and Government found it difficult to solve was the problem of the cost of living in Bombay and adjusting the workmen's wages accordingly. The statistics relating to wages and prices of grain and other articles of consumption that are officially published at present from time to time are inaccurate and unreliable for the purpose of drawing any definite and useful conclusions for the determination of an equitable scale of remuneration of labour. In order to remove this

difficulty it is proposed to establish a Labour Office in Bombay. In almost every civilised county there is a special department for collecting information as to wages and other working conditions and watching over the relations between the employers and the employed. The recent strikes demonstrated the necessity of having some such organisation in this country. Figures or estimates supplied by the employers are challenged by the workmen and the calculations of the latter are impeached by the former. Under such circumstances it is necessary that there should be an independent and impartial agency for making regular inquiries and systematically recording the course of prices and ascertaining the cost of living generally. It is not a purely unproductive department that discharges this function, because with its assistance it will be found easier to deal with strikes, mitigate the evil consequences flowing from them and the heavy losses entailed on the parties immediately concerned and the country generally. The establishment of a Labour Office is not expected to solve all difficulties nor is the office intended to intervene arbitrarily in all disputes between capital and labour, but it will supply valuable information and give useful advice......... Mr. Findlay Shirras, who has done valuable work in the Statistical Department of the Government of India, has been transferred to Bombay to take charge of this office in this City. Will the services of qualified and competent Indians be fully utilised and will capable Indians be systematically trained in the work entrusted to the Labour Office? Recently a variety of posts and jobs were created and given to all kinds of Europeans. We hope this kind of jobbery will not be repeated in connection with the Labour Office on one pretext or other but that an Indian agency will be properly trained in the science of economic investigation in their own country and that the work of the office will be conducted on thoroughly impartial lines so as to command the confidence of the public."

Government should give a living wage to the workmen in the their own factories.

Kamgar Mitra (119), 9th May.

19. Last month seven hundred workmen in the Kirkee Arsenal were discharged in order to harass them and make them accept lower wages. About three hundred of them have now been re-employed on a lower wage. This tendency to starve workmen and to overwork them is on the increase. All the workmen in Government factories should organise themselves to oppose this tendency and bring pressure to bear on Government. Government have been putting forth great efforts to secure a living wage for labourers in the country by starting Labour Bureaus, but we request them to see what is the condition of things in their own factories and to give their own workmen a living wage.

What India's representatives at the Imperial Cabinet meeting should do.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th and 13th May.

20. "We have waited in vain for the Government of India to publish the instructions they may have issued to their representatives at the Imperial Cabinet meeting next month. .... The Imperial Cabinet must formulate the axioms relative to the organisation and strength of the Army in India....... We shall war on no neighbours who do not molest us; we shall join in no quarrels that do not concern us; we shall pay for no 'glory' that we do not covet. On these basic principles the Indian army is unjustifiably large, and its attendant expenditure intolerably excessive.......... We, therefore, demand that Mr. Shastri and His Highness should take no part in the deliberations of the Conference or agree to any understanding about a greater co-ordination of the forces and resources of the Empire, unless they obtain for this country the most solemn and substantial safeguards against the unbearable incubus of our annual military expenditure. The British Empire has the best possible understanding with Japan, the one great Asiatic power at all likely to threaten the peace of our Continent and affect our national safety.......... Afghanistan may possibly be argued to be the Indian storm-centre. But to fight the ill-conditioned and ill-equipped tribesmen we need scarcely maintain an army of one-tenth the size we are now supporting. And, in this connection, the 'representatives' of India will do well to impress upon

the minds of British statesmen, that no scheme of adequate frontier defence is possible unless the Government of India abandon once for all their antiquated, uneconomic methods of military organisation, and replace their present mercenary troops, with a disproportionately, unjustifiably large dash of an alien, unsympathetic, anti-national element, by a citizen-army with national sympathies.......... We have not mentioned 'Bolshevist Russia and disaffected India' as requiring a more costly army than the exigencies of the national defence of India would demand, because we would not insult the intelligence or patriotism of any Indian by solemnly referring to such nightmares of the Anglo-Indian hypochondriacs. Bolshevist Russia will not be coerced into Tsarism; and we shall be no party to a restoration of the Romanoffs, whether the attempt is made ostensibly in supporting military adventurers like Koltchaks and Denikins, or in fighting the so-called 'Red' peril. We believe in no colour peril—Red or Black or Yellow or White, though this last has offered the gravest menace to the peace of the world ever since the age of discoveries in Europe. We trust our 'representatives' will succeed in removing the 'colour' blindness of the British Imperialist......... In the coming generation India will have to consider radically her economic relations with the Powers of the world. We cannot allow those relations to be determined by the interests or sympathies of the United Kingdom. We will not allow those relations to be determined so that India may be drained, exploited and ruined that foreigners may be pampered and may prosper. Our 'representatives' must join those from the Dominions in securing the principle of nationalist control of the foreign policy of each unit in the British Empire." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—" From the Indian standpoint no scheme of Imperial Preference seems likely to prove acceptable, and our 'representatives' must, therefore, make it perfectly clear to the delegates of the Empire the principles on which India desires her fiscal policy to be based......... But the Indian people have no desire to sacrifice their own immediate interests on the altar of the Empire, which stands to them as symbolic of exploitation......... The character of India's trade precludes any possibility on our part of giving a hearing to the idea of Imperial Preference. .... If our still unknown material natural resources are to be fully exploited for the benefit of this country, if the country is to be spared the spectacle of annual wastage through the economic drain that our present connection with the British Empire and our political dependence upon the United Kingdom involve, there is no alternative for the 'representatives' of India but to take up a firm, unbending attitude on this question of material importance, and convince the politicians of the Empire of the bitterness that any scheme of Imperial Preference would arouse in this country, if it is rushed through the local legislatures over the heads and against the wishes of its people."]

Fullest details regarding the British mission to Kabul should be published.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th May.

21. " We have already drawn public attention to the aggressive frontier policy the Government of India have been pursuing during the past two years, and have commented, among other things, on the Khyber railway project —one of the most important causes of the grave unrest that now prevails all along the borderland—regarding which the authorities have given little or no information. Another important matter about which the bureaucracy is ominously silent is the British Mission headed by Sir Henry Dobbs that went to Kabul some months back and still remains at the Afghan capital. When the Mission left India nothing was said about the specific objects for which it was sent.......... The history of this Mission is an illuminating commentary on the methods of the Government of India and their policy of concealment and secrecy. The Indian public know nothing, the India Office talks of war conditions and military precautions, and Mr. Montagu declines to make a statement regarding the Anglo-Afghan negotiations. Meanwhile, the Director of Transport is running between Kabul and Peshawar with papers and despatches to and from Sir Henry Dobbs and the Simla bureaucrats. Militarism is in full swing and the authorities may, for aught we know, bring about an Afghan and frontier war at any moment. If the Indian public does not stir itself and conduct a monster agitation aginst the intrigues of the Indian

Foreign Office and the militarist gang that now controls the Government of India, the country would soon be face to face with a terrible situation. The fullest details regarding the Mission should be immediately demanded, especially in respect of its instructions.......... Persistent attempts are being made in official and inspired non-official quarters to give a sinister hue to every thing done by the Afghan Ministers, especially Jemal Pasha, the Minister of War, who is a Turk, and to attribute every act of the Afghans, real and imaginary, to Turkish and Bolshevist influences, while the movements of the tribes are said to originate from Kabul.......... There is absolutely no justification for the prolonged stay of the British Mission at the Afghan capital. The various acts of the British authorities in occupying Waziristan, blockading independent tribal territory, building the Khyber railway in the teeth of Afridi opposition, and, above all, threatening the Amir, have goaded the Afghans and the border tribes to fury. The Director of Transport at Khyber who has returned from Kabul states, according to a telegram, dated the 3rd instant, that the main road to Kabul is ruined, being impracticable for motor traffic and adds that some of the fanatic tribes have blocked the route by throwing stones from the hills above in order to create obstacles for the motors of the members of the British delegation on their return. How far this is true we are not in a position to say. The late Amirs Abdur Rahman and Habibullah refused to receive British envoys at Kabul as they could not guarantee their safety owing to the turbulence of their subjects. Sir Henry Dobbs and his party should be immediately recalled from Kabul. If anything should happen to any member of the Mission—which God forbid—during their further stay by the action of 'fanatics', Afghan or tribal, all India would regard the Government of India as the sole agents provocateur."

The 7 per cent. Indian loan in England.

Praja Bandhu (30), 8th May, Eng. cols.

22. Referring to the issue of the 7 per cent. Indian loan in England the *Praja Bandhu* writes:—"The Financial Secretary of the Government of India, replying to the Indian Merchants' Chamber at Bombay, says that high rate of interest was due firstly to the fact that the loan was floated in England, *i. e.*, outside India, and Secondly the investors will not get a very substantial return as it is subject to British Income Tax. Regarding the first contention we would like to know what then becomes of the much vaunted connection with England which enables India to borrow money at a cheap rate of interest? It is small consolation to the Indian tax-payer that part of the huge sum paid as interest will go to the coffers of Britain. Assuredly this is a case of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Surely the Reforms are proving a very costly experiment. By the way will some energetic legislator remind His Excellency Lord Reading and his colleagues of the Government of India that they are here to protect the poor Indian tax-payer and not to fleece him? India lost Rs. 35,00,00,000 in the sale of Reverse Bills, what time the Finance Member was learning his business, and now the strong and sympathetic Secretary of State for India has 'raised' her credit in the financial world by offering a cheap rate of interest. Thus India pays for amateurish muddling through of her so-called servants."

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech in reply to the Simla Municipality's address.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th May.

23. "His Excellency's Simla speech has, in some respects, come as a breath of fresh air revealing as it does a welcome though partial recognition of some of the essential facts of the situation and the remedies that are called for.......... Lord Reading trusted that his 'very few observations,' would not be misinterpreted and added that they 'need not alarm but should comfort every citizen who does not desire violence'. Let us assure His Excellency that his observations, in this respect, far from being misinterpreted, will be welcomed by our countrymen who abhor nothing so much as violence.... But, our righteous condemnation should not allow us to do violence to justice which requires due account to be taken of provocative official policy and action. For the rest, we are not at all perturbed by the frantic efforts made in certain quarters to connect these outbreaks with the non-co-operation movement. For, these efforts are as futile as they are unworthy. Therefore, in view of all that we have said, we are one with His Excellency in his desire to punish 'direct incitement to violence.' And we also welcome Lord Reading's reluctance to pronounce upon the true meaning and effect of political speeches that may be regarded as tending to advocate recourse to violence—a reluctance which is in refreshing contrast to the readiness of the average bureaucrat in this country to scent sedition in almost every utterance of the 'agitator'. These speeches, Lord Reading emphasised, must be dealt with by Courts of Justice in the administration of the ordinary criminal law. The theory enunciated by Lord Reading is one, which goes counter to the practice of the bureaucracy in this country, and the enforcement of which has for years been demanded by the people of the country. It means, in short, that in dealing with 'sedition' justice must remain supreme from the beginning to the end—not, as hitherto, executive fiat and caprice. We, therefore, welcome the enunciation of this theory as a repudiation of legalised anarchy which executive fiat has established in this country. But if Lord Reading does not wish to pay mere lip sympathy to justice, he must see that the repudiation is complete and enforced in deed. And it is not necessary for us to remind him what actions he should take to make the repudiation effective. There must be, first and foremost, immediate abrogation of all repressive measures like the Press Act, the Rowlatt Act, the Seditious Meetings Act, which make executive fiat supreme over justice. There must again be complete separation, as soon as possible, of executive and judicial functions and, above all, the prompt stoppage of the misuse of the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code for political purposes for which they were never intended. Lord Reading's sincerity to see justice triumphant will be judged by his readiness to take these preliminary steps......... 'Nevertheless I must admit' His Excellency said, 'that there is discontent among some sections of the community which gives cause for serious thought and some anxiety to all who desire to live in peace and tranquillity'. The observation, characteristically bureaucratic as it is, amazes us coming as it does from one who is accustomed to look at things with a judicial and disinterested eye. For, who but the wilfully perverse dare maintain in the face of facts that the discontent in India is confined only to 'some sections of the community' when it is evident that the whole country is seething with a discontent which has had no parallel in history?......... In short they feel and they feel strongly that their present condition is intolerable and that the only escape from it consistent with their self-respect is—*Swaraj*. That is the dominant issue of the present situation. And the acid test of Lord Reading's statesmanship will consist in his recognition of it and his readiness immediately to act up to the recognition."

New Times (9), 9th May.

24. "Lord Reading's reply to the Welcome Address presented by the Simla Municipal Committee will be read with deep interest as His Excellency's first considered pronouncement on the situation in India. We believe in the good intentions of the new Viceroy when he says he assumed his office 'actuated by the earnest desire that he might be priviliged to contribute to the happy and peaceful development of India.' But the present situation demands much more than 'good intentions'. The country has rejected the Reforms and will not endorse the Viceroy's view that the road to *swaraj* 'is mapped out' for India, and that 'an auspicious start has been made'......... The people ask for *swaraj* and, as an essential condition of it, a change of heart in the Government......... If he will look into the matter carefully, Lord Reading will know that the discontent is profound and is not confined to 'some sections of the community.' There is a mighty awakening, a deep stir among the masses; this is, doubtless, due partly to economic causes; but the masses have begun to understand today that behind economics lie politics, and that their appalling poverty is due to a vicious land policy and the flooding of Indian markets with foreign goods. Lord Reading minimises the extent of 'discontent' in the country. It is true, as the Viceroy says, that 'there is in some quarters a disregard and even a defiance of authority.' The *sircar's* prestige has suffered heavily; but for this the *sircar's* own *karma* is to blame. Lord Reading complains of some cases of

'violent outbursts and loss of life '......... But if you examine the psychology, not the ethics—of violence, you find it is due, in a large measure, to the *sircar's* policy of repression. Our ideal is to oppose violence by patience and *tapasya* ; but, on the human plane, rigorous repression on the part of Government produces violence on the part of the people. 'This peace of the community,' says Lord Reading, 'must not be disturbed by violence.' Emphatically yes. But the way to maintain that peace is—justice, and response to national aspirations.......... The revival of repression in Sind and other parts of the country does not indicate that there is a real 'change in the heart' of the Government.......... It is, unfortunately, too true that there are no signs yet of a change of heart in the Government. We believe Lord Reading when he says he has the 'desire to do even-handed justice without distinction of race or creed'; but his desire does not yet dominate the system; else local governments would not penalise patriotism. The truth is the vicious system must go; and Lord Reading will not do justice to India until he whole-heartedly supports the Nation's demand for *swaraj*."

Praja Mitra and Parsi (31), 13th May, Eng. cols.

25. "For restraint of language, for moderation of expression, for absence of an overbearing assertion of authority, Lord Reading's speech on this occasion is matchless, and contrasts remarkably with similar speeches of his immediate predecessor, whose appointment as Viceroy of India is responsible for much of the very grave crisis through which this ancient country is passing.......... Lord Reading referred to Mr. Gandhi without even a shadow of that contemptuousness which marked Lord Chelmsford's references to the greatest and most powerful national leader of India.......... No one has preached non-violence with greater emphasis and earnestness than Mr. Gandhi, yet it is certain that his exhortations have been sometimes disregarded and there have been occasional lamentable outbursts of vilence. On the other hand, has any change come over the spirit of the administration and are conciliatory methods being pursued in dealing with the people of the country? It is difficult to believe that an order was served on Jagatguru Sri Sankaracharya of Sarada Peetha at Amritsar prohibiting him from addressing any public meeting. Did the District Magistrate of Amritsar pause to think how far-reaching would be the effect of such an order? It is an interference with religious liberty opposed to the first principles of the British rule in India. The Jagatguru demanded an apology from the Magistrate and received an insulting oral reply through a petty officer. The result has been that this ecclesiastical head of the Hindus has given his open support to the non-co-operation movement, and will issue directions to his followers to that effect. The immediate and most urgent need of the country is that such abuse of authority should be made impossible; but no sign of this is yet visible."

Swarájya (149), 12th May; *Lokamanya* (new), 11th May; *Indu Prakásh* (45), 11th May.

26. The speech is a straightforward one, but it would be wrong to draw an inference therefrom, as the *Times of India* seems to have done, that it indirectly conveys a sanction for the inauguration of a policy of repression against non-co-operation throughout India. Repression will never serve any useful purpose. The excesses committed by the mob at Malegaon have been universally condemned and it would be incorrect to say that non-co-operationists encourage violence. On the contrary, it can be justly claimed that acts of violence would have been still more frequent if the principle of non-violent non-co-operation had not been preached so very assiduously. Nevertheless it must be admitted that the disturbance at Malegaon was a most unfortunate occurrence, and we very much wish it had not taken place. [The *Lokmanya* writes:—Lord Reading may not favour repression, but by emphasising the need for instituting prosecutions wherever disturbances may have taken place, he has indirectly lent his support to the policy of repression. The bureaucracy will take this as a hint that their policy of repression has the approval of the Viceroy, and we do not, therefore, entertain any hopes that the tide of repression will be stemmed at an early date by the intervention of His Excellency. The *Indu Prakásh* welcomes the Viceregal pronouncement, and

says that His Excellency should not be satisfied with merely enunciating sound principles, but he should see that they are respected by the Provincial authorities.]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 11th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 9th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 10th May; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 11th May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 9th May.

27. In his reply to the address presented by the Simla Municipality His Excellency Lord Reading admitted that "some section of the people" were dissatisfied with the new reforms. But it seems that His Excellency has not been made fully aware of the true state of affairs. All sections of the people except the Moderates are dissatisfied with the reforms ever since the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. We do not think that the Indian Muhammadans will agree with the contention advanced by His Excellency that the Government of England have taken their feelings into consideration in revising the treaty with Turkey. It cannot be said that Moslem feelings have been taken into consideration till the Jazirat-ul-Arab has been placed under the suzerainty of Turkey. The lacerated hearts of the Indian Moslems will not be healed as long as the mandates for Mesopotamia and Palestine remain with Britain. People should be warned by the Malegaon incident and consider it their duty to obey the orders of Government officials, however unjust and arbitrary they may happen to be. Mr. Joshi thanked the Magistrate of Amraoti for sentencing him to imprisonment. *Swaráj* will come within our easy reach when such brave men like Mr. Joshi will willingly go to jail in a peaceful manner and when the people will try to walk in their footsteps. How long and how many people will Government send to jail? People, however, require to be exhorted to preserve the peace. It is no more necessary to make exciting speeches. Instead of finding out the faults of Government we should try to find out our own faults. All other movements should be suspended till people are able to gain control over themselves and people should be told to confine themselves to the programme outlined at Bezwada. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The speech bears testimony to a cool head and a judicious frame of mind on the part of Lord Reading. Mr. Gandhi should withdraw his injunction to his followers not to resort to the law courts and should avail himself of the opportunity offered by the Viceroy to arrange for an interview with him. It seems from the speech of His Excellency that the recommendations made by him in the matter of the Khilafat have been accepted by the Government of England. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—The mild manner in which His Excellency has condemned the outrages of the non-co-operationists leads us to think that he will adopt a farsighted policy in preserving the peace and that he will not set any innocent man to suffer needlessly. Mr. Gandhi has rightly condemned the outrages at Malegaon but since such outrages cast doubts on the fitness of Indians for *swaráj*, Mr. Gandhi should see his way to suspend the non-co-operation movement. His Excellency's pronouncement about the revision of the Turkish treaty comes as a boon to the Indian Moslems and they look forward with expectation to the details of the revised treaty. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification with the policy outlined by His Excellency in his speech and expresses hope that His Excellency will see his way to call a round table conference of the leaders of the people with a view to tiding over the present crisis. It is also gratified at the intimation of a satisfactory revision of the Turkish treaty. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* express hope that His Excellency's speech will be an eye-opener to the non-co-operationists and that many of them will now be induced to seek an interview with him with a view to restoring peace to the country.]

His Excellency Lord Reading and the Punjáb Martial Law prisoners.

Praja Bandhu (30), 8th May. Eng, cols.

28. "We understand that H. E. the Viceroy has sent for the papers regarding the cases of persons convicted and sentenced according to the Martial Law in the Punjáb, a number of whom are still in jail undergoing their term of imprisonment....... We trust as a result of the investigation by H. E. the Viceroy the remaining victims of the Martial Law regime in the Punjáb will be restored to liberty, for even if it be assumed that all those that are sentenced are guilty they have already suffered sufficiently. At the same time it is not too much to hope that H. E. the Viceroy will send for the papers in the case of those sentenced by the Special Tribunals appointed for trying the persons concerned in the disturbances during April 1919 both in this as well as in the Kaira District, some of whom are still in jail, with a view to take such action as His Excellency may deem necessary on going through them. The argument urged in the case of the Punjáb victims is also applicable to those in Gujarát."

Gujaráti Punch (19), 8th May, Eng. cols.

29. "It is, indeed, a welcome piece of news that Lord Reading has called for the records of the cases of Martial Law prisoners still in jail. That justice has been murdered in the Punjáb in those fateful days of April 1919 and that it remains mostly unredeemed in spite of the Royal Proclamation cannot be denied by the boldest apologist of the Government. That a serious effort must soon be made to redeem the fair name of British justice is also clear to all fair-minded people whose vision is not yet blinded by passion or prejudice...... Lord Reading, by virtue of his eminent legal knowledge, is fit to perform that task; and we are glad he has begun to move in that direction. However, the best of judges have to depend on materials placed before them; and if the latter are defective or one-sided, it is ten to one that the judgment will err on the wrong side in spite of the utmost scrupulousness evinced on the side of impartiality. The Martial Law Records belong to that category, and we very much fear if Lord Reading depends only on them, the cases of the Martial Law prisoners will not receive a fair reconsideration that they deserve. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that the study of Martial Law records be supplemented by the study of the Congress Sub-Committee's report on the Punjáb Disturbances; and unless that were done, Lord Reading's labours will be fruitless. We wish His Excellency will do it."

Swarájya (149), 12th May; *Lokamanya* (new), 4th May.

30. The *Swarájya* says that the decision of His Excellency the Viceroy to go through the records in the Martial Law cases is highly commendable. It expresses its conviction that His Excellency will come to the conclusion, on perusing them, that many innocent persons were unjustly punished during the Martial Law regime. The paper tells His Excellency that people will not be satisfied unless all the Martial Law prisoners are set at liberty. [The *Lokamanya* writes:—The Punjáb will know no peace until the remaining 86 Martial Law prisoners are set at liberty. Lord Reading's statesmanship will now be put to the test. If he defers to the popular will in this respect he can be said to have begun to redress the Punjáb wrong. It is satisfactory to note that His Excellency caused the Punjáb Government to drop the Gurudwara Bill when he learnt that it was distasteful to the Punjabis. We trust the Viceroy will show the same regard for the popular will in the matter of the release of the Martial Law prisoners.]

Appeal to Lord Reading to improve the condition of subjects of Native States.

Mahrátta (8), 15th May.

*31. "S. D." contributes an article to the *Mahrátta* in which he pleads for the raising of the political status of the subjects of Native States and the securing to them of rights similar to those enjoyed by British subjects. In the course of the article, the writer observes:—"Whatever policy he may adopt, Lord Reading is placed to-day in a position similar to, though not exactly of the same character as, the one in which the Marquis of Hastings was exactly hundred years ago. Lord Hastings intimated to Scindia that circumstances required him to renounce the policy of non-intervention, and his intention to negotiate with all the States with a view to introducing peace and good order. We have no doubt Lord Reading will study the problems of the Native States for himself, as Lord Curzon did, and with the foresight and imagination of a true statesman, coupled with his determination to do justice, find a solution for the present situation in the Native States. However, we may venture to submit that the remedy which suggests itself to meet the situation and strengthen the bonds of allegiance, respect and confidence between the States and the Paramount Power will be to extend the status of

'Roman citizenship' to the people of the Native States as well. Such a bold but humane and just step, on the part of the Viceroy, for the 'emancipation of the serfs,' will not only be hailed by and earn the everlasting gratitude of the unfortunate people of the States and the people of whole of India, co-operators and non-co-operators alike, but by its fairness and justice strike the imagination of the whole world.......... As the interests of the Indian Princes are not identical with those of their people, it is necessary that the people of the States must find representation on the Indian Legislature even though the States may have their own Legislative Assemblies. That the central or rather federal Government should require sooner or later the support of the people of the States is beyond question. When this is so, why not make a beginning and allot seats to the people of the States in both the Chambers of the Indian Legislature and thus extend the status of 'Roman citizenship' to the States as well. If necessary the states may have the position of American 'Territories' for a time and as such their representatives in the Indian Legislature may debate but not vote. Such a measure is bound to give universal satisfaction. It will secure popular support to all the actions of the Central Government concerning the Native States. It will hasten political reform and representative institutions in the Native States without interfering with their monarchical Government."

Comments on the contradiction by the Director of Information of the report of the interview at Karachi between His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and leading Sindhis.

Hindu (163), 8th May.

32. Our readers must be remembering that on 27th March last we wrote to say that the Governor of Bombay during his visit to Karáchi had insulted some gentlemen whom he had sent for from Hyderabad and Nawabshah districts to have an interview with him, had told them in a proud manner that those who were dissatisfied with the present system of Government should clear out of the country and had spoken of the Indians as servants and the English as masters who had a right to dismiss unsatisfactory servants. The Editors of the *Sindvasi* and the *Bharatvasi* had subsequently corroborated us by writing that they too had heard the same report about the interview. Now, however, the blessed Director of Information, Bombay, writes to inform us that the account of the interview and the words attributed to His Excellency are a complete fabrication and asks us to publish this contradiction for the information of our readers. We cannot understand how the Director of Information says that the information published by us is a fabrication. Has he anything in support of his statement? It was after a very careful inquiry that we wrote that the Governor had spoken that language—we simply published what the members of the deputation had heard with their own ears. And we cannot believe that these insulted gentlemen could have invented false things against the Governor. If there had been one person only who had said that, we might have had reason enough to consider it a 'fabrication'. But in this case there were many who gave the same account of the interview. How could we then be justified in considering it a fabrication? If the Governor did not really use such absurd, provoking and foolish words we shall gladly publish any correction. But before we do that, it is absolutely necesseary that everything that the Governor addressad to the deputation should be published. Let the Govrrnor state on oath that he never uttered those words and let the members of the deputation also corroborate him, then we shall readily publish the necessary correction but not otherwise.

Sindvasi (168), 8th May.

33. We wrote some time back that during his recent visit to Sind the Governor of Bombay at an interview with the representatives from Hyderabad and Nawábsháh districts was reported to have said that those who were dissatisfied with the Government should "clear out" of the country. This piece of news appeared in several papers, the *Searchlight* of Patna being one of them. It appears that Mr. Hamilton of the Publicity Board in Behar has now written to the Editor of the *Searchlight* that Sir George Lloyd had never uttered those words. If that is so, it would be the most gratifying piece of news for us. But it is rather strange that such belated

contradiction should appear in a paper published at Patna. Why has not the Bombay Publicity Board informed the Bombay or the Sind Press that the report of the interview as published by them is incorrect. Why has not the Governor of Bombay published his denial in a Press Note which would have been much better and would have carried greater weight with the public than anything else? Mr. Hamilton must have read of this incident in the *Searchlight* and thereafter must have asked the Bombay Government or the Governor if it was a fact. While denying the truth of it to Mr. Hamilton, how is it that it did not at the same time occur to the Governor that the incident having happened in Sind and the papers there being asked for an explanation of it, it would be proper to publish his denial in the Sind papers also? The Editor of the *Searchlight* has also been informed that the incident is a "fabrication". Our question however is, who fabricated it? The Sind newspaper writers or some of those 'representatives' of the people who had been sent for by the Government to have an interview with him! It is childish to lay the charge of fabrication on any one. There might be some misunderstanding which also has to be cleared up. The alleged piece of news was let out by some of the representatives who, it is possible, might have misunderstood the Governor. These men have no grudge against the Governor or the Government. They were all friendly to the Government for there was no non-co-operator among them. It is said that when they came out of the audience chamber they wonderingly spoke to each other thus: "How is it that such a courteous and wise ruler has uttered these words? Can it be that we are all mistaken? Brother, did he not say so, or did you hear some thing different?" Really speaking the public has been astounded at the alleged report of the interview. We too are amazed at it. If the Governor sits quiet over this matter, will not the public give full credence to the report? The denial published in the Patna paper is not enough.

Kesari (120), 10th May.

34. In our issue of the 19th April we had commented on the gems reported to have fallen from the lips of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay on the occasion of his visit to Karáchi. Now the Director of Information, Bombay, contradicts the account. He further says that the contradiction has also been communicated to the paper *Vande Mataram*. Of course, the editor of that paper will offer his explanation of the account published in it. We have only this much to say, that it is a matter for satisfaction that the insulting language for using which we had criticised His Excellency the Governor was not used by him. It is no doubt wise on the part of responsible officers not to make such irresponsible statements. But at the same time we have the request to make to the Direcfor of Information, that if he publishes what His Excellency actually said instead of merely what he did not say, it would serve to remove completely the doubts of the public.

Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Waman Gopal Joshi of Amraoti.

Mahrátta (8), 15th May.

***35.** "The case against Mr. Waman Gopal Joshi of Amaroti was decided last week and Mr. Saranjame, the trying Magistrate, who had an easy task before him as there was no defence offered, sentenced Mr. Joshi to undergo rigorous imprisonment of one year and a half. When the sentence was pronounced Mr. Joshi thanked the Magistrate and said to the people that his incarceration was a sacrifice on the altar of duty towards the motherland and when he would come out he hoped to see India enjoying *Swarajya*. The reply was characteristic of 'Vir' or warrior Vamanrao as he is popularly called. It was he who watered the plant of non-violent non-co-operation in the Berárs and had he been spared for a little longer we could have seen a great advance in that direction in Berárs. In right non-violent style he had advocated that no defence should be offered in political cases and true to his principles he went straight to jail without offering any defence. The whole of Maháráshtra is proud of Mr. Joshi for his manly conduct and we are sure his example was ungrudging self-sacrifice and strenuous work would inspire others to fulfil his mission in the Berárs."

Comments on the judgment in the case of Swami Govindanand of Karáchi.

New Times (9), 4th May.

36. "The judgment delivered in the case of Swami Govindanand yesterday shows once more that the Sind bureaucracy rely only on repression for combating the national movement in the province. One who watched carefully the proceedings of the case and heard the heavy sentence, yesterday, said the trial of Swami Govindanand was not a trial for justice but for conviction! The first impression such a trial produces on the mind of the average citizen is that of indignation. But the true nationalist should view such trials without anger—should regard them as a summons to put forth yet nobler efforts to bring nearer the day of India's freedom. The judgments in the cases of Swami Govindanand, Kazi Abdul Rahman, Mr. Fazul, Mr. Ismail, Mr. Chaturbhuj and several other Khilafat and non-co-operation workers should be regarded as an indication of the Government's determination to bless the national movement with a new baptism. The country will not achieve *swarâj* until the people are prepared to suffer. And if these trials will only prepare the Sindhi to suffer quietly for the national cause, the Sind bureaucracy will be really playing into the hands of the higher power that out of evil bringeth good. The courageous way in which Swami Govindanand, Kazi Abdul Rahman and others have met the situation show that moral victory is theirs; and in the measure the people show renunciation and self-sacrifice will the national movement be blessed in Sind.......... Apart from other irregularities in the case in the lower and higher courts, the Public Prosecutor indicated a strange difinition of 'sedition.' There was to be no testing by results if a speech was 'seditious.' In his address to the jury, he condemned the speech of Swami Govindanand as seditious because it tended to alienate the people, to weaken the bond of allegiance or prepossess the people with feelings of hatred against Government. It did not matter if the accused did not actually excite feelings of disloyalty! It was enough if the mere attempt was there. Again, was it fair to submit to the Jury for judgment a speech in Sindhi when none of them knew the Sindhi language? The Public Prosecutor clearly stated in the Lower Court, in reply to the accused's demand for an English translation of the speech, that the prosecution relied only on vernacular notes, and yet permission to prosecute was secured on the strength of an English translation! The Jury judged the speech without knowing Sindhi; and no English translation was put in Court as an exhibit! Swami Govindanand urged more than once that he had preached no more than what the Congress had resolved on, *viz.*, non-violent non-co-operation. But his arguments fell on deaf ears."

Young India (14), 11th May.

37. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"So, Swami Govindanand has got five years' transportation. He has a tough back. He has undergone previous incarceration without trial. He has put on record his experience of the tortures he had to put up with in the various gaols in which he was placed. He has now gone through the farce of a trial and has been duly convicted. Does the transportation on that account carry any weight, or does it not rather show the hypocrisy of the whole transaction? The form is changed, the spirit remains the same. What is wanted is a change of the spirit. I have read the full text of the Swami's speech. It contains some bitter and offensive language but nothing out of the ordinary. Certainly there is no incitement to violence in it. Disaffection there is. But if he deserved prosecution for uttering disaffection I am as guilty as Swami Govindanand. I have probably the greatest disaffection for the existing system of Government. For nobody has perhaps the same horror of the system that I have. One would think that disaffection was an established common fact in India and that so long as the speakers did not incite to violence, they were to be free from the attentions of the police. But the worse of this Government is that it has no consistent policy. The late Mr. Chamberlain used to pride himself on reiterating his belief that a British official's word was as good as a bond. We know by painful experience that to-day a British Government's bond is worth no more than waste

paper. Happily India was under no delusion when Sir William Vincent pompously pronounced the sentences conveying to the Indian ear the assurance that non-co-operators were to be left undisturbed so long as there was no incitement to violence. The assurance only meant that non-co-operators were to be left undisturbed so long as their propaganda did not result in effective action. Now that we have gone far beyond the stage of mere demonstration, we need not expect freedom from imprisonment or worse. The more the movement tells, the greater must the repression be. Five years' transportation is clearly intended to produce a theatrical effect. Five years in the life of India to-day mean, I do not know how many ages. If India is as good as her word, she would have acquired the power long before the expiry of the period to discharge all prisoners unjustly detained. But whether that event is far or near, our duty is clear. We must answer every imprisonment not with anger, as in Malegaon, but with quiet courage and determination.......... We must not indulge in empty or provoking demonstrations at each arrest. We must not indulge in bravado. We must seek imprisonment for doing solid work."

Kesari (120), 10th May.

38. The proceedings taken against Swami Govindanand were, it seems, inspired more by a vindictive spirit than by a desire to repress non-co-operation. Government had already shown their meanness by removing him from the place of arrest in a goods-train, and now they have, by the sentence passed upon him, given it the finishing touch. The speeches of the Swami for which he was convicted follow no other line of thought than that usually taken by other political agitators in their utterances. Viewed from this point, even the Montagu-Chelmsford report, which strongly advocates *swardjya* for India, may be characterized as seditious. But how can a reasonable attitude be expected from the bureaucracy possessed by the spirit of repression? It was owing to the preaching of the Swami that complete *hartal* was observed at Karāchi when His Excellency paid a visit to the city in March last. It appears that the bureaucracy got enraged at this and have satisfied their vindictive spirit by getting up the case and causing a terrible sentence to be passed upon him. Otherwise how was it that the authorities took such a long time to detect sedition in a speech delivered by the Swami so long back as February?

Indian Social Reformer (7), 15th May.

*39. "The attention of the Government of Bombay may be invited to some scathing pages in Lord Morley's 'Recollections' regarding the policy, the expediency and the effect of sentences for political offences such as that which has been passed on Swami Govindanand by the Additional Judicial Commissioner of Sind. We are bound to assume, after the unanimous verdict of the Jury that the speech for which Swami Govindanand was indicted did come under the section of the Penal Code relating to disaffection, though some of the propositions which the Public Prosecutor, as reported, laid down in his address to them were, in our opinion, most extraordinary.......... We are not here questioning the correctness of the Jury's verdict. It is the sentence with which we are here concerned. That it will have to be commuted, admits, to our mind, of no doubt whatsoever. The Government of Bombay will not, cannot, allow it to be executed as it is. The public conscience, quickened by the recent revelations of convict life in the Andamans, will not rest till it is commuted. That being the case, we do not at all see that it conduces to the efficient administration of the ordinary criminal law that sentences which shock the public conscience and, thus, to a certain extent, obliterate the sharp impression of the offences on which they are visited, should be pronounced by the Courts of Justices to be afterwards commuted by the Executive Government. The definition of sedition in the Penal Code is as wide as it is vague. We have not seen Swami Govindanand's speech, but we have seen other speeches which might quite easily have been brought under it, and not all of them by extremists. There cannot be one criminal law for Sind and another for other parts of the country. There is need, therefore, for the most careful modulation of sentences passed for sedition in India."

Protest against sentence passed in the United Provinces on young men for distributing a hand-bill.

Lokamanya (new), 4th May.

40. Commenting upon the sentence of imprisonment for six months passed on six young men by a District Magistrate in the United Provinces for distributing copies of a pamphlet written by Pandit Motilal Nehru and entitled 'The Congress message to the Kisans,' the *Lokamanya* says that it is the height of injustice to send people to gaol for distributing copies of a hand-bill the author of which is left unmolested. It inquires why the Magistrate had not had the courage to prosecute Mr. Nehru's son, who committed the same offence after giving due notice to the Magistrate. The paper asks Pandit Jagat Narain and Mr. Chintamani to effect forthwith the release of the young men if their patriotism has not wholly evaporated after their joining the bureaucracy.

Comments on the Fourth Presidenecy Magistrate's decision in the Kohinoor Mill case.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th May.

41. "After nearly four months' trial judgment has at last been delivered by the acting Fourth Presidency Magistrate in the Kohinoor Mill case.......... Now in regard to the judgment, we confess we are hardly convinced that the guilt of those convicted has been brought home to all of them. We do not challenge the fact that the accused happened to be present in the crowd that had collected outside the mill buildings and from which stones were thrown at the manager of the mill and the police. But this mere fact of presence cannot be held to constitute an offence, if it can be shown that the accused could not, even if they would, have got away from the crowd. Moreover, equity would demand that some evidence regarding the active participation of the accused in the riot should be forthcoming also. After a careful perusal of the evidence and the judgment, we emphatically assert that both the prosecution and the Magistrate have failed signally to establish these facts.......... We do not think that Mr. Dastur, if he found himself mixed up in a crowd like this which was behaving peacefully for several hours and which suddenly took a fancy to indulge in stone throwing, would have succeeded within the time at his disposal in separating himself from the 'rioters'. Not a shred of believable evidence has been produced to show that any of these actually indulged in rioting. We have, therefore, no alternative but to believe that the Magistrate has punished them on the principle of aggregate punishment, without regard to their individual guilt. We do not think that the majesty of Law has been enhanced by Mr. Dastur's performance. We have also to take strong exception to some of his remarks on the last day of the trial and his reference to an interpellation, stated to be made in the local Council by Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, regarding the undue prolongation of the trial. Council interpellations are held to be strictly confidential till the Government give them publicity in the open session. Mr. Kanji's interpellation will come up for reply at the next session of the Council. In these circumstances it was highly improper on the part of his worship to refer to it in open Court and refuse postponement of the trial on the basis of that interpellation. Mr. Dastur's remarks regarding the ability or otherwise of Mr. Kanji to stand surety for the men at the enhanced rate of security, first suggested by himself, was also wholly uncalled-for and betrays an attitude which is the reverse of judicial. It is not Mr. Kanji who is to be punished, but the accused, and there can be no question of his standing by the latter 'to the last' as the Magistrate implies."

Protest against delay in the hearing of the Sinjhoro Police torture case.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th May.

42. "The acute resentment of the Sind public at the inordinate delay in the hearing of the Sinjhoro Police torture case is voiced by our Hyderabad (Sind) correspondent in a communication we publish elsewhere to-day. It is amazing that though the atrocities complained of occurred so far back as February last, the authorities concerned have not seen their way yet to commence the trial. The way the police have been proceeding in framing the charges and in collecting the evidence, and the fact that some policemen themselves are among the accused, has raised strong apprehension in the public mind regarding the outcome of the trial. Our correspondent has drawn attention to certain unpleasant features of the preliminary enquiry and the part which certain high officials are playing in connection with it. We ourselves had occasion to show the extremely ill-advised character of the press communique issued by the Commissioner in Sind. His attempt to minimise the gravity of the circumstances attending the death of Hingoro, while yet the case is *sub judice* is calculated seriously to prejudice the case of the complainants.......... It behoves Sir George Lloyd's Government immediately to call upon officialdom in Sind to mend its way, if they value the prestige of their administration. We say this not only in respect of the present case, but with regard to the entire complexion of things in that province."

Comments on the latest Reparation terms offered to Germany.
Hindusthān (22), 8th May, Eng. cols.

43. "The disturbances in Germany are what everyone with any foresight expected after the announcement of the reparation terms. No nation is likely to submit to a decree of semi-slavery for forty-two years without resistance. Germany was promised in effect by Mr. Lloyd George and President Wilson that if the militarists were overthrown the German people would get better terms than would be the case if the old gang were left in power, and every promise made on this head has been broken......... The Allied Government six weeks after this declaration, transmitted a note to the new German Government in which they announced their readiness to make peace on the terms laid down by the President. Then followed what has been described as the peace that passeth understanding, which virtually ignored the whole of the Fourteen Points, and this has been reinforced by still further demands in the Reparation Conferences of Paris and London. It is only natural that the German people should regard themselves as tricked, and that in despair the country should tend to Bolshevism. It is possible this was anticipated by the French statesmen who pressed the reparation demands as giving warrant for their policy of occupation of the country, for French statesmen have surrendered themselves to Marshal Foch, militarist Royalist, reactionary, and Roman Catholic, everything in fact to which the founders of the Republic were opposed. But it seems a dangerous policy, leading straight to the Bolshevisation of Europe. The German people see that Bolshevik Russia has been able to exist, though with difficulty, in resistance to the whole of Europe, and her Government is now on the eve of being recognised, though she declines to be held responsible for her national debts. It is not surprising that they should consider whether a similar revolution will not avail in their own case. Certainly the Allied Governments are doing far more to encourage the spread of Bolshevism in Europe than any amount of propaganda by the Soviet Government."

Prospects of the revision of the Turkish Treaty.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th May.

44. "The declaration of Bekir Sami Bey, the leader of the Turkish Nationalists' Delegation to London, that he is convinced that 'the revised Treaty of Sevres will secure a brilliant peace' is likely to cause some surprise in quarters which watch but superficially the trend of events.......... We ourselves also are of the same belief, and are firmly pursuaded that things cannot be left standing where they have been left by the recent London Conference. Greek treachery no doubt counted on introducing into the controversy a new factor by surprise, but the attempt has miserably failed and recoiled on the authors, so much so that their British ally, which through its Mission, at first egged them on to attack the Turks, has thought it necessary and wise hastily to declare its 'neutrality.' As to the results of the London Conference, though on the surface they are not so apparent, Bekir Sami Bey is justified in declaring that they are satisfactory, at least morally.......... The London Conference has shattered beyond reparation the moral basis of the Treaty of Sevres; and this achievement cannot be undervalued. It is for the Entente now to put forward in the place of this discredited treaty something worthy of themselves and the Turks—and acceptable to Muslims. How are the Entente, and specially Britain, going to discharge the task? To enforce the

treaty as it stands would be an international crime, in addition to being a crime agaist the British nation itself."

The Indian Moslem delegation and the revised terms of the Turkish Treaty.

Sánj Vartamán (33), 9th May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 11th May.

45. The high hopes that were entertained by all when the Indian Moslem Delegation went to England have been unfortunately turned into disappointment. The Deputation proved to be absolutely useless because the mighty peace makers had everything ready-cooked before it reached London. There was nothing wanting in the welcome which Mr. Montagu and the Prime Minister accorded to it. Mr. Lloyd George considered it his duty to respect the religious feelings of the Indian Muhammadans. But all this has resulted in nothing. The British Government has paid no attention to the principal demands relating to Thrace, Smyrna, Mesopotamia and Palestine. The promise given by the Prime Minister regarding Thrace has been broken. The final reply given by the Prime Minister totally disappointed the Delegation. According to Mr. Chhotani, all the efforts of the Delegation have proved useless, and the only way for the Indian Muhammadans to secure justice for Turkey is non-co-operation. Mr. Montagu just now has given a written reply to the Delegation. The Delegation after interviewing the Prime Minister a second time was convinced that the British people do not want to do justice to Turkey. Mr. Montagu tries to defend the Premier. But the Indian Muhammadandans are not little children and will not be deceived by such an attempt. Not only are the Indian Muhammadans dissatisfied but all the people of India have lost confidence in British justice because Mr. Lloyd George's pledge regarding Thrace has been violated. Mr. Montagu may feel satisfied that the efforts of the Indian Moslem Delegation have yielded very good results, but his opinion is worthless in the eyes of the Indian Muhammadans and the other sister communities which sympathise with them. Only the members of the Delegation can say whether they have succeeded or not. The members themselves have expressed disappointment and one of them has advocated non-co-operation as the only remedy. Again the the grant of independence to Turkey without the right to maintain an army is useless in these times of constant warfare. Mr. Montagu talks of guarding Muhammadan interests when the whole country is being swallowed up. Will the King of the Hedjaz be independent? Do the Muhammadans who believe in the Quran agree to the arrangement about Mesopotamia? Is Great Britain able to keep Mesopotamia without the Indian army? The Indian Muhammadans will never allow any of the holy places of Islam to remain under a mandate or any kind of control. The fact is that the Allies have become greedy after the war and expanded their empires. Greece has no right over Smyrna. Why do not the Allies protest against its invasion by Greece and put a stop to this cruel attack by means of their tremendous strength? While Thrace and Italy are ready to return Smyrna to Turkey, why does England take objection to such action? [The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, after enumerating the new terms which have been offered to Turkey, remarks:—The Prime Minister understands well that a satisfactory solution regarding these matters is essential in the interests of India. He no doubt showed much sympathy to the Delegation. The Prime Minister is desirous of respecting the religious feelings of the Muhammadans in every way. Perhaps all the demands of the Muhammadans may not have been granted, but at least their religious feelings have been respected and will ever be respected.]

The Allies and the Greek attack on Turkey.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (171), 8th May.

46. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* refers to the disclaimer of Government about assisting the Greeks in their war against the Turks, and observes as follows:—The Turks requested the Allies to be allowed to defend themselves against the Greek attack on the Asiatic shores of the Bosphorus, but their request was rejected. The British Government have declared that they do not intend to help the Greeks in this campaign. But are the Greeks not at fault, and should they not be warned of the consequence of their action? It may be that the Greeks have not been helped militarily; but neglecting to warn the Greeks is tantamount to assistance. It is, of course, the duty of the Allies to keep aloof from either party at this time. Let these followers of Satan attack the Turks, but let not the Turks be stopped from fighting against them. The wounded lion is stronger than foxes, and is bound to kill them.

Comments on the plans for the resettlement of the middle East disclosed by the *Daily Telegraph*.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th May.

47. "It is plain from the *Daily Telegraph's* statement that there is no intention on the part of the British to withdraw either from Mesopotamia or Palestine. On the other hand, they seem to be determined to make their control over both countries stronger than ever. The avowed excuse given for thus pressing the Middle East into the sphere of British control is that unless it is done there will be 'anarchy in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Syria, such as those countries had not witnessed for centuries; and this would spread to Egypt and India.' But how is it that no question of 'anarchy' arose before the British and the French thought fit to take over charge of these territories is left unanswered. The excuse will fail to satisfy impartial judges, especially as other pleas too, less unselfish and honourable, have been put forth by responsible British statesmen in unguarded moments. The scheme adumbrated by Mr. Churchill will never be acceptable to the Muslim world and can only be enforced by the pure might of arms of Great Britain. How long such a dispensation, maintained in the main by British guns and aeroplanes, will last in the face of the awakened spirit of Asia it is not for us but for British statesmen to consider."

Protest against Mr. Thompson being allowed to resume charge of the Chief Secretaryship of the Punjáb Government.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th May.

48. "The announcement is made that Mr. P. J. Thompson, who has been on deputation as President of the Railway Police Committee, will shortly resume charge of the Chief Secretaryship of the Punjáb Government. We sincerely hope that Lord Reading will see that Mr. Thompson is not allowed to resume charge of the post which he disgraced in such a flagrant manner during the closing period of the O'Dwyerian regime. This is the least justice that the Viceroy, anxious to redeem the fair name of his country, can do to the Province, which feels the presence of Mr. Thompson in its midst as an outrage on the honour of its children.......... The appeal to the Punjáb 'to forgive and forget' will fail to fructify so long as the wound inflicted by O'Dwyer's underlings is left to fester by the immunity shown to Mr. Thompson and other colleagues of his in the regime of terror of 1919."

Evils of the Cinema.
Hindusthán (21), 11th May, Eng. cols.

49. "The Cinema is speading fast in India. But is it an educative influence in the country? Take first the foreign films. Most of them are stories of vendetta, murder, illegitimate love-making. They are almost all vulgar and blood-curdling. What is the moral or spiritual education in that? As for the Indian films, they are crude. They have no historical colouring of any sort. Therefore, the Cinema is a bad influence in the country on the whole at present. Many women like to go to see them merely for the thrills it gives them. Even poor people who can hardly afford money for seeing it go there and waste money!"

Comments on the report of the Development Department for the period ending 31st March 1921.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 14th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 13th May; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 8th May.

50. The question of the development of Bombay arose out of the necessity of relieving congestion in the city and so one looks anxiously into the recently issued Report on the working of the Development Department for enlightenment on the subject. We are sorry to say that the Report does not throw much light on the question. The report, however, makes it clear that more facilities have been contemplated for trades and industries and for the accommodation of the rich and for providing accommodation for commercial offices than for the housing of the masses. The question of providing housing accommodation for the poor and middle classes should form the most important function of the Development Department, but the

Report does not give the subject the consideration it deserves. We would, therefore, request His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to take up the question of the housing of the poor and middle classes first and to provide for the requirements of trades and industries afterwards. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes :—The Report of the working of the Development Department is priced at Rs. 4. We are of the opinion such reports should have a nominal price in order to enable the public to purchase and study them. The Development Department have been entrusted with an important task and so the meetings of its Board should be open to the representatives of the Press. It appears from the Report that while the rich and poor classes will be provided with houses, the middle class will not have any facilities for housing accommodation in the city and that they will at the same time continue to experience difficulties in securing suitable accommodation in the suburbs owing to the unsatisfactory nature of means of communication and high rents. The Department despairs of finding land for erecting houses for the poor and middle classes in the city. Why then have Government sanctioned the Grant Road Terminal Scheme which will dishouse a large number of people ? We would request Government to reconsider the question of providing housing accommodation to the aforesaid classes in the city itself. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes :—The way in which the department has begun to work raises doubts in the mind of the public that it will not carry on its work in accordance with their wishes and requirements but according to its sweet will. If the Development Department does not respect the wishes of the people it will defeat the purpose for which it has been created by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and will become unpopular with the public like the City Improvement Trust. An Advisory Board has no doubt been appointed, but it will be merely advisory and will have no hand in the administration or control of the Department. For the present the Department is busying itself with providing housing accommodation for the high and not for the poor as it ought to do.]

British and Indian Governments have stood in the way of the abolition of the opium trafic.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th May.

51. "It is melancholy to note that the Opium Commission has closed its sessions at Geneva without doing anything practical to restrict the traffic in this deadly drug. The suggestion to redraft the Hague Convention, with a view to more effective action against the evil, has been abandoned, mainly because of the opposition of the British and 'Indian' delegates, who urged that a further trial should be given to the existing Convention.......... We are afraid the vested interests of certain Government and influential dealers have stood in the way of the abolition of this hateful traffic. The attitude of the British and Indian Governments especially is highly to be deplored. So long as these Governments permit the cultivation of opium beyond the medical needs of the world, they must be held to be accessory to the crime of spreading the drug habit among Eastern races.......... The dilatory and half-hearted ways of the British authorities in India are in singular contrast to that adopted by the United States Government in the Philippines. One of the first things that Government did in entering the Philippines was to banish the opium traffic, root and branch, from the islands.... ..... One of the first acts of politically emancipated India will be, we confidently assert, to wash her hands off this corroding evil immediately, once and for all."

Duty of the Government of India towards Indians in East Africa.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th May.

52. "If Lord Reading is anxious, as we know His Excellency is, to redeem the reputation of His Majesty's Government for fairplay and fulfilment of pledges, the case of East African Indians furnishes him with an excellent opportunity to exercise his statesmanship. He is fully sware, we hope, of the solemn pledge, given by his predecessor in office, that the Government of India would never accept as just any status for Indians in a Crown Colony or Protectorate short of perfect equality with the other subjects of His Majesty residing in that Colony or Protectorate.......... And yet, what do our countrymen find to-day in British East Africa and Uganda? **A deliberate and undisguised attempt to defraud them of their just rights and to reduce them to a position of practical helotry to a handful of White settlers, many of whom are quite new to the territories.........** In the new

constitution of both Kenya Colony and Uganda Protectorate, the franchise is deliberately withheld from them while in the matter of residential and trading facilities their existing rights are being filched away from them by an active policy of segregation.......... Only courageous action on the part of the Government of India and a firm determination on the part of our countrymen to win their just rights and privileges as equal citizens will avail in the situation now facing Indians.......... India expects Lord Reading to do his duty by making the strongest possible representations to both His Majesty's Government and the Government of Kenya Colony and by warning them of the consequences of the short-sighted policy which is being pursued in East Africa."

Appeal to Goveenment to better the lot of the postmen.
Kamgar Mitra (119), 9th May.

53. Government are extremely hard-hearted in dealings with their own servants. The new Postal rates will add considerably to the revenue of Government; still the Postal authorities are so very mean and selfish that they think only of getting their own salaries increased. It is primarily the labour of the postmen that brings the Postal Department its large revenue, and to make these men work on starvation wages is nothing but legalised tyranny. We ask Government first to remove the legitimate grievances of the postmen and then to talk of bettering the lot of the workers through their Labour Bureau.

EDUCATION.

The Educational Minister's alleged neglect of primary education.
Karnatak Times (39), 13th May.

54. In all progressive countries, the spread of primary education forms a principal duty of Government. It is in no way held responsible for the spread of secondary or higher education. Our Government of late had been spending large sums of money for primary education. Our Educational Minister who was known to be a man of liberal views ought to have conformed to the same path. But his neglect of primary education, which is useful to the backward classes, and his greater attention towards higher education which is useful to the advanced classes, not only brings a blot upon his liberal views but confirms the non-Brahmans in their supposition that our own Brahmans are greater enemies of the backward classes than the foreigners—the English.

Alleged extravagance in providing for female education in Dhárwár.
Karnátak Times (39), 13th May.

55. The illiterate in this country number about 95 per cent. of the total population, and yet Government, who were telling us so far that they had no funds for the spread of primary education amongst their people, are now spending huge sums of money in starting English schools for girls. At Dhárwár, for example, an English lady head-mistress drawing two or three hundred rupees has been appointed at the head of the High School for girls in addition to two or three Graduate Assistants, a drawing master and a peon. All this expenditure, which comes to about Rs. 5,000 per year, is incurred to teach the English alphabet to a few girls who can scarcely be said to attend the school willingly. With this same expenditure, it would have been possible to provide primary education to thousands of students in the villages. We suggest, therefore, that this waste of public money may be stopped and that the expenditure of public funds may be properly regulated.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The Bombay Municipality's Fort Improvement Scheme.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 7th May; *Hindusthán* (21), 9th May; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 8th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 10th May.

56. Referring to the public meeting of the citizens of Bombay held to protest against the Municipal scheme for constructing a direct road between Hornby Road and Ballard Pier, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—We fully sympathise with the majority of these resolutions and hope that the Corporation will consider this matter seriously. But we cannot sympathise with the recommendation about postponing the scheme. On one hand the meeting has asked for the postponement of the scheme and on the other it has protested against the principle underlying it. The meeting has emphatically protested against the practice of pulling down houses, dividing the land into small plots and disposing of them at a large profit. This is profiteering in broad daylight. The Bombay Municipality has learnt this harmful practice from the Improvement Trust and it should be put a stop to. What should the residents of the Fort do if the Corporation were to sanction this scheme in spite of their protest? This is the most important question and hence the meeting should have considered it also. We have lost all confidence in the present Corporation. But we still hope that the Corporation will drop this scheme by a majority. But if it does not do so, the question as to what the residents of the Fort should do arises. Will they practice Satyagraha like the people of Mulshi Petha. We hope that the residents of the Fort will continue their struggle tenaciously till the end. [The *Hindusthán* makes similar remarks and adds:—It is the duty of the Corporation to devote all its attention to the question of providing housing accommodation to the people dwelling in the buildings involved in the scheme. We think it should give up this scheme for the time being. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—Where will the people dispossessed live if the scheme is carried out? What guarantee do either Government or the Municipality give to provide for them? We hope that the Corporation will pay all attention to public opinion regarding the scheme and see its way to giving it up altogether seeing that it is so expensive and useless? We hope that the strong opposition already shown against this scheme will convince the authorities that they should first study the feelings of the people before taking any action. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, remarks:—We fully sympathise with those who will lose their dwelling houses as a result of this scheme. Accommodation should be first provided for those who will suffer before carrying it out. The health of the northern portion of the Fort has become much worse than before. We ask those who are very angry at the new scheme to study the rate of mortality in the locality. We would also ask whether the method of profiteering adopted by the Municipality is in the interests of the largest number of people or not. If the Municipality does not do so, the burden of taxation will fall on those who are not able to bear it. But the Municipality should first provide accommodation for those who lose their houses and then launch the scheme.]

NATIVE STATES.

An attack on His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur.

Lokashdhi (126), 9th May.

57. The *Lokashdhi* takes the opportunity of the third centenary of Shiwaji to eulogise his many merits and to remark that whereas the Chhatrapati of that time spared no pains to bring about the unity of the people, the present ruler of Kolhápur who assumes the title of Chhatrapati devotes all his energies and resources to killing dumb animals in the chase and to persecuting his Brahmin well-wishers instead of harassing his enemies.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 20th May 1921.

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule :

Alleged duplicity of the English in Egypt and India 21
British Government should follow the example of His Highness the Nizam in separating executive from judicial functions . . . 22
Comments on the Malegaon riot 20
Comments on the number of casualties in the North-West Frontier warfare 29
Committee to inquire into the grievances of Indian students in England 26
Goverment should take the public into confidence with regard to their committee on Government securities 28
India's frontier should be permanently fixed once for all 23
Mr. Gandhi's views on Mr. Horniman's enforced absence from India . 27
Protest against orders prohibiting public exhibition of Mr. Gandhi's portrait at Cocanada (Madras) 24
The cow-killing question should not be allowed to jeopardise Hindu-Moslem unity 25
The Mulshi Petha deadlock . . . . 18 & 19
Congress and Conferences : The question of the Malegaon riot in the 1st Maharashtra Conference . . . . 38 & 39
Development of Bombay : Comments on the report of the Development Department for the period ending 31st March 1921 48
Hajis : Comments on the Government of India's Scheme for a fund for poor— 46

His Excellency the Viceroy :

Appeal to Lord Reading to hold a Conference of officials and non-officials at an early date 35
Comments on the reply given by His Excellency Lord Reading to the address of the Simla Municipality 34
Reflections on the interview between His Excellency Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi . . . . 30—33
The task before His Excellency Lord Reading 36
Indian Press : Suspension of the *Vande Mataram* (English edition) . . 49

Judicial Matters :

Comments on the Fourth Presidency Magistrate's decision in the Kohinoor Mill case 41
Comments on the sentence passed on Swami Govindanand at Karachi . 40

H 55—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Non-co-operation:

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's speech at Simla . . . . 1 & 2

Comments on Mr. Mahomed Ali's views with regard to an Afghan invasion of India . . . . 3—5

Comments on the Press Note issued by Government in the matter of the refusal of the Nadiád Municipality to accept Government educational grant 12

Exhortation to Government servants to wear the Gandhi cap . . 16

How Municipalities can help the — movement 11

India herself will determine her own political future 14

Mr. Gandhi's views on an Afghan invasion of India 6

Mr. V. J. Patel's loss of faith in — 17

People should not co-operate with Government 13

Reflections on the Afghan menace 7

Reflections on the official attitude towards the temperance campaign of the non-co-operators in Ahmedabad 9

Repression will ultimately bring *Swarájya* to India 8

The anti-liquor agitation in Poona 10

The — movement has been a success 15

Police: Throwing of dust in the eyes of a crowd of people by the Sind — condemned 37

Posts and Telegraphs: Mr. Gandhi's complaint that the Telegraph Department systematically delay his telegrams 47

Public Service:

Alleged apathy of Indian officers in the Nawábsháh District, Sind, for the people's welfare 44

Protest against the re-appointment of Mr. Thompson as Chief Secretary of the Punjáb Government 45

War:

England should revert to its old policy of siding with Islam . . . 42

The Indian Moslem delegation and the revised terms of the Turkish Treaty 43

EDUCATION—

Complaint that no reference to compulsory primary education is made in the Government Resolution on education in the Presidency . . . 52

LEGISLATION—

Comments on Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill . . . . 50 & 51

NATIVE STATES—

Alleged intrigues of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur against grant of *Swarajya* to India . . . . 53 & 54

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's speech at Simla.

Gujarâti (17), 22nd May, Eng. cols.

*1. Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's speech at Simla, the *Gujarâti* writes:—"From the stress laid by Mr. Gandhi in his speech on the principle of justice on which the cause of India was founded it appears that Lord Reading has already begun to realise that after all it is not so easy to carry it out as he imagined before he came into actual contact with the complex and difficult problems which he is now called upon to solve.......... 'They wanted,' said Mr. Gandhi, 'to show to the world that they stood for justice and nothing but justice to India would solve their problems.' Does it mean the attainment of *Swarâjya* by India within one year? If so, is it within the power of the Viceroy to entertain any such proposal? Mr. Gandhi has never told his countrymen what is the position to be assigned to the Native Rulers in this *Swarâjya* and what voice they will have in attaining it and moulding its future. It is one of the gravest problems to be considered but he has all along ignored it, just as if the people of British India alone were interested in the settlement of the problem of *Swarâjya.* The Non-Brahmins, capitalists, landlords and zamindars have not much faith in non-co-operators and their capacity for self-government. They form a vast majority. How does Mr. Gandhi propose to deal with their opposition? These are some of the internal factors to be taken into account and any thoughtful Indian will see that they cannot be treated in a light-hearted spirit. Now let us look at the external factors. It may or may not be that the Bolshevik menace is all a myth. But the fact remains that the relations between Turkey and England have been strained to the utmost. That some of the important posts in Afghanistan are held by Turkish officers cannot be denied. It must also be conceded that there is considerable unrest amongst the frontier tribes. Whether it is due to the machinations of the anti-British party in Afghanistan or to the aggressive policy of military jingoes on this side of the frontier or to both of these factors we are not in a position to say. But surely the British Government, which was deeply immersed in a colossal struggle with Germany and had already undergone unprecedented sacrifices, could not possibly have thought of provoking a war with Afghanistan which cost India 22 crores of rupees. Mr. Gandhi's contention that 'the Afghan danger was a bogey' is much too sweeping. 'Whatever the weaknesses of the Afghans,' he remarked, 'he was sure they were God-fearing.' The recent history of Afghanistan including the treacherous assassination of the late Amir and the dynastic quarrels over the Afghan throne do not bear out the truth of the glowing testimonial granted to the Afghans. He was confident that they would never 'think of a war of aggression.' We are not in the least prepared to accept this estimate. Its accuracy is not borne out by past history nor by the story of the recent war nor by the long delay that has taken place in the settlement of the terms of treaty with Afghanistan. It is no use shutting one's eyes to the fact that it is not an impossible contingency for the Moslem States in Central Asia and Afghanistan to join hands with or without the co-operation of the Bolsheviks, and no thoughtful Indian, who is not carried away by the dazzling idea of *Sawraj*, can afford to imperil the future of India simply because Mahatma Ghandhi is pleased to certify that the Afghans are a, 'god-fearing' people and would never think of a war of aggression. The country must boldly and firmly refuse to follow Mr. Gandhi in this matter of life and death to the country.......... Referring to the oft-repeated threat of an Afghan invasion in case the British left this country, Mr. Gandhi said that 'as long as he lived he could not tolerate any part of his country under foreign domination. The wild Afghan invader will not stop to inquire what he and the Lalajee are going or not going to tolerate. He will have his own way and unless India is prepared to face him or any other invader, Mr. Gandhi's verbal assurances alone will not succeed in solving the problem of internal defence."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 22nd May.

*2. The *Indian Social Reformer* refers to Mr. Gandhi's speech at Simla and says:—"Something in the tone of this speech—perhaps, the recognition that the Viceroy had his own difficulties—seems to have suggested to Lala Lajpat Rai that Mahatma Gandhi, like the Liberals whom he denounced in his Bombay speech, was weakening under the influence of the Viceroy in his advocacy of *Swarájya*.......... The zeal of a convert is proverbial, but it is not a little ridiculous when the Lalaji presumes to teach the originator of non-co-operation as to what will and what will not be in conformity with its principles. It was certainly impertinent of the Lala to suppose that Mahatma Gandhi would, under any conceivable circumstances, not stand for *Swarájya* for which he, more than any other man, has obtained recognition as the goal of Indian evolution by the highest authority. The Lala did not stop here. He warned his hearers that Imperial nations would try to buy up their leaders. The insinuation is plain. Mahatma Gandhi insisted on absolute non-violence as an essential condition of the attainment of *Swarájya.* Lala Lajpat Rai challenged the Government and those who said there was violence in the country, to study the political history of any other country in the world, and see if in view of the vastness of this country it was not more peaceful than any other country at this moment. In other words, not till India becomes as chaotic as Russia or the Balkan nations, would the Lala admit that there is a manifestation of violence in the land.......... However that may be, one Málegaon is quite enough for most of us, and a repetition of it will, as Mahatma Gandhi has clearly foreseen, ruin the cause of *Swarájya.* The country will not only abide by any compromise which Mahatma Gandhi may agree to, but it expects him to devise some compromise which, while securing all the essentials of peaceful progress towards national self-government, will meet the difficulties sincerely and honestly felt by a true friend of India which Lord Reading is evidently anxious to be."

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New Times (9), 13th May.

3. In the course of an article in which it condemns Mr. Mahomed Ali's views with regard to an Afghan invasion of India, the *New Times* remarks:—"We can have no sympathy with any who would come to invade India; nor do we believe that any invader can 'liberate' India; India's liberation is not what an invader can secure; Indian liberation must be secured by India's own sons relying on themselves. 'Work out your own salvation,' said Buddha; and its teaching has a value in politics no less than in religion. We must work out our salvation ourselves; and we must do it not by violence or war but by working along the line of Ishwara's will. It cannot be God's will that India should be in bondage; nor can it be His will that we should break the bonds with hands besmeared with blood.......... Let Indians believe in themselves and in the power of the moral ideal; and they will achieve their political salvation."

Servant of India (10), 19th May.

4. "V. S. R." in the course of a contributed article writes:—"Mr. Mahomed Ali is a contingent rebel. He does not believe in the bogey of an Afghan invasion. Indeed, he says that the hare was started by Sir William Vincent, which he has chased and killed. He says also quite clearly that if the Afghans invaded India, he will assist them if their object is to free India from the British domination. If, on the contrary, Afghans desire to dominate India he will fight them......... We have first to see whether the Afghan invasion is after all a bogey.......... There is the Bolshevik menace in Central Asia, assuming dangerous proportions and it is a matter of common knowledge how Afghanistan at the present day is permeated through and through by Bolshevik doctrines. The Frontier situation is absolutely unsatisfactory and the tribes over there would only be too glad to impart to the Amir exaggerated statements of the political conditions in India and induce him to put up an attitude if only to embarrass the Government of India.......... Therefore we are unable to dismiss the possibilities of an invasion on the Afghan frontier as a figment of the imagination. Let us see what Mr. Mahomed Ali's statement comes to. It is frankly that of an enemy of the British Government. He has no doubts whatever that he would support Afghanistan in the event of an invasion, because, to his mind, if Afghanistan attempts to enter India, it is solely because it wants to free India. The mere statement of Mr. Mahomed Ali's position is enough to expose its unreal and fanatic character. Indians know to their cost the religious fanaticism and the semi-barbarous character of the Afghan people. To expect them to be the upholders of freedom as though they have drunk deep of the fountain of liberty for hundreds of years is due to a contortion of mind that even rejects the possibility of Great Britain restoring justice in India and prefers uncivilised hoards of Afghanistan to Great Britain in leading India to her rightful place in the comity of the nations. It only shows how the judgment of certain people is warped by the intensity of their hatred and the phenomenal bitterness of their feelings......... Mr. Gandhi's pose is somewhat perplexing in this connection.......... Mr. Gandhi should know that a war between Afghanistan and India will ultimately be a war between Afghans and Indians, and there can be no more sacred duty than to drive the former back into their country and save India from a disaster which, it is surprising, does not disturb Mr. Gandhi's equanimity.......... Finally, we must warn Mr. Mahomed Ali, Mr. Gandhi and other non-co-operators against the constant use of improper and inflammable language which cannot but profoundly affect the popular mind. Mr. C. F. Andrews has been forced by circumstances to condemn in scathing but dignified terms the creed of the new gospel which consists in the iteration of violent, indefensible and exaggerated statements, as though they were the whole truth and nothing but the truth."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 16th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 17th May; *Gujaráti* (17), 15th May; *Bharat Seva* (16), 20th May; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* (87), 13th May.

5. We are grieved to see that Mr. Mahomed Ali has made an unwise statement about the attitude which Indian Muhammadans should adopt in the event of an Afghan invasion of India. The Indian people may have grievances against Government, but they do not wish, and will never wish, a foreign foe to invade India. It is foreign invasions that have brought about the ruin of India. Indians will never think of inviting a foreign nation to invade India even if they have more bitter complaints to make against the British Government than they have at present. What will be the state of India if the Amir invades it? Is the Amir's Government in any way preferable to or more civilised or more humane than the British Government? Granting, for argument's sake, that the Amir's rule will be more advantages than that of the British, can foreign rule ever be more desirable than Swaráj? If the Amir thinks of invading India he will run the risk of losing his own independence. The Indian public and the Indian National Congress should make an announcement on the effect that they do not wish any foreigner to invade India, that India does not require the help of any foreign nation and that it is their aim to secure Swaráj with their own exertions. Should, however, any foreign nation or the Bolshivists invade India, every man, woman and child will come forward in the defence of India. The Indian public will endorse the statement made by Pandit Malavya to an Afghan emissary that both Hindus and Muhammadans will support the British in driving away the Afghans. It would be folly to think that the Amir would invade India with a view to giving Swaráj to the Indians. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Ali Brothers have expressed very irresponsible views about the Afghan invasion, and we believe they are opposed to the considered opinion of the Indian public in general and the Indian Moslems in particular. The *Gujaráti* writes:—The advice given by Mr. Gandhi in the matter of the policy Indians should adopt in the event of an Afghan invasion is like cutting one's nose to spite one's face. We would prefer securing Swaráj on our own strength. Should Indians allow the Afghans to take possession of India from the British? Why should we not prevent any foreign nation from gaining a footing in India? It is very risky to ask the help of the Afghans to drive away the British, and so the Indians will oppose the Afghans if they try to invade India. The *Bharat Seva* writes:—The opinion expressed by Mr. Mahomed Ali and Mr. Gandhi on the question of an Afghan invasion will set Indians thinking as to where these leaders of non-co-operation mean to drag India. Every reasonable man is convinced that the British Government, however defective it might be, is to be preferred to the best rule the Afghans can give us. We do not think that the Indian Muhammadans will endorse Mr. Mahomed Ali's opinion in the matter. We have no reason to think that the Indian Moslems will help the Amir if he invades India. It would be wiser and more politic to secure

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Swaráj with the help of the British in a few years than to gain it immediately with the so-called Afghan help. Hindus, Muhammadans, Parsis, and Christians will, we feel sure, with one voice declare, as Swami Shradhanand has done, that they would not join the Amir in case he invades India. The *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* remarks :—Will the Hindus endorse what Mr. Gandhi has said in the matter? Do they wish to see the Afghans taking the place of the British in India ? No, no ; thousand times no. The British Government may be 'satanic', according to Mr. Gandhi, but India has had ample experience how very ultra-satanic the Pathan rule can be. We would, therefore, say—beware !]

Mr. Gandhi's views on an Afghan invasion of India.

Young India (14), 18th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 20th May.

6. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"Is not my article on the Afghan bogey an invitation to the Afghans to invade the Indian border, and thus do I not become a direct party to violence ? Thus asks Mr. Andrews. My article was written for Indians and for the Government. I do not believe the Afghans to be so foolish as to invade India on the strength of my article. But I see that it is capable of bearing the interpretation put upon it by Mr. Andrews. I, therefore, hasten to inform all whom it may concern that not only do I not want to invite the Afghans or anybody to come to our assistance but am anxious for them not to come to our assistance. I am quite confident of India's ability to settle with the Government without extraneous help. Moreover, I am interested in demonstrating the perfect possibility of attaining our end only by non-violent means. I would, therefore, strain every nerve to keep the Afghans out of the Indian border, but my anxiety to keep them off the Indian border will not go so far as to assist the Government with men or money. In my article I have put my position as clearly as possible. For me the existing Government is the most intolerable of all, it is the greatest danger to the manhood of India and I would welcome its 're-formation' at any cost. It is my settled conviction that it is a Godless Government. That there are good Englishmen and good Indians connected with it makes it all the more dangerous for India. It keeps the nation's eyes off the inherent evil of it. My attack is not against individuals, it is directed against the system, against the aggregate called the Government. The best of viceroys have been powerless to eradicate the poison of the system. The poison is its foundation. Therefore I can reconcile myself to all the worst that can happen to India in the place of the present system. What however I would do is totally different from what I can do. I am sorry to have to confess that the movement has not yet acquired such hold on the soldier class as to embolden them to refuse assistance to the Government in time of need. When the soldier class has realised that they live for the nation, and that it is a travesty of a soldier's calling when he undertakes to kill to order, the battle of India's worldly freedom is won without more. As it is, the Indian soldier is as much subject to fear as the layman. He fills the recruiting ranks, because he believes that there is no other means of livelihood. The Government has made the profession of killing attractive by a system of special rewards, and by a system of skilfully devised punishments has made it well-nigh impossible for the soldier, once he is in, to get out without difficulty. In these circumstances I do not delude myself with the belief that the British Government will be without Indian help in the event of an immediate Afghan invasion. But it was my duty, especially when challenged, to put before the nation the position logically arising from non-co-operation. It was necessary, too, to warn the nation against being frightened by the Afghan bogey. The second part of the question contains, in my opinion, a misconception of non-violence. It is no part of the duty of a non-violent non-co-operator to assist the Government against war made upon it by others. A non-violent non-co-operator may not secretly or openly encourage or assist any such war. He may not take part directly or indirectly in it. But it is no part of his duty to help the Government to end the war. On the contrary his prayer would be, as it must be, for the defeat of a power which he seeks to destroy. I, therefore, so far as my creed of non-violence is concerned, can contemplate an Afghan invasion with perfect equanimity, and equally so far as India's safety is concerned. The Afghans have no quarrel with India. They are a

God-fearing people. I warn non-co-operators against judging the Afghans by the few savage specimens we see in Bombay or Calcutta. It is a superstition to suppose that they will overrun India if the British post at the frontier was withdrawn. Let us remember that there is nothing to prevent them from overrunning India to-day, if they wished to. But they are as fond of their country as we claim to be fond of ours." [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—Mr. Gandhi's article on the Afghan invasion (*vide* paragraph 2 of the Weekly Report No. 19 of 1921) has taken his friend, Mr. Andrews, by surprise who has asked for an explanation from him. Mr. Gandhi's explanation is very strange indeed. [The paper quotes a portion of the article and writes:—] Is this wise? Is this not giving direct or indirect encouragement to the Amir to invade India? Is it tactful on Mr. Gandhi's part to discuss the question of the Afghan bogey at this juncture? How can he be considered to be tactful in referring to the question at the time when he has been granted several interviews by the Viceroy? Mr. Gandhi prides himself on being frank and plainspoken. It would be a misuse of the term plainspoken to apply it to a man who utters the opinion referred to above. Such views are likely to be taken advantage of by intriguing individuals to bring the country to the verge of ruin.]

Reflections on the Afghan menace.
Swarájya (149), 19th May.

7. Commenting upon the Afghan menace the *Swarájya* writes:—It is the avowed intention of Indians to attain *swarájya* by adopting non-co-operation. They demand it from their English rulers as something to which they are entitled, and they are confident that they will secure it from them with their consent. The threat of an Afghan invasion is not at all necessary for the attainment of their object. Indians hold that the universal adoption of non-co-operation would produce results which ten Afghan invasions would be incapable of producing. In short Indians wish to attain *swarájya* and freedom by relying on their own efforts, and do not at all want another alien rule and a new kind of slavery. They set a high value on *swarájya* secured from the English with their own consent. Indians are thoroughly loyal; but they expect their rulers to sympathise with their legitimate aspirations. Indian Muhammadans also do not want the Afghans to rule over them. People who do not want to be slaves to such enlightened people as the English are not at all likely to accept the domination of any other nation. If the Amir wants to invade India that is his business, and we are not at all concerned with it. The Government of India are well able to take care of themselves if the Amir takes that step. Indians need not concern themselves with such a purely foreign matter. If they do, cunning British statesmen will only make it a pretext to defer the grant of *swarájya*. Therefore we should not mind whether foreign rulers invade India or remain inactive but should devote all our attention towards attaining *swarájya* by all legitimate means.

Repression will ultimately bring *swarájya* to India.
Rájakáran (138), 15th May.

8. As the evil deeds of the bureaucracy generate discontent among the people it can only be removed by destruction of the system of administration which allows the commission of such deeds. But the authorities, instead of acknowledging their own mistakes, charge the popular leaders with causing the unrest by their writings and speeches and launch a campaign of repression against them. Indians have become used to these things, and indeed they constitute a good sign for the achievement of *swarájya*. If it required the sacrifice of thirty-two lakhs of people to achieve the protection of the British Empire in the late war, the sacrifice of at least a lakh or two will be required to achieve *swarájya* for India. The cup of the sins of the wicked does not become full unless the good are persecuted and have to suffer. Mr. Vamanrao Joshi, Dr. Babasaheb Paranjpe, Swami Govindanand and others are such good men who are now undergoing the hardships of incarceration. When good men are thus persecuted, the persecutors are ultimately destroyed. But this consideration fails to open the eyes of the authorities, blind through intoxication of power. Lord Reading might be a lover of justice; but as soon as he ascended the throne of the Viceroy, his sense of justice necessarily underwent total eclipse. The fires of the Inquisition have already been lighted and nobody can say how many more victims would be sacrificed in it. *Swarájya* for India would be achieved after years and years if the present efforts on the part of the public are persisted in on a better organised plan. Achieving *swarájya* is no child's play. From this point of view we should welcome repression on the part of the authorities. It is not a good sign for this Presidency that repression has not been begun here; it is likely to lag behind other parts of the country owing to this circumstance. The Nationalist party will gain strength if His Excellency George Lloyd and his advisers launch forth a repressive campaign. Blessed will be those who will be sacrificed in such a campaign of repression!

Reflections on the official attitude towards the temperance campaign of the non-co-operators in Ahmedabad.

Navjivan (75), 15th May.

9. Discussing the question of picketting liquor shops in Ahmedabad, Mr. Mahadeo Haribhai Desai writes in the *Navjivan*:—Government say that the Excise revenue has increased because the tax has been raised, because people have become richer, because there have been good crops and the population has increased. Even a fool will not believe in any one of the above reasons except the raising of the tax. Whatever might be the case, Government have been boasting that their policy is to check the vice of drunkenness. God only knows how long it would have taken to expose the hollowness of this claim of Government if this movement of self-purification had not come into existence. The good object of Government can be effectively achieved by the temperance movement of the non-co-operators. Then, why are the leaders of the temperance movement proceeded against and harassed? Sir William Vincent also, who claims saintliness on behalf of Government, says that Government takes and continue to take steps only against mischievous leaders of the temperance movement; and officials like the Collector of Surat speak strongly in favour of temperance in public. But the facts are otherwise. The methods adopted by Government to stop the temperance movement in Ahmedabad not only prove that the policy of Government is to increase the revenue but also to increase the consumption of liquor. Mr. Ganesh Vasudev Mavlankar has been publishing regular weekly reports of the temperance movement in Ahmedabad. We cull the following important facts from them in support of our remarks above. That even Government servants do not hesitate to act against the law to encourage the evil habit of drink shows that the shamelessness and perversity of Government have reached the extreme limit. The duty of the volunteers is quite clear. It is not their duty to compel Government, which acts illegally, to act in accordance with the law. Their only duty is to act more cautiously and peacefully than ever before. What are we to say to those people who ask us either not to non-co-operate with, or to stop non-co-operation against, a Government which has passed all the bounds of shamelessness.

The anti-liquor agitation in Poona.

**Mahrátta* (8), 22nd May; *Sandesh* (141), 19th May.

10. "We congratutate the 'Madya-pan-pratibandhak Mandal' in Poona for the splendid success they achieved in regard to their movement of absolute prohibition of drink in Poona and the Cantonment. For the last three weeks since the movement was launched the liquor-shops could not sell even two per cent. of their usual sales of liquor. The shops are being picketted by thousands of volunteers who hail from the classes which are more addicted to drink and it is their peaceful and moral persuasion that has secured their victory. The police authorities have behaved most commendably and we hope that they will preserve the same balance of mind and love of justice to the last.......... Government profess in season and out of season their desire to stop this sinful traffic and now they have an opportunity to do so in Poona. Let them refund the license fees to the contractors and order them to shut up their shops. Here is a splendid opportunity for them to do substantial good to the poor masses who consider them to be *Mabap Sirkar*. A visit to the huts and homesteads of the poor during the last fortnight would reveal to them happy wives and children with some coins in the family treasure due to picketting in Poona." [The *Sandesh* calls attention to the anti-liquor agitation in Poona and appeals to the Bombay leaders to undertake a similar propaganda among the mill hands and other people in the city addicted to drink.]

How Municipalities can help the non-co-operation movement.

Vande Mataram (new), 16th May.

11. "Municipal Government is the domain in which non-co-operators can work out the Congress programme soonest. A little effort can lead us on to great success. The Municipality of Ahmedabad has proved this to us in the case of both national education and boycott of liquor. Two Municipalities in Sind have shown some independent spirit, Shikárpur by presenting a welcome address to Mahatma Gandhi, and Mirpur Khas by building a Tilak Hall and having it opened by Mahatma Gandhi. There is an easy constructive plan for these and other Municipalites to follow if they are inclined to help the national movement. They should put the maximum octroi or terminal tax on foreign cloth and permit *khaddar* to be imported free. It would have its own indirect effect of encouraging the consumption of hand-made cloth. In the course of a talk with the members of the Swadeshi board of the Hyderabad Congress Committee, Mahatma Gandhi advised this course of action; and we hope that the Municipalities of the province will take up the question. This is, of course, a matter in which the anti-non-co-operators can co-operate; and we hope that their co-operation will be forthcoming in every Municipality and the proposal suggested above will be everywhere carried unanimously."

Comments on the Press Note issued by Government in the matter of the refusal of the Nadiád Municipality to accept Government educational grant.

Broach Mitra (63), 15th May.

12. In a Press Note recently issued by Government in the matter of the refusal of the Nadiád Municipality to accept the Government grant, permission has been given to municipalities to conduct their own primary schools, but Government have at the same time asserted their right of inspection and control. Government have not made it clear how they mean to exercise their right. Will Government officials vex the municipalities and adopt a policy of bluff towards the teachers? It will be wise on the part of Government officials not to interfere with the working of municipal schools. If Government officials adopt a step-motherly attitude towards the municipal schools they will widen the gulf already existing between the people and Government. When Government have allowed municipalities to conduct their own schools they should not have given their own officials the right of inspecting them.

People should not co-operate with Government.

Karnatak Mitra (38), 19th May.

13. We do not understand how to describe those people who wish to co-operate with rulers who have set their knife on the neck of the country and who are constantly waiting for an opportunity to cut it off. Every one knows, nowadays, how our rulers have been watching for a favourable opportunity to thrust their knife into the neck of the country. In these circumstances one cannot but regret to see some of our own people who call themselves moderates and non-Brahmins lending their help to Government in the matter. The Conference of non-Brahmins which recently met at Belgaum affords substantial evidence in support of this. But we feel great pleasure in saying that the minor and insignificant differences between Brahmins and non-Brahmins have been disappearing in the splendour of the sacred movement of non-co-operation, inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi. Government have been severely handicapped by the bustle created by this movement and they are trying to draw into their traps as many people as possible. But our moderate and non-Brahmin brothers are not so foolish as to be incapable of understanding this game. Let the non-Brahmins consider for themselves what benefits they have been able to secure from the Government whose object is to win them over to their side only for their own ends.

14. The *Lokashahi* in the course of a lengthy article in which it offers its congratulations to those political agitators who have recently been tried and sentenced, says that India is not prepared to say today whether she will continue to be a part of the British Empire or will elect at some future date to secede from it. It remarks that since England requited her valuable services during the war with the Turkish treaty and the Punjáb wrong, she should no longer rely upon her but should determine her fate herself. In the opinion of the paper Government send patriotic Indians to jail to facilitate the exploitation of Indians by Europeans.

India herself will determine her own political future.

Lokashahi (126), 16th May.

15. The non-co-operation movement has succeeded as no other movement has hitherto done in this country. Mr. Gandhi has taken it to the lowest cottage. The higher classes do not show themselves prominently in the movement, but the masses have backed it up with all their strength. They are showing their defiance of Government prosecutions and gagging. All faith in Government's sense of justice is gone and the law Courts no longer inspire fear, incarcerations being welcomed as joyful incidents. The masses have now themselves taken up the temperance movement and are working for it heart and soul as can be seen at Poona. Another evidence of the success of the non-co-operation movement is that it has raised the ire of the bureaucracy which has let loose its hirelings against the non-co-operators. Lord Sinha was the first to originate the campaign, and though it is being imitated by the other Governors, the non-co-operation movement shows no sign of abatement. It extends over a far greater tract of country than any other movement and has secured innumerable adherents. Even if the movement fails in immediately achieving *swardjya*, there is no doubt that we shall be enabled by means of it to secure an entrance within its sacred limits.

The non-co-operation movement has been a success.

Lokasangraha (122), 15th May.

16. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I have read a notice issued by the Collector of the Allahabad District that Government servants must not wear the Gandhi cap. I would advise every Government servant to wear these beautiful, light, inoffensive caps, and brave dismissal and even imprisonment. I was told whilst in Allahabad that over-zealous servants of the Government have even been telling poor people that if they introduced the spinning-wheel into their homes, they will be prosecuted. If a spinning-wheel can by any possibility be turned into a seditious article, its possession will be another honourable method of seeking imprisonment."

Exhortation to Government servants to wear the Gandhi cap.

Young India (14), 18th May.

17. Mr. V. J. Patel, one of the foremost lights of Extremism, has acknowledged in the course of his address as President of the Sátára District Conference that though at one time he thought that it was possible for India to have *swardjya* within one year by means of the non-co-operation movement, the Malegaon outrages and the unpardonable remissness shown by the Nationalist party in giving effect to the non-co-operation programme, have falsified his hopes and delayed their fructification. These views of Mr. Patel are of course disliked by our Poona Extremists who are characterising them as needlessly alarmist. It is well that Mr. Patel is having this experience. We wish he had listened to the advice of the Moderates before this.

Mr. V. J. Patel's loss of faith in non-co-operation.

Dnyán Prakásh (43), 20th May.

*18. "But if Satyagraha were to take the shape of refusing all reasonable and even generous compensations, with the idea of defeating the project altogether, it will only be an unreasoned and uneconomic attitude, much to be deplored. There is a likelihood of this first triumph making people heady and lose their sense of proportion. Already the suggestion has been made that the Hydro-Electric Scheme should be dropped even though it has cost the Company

The Mulshi-Peta deadlock.

Indian Socal Reformer (7), 22nd May.

about Rs. 75 lakhs, that the Government should make good the losses and that the Mavlas should be left in undisturbed possession of the lands. If such impossible demands were to be made they would only put a strain on the anxious solicitude and loyalty with which the whole country supported the Mavlas in their just demands for compensation. If this attitude were to succeed it would only lead to economic suicide and the country will certainly repudiate all such fantastic oppositions and the Mavlas and their supporters will not be deserving of sympathy or support from the people at large.......... They will be true friends of the Mavlas who secure as much money or lands in exchange, for them, see that the money they get does not go into the pockets of the sowcars but make the sowcars reduce their demands and their interest so that the latter may not swallow the whole of the compensation money and try to get for the Mavlas some fertile lands in other valleys. There is no doubt that here is a real cause of grievance, that the sowcars would attach most of the compensation money. Here, the Government and the company should intervene and save for these indebted people a portion of their compensation whether paid in land or in cash. While the company has rightly undertaken to give preference for labour to these Mavlas in their works, they might also seek to remove this grave fear in their minds."

Lokasangraha (123), 15th May.

19. Commenting upon the communication recently addressed by the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Governor to Mr. V. D. Phatak, Secretary, Satyagraha Sahayak Mandal, Poona, on the subject of the Mulshi Peta deadlock, stating that Government's plan to acquire the lands was going to be carried out, the *Lokasangraha* remarks:—By needlessly making this announcement once again that they would firmly adhere to their decision of constructing the dam at any cost, Government have certainly thrown down a challenge to the Satyagrahis. Government having callously declared that they would not care a bit whatever happens to the residents of Mulshi, now God alone can help them. Might is right. The Mavlas have therefore no other recourse but to carry out their *Satyagraha* to save their ancestral lands and to maintain Shivaji's name. May God give them the necessary strength to carry it out!

Comments on the Malegaon riot.
Praja Bandhu (30), 15th May; *Gujaráti Punch* (19), 15th May.

20. The non-co-operators should really feel ashamed of the riot at Malegaon. But Government and their officials cannot be exculpated from blame for the part they played in the matter. The Police should not have issued an order prohibiting the use of sticks. It is probable that this order gave cause for excitement. It does not befit the non-co-operators, however, to be thus excited and to disobey the order of the Police. Mr. Gandhi has placed non-violence at the head of his programme of non-co-operation. If his instructions are not observed in some stray instances the non-co-operation movement cannot be blamed for it. [The *Gujaráti Punch* remarks:—Some of those who believed in the principle of non-co-operation but had no faith in its programme declared that it was impossible to carry it out in India. They were evidently afraid that the people might unconsciously adopt a malicious and revengeful attitude towards Government and cause disturbances. The events at Malegaon have justified these fears. When the non-co-operation movement was started, it was laid down by Mr. Gandhi that a non-co-operator should not cause disturbances and that he should not even indulge in violence in words. Notwithstanding this non-co-operators have caused disturbances. When will the people realise the harm the non-co-operation movement has suffered on this account? This movement should now be put a stop to. The high hopes built by Mr. Gandhi on the people regarding non-co-operation have been frustrated and he has to frame certain rules which are essential for the maintenance of public peace. As long as our countrymen are wanting in the qualities of Mr. Gandhi, they do not render any service to the country by pretending to understand his principles. If they are true disciples of Mr. Gandhi, it behoves them to act according to the instructions issued by him. We have always been supporting the constructive part of the non-co-operation movement in these columns because we believe that useful work for the country can be effected through its means.]

Alleged duplicity of the English in Egypt and India.

Hindu (163), 13th May.

21. Matters are getting worse day by day. England had some time back promised to Egypt that it would be allowed to form its own system of Government as *swardj* was its birthright. People who were familiar with the policy of the English had known at that time that the promise was only one of the usual tactical moves of England. Time has shown that the interpretation of these men was quite correct. The condition of Egypt is now worse than what it was formerly. By skilful diplomacy the English have been able to lay some hold on the mind of the Egyptians and caused disruption among them. The latter are now ruing the day when they put their faith in England and ceased their agitation. In India also things have been managed in the same diplomatic way. When India with a united voice raised an agitation for *swardj*, the English promptly declared that her wishes would be gratified. After that declaration, however, they began to sow the seed of dissension among the Indians. They enlisted the sympathy of some by the grant of some half-hearted and unsatisfactory reforms, and thus divided the people into two political parties. This division has been getting wider day by day, and things have come to such a pass that one of the parties, putting its faith in foreigners rather than in its own fellow brethren, is as keen in obstructing the progress of the country, as the Government itself in its persecution of the Nationalist party.

British Government should follow the example of His Highness the Nizam in separating executive from judicial functions.

Lokamanya (new), 20th May.

2 . It is a matter for shame that though the demand for separation of executive and judicial functions is being pressed upon the attention of the Indian authorities from the time of the establishment of the National Congress, Government are not yet prepared to grant that prayer and they are delaying the matter on one excuse or other. His Highness the Nizam's 'monglai' government having now decided to carry out the reform in their State, we hope our Government will, out of very shame, now introduce it in their own administration.

India's frontier should be permanently fixed once for all.

Indu Prakdsh (45), 19th May.

23. Referring to the recent developments on the N.-W. Frontier, the *Indu Prakdsh* writes :—India has no wish to occupy other people's territories. She will not gain anything by the construction of a British railway line in Persia and, therefore, her men and money should not be spent on the scheme. She also does not need Baluchisthan and would not care if it is handed over to the Amir along with Waziristhan. As Baluchisthan is being retained simply for Imperial purposes the whole of the expense in connection with it should be borne by England. The real frontiers of India should be permanently fixed and the whole of the country within the limits should be made subject to the Indian Legislatures. If this is done, the business of at least three-fourths of the Political Officers and of almost the whole of the British army in India would be gone and India would be relieved of a heavy burden.

Protest against orders prohibiting public exhibition of Mr. Gandhi's portrait at Cocanada (Madras).

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th May.

24. "The new uses which officialdom in India has discovered for Section 144, Indian Penal Code, must seem to be endless. All's fair in love and war, it has been said, and the Indian bureaucracy evidently believes that it need not be particular as to the weapons it uses for countering the non-co-operation movement against which it has declared a crusade......... Absolute quiet prevails in Cocanada District. But the authorities, apparently jealous of the success of

Mr. Gandhi's recent visit to Andhra and the strong hold which the non-co-operation movement has obtained over the Telugus, wish to break the spirit of the people by terroristic methods. They have ordered the prominent Congress workers—highly respectable and strictly law-abiding and peaceful men—to be bound over like common felons.......... The latest information from Cocanada is that orders have been issued, evidently by the same Magistrate, prohibiting, under Section 144, Indian Penal Code, Mr. Gandhi's portrait being taken on cars in festivals and religious processions and that 16 persons are being prosecuted before the Joint Magistrate, Rajahmundry, for putting Mr. Gandhi's portrait upon a festival car. Is Mr. Gandhi's portrait more terrible than Mr. Gandhi himself, who is being interviewed by the Viceroy in Simla? Does Lord Reading expect that the veneration of the people for the laws of the land and 'affection' for the administrators thereof will be enhanced by exhibitions like this of the bankruptcy of governing capacity? Is it in this way that the majesty of Justice is being vindicated in the new regime? Repression or no repression, unless Lord Reading is able to convince the people of this country that he is determined to tolerate no prostitution of justice for political ends it is vain for him to entertain the hope of winning the confidence of the masses for himself and other representatives of His Majesty's Government."

The cow-killing question should not be allowed to jeopardize Hindu-Moslem Unity.

Young India (14), 18th May.

25. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Bihar is the land of promise for non-co-operation. For the Hindu-Muslim Unity of Bihar is proverbial. I was, therefore, distressed to find that the unity was suffering a strain which might almost prove unbearable. I was told by all responsible leaders—both Hindu and Muhammadan—who are not given to be panicky—that it was taxing their resources to the utmost to avoid a Hindu-Mussalman disturbance. They informed me that certain Hindus, by name Gangaram Sharma, Bhutanath and Vidyanand for instance, had told the people that I had prohibited the use of meat to any Hindus or Mussalmans and that meat and fish were even forcibly taken away from people by over-zealous vegetarians. I know that unlawful use is being made of my name in many places, but this is the most novel method of misusing it.......... Needless to say I have authorised no one to preach vegetarianism as part of non-co-operation. I do not know the persons named above. I am sure that our purpose will be defeated if propaganda of any kind is accompanied by violence. Hindus may not compel Mussalmans to abstain from meat or even beef-eating. Vegetarian Hindus may not compel other Hindus to abstain from fish, flesh or fowl. I would not make India sober at the point of the sword. Nothing has lowered the morale of the nation so much as violence. Fear has become the part of the national character. Non-co-operators will make a serious mistake, if they seek to convert people to their creed by violence. They will play into the hands of the government, if they use the slightest coercion towards anybody in the course of their progaganda. The cow question is a big question. The greatest for a Hindu. I yield to no one in my regard for the cow. Hindus do not fulfill their trust so long as they do not possess the ability to protect the cow. That ability can be derived either from body-force or soul-force. To attempt cow protection by violence is to reduce Hinduism to Satanism and to prostitute to a base end the grand significance of cow protection.......... The only chance Hindus have, of saving the cow in India from the butcher's knife, is by trying to save Islam from the impending peril and trusting their Mussalman countrymen to return nobility, *i. e.*, voluntarily to protect the cow out of regard for their Hindu countrymen. The Hindus must scrupulously refrain from using any violence against Mussalmans.......... Suffering and trust are attributes of soul-force.......... The best and the only way to save the cow is to save the Khilafat. I hope therefore that every non-co-operator will strain himself to the utmost to prevent the slightest tendency to violence in any shape or form, whether to protect the cow or any other animal or to effect any other purpose."

Committee to inquire into the grievances of Indian students in England.
Servant of India (10), 19th May.

26. "The appointment by the Secretary of State for India of a Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Lytton to inquire into the grievances of Indian students in the United Kingdom indicates the seriousness of the problem. It is a pity that it never attracted in India the attention that its importance demanded. The only Congress, if we mistake not, that paid any attention to it, was the memorable one held at Bombay in 1915 under the presidency of Lord (then Sir Satyendra Prasanna) Sinha, and both the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye who moved the resolution on the subject and Dr. Jivraj Mehta who seconded it related a number of grievances from which they suffered. These have since been added to and the atmosphere of mutual distrust between the India Office and the Indian students which is the root cause of the trouble, has, if anything, been aggravated. Instances are freely quoted in which officials appointed for the purpose of securing educational facilities for our students have thrown obstacles in the way of their joining older Universities like Oxford and Cambridge. As for their admission into engineering and commercial firms for purposes of study, practically nothing is done. It is to be hoped that the Committee will be able to find a satisfactory solution of the problem."

Mr. Gandhi's views on Mr. Horniman's enforced absence from India.
Young India (14), 18th May.

27. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"Friends have accused me of indifference about Mr. Horniman, and some have also wondered why I rarely write about the Savarkar Brothers.......... My business as an economical journalist is to deal with such matters only as have a bearing on the one issue before the country. If I mention Mr. Horniman's case or that of the Savarkar Brothers, I can mention it not to influence the Government's decision but to stimulate the public in favour of non-co-operation. I would be delighted to have Mr. Horniman back as an able and brave comrade. I know that he was unjustly deported. The Savarkar Brothers' talent should be utilised for public welfare. As it is, India is in danger of losing her two faithful sons, unless she wakes up in time. One of the brothers I know well. I had the pleasure of meeting him in London. He is brave. He is clever. He is a patriot. He was frankly a revolutionary. The evil, in its hideous form, of the present system of Government, he saw much earlier than I did. He is in the Andamans for his having loved India too well. Under a just Government, he would be occupying a high office. I, therefore, feel for him and his brother. Had it not been for non-co-operation, Mr. Horniman would have returned and the brothers would have been discharged long ago. Now non-co-operation blocks the way. Those who are really interested in the release of the brothers and such others as are suffering imprisonment and in the return of Mr. Horniman, must hasten the fulfilment of the non-co-operation programme and, therefore, the advent ot Swaraj. Meanwhile we must not only put up with the existing incarcerations, but we must seek imprisonment ourselves, by offending the Government in all just, lawful and peaceful ways."

Government should take the public into confidence with regard to their Committee on Government Securities.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th May.

28. "Though no official announcement has been made, we have very strong reasons to believe that a Committee has actually been appointed and is already at work on the question of rehabilitating the 3 and 3½ per cent. Government securities. We do not know if this implies a distrust on the part of the Government of public criticism of the measure, or whether by having their committee to work in secret they desire to confront the public with the irresistible logic of a *fait accompli*. The public is as much interested as the Government in this vital question, and we trust, the Committee will not be confined by its terms

of reference or by the procedure adopted by Government themselves to an enquiry in camera and submit a report which might lose all value for want of public sympathy. The deliberations of the Committee cannot but suffer materially if it is not assisted by intelligent witnesses appearing before it and submitting to a cross-examination on the part of the Committee.......... We call upon those concerned to make an early announcement of the appointment and personnel of the Committee as well as of the terms of reference."

Comments on the number of casualties in the N.-W. Frontier warfare.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th May.

29. "It is authoritatively announced that the total casualties of British forces on the North-West Frontier from January 1919 to 30th April 1921 amount to 9,472, out of which 5,169 represent the killed or dead. We take it that by 'British forces' is meant both British and Indian troops. The extent of the casualties sustained in mere tribal fighting must make one pause to reflect whether such a heavy sacrifice of lives is at all warranted. There are also the millions of pounds that have been wasted, and are stlll being wasted, in pursuit of an adventure which one cannot but take to be both fatuous and criminal in the present circumstances of this country. Indian money and Indian lives—and, for the matter of that, British lives too,—are much more urgently needed in other directions of national utility. Is there no one, either in this country or in Great Britain, with a sufficient sense of responsibility to the people of both the countries who will cry a halt in the mad adventure of the militarist clique which is driving India to the verge of disaster?"

Reflections on the interview between His Excellency Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th May.

30. "The justification of Lord Reading's appointment to the Viceroyalty will be his recognition of the supreme fact that what India is determined to have now is the power which will render any injustices, from which she has been suffering, impossible to be inflicted on her. That power secured will alone be the reparation for the wrongs done to her and a guarantee against future wrongs. Nothing less than that power will satisfy her needs and the requirements of justice.......... In his interviews with the Viceroy Mr. Gandhi, we have no doubt, has made this dominant fact quite clear to His Excellency. The Viceroy, who gave him a long, patient and kind hearing, Mr. Gandhi said, dilated on the difficulties confronting the administration. Well, the most important difficulty which we can see is the reluctance of the Government to accept the fundamental fact we have mentioned, namely, the demand of the Indian people to come to their own, to be complete masters in their own house immediately. The principle of Indian *swarâj* has been accepted by the King-Emperor, but the reservation has been made that the British Government and Parliament must be the sole judges of the time when and the stages by which *swaraj* should be established in India. It is the emphatic repudiation of this arrogant claim that is the battle-cry of India to-day. The claim is a standing insult to the intelligence of every patriotic Indian. And there can be no understanding between India and Britain until the latter withdraws that claim and recognises the right of India to decide her own destiny in her own way.......... The greatest difficulty then lies in the reluctance of Britain to acknowledge the justice of India's demand for immediate Swarâj. Once this demand is conceded, the difficulties in regard to the details of adjusting the present machinery of administration to the needs of the change, and of dealing fairly with British vested interests, can be and will be met in a spirit of reasonable compromise. Another seemingly insurmountable difficulty may be urged, that is, in respect of the defence of India.......... The menace of foreign invasion has only existed in imagination perverted by self-distrust and cowardice. Now that self-distrust has disappeared and our countrymen have begun to assert their manliness the menace does not exist for them. At any rate, it cannot be used to frighten them into accepting any compromise that will conflict with their self-respect and their right to be masters in their own country....... Attempts are being made to sow the seeds of disunion

and distrust between Hindus and Muslims, and Afghan bogey has been started for the purpose. These attempts are bound to prove as futile as they are mean, unpatriotic and malicious. The Hindu-Muslim unity is the greatest achievement of modern times, as it is bound to be the greatest moral force of the immediate present and the future."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 18th May; *Hindusthán* (22), 20th May; *Model* (28), 15th May; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 18th May; *Jam-e-Jámshed* (23), 20th May; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 19th May; *Gujarát Vartamán* (69), 18th May.

31. All eyes have turned to Simla owing to Mr. Gandhi's visit to that place and the interview he has had with the Viceroy. The Khilafat question and the Punjáb affairs, no doubt, constitute the immediate causes of the present discontent; but the discontent extends its roots over the last one hundred and fifty years' British rule in India. This rule has been an autocratic one and so people have suffered greatly by it. If this rule is not put an end to, and if India is not given *Swaraj*, it will be dragged towards a terrible gulf and be submerged in it. It is the duty of every Indian to save his country from such a catastrophy. General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer spread terrorism in the Punjáb; but they were merely slaves of a system which requires to be ended. If General Dyer and Sir Michael O'Dwyer are deprived of their pensions they are likely to die of starvation. India does not want to do such an injustice. The announcement made by Mr. Gandhi in the matter of his interview with the Viceroy is vague but encouraging. However, the note of warning sounded by Lala Lajpatrai gives some cause for anxiety. It seems some difference of opinion has unfortunately arisen between Mr. Gandhi and Lala Lajpatrai. The whole of India is willing to effect an honourable compromise with Government; and it will willingly follow Mr. Gandhi if he suggests such a one. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—Government have issued a *communique* to the effect that the Viceroy has accorded an interview to Mr. Gandhi. We do not think such a short *communique* will give any satisfaction to India. Why should the interview be treated as confidential? It Government want to regain their lost confidence with the public they should publish an account of the interview at an early date. The *Model* writes:—Let us hope that Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy will result in removing the present discontent from India and in satisfying the aspirations of Indians in the matter of *swaráj*. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The Viceroy has been interviewing Mr. Gandhi and other popular leaders, and we feel sure that the result of these interviews will be creditable to Lord Reading and helpful in re-establishing peace in this country. The *Jam-e-Jámshed* writes:—We hope that Mr. Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy will result in securing justice to India and in quickening the pace of this country in its onward march of progress towards *swaráj* under the sympathetic guidance of Lord Reading. Efforts should be made by Government to remove the present discontent. Should Mr. Gandhi choose to join the Moderate party, we feel sure India will make a rapid progress towards *swaráj* with the help of Government. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—We feel sure Mr. Gandhi will have the courage of arriving at a compromise with the Viceroy that would lead to a peaceful progress of this country towards its political goal. All sorts of reports are likely to be circulated about this interview, and so we would ask His Excellency the Viceroy to publish an authentic report of the interview. The *Gujarát Vartamán* remarks:—If Mr. Gandhi effects a compromise with the Viceroy and gives up the non-co-operation movement he will do immense good to this country.]

Muslim Herald (172), 20th May.

32. The *Muslim Herald* refers to the interview accorded by His Excellency Lord Reading to Mr. M. K. Gandhi, and, holding it is a departure from the traditional attitude of Government, trusts that this excellent step may bestow peace on the country. It also notes that the Home Government is mollified so far as the amendment of the Treaty of Sevres is concerned. By changing the system of Government, too, so that it may become Indian in reality, the paper maintains that

all the three questions which have caused so much unrest in recent times will be deprived of their potentiality for mischief.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (81), 23rd May, Eng. cols.

*33. "If Lala Lajpat Rai was not invited to interview the Viceroy at Láhore the blame lies at the door of the Punjáb officials who are as incorrigible as ever and are still steadily pursuing the policy of repression. We are glad to say this omission has been rectified and Lala Lajpat Rai has been accorded an interview with the Viceroy at Simla. It is also satisfactory to note that Mr. Gandhi has had two long interviews with the Viceroy at Simla. .... At a meeting held on the 15th instant at the Muhammadan prayer ground at Simla Mr. Gandhi gave a brief account of his interviews with the Viceroy.......... Lala Lajpat Rai, who also spoke at the meeting, declared that no Gandhi-Reading compromise would be acceptable unless it conceded the principles for which non-co-operation stood. We think the Lala protesteth too much. What reason has he for assuming for even a moment that Mr. Gandhi will accept any compromise which may not be acceptable to his party? For the rest, all practical politics is based on compromise. The non-co-operation movement does not stand for red revolution, and revolution alone does not admit of any compromise. In spite of Lala Lajpat Rai's note of warning the country will be prepared to accept any compromise consistent with honour and the national weal. We recognise the difficulties facing the administration but Lord Reading may make a beginning at once by putting down with a strong hand the acts of petty repression which are deepening the discontent all over India."

Comments on the reply given by His Excellency Lord Reading to the address of the Simla Municipality.

Insáf (72), 13th May.

34. The reply given by Lord Reading to the address of the Simla Municipality will kindle hopes in the hearts of the Indian people and serve to heal their wounds. His Excellency has conveyed a good message to the Indian Moslems and has assured them that the Khilafat question would be solved in a satisfactory manner. We are greatly indebted to His Excellency for the assurance he has given and hope that he may be instrumental in healing the lacerated hearts of the Indian Muhammadans. His Excellency Lord Reading will earn the gratitude of the teeming millions of India if he succeeds in solving the Khilafat question in a satisfactory manner and in satisfying the aspirations of Indians in the matter of swaraj.

Appeal to Lord Reading to hold a conference of officials and non-officials at an early date.

Sind Vasi (168), 12th May.

35. The Provincial Governors' visits one after another, to the Viceroy at Simla have a deep significance. It is evident that a consultation is going on as to what is to be done. It cannot be believed that Lord Reading will resort to coercion all at once. The general attitude of the people may have disappointed him, but he is a wise man who is not likely to take a hasty step. The English act in a liberal spirit. They can stand the strain of difficulties as they have passed through several ordeals and have considerable experience of popular agitations and outbursts. A conference therefore is inevitable. On the one hand the authorities themselves seem to be ready for such a Conference and on the other a motion is to come for discussion in the Council of State, to the effect, that the Government and the representatives of the various political bodies should meet together and exchange their views. A Conference is thus sure to take place. Of course it would be easier for the Government to accept in this behalf a recommendation of the Council of State than directly approach the popular leaders about the matter, and it will be the best thing for all concerned if the Council of State made such a recommendation. But when is the motion for such a recommendation coming before the Council. Its autumn session is to commence as late as 1st September, while this matter requires to be taken up at once. Why should not therefore a special meeting of the Council be called at an early date?

The task before His Excellency Lord Reading.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 22nd May.

*36. "His Excellency the Viceroy has accorded interviews to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. C. F. Andrews, Mr. S. E. Stokes and Mahatma Gandhi.......... It is, in our view, a thing to be grateful for, that the highest representative of the Sovereign has seen fit to take counsel with men of this type and calibre.......... It is to the credit of Lord Reading that he has gone beyond the circle which generally besieges Government Houses in his search for knowledge of the truth about the present situation in India.......... Lord Reading, however much he may wish it, has not a clean slate to write upon. Some things, however, His Excellency can do. He can declare publicly his resolve to put a stop to the ruinous financial methods of recent years and get an independent English Finance member in place of Mr. Hailey who should really have been Home Member. He can relieve his Government of the presence of men who were concerned in the proclamation of martial law in the Punjáb and the concession of unbridled authority to Sir Michael O'Dwyer. In that province itself, he can see that no notorious instrument of the late Lieutenant-Governor occupies an official position. With reference to the position of Indians overseas, His Excellency has a more grateful task. He has only to emphasize his resolve to adhere to the policy of Lord Chelmsford's Government which earned the approval of the whole country. The most important thing, however, is that His Excellency should adopt the Indian standpoint in respect of the preamble to the Government of India Act. The President of the Legislative Assembly has, in a moment no doubt of calculated indiscretion, made public his view that 'the political problem presented by the conjunction of an irremovable executive and a large, constitutionally irresponsible majority will be ripe for treatment long before ten years are over.' This problem would not have remained to become ripe but for Lord Chelmsford's political pusillanimity. It is for Lord Reading to take it on hand at once and work for an immediate modification of the Government of India Act so as to ensure the attainment of full Dominion Government by India, well within His Excellency's term of office. India is in a state of intense suspense, but suspense inspired by hope. If the suspense is prolonged, the element of hope will tend to disappear. Suspense, unrelieved by hope, will soon give place to despair and resentment.......... The boldest policy that Lord Reading can conceive will be the best. A declaration of policy that will impress the country by its promptness, courage and decision is what is needed and we trust that His Excellency will lose no time in making it."

Throwing of dust in the eyes of a crowd of people by the Sind Police condemned.

Vande Mataram (new), 16th May.

37. "A respectable public leader like Mr. Virumal of Sukkur asserted the other day, at a public meeting, that on the day following the recent disturbances at Shikárpur the police threw stones or brickbats at the people gathered outside the police-station. We have now a press note of the Commissioner in Sind, denying that the people threw any stones or brickbats but admitting that they threw dust into the eyes of the people.......... This is the first time that we have heard of throwing dust into people's eyes as an approved method of dispersing crowds. We congratulate the official, high or low whoever he be, who has invented this ingenious explanation of an unpardonable lapse into violence by the police themselves. Whoever knows the temper of the Shikárpur people knows that a Shikárpur crowd may be provoked into violence but not dispersed peacefully by this novel method of preventing an onrush. We firmly believe that the Police constables at Shikárpur lost their temper and becoming wild took up stones or dust to attack the gathering crowd. It is certainly not the police who have to be thanked for the affair not developing into a bloody scuffle. They deserve the most serious punishment and not the brazen-faced approbation contained in the press note. But in India prestige ranks higher than justice, the presence of Lord Reading notwithstanding."

The question of the Malegaon riot in the First Maháráshtra Conference.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 15th May, Eng. cols.

38. "The defeat of Mr. Patel's amendment condemning the excesses of the rioters at Malegaon to the resolution condemning official excesses is indeed unfortunate.......... We are no supporters or even sympathisers of the Government in its repressive policy. On the contrary we oppose it openly. But the question here is not whether Government was right or wrong in prosecuting and imprisoning certain persons at Malegaon. The question is whether, even if there was unnecessary provocation on the part of the local officials, the people were justified in committing those acts of wanton brutality that they did.......... In condemning popular excesses, one does not necessarily condemn non-co-operation. What he really condemns is the breach of its basic principle and no true non-co-operator must shrink from it. The first Maharáshtra Conference could, therefore, not have been said to have compromised its creed if it had condemned mob excesses simultaneously with official excesses. On the contrary, it had before it the example of the Amritsar Congress. In these circumstances we fail to see why the whole conference, with the single exception of Mr. Patel, solidly voted against the amendment. By condemning mob-brutality, one does not 'insinuate' that the fault necessarily lay with the people. No, he only condemns excesses, but admits of no responsibility for the origin of the trouble. Why then this truculence on the part of the conference leaders? No step would be more fatal to the non-co-operation movement than the one which gives cause for belief that its leaders strive for or even connive at violence and no believer in that creed can countenance it."

Vande Mataram (new), 16th May.

39. "The Maháráshtra Conference, a great success as it otherwise was, has in our opinion failed to rise to the occasion created by the Malegaon episode. There can be no question that the people of Malegaon, though provoked, have broken the pledge of non-violence which every town taking part in the Non-co-operation movement is implicity understood to have taken.......... The Conference equivocally condemned those who committed misdeeds at Malegaon but it is a sad thing that the subject committee and later on the open Conference should have rejected the proposition of Mr. Patel, which touched up by Mahatma Gandhi, represented the only correct attitude possible under the circumstances. We have no hesitation in condemning the attempt of the Maháráshtra Conference to 'minimise the guilt' of the non-co-operators at Malegaon as Mahatma Gandhi puts it. It is of little use to talk of non-violence being in the very marrow and bones of the Marhatta when he so hotly opposes a resolution which, without equivocation, strongly condemns the non-co-operators guilty of violence."

Comments on the sentence passed on Swami Govindanand at Karáchi.

Hitechhu (71), 8th May.

40. Commenting upon the sentence passed upon Swami Govindanand, the *Hitechhu* writes:—The authorities arrested Swami Govindanand because he was the greatest leader of the non-co-operation movement in Sind. Considering all the circumstances, it can be said that the severe sentence passed upon him by the court is in accordance with the wishes of the authorities. We do not understand if there is any other reason except this for passing such a severe sentence of five years upon him. His speech was delivered in Sindhi and hence the Court and Jury should have been given an opportunity of judging his case from the original Sindhi speech. To make that possible, the jurors should have also been Sindhi-knowing gentlemen. But there was only one Sindhi-knowing juror in the Swami's case. People would not have been so much incensed if he had been sent to jail for a year or so. But this five years' sentence is extremely severe and has shocked public opinion.

Comments on the Fourth Presidency Magistrate's decision in the Kohinoor Mill case.

Kamgar Mitra (new), 16th May.

41. Commenting upon the Fourth Presidency Magistrate's decision in the Kohinoor Mill case the *Kamgar Mitra* remarks:—We are constrained to say that the Magistrate relied solely on the Police evidence in deciding case. Even granting that the police case represented all the true facts such heavy sentences were unwarranted. These workmen have to suffer these sentences because of the inability of the police to detect the real culprits and also because of the policy of Government aiming at breaking the spirit of these workmen by striking terror among them. A just Magistrate would have let off the accused as the disturbances were not of a serious nature and as they had already been for a long time in police lockup being not let out on bail. To pass such sentences by ignoring the High Court decisions in cases is nothing but a travesty of justice. If the disputes between the employers and the employees are to be thus settled, it would betray partiality on the part of Government. We strongly protest apainst these sentences and declare that they have disgraced justice.

England should revert to its old policy of siding with Islam.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th May.

42. "The traditional British policy in Asia—a policy which was pursued for a century with complete success—was an understanding with Islam through recognition of the Ottoman Khilafat. A few years ago that policy was abandoned for an alliance with the traditional enemy of Islam, with disastrous results which are now manifest. The Russian steam-roller, which was to make the world fit for Christianity, has collapsed; and now, as some enviable wit remarked, only 'the man with the red flag remains'. The man with the red flag is powerful, however, and knowing England not as the friend of liberty and progress as she proudly claimed to be of yore, but as the supporter of an intolerable despotism, he hates her and is planning the destruction of her power, especially in Asia......... The obvious course for England, if she wishes to avert the menace to her empire which, though it may not prove to be fatal, must at any rate be regarded as tiresome and expensive, and as certain to get worse instead of better, is to return to her traditional Asiatic policy, and once more come to an understanding with Islam. [Here the paper gives extracts from Mr. Montagu's letter to the Indian Muslim Delegation giving the net gains achieved in connection with the revision of the Turkish Treaty and proceeds:—] But all this seems to us mere botching, without the slightest vision of the larger issue which is: can we count upon a radical and permanent change in British policy towards Islam as a whole, can we count on a return to the historic policy of friendship and consider the 'Pan-Christian' aberration as a bygone error? One phrase, the most important in the letter, suggests that, in Mr. Montagu's opinion, we may do so. It is this: 'The demands of the deputation may not, at the present time, be entirely fulfilled.' The suggestion is that there is hope that at some future time they will be entirely fulfilled. If only we could feel quite sure of that!......... We would trust Mr. Montagu by himself, but when Mr. Montagu answers for Mr. Lloyd George, as a humble dependent upon the sovereign will and pleasure of Mr. Lloyd George, then we feel that he is asking us to stretch our faith in him beyond its just capacity. The same may be said of our faith in the undoubted efforts of the Government of India. They say they have done all they can for us. What have they done?......... They have not identified themselves with Indian sentiment on these subjects.......... We are told that the Government of India has done much to realise the views of Indian Muslims, that the proposed modifications of the Turkish treaty are the proof and fruit of their endeavours, and so forth. Without wishing to minimise the value of their efforts in the least or to seem at all ungracious, we may fairly question whether, without the fall of Venizelos, the unexpected strength displayed by Turkish nationalism and the Bolshevik bogey in the background, all the reverential efforts of the Government of India to induce the British Government to modify the Turkish Treaty would have had the least success. Mr. Montagu's remarks are reassuring, but at the very moment when we are endeavouring to take to heart the reassurance they contain, disturbing forecasts of Mr. Churchill's 'Arab' programme are appearing in the Press.......... Until the Government of India stands for a strong Asiatic policy, and is prepared to fight for it, Asia can have no assurance against the frivolous pan-Christianism of Lloyd George or the materialistic imperialism of a Winston Churchill; Asia will remain aggrieved and strongly hostile to the British Empire, and the man with the red flag will remain a danger."

The Indian Moslem Delegation and the revised Terms of the Turkish Treaty.

Bombay Samáchár (62), 18th May; *Praja Bandhu* (30), 15th May.

43. Mr. Montagu's letter to the Indian Moslem Delegation regarding the Turkish Peace Treaty can hardly be considered as satisfactory. Considering the difficulties through which the British Empire and the Allies are passing it was expected that Turkey would be treated in a more liberal manner. Mr. Montagu's letter shows that there will be only a little change in the original terms. It is probable that this arrangement is made in order to ascertain Moslem opinion before coming to the final settlement. This letter of Mr. Montagu shows that the Allies want to deal with Turkey more severely than other enemies. Mr. Montagu talks of compromise. We also want to arrive at a compromise which will satisfy the opposite party. Not even one of the terms suggested by Mr. Montagu will satisfy the Indian Muhammadans. There was no need of calling the representatives of Indian Muhammadans if the Allies wanted to do as they liked. If the Allies want to show that they have arrived at a decision after hearing all sides, they should know that the Indians are not so foolish as to be deceived by them any longer. It is a mistake to believe that the Indian Muhammadans will be satisfied with such worthless concessions as are offered to them. The whole letter of Mr. Montagu is written in a diplomatic manner and the Muhammadans are asked to acquiesce in the arrangement. But Turkey will be practically powerless so long as Thrace and Smyrna are not restored to her. It does not make any difference whether Turkey is independent or otherwise. Its greatness will disappear and its prestige will be weakened. We still hope that the British Government will refrain, at the last moment, from committing the serious blunder of displeasing the Indian Muhammadans and creating everlasting discontent among them. [The *Praja Bandhu* makes similar remarks and adds :—The religious feelings of the Muhammadans will not allow them to agree to any proposal for placing their holy places under the mandate of any Christian power. The Turkish Peace Treaty is not revised in accordance with the wishes of the Indian Muhammadans. The pledge of the Prime Minister is broken. Perhaps the hard-pressed Turks will express their satisfaction at the proposed changes but Britain will not, at any rate, have discharged her obligations towards the Indian Muhammadans.]

Alleged apathy of Indian officers in the Nawábsháh District, Sind, for the people's welfare.

Sind Vási (168), 13th May.

44. In another place a letter has been published drawing attention to the needs and grievances of the Nawábsháh district. The letter expresses disappointment and says that the Indian officers do not do much for the people, nay they are even more indifferent than Europeans. There is no doubt that the administration of the Indian officers in the Nawábsháh District has not produced good results. We have heard that Mr. Hamid Ali, the Collector, is a very estimable gentleman, but there seem to be some other reasons on account of which he has not shown his qualities. Also it does not wholly depend on one man. There are some officers now at Nawábsháh who show only partiality and partisanship and have no consideration for the good of the people. The grievances of the Nawábsháh district require investigation, and we hope that they will be removed with promptitude.

Protest against the re-appointment of Mr. Thompson, Chief Secretary of the Punjáb Government.

Gujaráti (17), 22nd May., Eng. cols.

***45.** "Mr. Thompson, it will be remembered, was the right-hand man of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and that his services were specially requisitioned as a member of the Supreme Legislative Council with a view to support the Government in carrying the Indemnity Bill and other measures through the Council.......... It is announced that he is again going to be the Chief Secretary of the Punjáb Government.......... His appointment is sure to be regarded as an outrage on public sentiment and evoke general dissatisfaction.......... We have not the least doubt that Mr. Thompson's return as Chief Secretary will be a fresh source of provocation, not only to the people of the Punjáb but also to the

Indian people at large who have watched the course of events in that unhappy province with the keenest interest, sorrow and sympathy. If Mr. Thompson is an exceptionally capable officer, whose distinguished attainments are not appreciated in this country, why not utilise his brilliant talents and that of his old chief in Ireland, where they can easily distinguish themselves by helping the Imperial Government in removing their Irish troubles?"

Comments on the Government of India's scheme for a fund for poor Hajis.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 18th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 16th May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 16th May.

46. Referring to the recent Government of India's Press Note regarding the Haj traffic, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The steam navigation companies, rich Muhammadan gentlemen and the Government of India have hitherto been helping destitute Hajis. The Government of India had intended to compel the helpless Hajis who may not have money enough to buy return tickets either to buy return tickets or to deposit money for the same with a particular officer. They have now given up these proposals thinking that it would not be proper to put them into practice in the face of the strong protests of a very large section of the Moslem Community. It is gratifying that Government have respected the opinion of a very large part of the community and given up their schemes. They have planned a new scheme to grapple with the difficulties of the helpless Hajis. A few days ago Government issued a communique reviewing the difficulties of the Hajis in which they stated that the question of raising a fund for them was under consideration. It is stated that as far as possible the fund would be under the management of non-officials. We heartily welcome this scheme. It is possible, that, besides the Government contribution, there will be contributions to the fund from members of non-Moslem communities, but still, we think that its management should be entrusted to non-official representatives of the Muhammadan Community as far as possible, if not entirely. Funds will then be economically and properly utilised and all needy Hajis will be benefited by the scheme. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* makes similar remarks and adds:—We firmly believe that every Muhammadan will sincerely welcome this arrangement because it not only provides a permanent solution of the difficulties of the Hajis but it also offers an opportunity to every Muhammadan to do a meritorious deed by helping the poor Hajis. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* reproduces the press communique of the Government of India and expresses satisfaction at it.]

Mr. Gandhi's complaint that the Telegraph Department systematically delay his telegrams.
Young India (14), 18th May.

47. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Many friends who send me urgent wires may consider me to be discourteous in that they get no replies to their wire. The fact is that the Telegram Department at Ahmedabad seems to have received instructions to delay delivery of my telegrams. The authorities have the right, if they choose, to put such obstacles in my way. And our movements must be capable of being carried on independently to the use of public departments controlled by the Government. I would advise correspondents not to waste money in sending wires, but transact all their business with me through the post, so long as the regular delivery to me of the post is continued by the Government."

Comments on the report of the Development Department for the period ending 31st March 1921.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 17th May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 20th May; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 17th May.

48. It is to be regretted that the Report of the Development Department does not refer to the question of providing housing accommodation to the middle class people. We do not think the Department will justify its existence if it fails to tackle this question in a satisfactory manner. If the Department does not take up the question at an early date, congestion and insanitation that results from it will continue to remain in our midst. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—A public meeting is being organised to protest against the acquisition of land belonging to the Cow Protection Society by the Development Department. Government have been adopting a very questionable method in acquiring private property under the Land Acquisition

Act. It is not desirable on the part of Government to acquire the land first and then think of making provision for the people thus dishoused. Government should in the first instance make provision for housing the people and then acquire the lands they require. The *Sanj Vartaman* writes:—There is a very strong public feeling against the acquisition of land belonging to the Cow Protection Society by the Development Department. It is to be regretted that the Report of the Development Department contains no reference to the discontent caused among the people by the way in which they are deprived of their properties. It seems Government do not want to take the people into their confidence and that they do not care for their feelings in furthering their scheme for the development of Bombay. It is therefore necessary for the people to protest against such a policy of Government.]

Suspension of the *Vande Mataram* (English Edition).

Vande Mataram (new), 16th May.

49. "With this issue we announce the indefintie suspension of the *Vande Mataram.* The necessity of looking personally to the issue of the paper has confined the Editor to the City of Hyderabad for a longer period each week than is desirable in the interests of propaganda in the rural areas. It has also come in the way of the Editor's share of discharging properly his duty in regard to the organization of non-co-operation work in the town......... The Editor has, therefore, felt that in the interests of the intensive work to be done during the next few months, he should not divide his time and attention between the paper and the work and must, therefere, stop the former. All subscribers will be paid the balance of their subscriptions."

LEGISLATION.

Comments on Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill.

Gujaráti (17), 15th May.

50. Commenting upon the Civil Marriage Bill introduced by Mr. Gour in the Indian Legislative Assembly, the *Gujaráti* writes:—Dr. Gour is in favour of mixed marriages without either party giving up his or her religion and without having to make a declaration that they do not belong to any of the existing religions. If persons belonging to different religions marry to what religion would their children belong? And how should their rights of inheritance be determined? Will Dr. Gour explain these difficulties? If the Civil Marriage Bill is passed into law it will deal a severe blow to the present law of inheritance. Dr. Gour's Bill is gravely objectionable to the Hindus, and they should openly protest against it. Parsis, Muhammadans, Shikhs and Buddhists will also be adversely affected by the Bill, and it is in the interest of Government not to meddle with their religious feelings and to refrain from lending their support to the Bill. Government should not support any legislation which directly or indirectly affects the religion of the people unless those people ask for such a piece of legislation and unless their religion sanctions it.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 22nd May.

***51.** "The Twenty Club of Madras has expressed its disappointment at the lack of interest in the country with regard to Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill. There is no wonder that it should be so. Dr. Gour has chosen a most unsuitable time for the introduction of the bill. Nobody wishes that a bill of such a contentious nature, dealing with an intricate social problem affecting the very foundations of social and religious customs, should be brought forward for discussion when the minds of men are distracted by the present political situation and when religious feelings are liable to be excited at the least provocation. Every one knows what a deal of bitter controversy was aroused by Mr. Patel's Inter-caste Marriage Bill. Dr. Gour's bill is likely to raise even a greater conflict and set peaceful communities by the ear at a time when such disputes are most undesirable. Dr. Gour would be well advised to postpone the introduction of his bill till the country is in a better mood to consider it."

EDUCATION.

Complaint that no reference to compulsory primary education is made in the Government Resolution on education in the Presidency.
Jágaruk (46), 8th May.

52. The Government of Bombay's Resolution on Education in the Presidency makes not even a passing reference to the problem of compulsory primary education! As the Educational Department is now placed under an Indian Minister, people had felt confident that the people's desire for the universal spread of education would be fulfilled. But the resolution has falsified the confidence felt. Looking to the last year's resolution when the Department was under the bureaucracy, one feels that we were better off under it, for its resolution had expressed a strong desire to see primary education widely extended and to have a primary school in almost every village. This year's resolution does not even refer to the matter. The question therefore arises, whose policy is better, the bureaucracy's or the Minister's? The last year's resolution said that the Governor in Council laid great stress on the vigorous spread of primary education. But now the Minister thinks that even the present expenditure on primary education is very high, and he feels the necessity of increasing expenditure on secondary and higher education. The non-Brahmins had feared that if the power in the hands of the English passed into the hands of the advanced classes they would certainly use the money of the ryot for the higher education of their own classes, absolutely neglecting primary education. This fear is now confirmed. Some will be finding fault with us that we are expecting too much from the Minister at the very beginning. We are, however, not against granting him time, but against the policy he has adopted. We think it improper that the Educational Minister should not only neglect compulsory education, but think it to be impracticable. He ought to give the very first place to compulsory primary education in his programme. The Minister knows too well why the gulf between Brahmins and non-Brahmins is widening. Does he think that the present attitude on his part will remove the idea of the non-Brahmins that the Brahmins as a class are more inimical towards the backward classes than the English?

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged intrigues of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur against grant of *swarájya* to India.
Mahrátta (8), 22nd May.

*53. The *Mahrátta*, which publishes a number of extracts from alleged private correspondence between His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur and certain high Government officials on the subject of sedition in the Presidency, prints an article headed "An Exalted Traitor to *Swarájya*," by Mr. N. C. Kelkar, in the course of which he writes:—"To those who take an active interest in the mal-administered State of Kolhápur, the recent visit of His Excellency the Governor to the Maharaja could not fail to prove a source of interesting speculation. The visit was avowedly a private visit.......... But here all the knowing world knew that the visit of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to the Maharaja of Kolhápur at this moment, though professedly a private one, could not be completely bereft of political significance. The files of the Political Agent and Resident of Kolhápur are, we know, groaning under complaints against the Maharaja. And though the present visit did not begin with the usual roar of the saluting guns, it could not end without exceptionally grave confidential whispers and *tete-a-tete* between the guest and the host on many a matter of administration.......... We must, at the same time, take the present opportunity to draw His Excellency's attention to what the public thinks about His Highness, so that his judgment on Kolhápur affairs may not be partial. The present also is an opportune moment for taking our readers into confidence over His Highness' attitude towards popular Self-Government, as the movement for its introduction in Indian States has just commenced, owing to the support given by the Indian National Congress to this cause, and as the Maharaja of Kolhápur is bound to prove the strongest and the bitterest opponent of that reform. In fact we owe it to the Indian public at large to tell them what we know of His Highness' attitude towards

Self-Government in general, and to the whole class of political reformers, who have so far striven for its achievement. His Highness' opinions and activities deserve a wider publicity than they have obtained hithertofore. His letter to the *Justice* of Madras, which contained His Highness' views on the Brahmin-non-Brahmin question, proved to be an unauthorised one; and though the *Bombay Chronicle* had the credit of publishing a letter of His Highness on the question of non-co-operation, the public might take it as only a solitary instance of His Highness' epistolary activities. The numerous extracts we publish, however, will show to the readers that letter-writing of this kind is a great part of His Highness' business, and that what we actually publish must be only an infinitesimal fraction of the whole correspondence of His Highness with friendly British officers, who are in league with him in inaugurating or carrying out reactionary political measures. The only point of regret for us is to have to confess and to proclaim our belief that such determined opposition to *Swardjya* has not, so far as our knowledge goes, come from any other Princes in India. Not that they have loved absolute autocratical power less, but they have shown greater sense and sensibility in concerning themselves with their own affairs and refraining from impudently giving lessons to the British Government in the practice of repressive measures and the philosophy of political illiberalism. A word now about the correspondence which we have been able to publish. The period to which this correspondence belongs was characterised by frightfulness on the part of British Government; and the Maharaja would be seen to have taken the fullest advantage of the situation. The Poona Brahmin was on the brain of the Government; and when they discovered that the Maharaja agreed with them on the point they naturally became interested in his sympathetic activities. And who should know the wily Maharatta Brahmin so well as the Maharaja, who was himself a Maharatta, though not a Brahmin? But he was even better than a mere non-Bramhin, for he was a confirmed hater of the Brahmin. To this qualification the Maharaja added that of being an enthusiastic amateur detective who, becoming argus-eyed for the moment, sees a hundred suspects with each single eye, and to whom every passing rustle in the trees suggests a new plot and a new theory. Imbued with a racing instinct, the Maharaja could not allow the British secret police to get or keep the lead. For, was he not more spiteful than they, and had not he more intimate knowledge of the men he was dealing with? To the average detective police-man the strongest motive for showing skill and activity was a mere paltry promotion; on the other hand, any service that the Maharaja would render in this line would be disinterested and cost free, and the Maharaja had an easy chance to figure almost as a patron of the British Government—which was a far greater honour than being a mere passive subordinate ally. But the British Government would have eventually to recognise the services of the Maharaja by a suitable return, and then would be the time for him to claim his reward, which consisted mainly, as the correspondence itself shows, in large powers to himself over his sub-Chiefs and a large freedom for himself to do what he liked with his own subjects. Some of the letters show the mean advantage he has taken of the situation in humbling the smaller Brahmin Chiefs of the Deccan, and in securing for himself a blank cheque of support in all matters of internal administration. It should not be supposed, however, that everything that the Maharaja did by way of investigating bomb-conspiracies was fair and upright. He admits that the judiciary in his own State was inferior to that of the British Government and so also evidently must be his police. And it is no wonder if his petty myrmidons tried to give a concrete shape to all his suggestions and theories, indiscriminately, whether true or false. We leave it to the reader to judge whether the Maharaja's personal activity as the deparmental head of a secret police squad or an unpaid special police constable of the British Government is in keeping with the dignity and the honour of a Chhatrapati as the Maharaja is proud to call himself. His personal appeals to individual British officers; the snubs he receives from them; the frantic efforts he makes to get a recognition from Government that his police are better than the British police; the morbid vanity he displays in proclaiming that the preferential care the British Government take of his life is the highest tribute of praise that he can live for; the phenomenal ill-will he shows in speaking contemptuously of all patriotic

Indians from Tilak to Gokhale; the sweeping assertions he makes that every educated Brahmin, high or low, is deeply involved in sedition and bomb-making; the wild gratification he feels to see political prisoners ill-treated and presecuted; the gratuitous offer he makes of keeping all the prominent political agitators on the hill-fort of Vishalgad with himself as their chief warder; and more than all this the brazen-faced censure he showers upon Government for taking only half-measures in repression and inaugurating even elementary reforms leading to ultimate Self-Government in India: all this amply proves the real character of the premier Deccani Prince, who has made life miserable for hundreds of people, and who hopes eternally to draw a red herring across the path of the seeker of truth by parading either as a friend in need of the British Government, an *avatar* of religious free-thinking, or a champion of the depressed classes. We know for certain that the British Government is not going to be deluded by the *maya* of the Maharaja for all time, and that a day of reckoning may come at their hands even for him, when they ultimately find him too worthless for any further use, or too notoriously mischievous for keeping company with. But apart from what the British Government may or may not do to the Maharaja, we confess we have to hang our own head in shame that, far from taking the lead which he really should in the matter of the *Swarajya* movement, the Chhatrapati is only proving himself an undesirable impediment to that movement. We do not say this out of spite for him on account of the ill-will he bears to the Brahmin class or the systematic enmity he bore towards the late Lok. Tilak. We do not care what he does to the Brahmins, provided he offers and inaugurates self-Government at least for the non-Brahmins whom he so vehemently professes to love. But he really wants to do nothing of the kind for anybody; and it is urgently necessary that he should be unmasked and presented in his true colours to the world which he is desperately trying to deceive by his profuse plausibilities. The *Swarajya* movement in India is not going to stand still, much less to recede, if a hundred exalted foes like the Maharaj Chhatrapati of Kolhápur array themselves against it. On the contrary, it is time for the seven hundred and odd guilded puppets in India to put their own house in order and suitably liberalise their administration, lest the flames of the popular movement should, as the Montford report rather unhappily puts it, spread across the street and gut the old and moth-eaten fabric of indigenous but autocratic rule in India."

Kesari (120), 17th May; *Lokamanyá* (new), 20th May; *Lokasangraha* (123), 19th May; *Sandesh* (141), 18th May.

54. The *Kesari* also publishes a translation of most of the extracts appearing in the *Mahrátta* and makes a similar attack on His Highness the Maharaja. It states that a movement for securing reforms similar to those recently introduced in British India, started by many state subjects is being opposed by the Native Chiefs, the Maharaja of Kolhápur being the most avowed opponent among them. It says that the Maharaja has been now and then writing in the papers putting forth his views, but its object in publishing extracts from his private correspondence which show the inner working of his heart more clearly than any of his public writings, is to show that he has long been in the habit of writing privately to European officers and opposing the grant of *Swarajya* to the people. It also declares that it is not inspired by any malicious motives against the Maharaja in publishing the extracts. It remarks that the Maharaja does possess high ability of a sort, but unfortunately it has not been utilised in establishing a model administration for his own subjects. It alleges that the real object of the Maharaja in inviting His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to visit Kolhápur and extending a costly hospitality to him was to rehabilitate himself in the good opinion of the Bombay Government which he had lost by his activities and says that this view about the Maharaja being under a cloud is confirmed by the despondent tone of his secret circular letter recently published by the *Bombay Chronicle*. It remarks that it relies on the self-respect of His Excellency the Governor and though it is quite natural that the trouble taken and expenditure undergone by the Maharaja and his brother in welcoming him should exercise some influence on the guest of the occasion, the very acceptance of the invitation by His Excellency was such an act of obligation that His

Excellency should not mind refusing any particular request made by the Maharaja in the course of the visit. It says that though it is impossible to know what the Maharaja may have spoken to His Excellency the Governor, an idea of it can be formed by reading the extracts published. The extracts show, it says, that the Maharaja has been in the habit for many years of gaining his own ends by slandering others. It goes on:—Before there was unrest and public awakening in India, the Maharaja was considered as of no importance by Government; nay, an unfavourable opinion had been formed about him by the Bombay Government on account of his administration of his state. But just as a fisherman takes advantage of troubled waters to catch fish, so, as soon as the discontent in India caused agitation in the minds of the authorities the Maharaja cast his angling hook at the Bombay Government. Unfortunately for the country, Bombay had a wicked-hearted man like Lord Sydenham as its Governor at the time and the Maharaja's hook stuck so deep in his throat, that he was easily dragged out by the Maharaja, who throwing him across his shoulder danced about as he liked. Nobody would have blamed the Maharaja if he had laboured exerting himself against the anarchic outrages, but it appears from the correspondence that laying aside the dignity of his exalted position as the Ruler of a big state, he played the part of an impatient new-fledged detective in search of sedition. He looks upon a common civilian as his God and not only considers Mr. Tilak as a *badmash* but tries to show up even Mr. Gokhale as good for nothing. And all this to put a stop to the agitation for *swardjya* and to secure a guarantee for autocratic rule for himself. The people of Maharashtra are prepared to respect the kingship of the Maharaja, but it appears from the correspondence that he himself has not cared to maintain its dignity. The Maharaja had for twenty years persecuted Mr. Tilak, but that has not prompted the above criticism of his doings. We are against him simply because he is the arch-enemy of the people's aspirations for *swardjya*. He may not be able to completely win over Sir George Lloyd to his side as he did Lord Sydenham, but feeling convinced that he would not fail to decry the *swardjya* agitation while discussing it with His Excellency we have given publicity to the present correspondence. The time is come to push forward the *swardjya* movement in all the Native States and we now know that the Maharaja will be the first to pit himself against it. [The *Lokamanya* writes:—On perusing the correspondence published by the *Kesari* we find that the Maharaja is worth no more than an ordinary detective who is traitor to *swarajya*. The *Lokasangraha* writes:—The correspondence shows that the Maharaja's heart is as black as the colour of his skin. The *Kesari* has done a great service to the country by publishing this correspondence. A secret enemy is worse than an open one. The reverence felt not only by Marathas but also by the Brahmins for the Chhatrapati as the descendant of Shivaji has no doubt received a fatal blow at the hands of the *Kesari*. The *Sandesh* on the other hand remarks that the *Kesari* was not well advised in publishing the correspondence. It contends that the Maharaja has always stood for the liberty of the individual and therefore his services to the country are as valuable as those of the *Kesari* which has been fighting for the liberty of the nation. It expresses its conviction that the publication will give offence to the non-Brahmins and create a suspicion in their minds that the nationalists are opposed to their progress.]

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 27th May 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 28th May 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged maltreatment of prisoners in the Isapur Jail 22
Comments on the Empire Day celebrations in Bombay. 31
Comments on Mr. Sastri's interview with the *Manchester* Guardian . 18 & 19
Comments on the agreement between the Tata Company and Government with regard to the Mulshi Hydro-Electric Scheme . . 11—13
Comments on the Financial Secretary's reply to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in connection with the 7 per cent. sterling loan . . . . 14—17
Comments on the Government of India's *Communique* on the British Mission to Kábul . . . . 23—25
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's views on the Anglo-Japanese Agreement . . . . 20 & 21
Goverment should hold an inquiry into the excesses committed by non-Brahmins agains Brahmins in the Sátára District 26
How to deal with the North-West frontier tribes 28
Necessity of a wholesale reconstruction of India's Currency system . 29
The British have been exploiting their subjects as no other rulers have done 32
The Indian Civil Service and the affairs in Sind 27
The Indian National Movement 30
The Mulshi Petha Deadlock . . . . 12 & 13
Development of Bombay: Comments on the report of the Bombay Development Department 50
Hajis: Alleged hardships of the Hajis 55
His Excellency the Governor: Mr. Gandhi's disapproval of the *hartal* at Karáchi on the occasion of His Excellency the Governor's visit . . 41

His Excellency the Viceroy:

Lord Reading should give Swarájya to India 40
Mr. Gandhi's interview with — . . . . 33—39

Indians in the Colonies:

Comments on the resolution of Indians in Kenya Colony to resort to passive resistance 53
Position of Indians in East Africa 54
Indian Press Act: Nothing but the total repeal of the Press Act will satisfy India 49

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Judicial Matters:

Commendation of Mr. Justice Bucknill of the Patna High Court for humane administration of the law in a certain case . . . 42
Comments on a Calcutta case in which a European fireman was fined Rs. 300 for causing the death of a Madrasi cook 43
Comments on the persecution of Sunderlal by the C. P. Government . 44 & 45

Non-co-operation:

Comments on Messrs. Mahomed Ali's and Gandhi's views on an Afghan invasion of India . . . . 1—4
Comments on the Press Note on the Nadiád Municipality's refusal of the educational grant 10
Comments on the progress of the temperance movement in Poona . 6 & 7
Government the greatest opponent in the matter of the anti-drink agitation 9
The Afghan menace being used by Government to divide Hindus and Muhammadans 5
The anti-drink movement should be extended throughout the Presidency 8

Police:

Attitude of the Ahmedabad — towards the anti-drink movement in that city 46
Growing menace of the Cinema 48
Question of granting arms licenses freely to enable people to protect themselves against robbers 47
Public Service: Comments on the transfer of Mr. Thompson to the Foreign Office under His Excellency the Viceroy . . . . 51 & 52
War: Comments on the Greek attack on the Turks in Anatolia 56

EDUCATION—

Comments on the committee appointed to inquire into the grievances of Indian students in England 57
Comments on the Government Resolution in the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for 1919-20 58

NATIVE STATES—

Alleged intrigues of His Highness the Mahárája of Kolhápur against the *Swarájya* agitation . . . . 59—61
Comments on the Deccan Native States Conference 62

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on Messrs. Mahomed Ali's and Gandhi's views on an Afghan invasion of India.

Gujarāti (17), 29th May, Eng. cols.

*1. Commenting on the presidential address delivered at the Allahabad District Conference by Mr. Mahomed Ali the *Gujarāti* remarks:—"We do not think Mr. Mahomed Ali has correctly represented Mr. Gandhi's position. We, of course, entirely disapprove of what both have said or preached in connection with the subject of withholding help from the British Government in case of an Afghan invasion. But there is no doubt that Mr. Mahomed Ali has put a very sweeping statement into Mr. Gandhi's mouth when he says that the 'latter went a step further and declared that they would not help the British Government when they were attacked by any enemy'. In his *Young India* Mr. Gandhi no doubt observed at one time that he would in a sense assist the Amir if the latter waged war against the British Government. Later on he explained that to mean that he would advise his fellow-countrymen not to help a Government, which had lost the confidence of the nation, to remain in power but at the same time, would not ask India to raise levies for the Amir. Even this position would be sufficiently dangerous to the peace and security of the country, because it is an indirect invitation or encouragement to the Afghans to attack India when they felt sure that the people of India would not come in their way and that many disaffected Indians would throw overboard Mr. Gandhi's advice and actually co-operate with the foreign invader. Mr. C. F. Andrews understood Mr. Gandhi in this light and the latter has sought to make his views more clear in a recent issue of *Young India*.......... It is likely that the Afghans will not invade India upon the strength of Mr. Gandhi's article only. But that does supply a sure indication of the attitude he and his followers with many other people are certain to take.......... We fail to see how Mr. Gandhi will 'strain every nerve to keep the Afghans out of the Indian border' and at the same time not 'assist Government with men or money'. No Indian would think of treating even a burglar or dacoit in this fashion. We feel perfectly satisfied that Mr. Gandhi's position is altogether wrong and indefensible. We shall be able to settle our difference with the British Government, however, 'satanic' its methods or principles may be. But so far as the Afghans are concerned, it will be our duty to co-operate with that Government in every possible way and keep them out. That is the only sound position which the people ought to take and we must entirely dissociate ourselves from Mr. Mahomed Ali's as well as Mr. Gandhi's views."

Gujarāti Punch (19), 22nd May, Eng. cols.

2. "Mr. Mahomed Ali says that if the Amir of Afghanistan invaded India not merely to conquer her but as an ally of the Khilafat cause, the Indian Moslems will not help the Government of India against the Amir. On the contrary, if the Amir proclaimed a regular Jihad it will be the duty of Indian Moslem to follow him. Now, in the first place, how are we to know that the Amir of Afghanistan is out merely to punish the Government of India for its Khilafat treachery or on a wider game?......... People who count for something know that the Amir of Afghanistan would not be so senseless as to risk his own independence in a futile game—charitable or aggressive,—and if he did it requires no prophetic instinct to foretell the result. The question, therefore, is not whether the danger is real or otherwise but whether the Khilafat platform is to be converted into one for the propagation of Pan-Islamic doctrine......... Mr. Mahomed Ali ought to know that, whatever his own personal views in the matter, the people of India have no sympathy with any such doctrines, and any attempt to force them on their unwilling minds will re-act most injuriously on a cause which has gone so far to produce the long-looked for Hindu-Moslem unity. Hindu India has no direct connection with Khilafat except the breach of the Premier's pledge, and yet it has joined the struggle undertaken partly on its behalf, mainly because it regards Moslems as its brothers. That sympathy, born as it is of a common nationality, will begin to wear out as soon as Indian Moslems cease to regard themselves as Indians first and Moslems afterwards; and the leaders of the present agitation must be specially careful to avoid all talk and action that

may tend to produce that impression. Hindu-Moslem unity is too precious a thing to be risked in the pursuit of a chimeric idea. Hindu India will most sincerely sympathise with every legitimate Moslem grievance and will help them in their efforts to get it redressed so long as they remain Indians first and Moslems afterwards. The present agitation furnishes a concrete example of the truth of that statement. But once let that feeling of common nationality pass, let the Indian Moslems give cause to Hindu India to believe that their patriotism is conditional, that they are Moslems first and everything else afterwards, and the much-talked-of Hindu-Moslem unity becomes one huge bluff—one big mass of unreality......... India has had enough of foreign dominations; what she wants to-day is self-rule. But Afghan rule is not self-rule and India does not want it at all. India no doubt has a thousand and one grievances and that, too, not ordinary ones, against the present British Government. The present movement is to remove those grievances and to assert the ultimate sovereignty of the people, and every nationalist Indian, whether he has joined it or not, sympathises with the spirit, though not the form of it.......... And whatever Pan-Islamists may think, Afghan rule is not a rule of Indian people and they will have nothing to do with it. Mr. Mahomed Ali and men of his way of thinking must bear this in mind and cease to prate about it.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 29th May.

*3. "We may be excused for saying that the Mahatmaji is allowing himself to be dragged beyond his depth. His certificate to the Afghan people is no more valid than the condemnation of them by those who know them only as shrewd, and somewhat violent, business men in Indian cities. But even if they were the angels from heaven that the Mahatma pictures them to be, we do not want them in India except as peaceful visitors, the same as visitors from any other country.......... Whatever Government is in power, Swarajya or British, India cannot tolerate any aggression, and Afghanistan will undertake anything of that character, at her dire peril."

Lokasangraha (123), 27th May.

4. As a matter of fact there was no necessity for any Indian to express an opinion as to what attitude non-co-operators should take up in the case of an Afghan invasion, for the question belongs to the future and comes under the class of impossible contingencies. Some time back Afghanistan had foolishly sent its army against India, but it had to go back as hastily as it had advanced. With this fresh experience in view, it is no use indulging in idle speculations as to what one would do if the Afghans do again invade India. At the same time, we consider it to be the duty of every patriot to protest against any sentiments fatal to the national existence of India that may be given expression to while dealing with the matter. We would non-co-operate with the bureaucracy to secure rights of *swardjya*, but in case of foreign invasion it would be our duty to assist it to repel the invasion. We cannot help saying that the views publicly expressed by Mr. Gandhi on the question are most unsatisfactory. He makes the strange statement that he would exert his utmost influence to resist the Afghan army by non-co-operating with Government. We certainly fail to understand what he means by this. Is he going to do it by having an independent army to fight under his own tri-coloured spinning-wheel flag or by using the points of the spindle in place of bayonets or by making his *Satyagrahis* lie down in the path of the enemy? We are, indeed, at a loss to know what he means to do. To follow Mr. Gandhi's principles in this matter would be to exchange the slavery of the bureaucracy for slavery to Mr. Gandhi. We for one disapprove of this and shall try our best to oppose it tooth and nail. The non-co-operation movement has been launched to attain rights of *swardjya* and the movement must be carried on vigorously till the object is gained. But if taking advantage of this, any other power invades India, the people must, sinking all their differences and internal quarrels, join hands with the bureaucracy with all the strength at their command and as soon as the danger is averted they must re-launch the agitation for *swardjya* with vigour. This would be real non-co-operation. If we fail in this, we shall be cursed as traitors to the nation by posterity.

The Afghan menace being used by Government to divide Hindus and Muhammadans.

Swardjya (149), 26th May.

5. The Amir of Kabul may or may not attack India, but the possibility of an invasion by him has produced some evil results. The English are experts in diplomacy and know quite well how to make use of an opportunity. They are now making use of the menace of an Afghan invasion to divide the Hindus and the Muhammadans. They take this opportunity to warn the Hindus that the Muhammadans of India and those of Afghanistan will unite and impose their rule upon the Hindus. But we are now well acquainted with this English trick to create differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. The two latter are now united; and whether the Amir of Kabul or that of Delhi attacks them they are not going to abandon their movement for *swardjya*.

Comments on the progress of the temperance movement in Poona.

Mahrátta (8), 29th May.

***6.** "Four weeks have passed by, since the inauguration of the peaceful movement of picketting the liquor-shops in the city of Poona and the Cantonment, and one can see that the city and the Cantonment have been purged of the pest of drink. The movement and its results have their lessons for all concerned. The success demonstrates fully that the bulk of the people—the 99 per cent, with the exception of confirmed slaves of drink—do not want these liquor-shops in their midst, and a little pressure of public opinion expressed by the moral suasion of the picketting volunteers is sufficient to dissuade the one per cent. that is hopelessly addicted to the vile temptation. Secondly, it can be seen that this liquor-traffic rules rampant in India only because of the fact that it is the Government that deals in it and that backs its distribution with all its resources. Let Government withdraw its support as it has been done in this case by following complete non-interference policy and we are quite sure that this land will be purged of this vile curse. Till now all efforts towards temperance or prohibition were defeated by the active interference of some of the zealous officials who considered themselves to be the custodians of the Government revenue. By the spontaneous movements like that in Poona, the people give the Government clearly to understand that they do not wish to have anything to do with the tainted money which they can willingly forego. A plebiscite on this point, if taken even now, as it was taken twelve years before, would prove to the hilt our contention; and we request the Government to try it if they wish. Why should Government fight shy of public opinion in these days of popular government under the cover of safeguarding individual liberties of drink. Poona and Cantonment want complete prohibition by the shutting down of the liquor-shops, and those responsible for their existence can bring it about if they honestly try. Attempts are being made to discredit the movement in Poona by picturing to the gullible world a state of mob-rule in Poona regarding this prohibition of drink; but these attempts are bound to fail and the authors would not succeed in retarding the movement.......... But while this peaceful movement of prohibition is surging in the land what are the attempts that are being made by the apostles of Government policy? In season and out of season they are decrying it and asserting with an aggressive insolence that the prohibition movement has been hopelessly mismanaged by the non-co-operators. The bogey of violence has been held aloft even before the eyes of that champion of anti-drink movement, Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson, who is shortly expected in India. Mr. Pussyfoot is confidently told that the Government here is an enthusiast in the matter of prohibition and it is only the people who defeat their efforts by going to the liquor-shops in which liquor specially distilled by Government is dazzled before the eyes of the poor people. It is further stated that Mr. C. V. Mehta, the Minister in charge of this department, has discovered another device, and it is of limiting the supply of liquor to the licensees of the liquor-shops on the basis of consumption of the year before. One is moved to laughter at these ideas as experience of years show, that the liquor-consumption has a knack of increasing every year, thanks to the temptations offered by the liquor-shops. The people are now tired of these devices. They have seen the revenue as well as the consumption raised by high taxation, both being increased every year, and they will be satisfied with nothing less than the complete prohibition of distilling and sale of liquor as well as its importation from foreign lands. Let the Minister in charge direct his energy towards this goal and he will be helped and backed by the people in his efforts to achieve it."

Vidyarthi (153), 14th May; *Kamgar Mitra* (119), 4th Apl.; *Gosevak* (159), 19th May.

7. On account of the anti-liquor campaign in Poona the sale of liquor there has been much reduced. License holders would naturally complain of this to Government as they have already paid for their licenses. People are anxiously looking forward as to what attitude Government are going to take up with regard to this matter. Will Government crush this movement, or be true to their duty of giving up their love of revenue? If the former policy be adopted, Government will be said to have fallen from their duty. Government are solely responsible for the spread of the drink habit. As licenses are given to the highest bidders Government may be said to be engaged in trading in liquor. At the same time when a person commits an offence under the influence of drink he is arrested by the police and punished. To throw open liquor shops inviting people to come and drink, and then to punish them for their misbehaviour, what kind of policy is this? True, if this trade be stopped Government would lose the revenue therefrom. But for what does Government exist? To replenish the state treasury, or to protect the people? [The *Kamgar Mitra* says:—Wherever the anti-liquor crusade has been started, repression by Government has been the strongest. Mr. Dastane (Bhusawal), Mr. Joshi (Amraoti), Dr. Cholkar (Nagpur) and others have been arrested and prosecuted. Government is doing its best to put down this movement. If the Russian Government, tyrannical and uncivilised as it is in the eyes of England, discourages and stops the liquor trade, why should not our Government let our anti-drink agitation, at least, have its own course unmolested? The opening of liquor shops is as a matter of fact the first offence of Government. All religions strongly condemn drinking. And yet the solemn pledges given in the Queen's Proclamation of 1859 to let people abide by the tenets of their own religion have been set aside with regard to drink. People have thus lost their faith in Government's word of honour. The Abkari Department is now placed in the hands of Ministers, but they seem to have lost their heads at the sight of the heaps of money which they get as their pay. If they at all remember their past prattings about doing good to India's children they should see that they do not turn traitors to their mother-country by allowing liquor shops to remain open. If they do not unitedly request Government to make a law putting an end to the liquor trade we shall consider them as our enemies. The *Gosevak* writes:—Liquor has prostrated the powers of the nation, deprived it of its self-respect, and made it effeminate. Of the many British snares into which the people have been lured and caught that of drink is the greatest. And so the Hindus have tried to break away from it. But Government, like a prostitute who keeps people in vice to reap profit, forcibly put a stop to the struggle. The present agitation, though not included in the non-co-operation programme, has been voluntarily launched by the people, and the noticeable feature of it is that the illiterate masses are taking an enthusiastic part in it. The leaders consider this a very hopeful sign.

The anti-drink movement should be extended throughout the Presidency.

Kesari (120), 24th May.

8. Commenting upon the anti-drink movement at Poona, the *Kesari* writes:—The drink evil will not be completely eradicated even if all the liquor shops in Poona are closed. A man living at Poona and given to drinking will not be completely freed from the grip of this vice if he can satisfy his craving for liquor, say, at Bombay or Sholápur or at some other place in the Poona District itself. Therefore, this movement must be carried on everywhere simultaneously. Moreover, it is very likely that the authorities will continue to maintain an attitude of neutrality owing to the just policy of the present Viceroy and the Governor. Such an opportunity will never occur again. Owing to the preaching of non-violence along with non-

co-operation, there is no likelihood at all of the people resorting to violence. Malegaon was only an exception and, therefore, need not be taken into account. Besides, it would have been very strange indeed if there were no disorders in a district at whose head is Mr. Simcox. If we lose this golden opportunity now the drink evil will surely destroy our society at some future date and the sin will lie on our heads. The movement should, therefore, be launched throughout the Presidency. A combination of self-sacrifice, discipline, non-violence and tenacity cannot fail to ensure success for this movement everywhere.

Government the greatest opponent in the matter of the anti-drink agitation.
Karma Veera (88), 27th May; *Karnatak Mitra* (38), 26th May.

9. As soon as the anti-drink movement was introduced in the Karnatak, we had pointed out that there were three enemies to the movement, the drinkers, the contractors and the Government. The drinkers who are enslaved by the habit are temporary enemies and there cannot be any lasting enmity in them. Those who come next are our enemies, only because they have lost their money. Those who come last are our real enemies. They do not fear only a decrease in their revenues. They think that by a contraction in the drink habit, the people will become more honest and righteous and that injustice on the part of Government will not be allowed to continue any longer. The rulers have everything to gain by keeping poor and helpless people under the domination of the habit. In any country which is independent or enjoying a good government, there is not the least possibility of picketing being punished. But our country is dependent and subjected to a wicked administration. The Government have taken up an attitude of hostility to these volunteers, in the fear that their revenues might decrease and that the people might grow righteous. Prosecutions for picketing which have taken place up to this time in India have been based on complaints—such as committing breach of the public peace, raiding and obstructing individual liberty. A good many cases have been dismissed on account of the fact that the evidence got up by the police was not quite satisfactory. As picketing does not come under any section of the Penal Code, it has been the practice of Government to treat it as raiding or some such other criminal offence and thus strike terror into the hearts of the people. [The *Karnatak Mitra*, referring to the prosecutions for picketing by Government, writes :—The determination of the people is equally strong and they welcome these punishments, and regard them as ornaments or titles. In spite of all these punishments they have not allowed the pace of the movement to slacken. A Government under which such brave and selfless workers are regarded as *badmashes* and which sends liquor to the houses of the people that they might get drunk may be fitly called the government of thieves. We have never known any other country except India where the Government itself gives drink to the subjects and ruins their life and reduces them to a wretched condition. But there is no help. It is our lot to fight peacefully with this satanic system of Government and acquire our birthrights.]

Comments on the Press Note on Nadiad Municipality's refusal of educational grant.
Sind Observer (12), 7th May.

10. Referring to the Press Note of Government on the refusal of educational grant by the Nadiad Municipality, the *Sind Observer* writes:—"The Minister for Education deserves our congratulations for the statesmanly course he has adopted in this matter. Before the reformed era Government would have come down with thunder and lightning upon any Municipality adopting the course which the Nadiad Municipality has adopted. Perhaps, it would have gone also to the length of suspending the Municipality. But the methods adopted by Honourable Mr. Paranjpye, though mild, are equally effective......... Government by intending to start their schools within the Municipal limits of Nadiád has really done a service to those parents who cannot devour the non-co-operationist nostrum holus-bolus. The Nadiád Municipality has undertaken a very serious responsibility. They will have to maintain schools without increasing the rates or have to depend upon charitable doles which cannot be had indefinitely. The parents

of children will soon find out that mere spinning will not make them happy, contented and intelligent citizens and that they have sacrificed their children for political purposes of those playing for high stakes:........ There is no need of national schools on the Gandhian model unless the boys are wanted for being the soldiers of *swaraj* which is a political and not an educational consideration."

Comments on the agreement between the Tata Company and Government with regard to the Mulshi Hydro-Electric Scheme.
Mahrátta (8), 29th May.

*11. "The much advertised agreement between the Government and the Tata Power Company regarding Mulshi works has at last seen the light of the day. The agreement does not and cannot affect the determination of the Mavlas to carry on their Satyagraha as they refuse and rightly refuse to admit the right of any authority to deprive them of their hearths, their homes and their ancestral lands against their will, except of course in cases of National emergency such as war, etc., which does not obtain in the present case......... The agreement presupposes certain conditions one of which is the nature of the Mulshi project which is alleged to be conducive to the economic welfare of the people. We have repeatedly in these columns shown the futility of the argument and if one reads carefully the objects of the Land Acquisition Act, one can clearly see that the Act was never meant to cover cases like the present. The terms of the agreement provide that the Company must pay the amount of compensation as may be determined by the Collector who is to be considered the final arbitrator in the matter. Had there been a provision made as a special case that the compensation ought to be determined by private arbitration between the Panch elected by the ryot and the representative of the Government, the agreement would have assumed a better form. .... The Satyagraha struggle in Mulshi will assume another aspect now that this agreement is entered into because this agreement shifts the burden of fighting from the shoulders of the Company to the shoulders of the Government. The agreement is viewed by the Mavlas as an unholy alliance between the Tata Company and the government to coerce the Mavlas into submission. The only party that is to be satisfied are the Mavlas and we, for one, cannot see any objection for carrying on the work if the Mavlas are satisfied and if they willingly allow the operations of the Land Acquisition Act go forth unchallenged. If the Company and the Government have a good case why should they not try to induce the Mavlas to their views. If they try they will find that they have no ground to stand upon and the Mavlas are in the right."

Lokasatta (124), 21st May.

12. The oppression which the Indian bureaucracy is practising against the peaceful people of India under the sweet-sounding name of discipline and justice has become unbearable to them. As a matter of fact, the bureaucracy is meant for the good of India, but the whole world knows to what extent it is working for the welfare of the country. It has been doing anything it likes on the strength of its authority. Its silly idea is that India is a place for giving full play to its whims. When a servant tries to dominate over his master he must be brought to his senses by being severely taken to task. India has, therefore, started a constitutional campaign to bring the bureaucracy to realise its own position and to make her influence felt by it. It would be impossible to describe the extent to which the bureaucracy has been guilty of ingratitude towards Indians on whose money it has grown fat. It has under the pretext of enforcing discipline and peace enacted laws to oppress India. Even to think of our present degenerate condition and past glory is sedition in the prejudiced eye of the bureaucracy, and so it has passed the Seditious Meetings Act and put the bit into the mouth of the Indians? It has declared that it is going to deprive the people of Mulshi of their lands and hand them over to the Tata Company with the help of the Land Acquisition Act. The Mulshi Petha people are thus menaced by a great peril and they should practice *Satyagraha* to the end, It is tyrannical to take people's lands by force for the benefit of trading companies. The Maharashtra, which is already poor, would thereby be reduced to the utter depths of poverty. Government did not show the magnanimity of consulting the people in the matter of granting compensation for their lands. Was that not strange on the part of

our justice-loving Government? Government at its pleasure takes and gives land to whomsoever it likes. Justly have the people condemned this abuse of the Land Acquisition Act. We must strongly protest against the action of the Government of Bombay in enforcing the Land Acquisition Act against the Mavlas. The duel between Government and the Mavla *satyagrahis* is going on. Behind the latter is the benevolent power of God. We appeal to them to prove by their peaceful conduct that "Might is not Right, but Right is might."

Lokashahi (126), 23rd May.

13. Government and the Tata Company have suspended work at Mulshi until September next to complete their preparations for the coming struggle. After that time they will re-commence work with redoubled vigour in spite of the opposition of the Mavlas. There is not much room for hope that the Tata Company will profit by its experience and give up its intention of destroying the hearths and homes of the Mavlas. We are confident that at this critical juncture Shivaji's Mavlas will not hesitate to lay down their lives for the sake of their lands. If the sacrifice of so many *satyagrahis* is necessary for the further enrichment of a handful of capitalists of Bombay, then let it be so. If the Mavlas do not part with their lands, Government may punish them, may beat them, may send them to jail, or may even shoot them if they could characterize their opposition as an act of rebellion. What more will they do? But should this frighten the Mavlas into helping to murder their motherland?

Comments on the Financial Secretary's reply to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in connection with the 7 per cent. sterling loan.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th May.

14. "The Financial Secretary has addressed a long polemic to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau on the subject of the seven per cent. sterling loan, attempting to reply to the specific charges levelled against the action of the Government by the Chamber.......... Stated compendiously, the Financial Secretary's argument amounts to this: that owing to certain political agitation at present going on in this country, India's position is, or may be feared to have been, so far weakened in the foreign money market that those responsible for the success of such a loan cannot afford to take risks by offering uncertain terms. Granting *in toto* Mr. Cook's impossible position, it amounts to this that, the Government of India are prepared to teach us a severe lesson as to the financial and economic necessity of not differing from official opinion on pain of India's annual drain being incontinently increased. Does Mr. Cook seriously think that India will at this time of day accept such special pleading and sit down with folded hands under such insults? Examining the argument more in detail, we must charge the Government, assuming the truth or validity of Mr. Cook's suggestions and implications, with culpable negligence in safeguarding the interests of India. If they knew or believed that the British investor was seriously perturbed about the political situation in this country; if they were aware that a certain alarmist section of anti-Indians was intensifying the difficulties of the Government of India by creating a false atmosphere in England, was it not their duty to dispel such false impressions before venturing on a financial operation which would mean an admitted and unjustifiable loss to this country?......... It appears to be unjustifiable, unmitigated negligence, to use no stronger expression, for the Government to float a loan in England under conditions which they now officially allege to have influenced the Secretary of State and his advisors in settling the extravagant terms of the sterling loan. A Government which could be guilty of such a gross remissness in duty is undeserving of public confidence. We do not, however, believe in the elaborate special pleading of Mr. Cook. If there is any truth in the suggestion that India's credit in England has suffered owing to the non-co-operation movement, the sole course open to the Government was not to incur unnecessary risk or loss by offering specially high terms, but to refrain from borrowing until those misapprehensions had been removed.......... Before these absolutely indefensible terms of interest and conversion were fixed upon were the Government of India consulted, we want to know, about

the ability of the Indian money market to make up the loan necessary for righting Indian finance, and if so, what answer did Simla make to such inquiries? Or is the public to conclude—what, indeed is transparenat in every line of Mr. Cook's special pleading—that the Government of India were left entirely in the dark by the Secretary of State and his financial advisors who negotiated the deal for the benefit of the Lombard Street bankers?......... If this conclusion is right—and we cannot see what other conclusion can be reasonably deduced from the communiques officially issued—we demand that the Financial Committee of the Secretary of State's Council having, proved themselves unworthy of the trust reposed in them, shall be summarily replaced, or such other means shall be adopted as will insure India once and for ever against this unacceptable excuse for official blunders. The charge against the Government of India does not end here. It has been proved that corporations with a poorer credit than that of the Governmont of India could borrow in the London market cheaper than the Government have been made to do. Admitting such borrowing to be unavoidable, and deciding upon such a borrowing in England, they were still bound to afford equal facilities for Indian investors to avail themselves of the loan if they wanted to do so. Mr. Cook has on this point adopted the good old traditional attitude of unrepentant bureaucrats: a plea for special circumstances, a lame admission of default and a half-hearted promise of reform in the future. We wonder at the effrontery of our Finance Department when it could write as it does in this letter....... This tardy admission of the initial error does not save us from a future repetition of the same, unless our legislators assert the fundamental principles of public credit in this country that no loan shall be floated by the Secretary of State for India in Council (whose financial Committiee needs to be radically reconstructed) on behalf and on account of the Government of India, unless first the Indian market has been tried for the sum required; and, failing the Indian market meeting the entire demand of the Government of India, unless in every case of outside borrowing, ample facilities are provided for investors in India to avail themselves of the foreign loan."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 29th May.

***15.** "The Government of India gets deeper into the mire in its attempt to defend the sterling loan of 7½ millions recently raised in London at 7 per cent. The most charitable interpretation of its endeavour to justify this crowning episode of financial maladministration is that the Government does not understand what it is talking about. This, however, is rendered difficult by the attempt, as pompous as it is futile, in the reply to the second communication of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, on the subject of the loan, to browbeat its critics into acquiescence in its ineptitude. The Government seems to think more of obtaining a dialectical victory over the Chamber than placing its action in a favourable light before the impartial public.......... The Chamber had stated, by way of criticism of the 7 per cent. rate of interest, that various Corporations in London had been able to raise money in recent months on a 6 per cent. basis.......... Government admits that various Corporations did raise loans at the lower rate, but tries to make light of it by stating that these loans were individually of relatively small sums and that latterly underwriters had been left with a good share of the issues. It is news to us that private bodies requiring relatively small loans can obtain them at a lower rate of interest than a great Government requiring a large national loan. This is tantamount to saying that a wholesale purchaser pays a higher price for his commodity—be it wheat, cotton or credit—than the retail dealer—a proposition not in accord with the every-day experience of trade and commerce.......... The Government of India proceeds to show—and this is the most astounding part of this extraordinary document—that the British investing public had some reason, or at least the Secretary of State had reason to think that it had, for doubting the stability of the Government of India.......... [Here the paper quotes the passage and says:—] The writer of this passage, no doubt, believed that he was cleverly turning the tables on the critics of the Government policy. But like all excessively clever persons, he has overshot his mark, and proved just the very thing that Indians who are not infatuated with Mr. Montagu's methods have been suspecting, namely, that the Secretary of State is seeking to placate British and Anglo-Indian critics of his reforms by increased salaries and pensions, by the recent exchange 'policy', and by this extravagant loan.......... As for non-co-operation being a justification for the high interest, there is a large body of opinion in England, inspired by retired and retiring Anglo-Indians, which believes and openly declares that the destruction of British rule in India is likely to ensue as a result of Mr. Montagu's reforms. We daresay that a certain section of the British people feel that non-co-operation may paralyse British rule, but the capitalist and investing section of the British public, and the middle classes, who need well-paid positions for their sons (and daughters, also, nowadays) are far more alarmed about Mr. Montagu's reforms; and if political reasons are to be dragged into finance, it may quite as plausibly be maintained that the Secretary of State's anxiety to soothe them accounts for what is otherwise unaccountable in recent Indian finance.......... The weakest point in the Indian Merchants' representation was the complaint that they were not allowed to have a share of the spoil.......... The question whether it is right to prevent the Indian public from participating in railway and other loans raised in London should have been raised independently of this objectionable loan. But they somehow complained of it, and the Government of India have promised them that they shall have a finger in the next pie. It is the country that pays, and if by letting the Indian merchants have a slice of any good thing that may be going it is possible to satisfy them, the Government of India will, of course, be glad to do so. It may even issue a special loan at 8 per cent. for the benefit of the Indian merchants as it is never at a loss for ways of spending money."

Kesari (120), 24th May.

16. Who is to be held responsible for the loss which India will incur on account of this loan? Now Government put forward the plea that they did not expect that the loan could be raised so very easily. But, then, are the experts appointed by the Secretary of State to give him advice in such matters so very ignorant? Is it not waste of money to give remuneration or commission to these *hazams* who did not know that hundreds of people were able to obtain a loan in London at the rate of six per cent.? Again, the Secretary of State raised this loan with such unseemly haste that Indian merchants were practically debarred from subscribing to it. Thus all the excess over the customary gain went to the merchants in London! All this shows to what extent the angle of vision of the Secretary of State and the Government of India has changed, and what importance they attach to the interests of Indians. Men who advocate co-operation with such a Government must be either blind or traitors to their own country.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 23rd May.

17. The reply given by the Government of India in the Finance Department to the communication of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, on the subject of the recent sterling loan of £ 7½ millions is very annoying inasmuch as it considers Indian merchants and bankers as mere children and tries to satisfy them by arguments that would convince none but children. The contention that the activities of an alarmist section of politicians in England and the existence of certain political activities in India rendered it impossible to secure a loan in England at a small rate of interest than 7 per cent. is tantamount to defaming the British public. The officials who were responsible for floating the sterling loan have proved their incompetence in as much as the Bank of England took advantage of their folly and secured a huge premium and a commission that brings the rate of interest secured by it to 9 per cent. for the first year. [The paper then goes on to show that the arguments advanced by the Government of India in the matter of issuing the loan in sterling and the purpose for which it was issued, *viz.*, meeting the alleged capital expenditure on Indian Railways, are equally futile and worthless.]

Comments on Mr. Sastri's interview with the *Manchester Guardian*.

***Gujaráti* (17), 29th May, Eng. cols.**

*18. Commenting on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's interview with the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—**"The people of India cannot shut their eyes to the exclusion of Indians from Australia and Canada and the exhibition of strong racial prejudice by South Africa towards the Indian settlers. Why should India then be called upon to entertain** seriously any proposal in favour of Imperial Preference and freedom of trade which carried with it freedom to enter alien countries? If the right of free entry was denied to India, she is bound to demand Dominion status in the first instance. With regard to the question of an Indian Navy, the position of the Indian people is perfectly clear. The present military organization of the country is based on racial and selfish lines. It is dominated by the principle of distrust and suspicion of the Indian people. They will not submit any longer to any such policy in the maintenance of the present military system or the creation of an Indian Navy on similar lines.......... If the Dominions adhere to their policy of exclusion, is India to be called upon to protect Australia, for instance, which had closed her doors to Indian? The Imperial Conference will have to deal with this all-important question and we are glad Mr. Sastri has taken his stand upon the principle of equality of status for India and of the equipment and control of the India Navy by India."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 29th May.

***19.** "During the last twenty years, the Indian Army has been indented upon in every great war. Indian troops were the first in the field of South Africa in the last Boer War and, indeed, an Indian friend who had met Boer gentlemen in London, told us not long ago that they alleged that their feelings against Indians is partly due to the fact that they helped the British to deprive them (Boers) of their freedom. India was 'bled white' to supply troops in the recent war. Indian troops were in every theatre of operations—France, Flanders, East Africa, Mesopotomia, Asia Minor and Egypt. In this way, India and the Indians have earned for themselves all the odium of foreign conquest without its compensations in political or material ways. India has not received a single piece of mandated territory not that she should have welcomed it. She gave not only her men, but money and materials, and for a reward got the Rowlatt Act and the infamous O'Dwyer-Dyer heroics shortly after the declaration of the Armistice. India now thinks that she has had done enough of this sweating and slaving for an Empire which is more like one of the exclusive Clubs of Anglo-India where 'natives are admitted only as waiters and menials than a Commonwealth where she may regard herself as much at home as the other Dominions'. Mr. Sastri was merely giving expression to this wide spread sentiment in India to his interviewer in London, and he would have been utterly unworthy of his representative position, had he not done so. We trust, he will maintain his position firmly in the Cabinet discussions."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Shastri's views on the Anglo-Japanese Agreement.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 27th May.

20. Commenting upon the interview given by the Honourable Mr. Shastri to a representative of Reuter, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—We are glad that the Honourable Mr. Shastri has expressed such an opinion with regard to the Anglo-Japanese Agreement. The terms of this agreement so far as they relate to Indians cast a slur not only upon them but also upon the Indian and British Governments. Who will say that these terms do not prove that the relations between the Indian and British Governments and the Indian people are strained and are likely to encourage outside enemies in their ambitions against India? How derogatory and insulting they are will be seen from the fact that the Government of Japan have not stipulated for the help of the British army in case of need against her own people. No such terms about help to be given by the government of one country to that of another to fight against her own people has ever been introduced in any agreement between any two civilised countries. This condition is very degrading and the Indians will not consent to the Anglo-Japanese Agreement being ratified permanently so long as it is not removed from it. As the Honourable Mr. Shastri has pointed out, they will continue to protest against it.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th May.

21. "In his interview with Reuter Mr. Sastri has given fuller expression to his views on the problems which will come up for consideration at the Imperial Conference, and it is due to him to say that he has, on the whole, correctly voiced the sentiments of India.......... We are afraid that the present session of the Conference is not likely to tackle seriously the problem of the position of Indians within the Empire. But unless that is done, India will be unable to participate usefully in the Conference. The subject is being overshadowed by those of Imperial Defence and the Anglo-Japanese Treaty, and there is already an impression abroad that the one subject which concerns India most will be practically shelved this time. If this, unfortunately, turns out to be the case, and if attempts are made to commit India to Imperial Preference and additional contribution to naval defence, Mr. Sastri and the Rao of Cutch owe it to their country as well as themselves to wash their hands off the whole business, after entering an emphatic protest against the decisions. If they fail to do so, which we hope they will not, the decisions of the Conference will not be binding on India and will be entirely repudiated by the nation. We had enough of this business—of things being arranged for our 'benefit' by outsiders. India wants a voice—and will insist on asserting it—in what concerns her own weal or woe."

Alleged maltreatment of prisoners in Isapur Jail.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd May.

22. Referring to a letter from Mr. Ginwalla describing alleged maltreatment of the prisoners in the Isapur Jail, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"In the eyes of our benign rulers, the Isapur Jail is, no doubt, one of those humane institutions where misguided human beings are taught to reform their ways and become worthy citizens. On this assurance large sums are annually voted for the maintenance of these 'humanitarian' institutions and their supervising staff. How exactly the 'benevolent' task is carried out within the walls of these institutions can be seen from the shocking revelations of Mr. Ginwalla's informant. .... The treatment accorded to the prisoners appears to be one of calculated brutality. It may be asked how this ill-treatment escapes the notice of the Superintendent, and the official and non-official visitors to the jail. We do not know if any of the non-official visitors have ever cared to visit the jail of late and make private enquiries into the grievances of the prisoners. But as for the Superintendent, Mr. Ginwalla's informant says, he inspects the jail only very casually, and the jailor threatens to subject the prisoners to the severest punishment in case they dare to complain. The informant also states that Home Rulers are specially marked out and given the worst treatment by the jailor, 'who tauntingly asks them to cry out the name of Mahatma Gandhi when they cry out for the pain felt by them owing to his brutal flogging.' While such is the conduct of the jailor, that of the Superintendent, Mr. Bailey, too, appears to be worthy of the severest condemnation. The form of punishment he has devised for defaulters in jail discipline would do credit to the jail officials of China of the pre-Republican days.......... We want to know what the Inspector-General and the Government of Sir George Lloyd have to say of these shocking conditions of jail life at Isapur. We and the general public shall be glad, of course, to be assured that the facts are not as represented. But a mere assurance of the jail authorities will not be enough to convince the public that the allegations made by Mr. Ginwalla's informant are baseless. We want Government to institute forthwith a strict and impartial inquiry into these allegations and probe the matter to the bottom not only for the sake of their own good name, but also with a view to bring some relief to the miserable wretches—'the images of God'—who according to the report are being treated worse than brutes."

Comments on the Government of India *communique* on the British mission to Kabul.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th May.

23. The *Bombay Chronicle* expesses dissatisfaction at the Government of India's *communique* about the British mission to Kabul and says:—"The Indian public demand full and frank particulars of the representations of the Amir and the tribal delegates regarding Government's frontier policy, the causes that have created friction, the methods proposed by the Indian and Afghan authorities to bring about a better state of affairs, and the demarcation of the Indian and Afghan border limits. Has the Amir accepted the British policy of the blockade of the Mashud country and permanent occupation of Waziristan? Has Amanullah nothing to say about the Khyber railway? Does he agree to the British forward policy of annexation and occupation of independent tribal territory? What are his views and

proposals regarding subsidy, the employment of tribesmen in the Indian Army and the right of sending envoys to foreign countries? These are some of the most important questions that the Government of India should answer plainly, fully, and promptly.......... The reference to the Dane mission is absurd. Sir Louis Dane was sent to Afghanistan at a time when Indo-Afghan relations were friendly and his business was merely to secure Habibullah's confirmation of his father's treaty.......... The relations between the present Amir and the Indian Government are not satisfactory and the frontier tribes are either actively hostile or marking time.......... The veil of secrecy and mystery that surrounds the negotiations should be lifted. The plea that results hitherto reached could not be divulged without detriment to the public interest is untenable.......... The pious wish of the Government of India that they may take the public into their confidence as soon as the negotiations have reached a stage at which they can prudently do so means nothing. If a definite stage is reached at which the Government of India could come and say that a cut and dried treaty must be accepted or rejected with serious consequences, the public would be no better off. To consult the public after signing a treaty likely to lead to a ruinous peace or costly war is a novel method of taking the public into the confidence of the authorities. The era of secret diplomacy is gone and no enlightened country is now prepared to tolerate such a *regime*. If the Government of India think that they can play the old game for ever they are living in a fool's paradise."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 23rd May; *Hindusthán* (22), 24th May.

24. We must thank the Government of India for issuing a *communiqué* in the matter of the Kabul Mission. However, we would ask them to take the people into their confidence about the terms of the agreement that is likely to be effected between India and Afghanistan. A large military force has to be maintained at very great cost on the Afghan frontier owing to the policy of distrust adopted towards the Afghan Government. The Afghans object to railways and it is to be regretted that, blinded by imperialistic ideas, Lord Chelmsford made bold to construct a railway within Afghan territory. The freedom of smaller States has been guaranteed by the League of Nations and Afghanistan is entitled to such freedom owing to the neutrality it observed during the great European War. The Government of India would, therefore, do well to secure the goodwill of Afghanistan by giving up its schemes of railway construction in Afghanistan and dismantling the railway so far constructed in that country and also by handing over to the Amir Afghan territory recently acquired by them and reverting to the old boundry line. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—The Indians would like to be taken into confidence in the matter of Government's policy towards Afghanistan and their attitude towards the frontier tribes. Let us hope that Government will make a clean breast of things in order to put a stop to conjectures and rumours.]

Indian Social Reformer (7), 29th May.

*25. "The affairs in the North-West Frontier do not quite show that the final stage of peace is even approaching. After the late outrageous Afghan 'invasion', there have been Peace Missions going to and fro between Simla and Kabul and negotiations have not even yet reached a final stage! But the Government of India's *communique* on Sir Henry Dobbs Mission, while trying to assuage public fears, does not meet the points on which the people require light. The Government is, no doubt, as keen and as interested as the people in bringing about a Peace Treaty between India and Afghanistan as early as possible. But what we fear is that the Government themselves by their policy, either consciously or unconsciously, are adding to the complexities of the situation and 'to the protracted and delicate character of the present negotiations'. It is widely held that their own policy serves to keep the Frontier in a state of perpetual and unhealthy ferment. We are glad that the Government mean to take the public fully 'into their confidence as soon as the negotiations have reached a stage at which they can profitably do so'. But the Government must also take us into their confidence in regard to their own Frontier policy and activities.......... Government have all to gain by full publicity in all these matters, as the insecurity of life and property in the Frontier Province has become more than a scandal."

Government should hold an inquiry into the excesses committed by non-Brahmins against Brahmins in the Sátára District.

Kesari (120), 24th May.

26. The report of the Committee appointed by a public meeting held at Karad (Sátára), to inquire into the excesses alleged to have been committed by the non-Brahmins on the Brahmins at Garavde in the Patan Taluka of the Sátára District has, after taking evidence, reported that offences like throwing stones at the houses of Brahmins, destroying their wells, heaping up hay before the houses of Brahmins and setting it on fire, and levying blackmail from them, have been committed by non-Brahmins. Government do not pay attention to these offences although they are cognizable, and that is why the excesses in the Sátára District have not yet come to an end. The members of this Committee have thoroughly exposed this reprehensible affair and even Government will not be able to accuse them of partiality. The Committee recommend that the charges should be inquired into in the usual manner and that the Mamlatdar, Mr. Duduskar, should be transferred elsewhere during the inquiry. But the transfer of the Mamlatdar alone will not do. The Government of Bombay should also transfer the Collector, Mr. Moysey, before instituting an inquiry. Will the just and capable Governor of Bombay make a timely endeavour to remove this dark stain attaching to his administration?

The Indian Civil Service and the affairs in Sind.

New Times (9), 20th May.

27. Adverting to the references made by Lord Chelmsford in the course of his speech in London to the Civil Service, the *New Times* writes:—"Some of the Civil Servants are, we may well believe, trying to readjust their attitude and outlook. Whether they will rise to the occasion 'in a most wonderful way' time only will show. That many of them feel uncomfortable in the 'changed conditions' will, we think, be admitted by several. Until the system goes and the officials become really responsible to the people, there can be little hope of that readjustment without which India will soon become a second Ireland. And nowhere, we believe, does that system weigh so heavily upon the people as in Sind. The Sind officials as a body seem to be untouched by the new spirit. How else account for the persecution of political workers in the Province? Think of the young Khilafatists, some of them mere boys, sentenced to long periods of rigorous imprisonment. Think of Kazi Abdul Rahman—a young patriotic Muslim, the devoted editor of the *Al Wahid*—sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment for advocating, according to *his* lights, the claims of Islam. Think of Swami Govindanand sentenced to five years' transportation for a speech to a small audience in a little town. Does that sentence show a 'sense of balance and responsibility'?" [The paper here refers at length to the incidents at Shikarpur and to the serving of summonses on some leading non-co-operators at Hyderabad who refused to serve as assessors and concludes:—] "But Sind officials have a false conception of the *sircar's* prestige; and far from moving out of their grooves to meet with sympathy the challenge of the changed conditions in Sind, they are up against the new national spirit: they are only kicking against the pricks."

How to deal with the N. W. Frontier tribes.

Young India (14), 25th May.

28. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"The Punjabees living on the frontier deserve the sympathy of the whole of India. They are exposed to attacks from the neighbouring tribes, they are defenceless, the Government seem to give them little or no protection, and nowadays the rule of the officers, if anyone complains, is to refer the complaints to the Ali brothers and to me. If we had charge of Frontier, I know what we would have done. We would certainly have died in the attempt to defend the unarmed population of the districts. We would have, if necessary, armed the population for self-defence. But what is more, we would have won over the tribesmen and turned them from marauding bands into trustworthy neighbours. But we have to take things as they are. I assume that the Hindus and the Musalmans are friendly to one another, and that no Musalman traitorously helps the tribesmen against his Hindu brothers. The Musalman population this side of the Frontier is in an exceptionally strong position to help. We must not despair the tribesmen. We have too often

considered them to be hopeless. In my opinion, they are amenable to reason. They are God-fearing. They do not look merely for pleasure. I believe that they are themselves coming under the influence of the wave of self-purification that is spreading.......... If my writings can reach the tribesmen, I would certainly urge them to leave their predatory habits.......... It is the duty of every Musalman and Ulema who has any influence with these simple men to tell them that if they will play their part in defending Islam from impending danger, the least they can do is to refrain from molesting their neighbours, who have done not only no harm to them, but who, whether they are Hindus or Musalmans, are doing their best to safeguard the honour of Islám."

Necessity of a wholesale reconstruction of India's currency system.
Servant of India (14), 26th May.

29. Referring to the further fall in Exchange, the *Servant of India* writes:—"It is to our mind necessary that the public should press for the wholesale reconstruction of the country's currency system and should not tolerate Government's persistence in the retention of the gold exchange standard system which, after all, has not saved the country from the evil of instability from which it was supposed to be immune.......... The time has come for demanding that India's currency policy shall be determined in this country, according to the views of its people and solely in their interests."

The Indian National movement.
Bombay Chronicle (2), 29th May.

***30.** Mr. Bernard Houghton, writing in the *Bombay Chronicle* about the Indian National movement, says:—"The forces now unchained in India are such as cannot be curbed by official reins, nor shut in within the four corners of an Act of Parliament. You might as well tie up an elephant with pack-thread as prescribe by law the time and manner in which India shall rule herself. She moves on snapping the threads by which Lord Curzon, Lord Chelmsford and other Lilliputians would fain bind her. They may prate of the Montagu Reforms; they may hector, they may denounce; but what the world will now witness will be no reform but a revolution. Consider the forces in action. Some three hundred millions of human beings hitherto taught servility, and accustomed to think as a subject race, now see self-rule in sight and breathe the air of liberty. That air is as wine in the blood: it intoxicates, it exalts. Does anyone imagine that this great mass of humanity, thus awakened, will be content to go on step by step like school-children, their progress modulated to the teacher's command? If so, he will be swiftly disillusioned. For the change which has taken place in India is not one of degree, but radical. Eagerness has replaced apathy; instead of obedience there is selfwill; quiescence yields to motion. The ice has broken up and the waters have begun to move. That is the essential fact.......... If history of prior revolutions teaches anything it is that in such crisis as this the only chance of a quiet issue lies not in damming, but in giving full vent to the movement of the people. Not only on political issues is India in revolution; a change as profound has come into the whole mentality of the people. For the miasma of a foreign bureaucracy extends far beyond the actual machinery of government. It poisons the mind of the individual. It implants humbleness in his heart. It represses his initiative and blights his manhood.......... It comes to this, then, that no civilized people can be governed by another nation for their good. However well the latter intends, its relations with the subject people must, by their very nature, depress their vitality and debase their character. This is the psychological fact behind the world movement for autonomy, from Ireland to Korea.......... This soul-destroying government, based on the assumption of a racial inferiority, India must first tear out by the roots. Until that task is accomplished Indians cannot realize themselves. But political equality and freedom once achieved, other things will follow.......... In the world drama or which we now witness the opening scenes, decisions will be on the grand scale. The solemn march of history may become hurried, even disorderly....... The sun of our bureaucracy has set. In vain officialdom cries, Come, sit at my feet. I, your despot, will teach you freedom. It challenges Indians to prove that they are other than children. India takes up the challenge; she has found her manhood; men call it non-co-operation. Bureaucracy has had but one word for her, 'Obey'. Democracy says, 'Think' and that India will think to some purpose none can doubt who know her sons or her literature."

Comments on the Empire Day celebration in Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th May.

31. "Empire Day was observed yesterday by the same gentlemen who have been doing it for the last dozen years or so. It would be interesting to know something more about the Empire in which these people have a sort of proprietary interest. The cult of the Empire Day received its greatest impetus in the days of that great friend of India, Lord Sydenham, when he was the satrap of this Presidency. They were the golden days of toadies and flunkies, and repression was for all outside his orbit.......... Since then, however, India has advanced. Bombay, which could not make its grievances heard then, can do so now in unmistakable terms. The audience at yesterday's meeting was not more than 200, which, considering the occasion and the purpose for which it had met, must be considered decent. Mr. Joshi, who is the leader of the Empire Day movement in this Presidency had the support of a few J. P's. and other aspirants for titles. His speech was, however, pitched in a comparatively manly tone this year. It is a pity that Mr. Joshi and others who supported him yesterday did not tell the public more about the Empire which they possessed.......... Wherever one turns his eye one sees a huge wall erected against Indians! Except as coolies Indans are not wanted anywhere, whether in the Crown Colonies or in the Dominions.......... Therefore it is that the word Empire stinks in the nostrils of all Indians who want to be free, and not slaves. The less said of the people, who, in spite of the unutterable humiliations, still hug this fetish to their bosoms the better for all. But it is time that the cant was exposed. India is not in a mood just now to tolerate such humbug. The Congress resolution is there and the creed of the Congress has been deliberately changed. To talk enthusiastically of continuing our present servitude to bolster up an Empire which spells the ruin of all coloured people is degrading, and no self-respecting Indian will have anything to do with such attempt."

The British have been exploiting their subjects as no other rulers have done.

Karnatak Vaibhav (121), 17th May.

32. Englishmen have been ruling us. But they are rulers only in name. They are not rulers of the warrior class and their power is not that of the warrior. They are traders in the guise of rulers, and they came to this country for trade. They spread their net in the form of trade and just as a fisherman catches fish, they caught us in their net. They were born and brought up in the atmosphere of trade and they sink or rise according as their trade flourishes or is destroyed. They have no desire for rule, if their trade is safe. They hesitate to give up the reins of government lest, by so doing, they should lose their trade. Their Government serves as only a means for trading. Their King is our Emperor. He is called the King of England and the Emperor of India. But the distinguishing features of the British Empire are different from those which characterized the empires of the past. There never was in the past in any part of the world an empire which used its power over the subject peoples in expanding its own trade and carrying away their wealth. The Romans took pride in conferring their rights of citizenship upon the subject peoples in the Empire and gave them the benefits of their own culture. In that Empire anybody could rise to the position of an emperor without any distinction of caste or race even though he might be a savage. In ancient times, various empires flourished in our own country. In the Pouranic times, those who wished to be emperors performed the horse sacrifice and imposed their suzerainty over the tributary princes in the country. But they contented themselves with the tribute which they paid and never thought of exploiting the country for their own benefit. No emperor had ever attempted the bold enterprize of founding an empire with the intention of exploiting the trade of subject nations by destroying their industries and enslaving them for all time. Even the Muham-

madans did not follow the idea. But trade has been the foundation of the British Empire. Without trade the empire has no meaning."

Mr. Gandhi's interview with His Excellency the Viceroy.

Young India (14), 25th May.

33. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* about his interview with His Excellency the Viceroy:—"The reader must not be too curious. He must not believe the so-called 'reports' in the press. The veil must remain drawn over the details of the conversation between the Viceroy and myself. But I may assure him that I explained, as fully as I knew how, the three claims—the Khilafat, the Punjab, and *Swardj*, and gave him the genesis of non-co-operation. His Excellency heard me patiently, courteously and attentively. He appeared to me to be anxious to do only the right thing. We had a full discussion of the burning topics as between man and man. We discussed the question of non-violence, and it appeared to me to be common cause between us. Of that I may have to write more fully later. But beyond saying that we were able to understand each other, I am unable to say that there was more in the interview. Some may think with me that a mutual understanding is in itself no small gain. Then, in that sense, the interview was a distinct success. But at the end of all the long discussions, I am more than ever convinced that our salvation rests solely upon our own efforts. His Excellency can only help or hinder. I am sanguine enough to think that he will help."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd May.

34. "If Lord Reading really grasps the problem of non-co-operation and deals boldly with it in the sense which Indians wish, the frontier tribes, Afghanistan and Central Asia, even the Bolsheviks, will cease to be a menace......... Indian defence will cease to rank as an 'imperial' problem, it will be a matter between India and her friendly neighbours, and far from anyone objecting to the British connection, which would then be really beneficent to Asiatics, all Asia would acknowledge it to some extent; and Disraeli's vision of the British Empire as a league of free and happy nations without barriers of creed or colour, destined to embrace the world, would not appear illusory. If, on the other hand, the present policy of keeping Indians down because they happen to be Asiatics and not Europeans, of impoverishing Indians to defray the cost of the defence of India against nations which are not her enemies but enemies of England's anti-Asiatic policy, is pursued, then the British connection is a curse to Indians as an Asiatic people; and it is doomed, or so it seems to us......... To persist in it would be to court diasster; for everyone can see the signs of the coming storm from Moscow to the North-West frontier —a storm which can be permanently averted from the British Empire only by conceding the demands of Indian non-co-operators, which offer a secure foundation for Great Britain's future Asiatic policy. There are Indians who do not perceive all this, and they, alas! have daily access to the Viceroy......... They do not see that they are doing the worst possible service to England by encouraging that very racial arrogance against which the East will soon be rising as one man. Mahatma Gandhi is a better counsellor; he does not flatter, but he is a seer in politics. At least he will have shown Lord Reading that the Indian people have no hatred of the English as a race, or of the British connection, provided that the one are not oppressive or insulting and that the other takes account of India's conscious nationhood. And as for turning all the English out of India bag and baggage, no one dreams of such a thing. Why, if India gains her *swaraj* now with the consent of England, the English will be welcome, which they never were before."

New Times (9), 23rd and 24th May.

35. "We think it will in every way be desirable if Government and either the Congress Committee or Mahatma Gandhi published full accounts of the interviews which Mahatma Gandhi had with His Excellency Lord Reading. In the absence of any authoritative statement the public are unable to know if Government are really in a mood to respond to the wishes of the people.......... The public have a right to know the details of a matter of this character, specially when several surmises are being made by those who are by no means friendly to the movement of non-co-operation.......... That Mahatma Gandhi asked for an interview indicates his sincere desire to come to terms with Government—only the terms must be such as may vindicate India's honour: it is 'fairplay' Gandhiji is fighting for." [In the next issue the paper writes :—" We believe the frank discussion of the Indian situation and the movement of non-co-operation has convinced Lord Reading that, say what provincial bureaucrats will, the true non-co-operator is not a conspirator, and that the movement is interested in peace and order, as much as Government.......... The Afghan question, we are told, was fully discussed. And Mahatma Gandhi in his speech at Simla, said : 'As long as he lived, he would not tolerate any part of his country under foreign domination.' Does this mean that he now regards the Afghan 'bogey' as a real one, a real menace to India? It may be hoped Mahatma Gandhi will interpret more clearly his policy in regard to the Afghan question.......... One thing to our mind is clear—whether a 'bogey' or a 'menace,' no threat of an invasion, by the Afghan or any other foreign power, will have the sympathy of those in our midst who wish to see India free at the earliest possible date : we must win our freedom by peaceful methods, not purchase it by an alliance with a foreigner. And in all efforts at maintaining peace and order, Government will have the support of Indian nationalists. Anarchy or violence can only mean one thing—the throwing back of India's progress for at least a generation. This question of an Afghan 'invasion' indicates the very heart of our political problem—our struggle really is for *Swarâj*. The power to resist an Afghan or any other external menace demands *Swarâj*. The power to right the Punjáb wrong and make a repetition of the Jallianwalla tragedy impossible demands *Swarâj*. The Khilafat is an international question; but to settle it in a satisfactory manner demands *Swarâj*, for only if India is a free nation can she press the Muslim view of the Khilafat on the attention of the West. The question, therefore, is: How far is Lord Reading prepared to help India to achieve complete *Sawrâj* at an early date? To such a quesion, the Viceroy, we may venture to guess, made no satisfactory answer during the interview; or Mahatma Gandhi would not have spoken of the interview as 'both satisfactory and unsatisfactory'.......... We can easily understand that Lord Reading sincerely desires a conciliatory atmosphere; but His Excellency does not realise that what the situation requires is not simply *ultimate* justice to India, but justice to her at the earliest possible date; and that justice means *Swarâj*.]

Kâthiâwâr Times (27), 25th May, Eng. Cols.

36. "We are inclined to think that the interview and the free exchange of thoughts and ideas produced a wholesome influence upon the mind of both. As the member of an oppressed race that has smarted under various wrongs and disabilities for centuries, Lord Reading must have been impressed with the catalogue of wrongs furnished by the recent history of India which have goaded a vast section of the people to think of non-co-operation as the panacea for all the evils that afflict them. Mahatma Gandhi, we believe, has also been pursuaded to see the difficulties of the Government. We have faith in the ultimate triumph of sober counsels and wisdom.......... For some time past there has been a talk about a round-table conference between the Viceroy and the leaders of the non-co-operation movement.......... But there are difficulties in the way of the proposed conference which cannot but be perceived by a shrewd judge of affairs like Lord Reading. He has, therefore, done well in coming into close personal touch with Mahatma Gandhi with a view to having a clear insight into his ideals and view-points. Had there been more of such pourparlers between the representatives of the Government and of Mathama Gandhi's school of political thought, we think the present policy of repression would not have arisen to complicate the situation. We regret the Government has adopted the policy without caring to consult public opinion. In conclusion, we hope the Viceroy with his keen penetrating and logical mind would be able to get into the skin of Mathatma Gandhi and those who swear by the non-co-operation movement and succeed in re-establishing peace, progress and prosperity in India."

Lokashahi (126), 23rd May; *Rájakáran* (138), 22nd May; *Swarájya* (149), 26th May.

37. Commenting upon the interviews which His Excellency the Viceroy gave to Mr. Gandhi, the *Lokashahi* says that India is not prepared to abate her demand for *swarájya* even by an iota. It remarks that the British Cabinet sent Lord Reading to India not to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of Indians but to throw dust in their eyes in the name of justice. It blames Mr. Gandhi for deciding to see the Viceroy before taking the other Indian leaders into his confidence. The paper warns Mr. Gandhi that the nation will not back him up if he accepts a compromise on the question of *Swarájya*. [The *Rájakáran* writes:—The whole of India is anxious to know what policy Lord Reading adopts after making himself acquainted with the views of prominent politicians. If he comes to the conclusion that repression and the wholesale imprisonment of popular leaders will achieve the desired end, then we do not hope for any improvement in the present situation. Lord Reading's ability and statemenship will be judged by the use he makes of the information he has collected. The *Swarájya* says that people will not be satisfied if only the question of the Punjáb is solved satisfactorily and that of *swarájya* is dropped. According to the paper, the establishment of *swarájya* alone will give satisfaction to both the Hindus and Muhammadans.]

Gujaráti (17), 22nd May; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 26th May; *Hindusthán* (21), 21st May; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 26th May; *Akbhár-e-Islám* (59), 24th May.

38. We fail to understand what Mr. Gandhi means by saying that his interview with Lord Reading can be said to be both a success and a failure. We do not think that Lord Reading could possibly have refused to give justice to Indians or Mr. Gandhi could have consented to give up his demand for *swaráj*. Lord Reading is said to have referred to the difficulties of administration and has given a number of interviews to Mr. Gandhi and these interviews may end in failure if Mr. Gandhi is unable to point out to Lord Reading a way to get over these difficulties. We would like to know the difficulties of administration referred to by Lord Reading as Mr. Gandhi has not thrown any light upon them. We are surprised at the note of warning sounded by Lala Lajpatrai in the matter of a Gandhi-Reading compromise. In our opinion India can get *swaráj* in accordance with the Reform Act of 1919 which has empowered the British Parliament to confer political concessions on India gradually and to constitute India as an integral part of the British Empire. Along with *swaráj*, Indians should be given fiscal autonomy and the powers to frame their own administrative system. We feel sure that the Indian people will lend their full support to Lord Reading if he uses his influence to secure *swaráj* for Indians of the kind referred to above. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—It appears from the account published in *Young India* that Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi have been favourably impressed by each other and have been convinced of each other's honesty of purpose. If Mr. Gandhi succeeds in removing the misunderstanding that prevails in official quarters in the matter of the non-co-operation movement and if the followers of Mr. Gandhi carry it on in a peaceful and non-violent manner, we feel confident that it will achieve success and that, too, at an early date. The *Hindusthán* writes:—It is quite evident that Mr. Gandhi cannot arrive at a compromise with the Viceroy in the matter of non-co-operation without consulting the Congress. Mr. Gandhi's utterances after his interview with the Viceroy make it clear that the non-co-operation movement cannot be put a stop to either by repression or compromise. We are grieved to see that some people have begun to entertain doubts that Mr. Gandhi would be disposed to give up non-co-operation after his interview with the Viceroy. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Indians know full well that they are not in a position to get *swaráj* within a year or so and they are, therefore, glad to hear that Lord Reading has consented to do full justice in the matter of the Punjáb, as reported by the special correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle*. We have every reason to believe that the political tangle in India will be solved by the settlement of the Punjáb question. The *Akbhár-e-Islám* writes:—We are glad to note that Mr. Gandhi has recognised a true well-wisher of India in Lord Reading. Government officials should walk in the footsteps of Lord Reading and consult popular representatives in the matter of the discontent prevailing in the country. We feel sure that there will be no ground for discontent if Government officials take the popular representatives into their confidence.]

Bharatvási (162), 20th May.; *Káthiáwár Opinion* (26), 22nd May; *Deshi Mitra* (66), 26th May; *Hind Vijaya* (70), 25th May; *Baroda Vartamán*, (61), 23rd May.

39. Mahatma Gandhi was asked whether his interview with the Viceroy was succesful or not. He replied that it was successful as well as unsuccessful. God knows what motive the Mahatmaji had in uttering these words. If the interview was neither a complete failure, nor a complete success, then it is a compromise in which each party has to give up something. An "Independent Swaraj" does not exist anywhere in the world. Even a great power like England enjoys *Swaraj* only by making treaties with other nation; so that "Independent Swaraj" is impossible for India, for she will have necessarily to make a treaty with some naval power. Let us suppose that we have driven the English out of India with the help of some other Powers. Having no navy of our own, however, we shall have to ally ourselves with those Powers for protection against hostile British or other aggression. Such Powers will necessarily demand some rights in return for their assistance. It would be better, therefere, that we should secure *Swaraj* like that of the self-governing Colonies; and the only road to that is constitutional agitation. We can reach our goal of Colonial *Swaraj* in a few years if some changes are made in some of the reforms recently made. Mr. Whyte, the President of the Imperial Legislative Assembly, admits that some changes are necessary and will have to be made. It is advisable, therefore, that Extremists and Moderates should make a joint demand for complete autonomy in the provinces and for immediate transfer of some departments of the Central Government to the popular control, and also for transfer of the remaining departments like the Military, etc., to the popular control, after the lapse of, say, 4 or 5 years. The time for complete autonomy in the Central Government ought, however, to be fixed and clearly stated; for without that there can be no *swaraj*. We should not allow the British Cabinet to determine the time and fitness for the grant of complete *swaraj* to us. We think that if we unanimously and vigorously agitate in the Councils, we can in the long run make the Government yield to our demands. Lord Reading will, however, be well advised even at this stage to yield to those demands with a view to effect a compromise. In our opinion Mahatma Gandhi himself might be willing to have a compromise on such terms; but there are others who say that he will not be listened to if he agrees to a compromise. If there is no compromise now, not only will England suffer but the attainment of *swaraj* for India will also be impossible. [The *Káthiáwár Opinion* writes:—Lord Reading may be very tactful and clever, but our popular leaders would refuse to be influenced by him so long as the Political situation in India does not accord with the resolutions passed by the National Congress. We do not think that Mr. Gandhi will do aught to oppose the wishes of the people and effect a compromise with the Viceroy. The demands of the people cannot be said to be extravagant and Government prestige would not be lowered by granting them. Let us hope that Lord Reading will not miss this opportunity of gaining popularity. The *Deshi Mitra* writes:—Lord Reading is reported to have referred to the difficulties of administration in his interview with Mr. Gandhi. Lord Reading, in spite of his anxiety to remove discontent from India, cannot do anything on his own initiative without obtaining the sanction of the British Cabinet. In these circumstances, the Viceroy cannot effect any great change in our administrative system. Similarly Mr. Gandhi cannot effect a compromise with the Viceroy without the consent of the people. The *Hind Vijaya* writes:—Lord Reading's reference to administrative difficulties means that he is not as free to give justice to India as he was while on the judicial bench in England. We should not, therefore, hope much from him. Let us hope, however, that Lord Reading will prevail upon the Cabinet the necessity of giving justice to India with a view to allaying the public discontent. The *Baroda Vartamán* warns Indians against effecting a compromise with Government.]

Lord Reading should give *swardjya* to India.

Chitramaya Jagat (85), (Maráthi) Mar.

40. In the course of an article entitled 'Struggle for *swardjya*' Mr. Damodar Wishwanath Gokhale writes in the *Chitramaya Jagat*:—There is no doubt that the whole of India is tired of the present system of administration. All are convinced that the heavy drain to which India is subjected owing to her political and economic dependence will not cease until she obtains *swardjya*. But the wounds which the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs have inflicted on the country are more painful to it than its economic and political ills, and will not be healed until it gets *swardjyu*. Lord Reading is talking of giving justice to India, but before he attempts that task he should rid himself of the vitiated bureaucratic atmosphere surrounding him. If the Viceroy really desires to redress the Punjáb wrong, he should go to the Punjáb and hear what the people there have to tell him. It is very difficult to adjust differences between England and India since the judge happens to be a national of one of the two countries which are parties to the dispute. Fortunately Lord Reading is a Jew and is, therefore, able to form an idea as to what it is to suffer national humiliation. Freedom and Imperialism wlll struggle for mastery in his mind. If he believes that God wills every nation to be free, then he will set India on the way to freedom. But if he is unable to curb the Imperialism of his countrymen, then all his talk of giving justice to India will be so much waste of breath.

Mr. Gandhi's disapproval of the *hartal* at Karáchi on the occasion of His Excellency the Governor's visit.

Young India (14), 25th May.

41. Girdharilal Khubchandrai of Karáchi in the course of a letter to *Young India* writes:—"As for your disapproval of the *hartal* organized on the occasion of the Governor's visit to Karáchi, and your reference to him as one of the best Governors, I submit, Sir, that despite all that he may have done or not done—which Bombay or Gujarát or the rest of the Presidency may be thankful for—he has done little for Sindh for which Sindhis may join with you in your generous eulogy of him. There never was greater persecution, more tyranny or worse frightfulness in Sindh than we have to-day. Perfectly restrained as you are, even your wonted restraint would have been shaken if you had, during your brief sojourn in Sindh, gone over Sanjhoro, Nawabad and Thar, and heard with your own ears from the people of these places what they had to say about the blood-curdling sufferings inflicted on them by the Police and the other Government servants. Thereafter, I assure you, Sir, you would have changed your opinion of the Governor, with whose connivance all these frightful things are happening. It was this very Governor who so far forgot himself as to compare the people with servants and the Government with masters, asking non-co-operators to do what servants ought to do when they are dissatisfied with the conditions of service, *viz.*, 'clear out'—clear out of the country. This he is reported to have said to a gathering of 'co-operating' notables of Sindh. His latest act of 'goodness' was sanctioning the prosecution of our Swami Govindanand, who was subsequently sentenced to five years' transportation. May we not then respectfully ask of you, sir, what heinous sin there was in organizing a *hartal* on the occasion of his visit to Karáchi to demonstrate to him that we of Sindh were now no more the dumb driven cattle of old, whom a Lawrence with the indulgent acquiescence of a Willingdon could frighten into submission by his high-handedness? That the people had their heart in the demonstration is borne out by the fact that the *hartal* was complete—even more complete than the great national *hartals* of the 6th and the 13th. [Mr. M. K. Gandhi remarks on the above:—As for the Governor of Bombay, I gave my own impression. I am still inclined to think that His Excellency does not know the high-handed character of the doings of the Sindh official. But even if the charges against the Government can be established, I am unable to agree that we may resort to *hartal* every time an unpopular officer visits a place. I should feel sincerely sorry if the Governor passed the remarks attributed to him. I have believed the Governor of Bombay to be tactful and sober, and it would be a rude shock to me to find that he had made the tactless and hasty remarks reported of him.]

Commendation of Mr. Justice Bucknill of the Patna High Court for humane administration of the law in a certain case.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th May.

42. "Mr. Justice Bucknill of the Patna High Court has set an example in humane administration of criminal law, which we trust will not remain the last of its kind. 'A young man of respectable connection employed in the Behar Secretariat,' according to the Associated Press message, 'was charged with the offence of cheating to the extent of rupees five.' The Sub-Divisional Magistrate of Barh convicted and sentenced him to six months' rigorous imprisonment. The Officiating Sessions Judge of Patna reduced the sentence to four months. When the case came to the High Court, Justice Bucknill sent for the accused and 'addressed him to lead an honest and straightforward life', and 'that the criminal may not become a regular criminal, his lordship remitted the unexpired portion of the sentence.'......... Mr. Justice Bucknill has imported a new spirit, which, we trust, will go some way in humanising the administration of justice in this country. But no real reform can be expected until the Penal Code itself is humanised."

Comments on a Calcutta case in which a European fireman was fined Rs. 300 for causing the death of a Madrasi cook.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th May.

43. "We give below an obscure paragraph from the *Englishman*:—'European fined.—Mr. Joseph Muir, a European fireman, on the E. B. Railway, who was charged before the Police Magistrate of Sealdah with causing the death of his Madrasi cook by hitting him with his fist, was convicted on a charge of causing simple hurt and sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 300, out of which Rs. 250 was ordered to be paid to the grandmother of the cook'. The King can do no wrong, and why should not a gentleman putting the hat on enjoy the immunity of the 'King-Emperor's representative' which every one feels to be east of Suez? Still people slobber and slobber about British justice, and they in this case will, of course, point to the Rs. 250 as the sign of peace. As Lord Reading quoted, and the Duke said, let us forgive and forget, with our eye on the King-Emperor's message. Let us cultivate the habit and earn the praise of loyalty. For great is British Justice! Killing is no murder in certain circumstances in India."

Comments on the prosecution of Sundarlal by the C. P. Government.

Young India (15), 25th May.

44. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"In each province repression is taking its own special turn. In the U. P. the leaders of the movement are being generally left free. Pandit Motilal Nehru, the author of the circular to the Kisans, is left untouched but the young men who distributed the circulars are imprisoned, whereas in the C. P. the acknowledged leaders are being picked up one after another and sentenced by an obliging magistracy. The latest instance is that of Mr. Sundarlal. He has undoubtedly a hold on the student world which few possess in the C. P. His is the restraining hand, so far as violence is concerned. But he is a courageous and effective speaker. And therefore, in the opinion of the C. P. Government, he must be put out of harm's way. [The charge is quoted here].......... The charge is clear. It is not for violence done or intended. It is purely for spreading disaffection. There is practically nothing in the charge which has not been repeated during the past twelve months from a thousand platforms. Indeed it may be stated to be the creed of the non-co-operator to give voice to the popular disaffection towards the Government and to spread it. Disaffection is the very essence of non-co-operation. It is the belief of every non-co-operator that the Government, meaning always the system, is wicked, it is one of exploitation of India's resources, it has brought on unprecedented pauperism and consequently famine and disease. The system is responsible for India's helplessness. The British ministers have undoubtedly broken their pledges to the Musalmans. This, and much more, every non-co-operator does believe, and therefore seeks by non-co-operation to destroy the evil. I congratulate Mr. Sundarlal on the prosecution. Indeed, I envy the position occupied by him. Let the C. P. Government remove all the other leaders of the movement, and yet they will find that as a result, the disaffection which they would crush is all the deeper and intenser for their mad and thoughtless repression. The duty of the people is clear. They must go on with their programme of construction and thus prepare for the final triumph. We must keep sane in spite of the Government's madness."

Mahrátta (8), 29th May.

***45.** Commenting on the sentence passed on Pundit Sunderlal at Vardha, the *Mahratta* writes:—"Pandit Sunderlal refused to give any defence......... So the Judge had an easy task before him and the authorities could make short work of him without any effort. But what do these incarcerations signify? They have a lesson writ large for all those who wish to read it, that the jails hold no terror for the people who are determined to carry on this struggle for freedom, and the bureaucracy has been left no other alternative but to erect a big wall round the country and convert the country into a big jail and then rule it with all the brute-force that is at their command. The bureaucracy cannot surely succeed in pushing back the surging tide of freedom."

Attitude of the Ahmedabad Police towards the anti-drink movement in that City.

Praja Bandhu (30), 22nd May, Eng cols.

46. Concluding a progress report of the picketing before liquor shops in Ahmedabad, the *Praja Bandhu* writes:—"Before concluding we should like to refer to the attitude of the Police towards this anti-drink movement. In the beginning they stood neuter neither helping the licensees nor in any way obstructing the work of picketing by the volunteers. Gradually, however, it began to lean into sympathy towards the licensees and according to Mr. Mavlankar's report it has of late been distinctly favourable to them. While the Police keep a strict watch over the work of the volunteers lest they may exceed all reasonable limits, they appear to care precious little for any breaches of the Abkari Act even while their attention is drawn to them. Another case brought to light by Mr. Mavlankar is that of a Mahomedan volunteer by name Saiyed Ahmed Husein being severely beaten by a European Constable whose name is said to be Stewart simply because the volunteer was persuading his co-religionist whom the Constable had accompanied not to drink liquor. It need hardly be said that but for the remarkable forbearance shown by the crowd that the above incident had collected, there would have been a serious disturbance. It is, therefore, highly desirable that the Police should maintain an absolutely neutral attitude neither helping the picketing work done disinterestedly by the volunteers nor helping directly or indirectly the nefarious trade of the licensees. Their legitimate duty is to prevent any breach of law and to preserve peace and order, and it is, in our opinion, highly desirable that the higher authorities should see that the subordinate staff do not go beyond this in their over-zeal."

Question of granting arms licenses freely to enable people to protect themselves against robbers.

Jam-e-Jámshed (23), 25th May.

47. The Reform Scheme has come into force in India. Government had promised to make some concessions with regard to the Arms Act, on the inauguration of the Reform Scheme. Have the authorities fulfilled this promise? Not only do people not easily obtain licenses to keep arms in the mofussil but they do not even receive replies to their applications for the same. Looking to the dacoities recently committed in the suburbs of Bombay, we find that the people staying in there are more in need of arms than those staying in Bombay City. In spite of this, they do not obtain licenses to keep arms. Why should Government refuse to grant arms licenses when they are unable to protect the people by means of an adequate Police force? It is the duty of Government to protect the people against robbers. It is sheer injustice on their part that they should neither discharge this duty nor allow the people to take measures to protect themselves. Two or three rich Parsi gentlemen residing in the suburbs have been refused licenses to keep arms. To whom will Government grant licenses if they do not do so to members of the loyal Parsi community? It is being complained that officials like the District Superintendents of Police and

Collectors do not pay any heed in the matter in spite of the fact that they are appealed to do so. We draw the special attention of the authorities to this matter, and remind them of their promises with regard to the concessions to be made under the Arms Act. If they want to encourage the people to stay in the suburbs, they should increase the number of the police and grant licenses freely to respectable gentlemen.

Growing menace of the Cinema.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 25th May., Eng. cols.

48. Adverting to a remark of an educational inspector quoted in the last Report of the Director of Public Instruction on the subject of the use of the cinema for purposes of education, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—"Few films are produced for moral or educational effect. If there are any such, they fall as flat on the public as the novel with a purpose. The result is that the vast majority of the films that are seen and are shown have an appeal mainly to the common sentiments and the lower passions of mankind. Besides, acting for a film does not demand the same histrionic telent as acting on the stage; and most films are enacted by inferior artists who are selected mostly for their faces and figures. It also lacks the appeal of words. It is therefore deficient in the points which constitute the moral and intellectual appeal, and therefore the educative value of the drama. On the other hand no effort is spared to make the pictures amusing, exciting and sensational. Their appeal to the passions and fancy, especially of youthful audiences, is irresistible and overwhelming.......... Competition in the trade tends to make the film more and more sensational and even morbid......... To the young and inexperienced this picturesque world of dissipation and adventure might appear both probable and pleasant. For the average man and woman, life is a dull, ordinary affair, devoid of excitement or interest. Under the fascination of the fanciful pictures, any young, eager mind might be tempted to turn away from the usual duties and avocations of ordinary life, in a perilous pursuit of the shocks and shadows of the fairyland. Boys and girls tend to become romantic, unpractical, voluptuous, and dicontented with the quiet tenor of their home and school life. All this must both interfere with their acquisition of useful knowledge, and must immensely weaken their moral fibre.......... Surely the cinema is a menace, and a serious one, to the education and moral and physical health of our boys and girls."

Nothing but the total repeal of the Press Act will satisfy India.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 22nd May, Eng. cols.

49. "Now that the committee appointed by the Government of India to examine the Indian Press Law with a view to recommend its repeal or amendment has set to work, we hope political organizations in this country will lose no time in placing their views on the matter before it. It can not be too often repeated that Indian opinion is unanimous on the point and that it will be satisfied with nothing less than its total repeal. The Indian Press Act, 1910, is a reactionary measure placing galling restrictions on the liberty of the press and making its existence more a matter of sufferance than of right, and in these days of growing national consciousness cannot be tolerated even for a day. Its existence on the Statute Book is an insult to India and a clog in the wheel of her progress. Its misuse has been the cause of much avoidable bitterness and if an honest attempt is to be made to remove all just causes of popular grievances, it must begin by removing the huge machinery of repressive legislation from the Indian Statute Book. The Press Act of 1910 is the most odious among them and the sooner it is removed, the better for all. Thus viewed from whatever point of view, psychological or constitutional, it is repeal and not amendment that is demanded and nothing short of it will serve the purpose. We wish the committee appointed to look into the matter will not overlook this aspect of the question. In this connection we have one more suggestion to make and it is that the committee should hear prominent journalists of all shades of opinion. We have heard of journalists of moderate persuasion being summoned to state their case before the committee but we have as yet not come across a name that can, by any stretch of the imagination, be said to belong to the nationalist school of thought. However, this is a most unfortunate and invidious distinction that the committee can make and we wish it will rise above such pettiness."

Comments on the Bombay Development Department.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th May.

50. Commenting on the report recently published by the Bombay Development Department, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks :—"The report, which was issued a few days ago, purporting to deal with the work done or essayed by the Directorate, though instructive and interesting in some respects, is highly disappointing as a State document. It may be useful to whitewash the unpopular acts of an autocrat and his subordinates and paint the Directorate in exaggerated colours, but as an effective reply to criticisms the report is a confession of the many sins of omission and commission that have been laid at the doors of the department. Among the many grounds of just complaint against the department are the unchecked extravagance and the spirit of racial discrimination, and reading through the whole report we find that nothing practically has been done to meet the allegations of racial favouritism and partiality shown by the Department at the expense of the public. We have closely gone through the report and with the solitary exception of the name of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, the Executive Member in charge of the Department, we did not come across the name of a single Indian among its newly-created executive staff......... All the high and responsible offices have been made the monopoly of Britishers and if it was the result of exceptional merit the public would have not grudged it very much. But it is difficult to perceive from the list of officers appended to the report what special claims each one of them had to the exclusion of others for being appointed to a particular post. We know that in the case of most of these officers there are obvious disadvantages, not the least important among them being that they have no knowledge of the local conditions, and that some of them are men who were hardly conversant with the duties they are now called upon to perform. At the same time we cannot believe that in a Presidency, where six out of seven superintending engineers are Indians, a qualified Indian engineer of experience and knowledge could not be found to hold a responsible charge under the Directorate. That is not all. Some of these Britishers who have been favoured by the Directorate are given salaries and allowances out of all proportion to their merits and mostly for making a show at the cost of other people's work and worth.......... The report fails to vouchsafe any explanation regarding the complaints of the people in Salsette and the Trombay Island whose lands are virtually to be confiscated or who are to be penalised by heavy impositions for the supposed benefits to accrue from the development. The disregard of public feeling is only equalled by the tremendous hurry which the Department is showing to commit itself to some adventurous undertakings. Apart from all these, the report lays much stress on the appointment of the two advisory committees—one for the city of Bombay and another for the suburban division. But not a word is said as to how, from the very start, these committees have been crippled and maimed. We have on previous occasions pointed out how emasculated are these committees—and how no one who esteems himself will be willing to serve on them. We are told that the concession of these committees was a favour shown by an over-generous Government to placate public opinion, which is growing daily more clamant for imposing an effective check on the irresponsible tendencies of the Directorate. Neither the appointment of these truncated committees, which depend for their existence on the breath of the present Director nor the presence of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad as the Executive member in charge justifies us to repose full confidence in the Department, so long as its Director enjoys dictatorial powers and is able to make his nominal departmental chief accept his doings with as good a grace as he can command and defend his wasteful policy against public criticism. Sir Chimanlal may serve as an able advocate for covering the sins of the Department, but so long as the present dispensation continues, he will be no more able to restrain the Department from embarking upon costly adventures than the man in the street. There are other points requiring detailed treatment and we shall recur to the subject in a future issue."

Comments on the transfer of Mr. Thompson to the Foreign Office under His Excellency the Viceroy.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th May.

51. "It is understood, according to the Associated Press, that Mr. J. P. Thompson, who earned notoriety, as the lieutenant of O'Dwyer, 'has been invited by His Excellency the Viceroy to undertake special duty in the Foreign and Political Department, Government of India.' Lord Reading is to be congratulated for bowing to public opinion so far as its demand for the removal of Mr. Thompson from the Punjáb is concerned. But we cannot say that the promotion of Mr. Thompson to a responsible post under the Viceroy himself is calculated to impress upon him the enormity of his offence. But, then, this is the usual way of Government in this country, For the rest, the respectful language in which the Associated Press refers to Mr. Thompson's 'promotion' is delicious. 'Invited' indeed!"

Mahrátta (8), 29th May.

*52. "It is reported that Mr. J. P. Thompson of the Punjáb atrocities fame has been provided for by the creation of a new post in the foreign and political department of the Government of India. Mr. Thompson, as Chief Secretary to the Punjáb Government, was the righthand man of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and, as such, was equally responsible with his chief for the inhuman barbarities, indulged in by the Martial Law authorities in that dreadful period.......... Lord Reading worships at only one temple, and that temple is of justice, as he says. Never was there a better opportunity for doing justice and assuaging the lacerated heart of India, than at present, by sending bag and baggage all these officials who are condemned at the bar of public opinion in India for the Punjáb barbarities. Why keep, we ask, these mischievous pets in India where they are not wanted. The demands of the Indian National Congress are clear on the point; and if Lord Reading desires to create a peaceful atmosphere in India he must see his way to remove these worthy knights of the order of iron and fire, because India feels that their very presence here in India pollutes the serene atmosphere and serves as stormy petrol. Let Lord Reading take courage in both hands, rend asunder the bureaucratic cover of prestige, and do justice in the matter of the Punjáb by stopping the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Dyer and removing 'the Martial Law officers' from India."

Comments on the resolution of Indians in Kenya Colony to resort to passive resistance.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th May.

53. "After the failure of the Round Table Conference it comes as no surprise at all to find that the Indian community in Kenya Colony should be obliged to fall back upon that last resort of the helpless—Passive Resistance. A message from Nairobi informed us on Monday that our countrymen there have passed unanimous resolutions not to pay the income tax on the ground of 'no representation, no taxation'. No Englishman worth his salt, *pace* Sir Thomas Bennet, would or at least should question the right of any British subject to exercise the privilege which has made the Empire what it is and which forms the corner-stone of the Great Democracy which his ancestors founded on the other side of the Atlantic. Indians in Kenya are called upon to shoulder the burdens of taxation to the same extent as the Europeans and they are contributing at least as much as, if not more than, the Europeans, but they are denied the franchise, though they outnumber the Europeans by nearly four times. The report of the Round Table Conference, which appears in the East African papers received by the last mail, shows how resonable as well as modest the claims of the Indians are. The utter selfishness of the whole outlook of the European community in Kenya stands revealed as never before in the utterances of its representatives at the Conference. For them the Empire—the Commonwealth of free peoples under the British Flag—is a pious fraud and a nuisance. If it come to acknowledging the equality of Indians and other Asiatic 'subject peoples' with themselves, they would be the first to repudiate the idea and wreck the Empire, with force if need be. **As we have all along maintained, it is Indians who strive to keep the Empire intact and it is the Colonial Whites who seem to be bent on wrecking it. Now that the struggle has passed from the**

confines of the Colony to the very heart of the Empire—we mean into the counsels of the statesmen at Whitehall—we wait to see how the latter graple with it and whether they prefer to side with the Empire-wreckers or the Empire-maintainers. Indians will never falter in their struggle nor will they yield an inch of ground, for they fight for a principle and not for material gains. It is for British statesmen to recognise this principle and uphold the glorious traditions of their country or by trampling it down hasten the doom of the Empire."

Position of Indians in East Africa.
Servant of India (10), 26th May.

54. "The publication of the Government of India's despatch of October last on the position of Indians in East Africa took place in December last. We have not been told as to what the Government has since done to press for a solution of the problem. In the meanwhile the announcement is made that the recent conference between the officials as represented by the Governor of the Colony on the one hand and local Indian leaders on the other has resulted in a deadlock. This is most unfortunate. It is true the operation of the much hated policy of compulsory segregation has been suspended; but it is also true that the last of it has not been heard. And even were it so, what about the other disabilities relating to purchase of land, municipal and legislative franchise, etc., under which Indians settled in the Colony are at present labouring? While the despatch as a whole was in accord with Indian sentiment on the subject, the attitude of the Government remains to be defined as to the demand for the inclusion of Indians in the Executive Council of the Colony. We hope the Government have been emphasising the Indian viewpoint in this as in other connected matters in their communications to the Imperial authorities."

Alleged hardships of the Hajis.
Sânj Vartamân (33), 21st May; *Model* (28), 22nd May.

55. The Honorary Secretary, Anjuman-e-Khuddam-al-Nabi, writes to the *Sânj Vartaman*:—The fourth steamer *Jeddah* containing 484 Hajis left Bombay on the 17th instant. We were told by Messrs. Turner Morrison and Company that they would supply drinking water to the Hajis at the time of fumigation. Considering this, we refrained from supplying drinking water on the occasion. They did not do so in a very satisfactory manner and hence the poor Hajis were to a certain extent put to inconvenience. Last year also they did the same thing. We would ask them not to meddle with our affairs and to allow us to perform our sacred duty. Again, we are sorry to say that no decision has as yet been arrived at in reference to the notice issued by Government to the effect that no Haji should take with him more than one gunny bag of provisions for his journey; and that he who tries to do so will be prevented from doing so. The difficulties of the Hajis have been increased owing to this notice. [The *Model* remarks:—If the Hajis are not allowed to carry more provisions, they will starve in a thinly populated country like Arabia.]

Comments on the Greek attack on the Turks in Anatolia.
Muslim Herald (172), 27th May.

56. While deploring the delay in the final amendment of the provisions of the Treaty of Sevres, the *Muslim Herald* criticises the Allies for permitting Greece to wage war in Anatolia, and thus put back the day of settlement with Turkey. It suggests that the war can be stopped by ousting the Greeks from Asia Minor and Thrace, and opines that the Greeks are waging it to confront the Allies with a *fait accompli* so that the victors may not be asked to surrender Thrace or Smyrna back to the Turks. The paper is strongly opposed to this war, because, in the first place, it is in favour of peace all over the world; secondly, because the Greeks have been proved by the Carnegie Commission's Report to have committed unspeakable atrocities on Musalmans on a former occasion, and should not be allowed to run amok merely because their victims unlike those of the Germans are Musalmans. It recalls the defeat of the Greeks at the hands of the Turks in 1897, and notes that the latest advices state that the Turks are holding their own. It argues that its

desire to stop the war now that the Turks are winning shews at once its desire for peace, and disapproval of human sufferring.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Committee appointed to inquire into the grievances of Indian students in England.

Sdnj Vartamdn (33), 24th May.

57. English educational institutions, factory-owners and narrow-minded Englishmen in England have practically closed their doors against intelligent Indian students. This is a long-standing grievance, and Mr. Montagu, under the pretence of redressing it, has appointed a committee under the presidency of Lord Lytton. There is no reason for us to be satisfied with this step of the Secretary of State. Open farces were enacted in the past with the same end in view by different Secretaries of State. Eight years ago, a similar committee under Sir Muncherjee Bhavnagree drafted its report and presented it to Lord Crew, the then Secretary of State. The Committee admitted the genuineness of all the complaints made, but none of its recommendations have as yet been acted upon. In spite of this, another farce is going to be enacted in the shape of a new Committee and the money of the poor Indian tax-payer is being unnecessarily wasted. The interview which our representative had with Mr. Jamnadas Madhavji Mehta, who has been educated in England, shows that the real object of the Committee must be to obtain absolute control over Indian students. A policy based on suspicion, want of confidence and harshness has been adopted towards Indian students in England. India pays rupees one lakh annually for a special department maintained for the purpose. This department has proved to be one which places a variety of obstacles in the way of the students under the pretence of helping them. As a matter of fact, it keeps a close watch over the Indian students in Great Britain and considerably cripples their freedom of action. Thus it ruins the lives of promising students. The result of the students' department failing to render the necessary help to Indian students in England is that many students return home disappointed. Mr. Mehta has suggested a remedy for bringing round English educational institutions and factory-owners. Indians will not get justice from the haughty Whites unless a policy of reciprocity of treatment is adopted. India wants to be independent to this extent and hence she wants to put an end to the present autocratic system of administration and attain *Swardjya.* When that object is attained, Indian students will not have to go to other countries.

Comments on the Government Resolution on the Report of the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay, for 1919-20.

Bombay Samdchdr (62), 26th May.

58. The resolution on the Director's report on education in the Bombay Presidency for 1919-20 shows satisfactory progress. But the progress of education is much slower in this country than in other parts of the world. It is very much to be deplored that the progress is not very rapid in spite of the fact that primary education has been made compulsory. The figures with regard to primary education on the whole show satisfactory progress. The Resolution says that the progress of education depends upon funds. It is strange that the question of want of funds does not deter Government from spending large sums of money on other departments. It is only brought forward when the question of education is being discussed. The system of medical examination ought to have been introduced long ago in residential quarters and secondary schools. Students are becoming weaker day by day and hence it is necessary to keep a close watch over their health. Again, considering the rise in prices of the necessaries of life, there should be a substantial increase in the salaries of the teachers of secondary schools so that the service may become attractive. As for female education, if the salaries of female teachers are made attractive, plenty of them will be forthcoming. Again, hardly any attention is paid to the question of professional and technical education in so eminently an industrial presidency like that of Bombay. It is very satisfactory to note that primary education among the Muhammadan community has reached the level it has attained in

other communities. Government should also provide special facilities in order that people of the backward classes might be tempted to go in for education.

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged intrigues of His Highness the Mahárája of Kolhápur against the *Swarájya* agitation.

Servant of India (10), 26th May.

59. "The *Kesari* has shown commendable enterprise in placing before the world certain correspondence of His Highness the Mahárája of Kolhápur. It shows what a wide field his objectionable activities cover. There had always been lurking in the public mind a suspicion that in their campaign of repression of the anti-partition period, the Bombay Government found in him a valuable helpmate; and the correspondence in question fully bears it out. An inkling is furnished by the correspondence as to the genesis of some of the press prosecutions and those of other public men both in Kolhapur and in British India during the period, and the impression is left on one's mind that in some cases at any rate unadulterated justice was far from being the result. The cringing manner in which the Mahárája has addressed his official friends gives one a very low idea of his sense of self-respect. No wonder he allowed himself to be used as a mere tool in the hands of the bureaucracy—a tool that could be relied upon in any emergency to do their bidding. Some of the officers mentioned in the correspondence have either retired or have left the country for good. But there are some who are still in the service of Government. They owe it to themselves to clear up their position, in the absence of which the public will be justified in looking upon them as enemies of Indian progress. Native States are generally regarded as a drag on the wheel of India's progress. Never was this truer than in the case of Kolhápur. We hope that the correspondence will awaken the Government to the dangers of allowing their officers to be in such close relations with a ruling prince of the character and antecedents of the Mahárája of Kolhápur."

Nireekshak (48), 27th May, Eng. cols.

60. "The position of the Mahárája of Kolhápur was by no means an enviable one during those times [*i. e.*, 1908 to 1910] which were avowedly most trying both to Government and the people. There is evidence enough to show that political anarchists in British India sought refuge in the Kolhápur State and the constitutional obligations of the Mahárája of Kolhápur were so stern that the Mahárája had to employ every means at his disposal to root out sedition and anarchy from his State. The Mahárája undertook the task with his usual enthusiasm and in the prosecution of his object wrote several letters to political officers of the Government indicating the lines on which he wanted to work to check the spread of political outrages. The correspondence does not reveal an iota of evidence to warrant the inference that the Mahárája is an arch-enemy of *Swaraja* in British India."

Lokashahi (126), 23rd May; *Lokasangraha* (123), 20th May.

61. If native chiefs grant full *swarájya* to their subjects, the British Government too will have to do the same. They have thus an opportunity to accomplish this sacred piece of work, and the opportunity also awaits His Highness the Mahárája of Kolhápur. His house has earned its celebrity owing to the establishment by its founder of *swarájya* and the Maratha rayats of His Highness are fully capable of establishing it. But if the Mahárája, though thus favourably circumstanced, has no desire to repay the debt he owes to his forbears he should at least remain satisfied with the large state income he enjoys as a feudatory. Some mighty descendant of his would have removed the stain of subjection attaching to the face of his mother country at some future date. But it gives us extreme pain to say that the Mahárája has caused one additional stain to attach to the face of Maháráshtra by seeking to destroy the movement for *swarájya*. Indians have no doubt suffered by the inclusion of their country in a foreign Empire; but the Indian rulers, too, who were independent, should have been dissatisfied with their present lot. But the correspondence published by the *Kesari* between the Mahárája and certain British officials shows that

the Mahárája is immensely pleased to find himself a feudatory chief instead of an independent ruler. No one says that the Mahárája should not be loyal to the British Government. But he need not have sought to destroy the *swarajya* movement with a view to making an exhibition of his loyalty. Unfortunately for the Mahárája he did not always come across such wicked Europeans as Colonel Ferris, Lee-Warner or Sir George Clarke and, therefore, he had to abandon his evil intention of accomplishing the destruction of the *Swarájya* movement. All his efforts to secure the withdrawal of the Morley-Minto reforms came to nought. This shows that the Maharaja is not respected by sensible Europeans and that they regard his activities as ludicrous. Only those among them who were advocates of bludgeon-rule gave him a hearing. But we understand that the Mahárája has considerably suffered in the estimation of the present Governor and several other high officials. We remind the Mahárája that Government do not trust in men who tell tales against their own people. Indeed, they do not at all think it necessary to clap honest political agitators in jail, but it is likely that they may make use of a hill fort like Vishalgad to keep in safe custody rulers who may causelessly persecute their subjects. [The *Lokasangraha* writes:—The correspondence published by the *Kesari* shows that His Highness the Mahárája does not remember obligations and does not recognise nobility of character, but is ever prepared to cut down anyone who may go against his pleasures, his whims or his autocratic excercise of power. The only exception is the all powerful British Government. The Mahárája's pranks would have been stopped long ago if he had not taken care to mollify it by every means in his power. He has the sense to know that his very existence depends upon his completely identifying himself with the British Government. If we bear this fact in mind then alone we find a sort of consistency in his behaviour. We are sure in the absence of British control, the Mahárája would not have hesitated to carry fire and sword wherever he went. The doings of the Satyashodhaks in the Sátára district, who seem to have ousted the British Government in that part of the country, give an inkling of what the Mahárája is capable of.]

Comments on the Deccan Native States Conference.
Mahrátta (8), 29th May.

*62. In the course of a long article on the Deccan Native States Conference held at Poona Mr. N. C. Kelkar writes in the *Mahrátta*:—"What is worse is the lawless tyranny of some individual rulers, where even the old-world tradition of despotism tempered with benevolence is forgotten or discarded, and where the subjects have, therefore, to suffer the combined disadvantges of new methods of administration and the old spirit of tyranical misrule. The Native States subjects were absolutely unable so far to move in the matter of the amelioration of their lot, as they were left unbefriended, with tyrants armed with full powers on their head, and the Supreme British Government, pledged to a role of non-intervention, witnessing their woes with silent unconcern at an artificial distance. It was really provoking to see the valve of non-intervention open only on one side, that is to say, in favour of the rulers of Native States. The Mahárája of Kolhápur, for instance, could ask the British Government for the loan of a British regiment to terrorise his subjects, and the loan could be granted without violence to non-intervention. But the doors of Residency must remain hermetically sealed against petitioners whose vatans or lands, enjoyed for generations together, are confiscated in the name of the extremely inequitable orders of the Arbitration Court or the Inquiry Bench-tribunals which may well vie with the Court of Star Chamber or the Spanish Inquisition so far as property was concerned. But it was impossible to expect any radical change in this state of things so long as the British Government itself remained despotic from top to bottom. The change, however, came with the Parliamentary declaration of 20th of August 1917 by which a push was given to the whole system of government in India; and the Native States could not but be affected by that push.......... The resolutions passed by the Conference were few and brief but all to the point. They demanded, in substance, that a declaration like that of 20th of August 1917 should be made to their subjects by the Indian Princes; that other communities. Government should also provide special facilities in order that people of the backward classes might be tempted to go in for education.

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SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 3rd June 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 4th June 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule :

Alleged hardships suffered by Vinayak Savarkar since his transfer to the Ratnágiri Jail 38
Christian Missionaries and the introduction of a conscience clause in the Grant-in-aid rules . . , . . , ... 35
Comments on the Government of India's *Communique* on the British Mission to Kábul 31
Complaint about delay in the publication of the report of the Bombay Archæological Department for the year ending 31st March 1919 . 33
India's degrading position in the British Empire 28
Mr. Sastri's diagnosis of the unrest in India 27
Reflections on the Málegaon riots 36
Reflections suggested by the grant of money compensation to Englishmen injured during the Punjáb disturbances 29
The Empire Day celebrations 30
The Mulshi Petha deadlock 37
The situation in Persia 32
The strike of Assam tea estate coolies 39
What is the function of the Director of Information ? 34

Development of Bombay : Comments on the report of the Bombay Development Department . . . . 40—42
Excise : Reflections on Government's — policy 47
Forest Department : Forest complaint from Kánara 48
Hajis : Alleged grievances of the Hajis 52

His Excellency the Viceroy :

Appeal to the Viceroy to do justice in the case of Gohar Singh, one of the victims of Martial law in the Punjáb . , ... 12
Comments on His Excellency Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club . . . . 1—5
Comments on the interview between Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi . 7—9
Comments on the Viceroy's speech at the Viceregal Lodge on the Empire Day 6
The duty of Lord Reading 10
What — can do 11

Indian Press Act :

Comments on the forfeiture of the *New Burma* security by the Burma Government 49
The Press Act Committee 50

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Judicial Matters: Comments on the sentence passed on Moulavi Hamid Ahmed by the Sessions Judge of Allahabad 46

Non-co-operation:
- Alleged disagreement between non-co-operationist leaders . . . 25
- Comments on Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's objection to the — movement 22
- Futility of asking Government servants to counteract — by taking part in — meetings 26
- The addresses to Mr. Gandhi by local bodies do not mean the spread of — 23
- The Ali Brothers' apology in connection with some of their recent speeches . . . . 13—21
- The bogey of an Afghan invasion 24

Post and Telegraphs: What should be done with the proceeds of unclaimed postal articles? 51

Public Service:
- Comments on the new post for Mr. J. P. Thompson under the Viceroy. 44 & 45
- Why Indian Civil Servants have not carried out their threat about resignation 43

War:
- Comments on the trial of — criminals in Germany 53
- The revised terms of the Sevres Treaty 54

NATIVE STATES—
- Native States and newspaper criticism 59
- Necessity of Native Chiefs introducing *Swarájya* in their States . . . 60
- The Kolhápur correspondence . . . . 56—58

RAILWAYS—
- A complaint against the G. I. P. Railway 55

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Excellency Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd June.

1. "Lord Reading's concern, in the speech, was to emphasise certain propositions which he thinks are established beyond the possibility of doubt. 'First,' he said, 'is the fundamental principle of British Rule in India. I suppose there is no one, there is no section of the British community, I am sure, who would dispute the proposition that here in India there can be no trace and must be no trace of racial inequality....... Well, I am convinced that whatever may be thought by our Indian friends not present in this room—I do not refer to those present, because they are conscious of the contrary—I say we do not for a moment indulge in any notions of racial superiority or predominance......... I say that there cannot be and must never be humiliation under the British Rule of any Indian, because he is an Indian.' No words could be more emphatic and more welcome. We fully appreciate the earnestness and sincerity of purpose which animates these words. But the principles which Lord Reading emphasises are not new. These are principles which we have been told, time and again, have always informed the policy of British administration in India. That there should be an occasion for an assurance in respect of them is the measure of the failure of British rule in India. When His Excellency speaks of the humiliation of Indians, he evidently refers to the Punjáb atrocities. In regard to this also assurances, so far as words go, have not been wanting. What has been lacking is action suiting the words that would alone be the guarantee against future wrongs as well as reparation for the past. Lord Reading, we are glad to see, has a clear perception of this. For, he said: 'And I would add one further proposition, which I believe is as true as either of those to which I have given utterance, and which found support from you, that we British people in India and those also in our own country must realise that we have much suspicion to disperse, many misunderstandings to banish from amongst us, and that in truth the essence to my mind of co-operation between us and Indians is that we should convince them by our actions which will accord with our thoughts and intentions, that we honestly and sincerely mean what we have said with regard to India.' These are fine and courageous words—words which no previous Viceroy has had vision and statesmanship enough to utter. We have no doubt Lord Reading himself will not fail to convince our countrymen by his own actions, which will, according to his own lights, accord with his thoughts and intentions. He is determined to help us and will without doubt try to help us. But, unfortunately, the lights even of Lord Reading are too dim for the immediate purpose of India. He, too, has not yet grasped the full significance of the dominant issue. For he said: '*We* believe that *in the end* we shall satisfy Indians and bring them to sympathetic co-operation and goodwill with us working for that great purpose which lies before us *to lead India* to that high destiny, which is in store for it, *when it becomes the partner in our Empire*, when India shall have obtained that place and risen to those heights which the imagination of man in my judgment is as yet incapable of comprehending, when India shall have obtained that place among the Councils of the Empire which will enable her to exert her influence upon the Councils of the world.' (The italics ase ours). Well, our countrymen have no desire to be led by others to a high destiny 'in the end'. The non-co-operation movement is emphatically not a movement of negation. It is, above all, a great constructive movement. It means simply this that India has determined to shape her destiny in her own way—to stand erect among the nations of the world so that she may serve humanity.......... And the mass of people are behind it because to them the present state of things, despite the much-vaunted 'Reforms', is intolerable beyond measure. An Indian feels himself to be humiliated, whether he is in his own country or in any part of the Empire, because he is subject to the British Parliament or British Democracy who arrogantly claim to determine the time when and stages by which his country is to attain full responsible government. No palliatives, no removal of traces of racial inequality in detail could make him feel his humiliation the less

until the root cause—his dependence—was removed and he took his place as equal of an Englishman, a Canadian, a French or an American. Britain had a splendid opportunity of binding the heart of every Indian to herself by making India an equal partner with her after the war. She has all but lost that opportunity and India has lost all faith in Britain. And the result of this loss of faith is that India has found her own strength and now stands erect before all the world—mistress of her own destiny. British statesmen are living in a fool's paradise if they imagine that any self-respecting Indian will a day longer continue to be fed on the prospects of a distant day.......... With due deference to His Excellency's judgment, we must point out to him that if he is sincerely desirous of helping India, the sooner he discards these antiquated shibboleths the better. These shibboleths are an insult to the intelligence and patriotism of every Indian. If India cannot be an equal partner of the Empire to-day, well—India has no need of this Empire. As Mr. Valabhbhai Patel said in his presidential address at Broach: 'Of this much we are certain to-day that if we could get full freedom with the Empire, the connection is desirable, but if that is not possible we should have our freedom at the risk of that connection. If the British connection must go some day, the British people will have to thank themselves for it not us.' On this matter the determination of the people is unshaken and unshakable. There can be, there must be, compromise in matters of detail such as external defence and vested interests of Britishers. But on the dominant issue of *swaraj* there can be no compromise......... If the British people are selfish and narrow-minded enough to continue to treat India in the well-meaning but patronizing manner that is indicated in Lord Reading's speech, they must be prepared for a rude awakening. Britain has no time to lose."

*2. "Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Reform Club at Simla is an important pronouncement and deserves careful scrutiny. Not only that it throws a flood of light on the 'interviews' but it enunciates propositions and principles which, if translated into practice, would go a long way in making the struggle for freedom carried by India less bitter and more honourable to the British rulers. At the same time the speech fully reveals the attitude of Lord Reading towards the Indian demands and aspirations and also his methods of meeting them......... Turning to the speech itself, Lord Reading enunciated two propositions embodying one of the highest principles of International relations. He said: 'We do not for a moment indulge in any notions of racial superiority or predominance'. .... As a corollary to this proposition, the Viceroy added: 'I say that, there cannot be and must never be, humiliation under the British rule of any Indian because he is an Indian, and I would add one further proposition—that we British people in India and those in also our own country, must realise that we have much suspicion to disperse, many misunderstandings to banish from amongt us and that in truth the essence to my mind of co-operation between us and Indians is that we should convince them by our actions which will accord with our thoughts and intentions that we honestly and sincerely mean what we have said with regard to India'. So far as these propositions are concerned there can obviously be no dispute. The question is whether these principles have guided so far, or will guide in future, the policy and actual practice of the bureaucracy that holds the reins in the land. Lord Reading himself has suggested the test. He said that actions should be judged by the results and motives should be ascertained from the character of the actions which are performed, and we go a little further and say that policies and principles should be judged by actions. Ultimately it comes to the character of the actions performed and if the past is to be judged by that test, we have no hesitation in saying that the British rule in India stands hopelessly condemned in this respect of equality of races and freedom from humiliation because of being an Indian. An analysis of the whole of the British regime since its advent, under the cold light of facts, would reveal an ugly history in which racial predominance was the only factor. But even if we keep aside the past and allow it to bury its dead what do we find? The whole administration is replete with instances which point with an unerring finger to the racial pride on the one hand and National humiliation on the other. All the services have been monopolised by the ruling classes.......... The administra-

Mahrátta (8), 5th June.

tion of law and justice has shown a partiality to the ruling race to such an extent that it is a matter of every day occurrence to find the Indian life weighing zero in the judicial scales as against an Englishman. The laws themselves have been framed with a view to secure special treatment to Englishmen. Indians have been barred all military careers and the presence of European soliders in a certain proportion in India is itself a standing proof of the absence of equality and trust. The Arms Act, which deprives the people of their right to bear arms, has already emasculated the whole nation and India has been humiliated to the dust by being obliged to look to Japan for the defence of her borders than to her own sons. The treatment that is received by Indians in the Colonies outside India, is a standing stigma on their national pride. Lastly, the Punjáb massacres and the inhuman atrocities practised in those days of Martial Law have filled the cup of national humiliation to the brim and to overflowing and we cannot imagine a more humiliating and insulting situation. The national pride has been crushed to the dust. If Lord Reading has not grasped this still, we are constrained to observe that he has not equipped himself well for the great task he has undertaken. If he wants to do justice he must enter into the Indian spirit and look at the situation from our standpoint of view. What he pronounced as axioms of British rule are not axioms at all but are perhaps exceptions only to be uttered to the ears of the gullible Moderates in order to enlist their hollow sympathies. We, therefore, assert that Lord Reading was wrong in saying that these propositions were and are the axioms of British rule. We can say nothing of the future and we hope and trust that Lord Reading will scrupulously see that his administration will be guided by these principles.......... India has determined to be freed from the shackles of this foreign and racial domination. She wants the right of autocracy and militarism to be for ever destroyed in India and the right of self-determination to be given to her. She wants to breathe the air of pure liberty. She wants to shape and control her destiny as she likes. India's sons and daughters want to 'stand erect, redeemed, regenerated and disenthralled' on their own sacred soil! Let Lord Reading realise these demands of India. It is no use ignoring or neglecting the facts. What seems to be needed under the present circumstances is not repeating exploded maxims hut a touch of courage, of high generosity.......... Let Lord Reading address himself with a broader mind and loftier vision to the struggle for freedom in India and there will be a day when this country will be grateful to him. Let him not be tempted to indulge in unkind cuts in his dealings with the leaders of the people as he did in the case of the interview with Mahatma Gandhi."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 5th June.

*3. "It was a sound and sure intuition that led His Excellency to give the first place in his remarks to the question of race dominance, because, as we observed the other day, it is that which gives their specially acute character to the several issues comprising the Indian problem. On this all important subject Lord Reading's words ring true and clear.......... We wish we could feel the same unqualified satisfaction in the passages of His Excellency's speech relating to the interview accorded to Mahatma Gandhi and its immediate result of the Ali Brothers' statement. We cannot understand why the Viceroy should feel, as he seemed to do, that he did something out of the way requiring explanation in meeting the Mahatma or any other Indian leader or worker. The high-priests of bureaucracy in India murmured at Lord Morley's holding intercourse with non-official Indians, but he made short work of their objections and told them without any ifs or buts that he would see any and every Indian whom he thought it useful to see without asking leave of the Simla hierophants.......... The Viceroy should make no ceremony about requesting any one to see him whose advice or information His Excellency has reason to believe might be helpful in the shaping of policy or the conduct of affairs.......... The Viceroy's summing up of the net result of the interview—'I got to know Mr. Gandhi and he got to know me'—is not adequately appreciative of the fact—for it is a fact—that to get to know Mr. Gandhi is to get to know a considerable aspect of Indian life and thought at the present day—and that is no little gain to a Viceroy on the threshold of his career. Here also His Excellency would seem to have been constrained by excessive regard for the susceptibilities of his colleagues and too little for those of the large section of the Indian people who follow the Mahatma as their leader and of the much larger section which is proud of him in spite of what seem to it to be his errors of judgment. We have heard it said that the Viceroy should not have referred to the undertaking of the Ali Brothers in his speech. We do not agree with this view. The arrangement which His Excellency explained does not reflect any dishonour on the Ali Brothers. They did not intend to preach violence directly or indirectly; they have publicly declared that was not their intention and that they would be particularly careful not to say anything that may be susceptible of similar misunderstanding in future. Government, on their part, accept their assurance and have dropped the idea of taking action against them, as otherwise they would be bound to do, under the ordinary law. A prosecution of the kind at this time cannot but be a source of embarrassment to Government, and the Ali Brothers have saved Government from it and themselves from the trouble and the worry incidental to proceedings of this character. It is as unfair to the Ali Brothers to suggest that they have shrunk from a prosecution as to allege that Government have shirked it.......... With reference to His Excellency's little disquisition on the question of motives, we may be permitted to sound a note of warning. 'From some things that I have learnt and read,' said Lord Reading, 'I am afraid we shall nevertheless be suspected of sinister and vile motives, even if we do what is right.' When His Excellency makes himself acquainted with the administrations of Lord Ripon and Hardinge, and of Lord Reay in Bombay, he will find that when once the people of India feel that the Viceroy or Governor has their interests sincerely at heart, the tendency is for them to give him their unreserved and almost unreasoning confidence. If of recent years a general distrust of the Government has taken the place of the confidence that prevailed during Lord Hardinge's regime, for instance, it is because the Indian people found that their confidence has been abused."

Gujaráti (17), 5th June, Eng. cols.

*4. "The most important feature of the function held in honour of the Viceroy was the speech delivered by him. It is a striking, straightforward and statesmanlike pronouncement which will be eagerly read and commented upon throughout India. His Excellency pointed out that the British both in this country and in Great Britain have to banish from their minds many suspicions and misunderstandings, and that the essence of co-operation between the two people lay in convincing the people of India that 'we honestly and sincerely mean what we have said with regard to India.'" [The paper then quotes three passages from the speech, (1) that dealing with the subject of racial equality, (2) that in which it is stated that several Indians thought that there was a true bond of sympathy between Europeans and Indians, and (3) the conclusion of the speech. It then continues:—] "The observations in the very first extract we have quoted are eminently statesmanlike and will be welcomed on all hands as a definite declaration of the policy of his Government. They need no comment but require to be read and pondered over by all whom they concern. We hope the policy will be carried out in a faithful spirit and not meet with the fate it has in the past. The first observation in the second extract is open to some criticism. It is not exactly clear as to what it precisely means. But if we read it aright, it is too sweeping as it stands, and we do not know what Indians had assured His Excellency on the question of sympathy between the two races. If the administration of the country had hitherto been dominated by sympathy, His Majesty the King-Emperor would not have found it necessary to declare that it stood in need of sympathy. We may, however, assure His Excellency that 'the Indians would respond wholeheartedly to the just rule which he and his Government were intending to carry on.' We are not sure if the Anglo-Indian press will not read into it some reflection on the past and will gladly welcome it.......... As regards the question of motives there has been considerable discussion in the past and the net result has been that the bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indian press have thought it to be their special privilege to question the motives of even the foremost Indians and the Congress leaders for the last thirty years and more, but they have looked upon it as a great sin on the part of the latter and their organs of opinion to question the motives of their exalted mentors and superior critics. It may be readily conceded that though the general exhortation not to question or impute motives is sound, it cannot be accepted as an inexorable law of nature. There are occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary to examine, praise or condemn the motives of Government and of private and public men in the very interests of truth and of a high standard of morality. We are, however, prepared to accept the test proposed by Lord Reading. 'Arrive at motives from the character of actions which were performed.' The principle of judging actions by their results is obviously capable of certain limitations and exceptions. But the people of India would not be loath to apply the proposed test to British rule or to the methods and policies adopted by individual Viceroys and Governors. His Excellency's enunciation of the ulterior purpose that the British rulers have to carry out in India is not open to any serious objection. But it provokes some important queries. His Excellency has always referred to India in his speeches as "a partner in the British Empire." Is she or is she to be a partner in the British Empire? Is she or is she to be an equal partner? If the latter, when? His Excellency will probably reply that he has already answered the last question in the concluding portion of his speech. But the people of India expect something more definite and certain than the cloudy and slippery visions of the ever-receding future."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 2nd June; *Hindusthán* (22), 2nd June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 2nd and 3rd June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 3rd June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (23), 2nd June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 3rd June.

5. The assurances given to us by His Excellency Lord Reading in his speech at the Chelmsford Club create new hopes in us. The people of India have built high hopes on Lord Reading and his speech will tend to strengthen the hopes. The principles of Government enunciated by Lord Reading are not new. They are the ones on which Indians placed their trust, but the pity of it is that those principles are not carried out in practice. This outspoken speech makes it clear that Lord Reading is disposed to consider those who violate the principles enunciated in it as enemies of the Empire. We pray that Lord Reading may be vouchsafed success in his mission. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—The goal placed by Lord Reading before India cannot possibly be reached through the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The salvation of India lies in a radical change in the present policy and the recognition of the principle of equality of Indians with Europeans. We hope His Excellency will be able to realise his dream. The Viceroy may or may not be able to effect a change in the present policy of Government, but we should not be mislead by his hopeful utterances into slackening our efforts for securing *swaráj*. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The speech makes it clear that Lord Reading has acquired a grasp over the present situation and that he means to place India on a footing of equality with the self-governing Colonies. It seems there is ample justification for Mr. Gandhi to think that the Rowlatt Act, the Press Act and other humiliating pieces of legislation will soon be repealed at the instance of Lord Reading. In the subsequent issue the paper writes:—Lord Reading has declared that there must never be humiliation under the British rule of an Indian because he is an Indian. The people of India look up to His Excellency for a pronouncement on the subject of the position of Indians in the colonies. It is hoped that His Excellency will soon give us an assurance that there will never be humiliation in the British Empire of any Indian because he is an Indian. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—His Excellency will be able to remove the present discontent by making the Indians feel that they are no more treated as inferiors. No discontent can possibly rankle in the hearts of the Indians if they are justly treated in India and are regarded as citizens of the Empire and are not given unjust treatment in the colonies. Indians will feel gratified at the desire expressed by His Excellency to remove the galling inequalities to which they are subjected. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—It is hoped that His Excellency will dismiss the officials who were responsible for the Punjáb

tragedy and thus give justice to India. The self-respect of Indians, over and above being preserved in their own land, has to be safeguarded in the British Colonies. The task before Lord Reading is a difficult one, but we have every hope that he will succeed owing to his respect for the fundamental principles on which British rule is based. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses its gratification at Lord Reading's speech and declares that it testifies to his solicitude for India's welfare and for according just and equitable treatment to her sons.]

Comments on the Viceroy's speech at Viceregal Lodge on Empire Day.
Mahrátta (8), 5th June.

*6. "His Excellency the Viceroy gave a dinner to the seven Ministers of Industries, the three Governors, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Governor-General's Executive Councillors on Empire Day. After His Majesty's health had been drunk, His Excellency the Viceroy gave the toast of the seven Ministers of Industries, coupled with the name of Rai Bahadur Venkata Reddy Naidu. The Viceroy is reported to have spoken in the following superlative terms in his raptures of pride of the Empire:—'We are citizens of the greatest Empire and which is, I believe in my heart, the *truest*, the *justest* and *the most righteous* combination of nations the world has yet known.' Yes, the world knows that it is the greatest Empire, but the world at the same time knows—especially the world of the component parts that go to form that Empire—that the Empire is *not* the truest, the justest and the most righteous. One glance at Ireland, at Egypt and at India is enough to force conviction to the contrary. The wine of the dinner took Mr. Reddy to dizzy heights, and in reply to the toast he prided himself of being a citizen of a presidency 'which has supplied the bed-rock for the greatest Empire on earth—the Empire of India which has made the great Queen Victoria and her successors the owners of the greatest Empire. It was the Madras Presidency on which the foundation of the great Empire was built.' We are incompetent to fathom the patriotism of Mr. Reddy who boasts of being the first slave. The stupidity of his remarks is only equalled by the hollowness of the Viceroy's pride of his 'justest' Empire which is responsible for organised murders in Ireland, denial of liberty to Egypt and the atrocities of Amritsar in India."

Comments on the interview between Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi.
Pársi-Sansár (29), 28th May.

7. "Indeed, Lord Reading has made a sincere and genuine effort to have a clear insight into the ideals of the Extremists, and now that Mr. Gandhi has said most clearly and unequivocally that he sees nothing wrong in presenting his case to an official, we hope that the other Extremists, who are till now blinded by prejudice and misconceived zeal, will see that the public interests are never served by shunning the bureaucrats as if they would avoid the Pariahs. The Government is after all a human institution, and as such it must have its short-comings, limitations, draw-backs and weaknesses. The bureaucrats have never claimed themselves to be heaven-born and infallible. At the same time they are not satanic, as Mr. Gandhi and his friends have imagined them to be. In order that peace may reign in place of the present-day unrest in India, the better mind of the country should try its level best to bring about an ultimate triumph of sober counsel and wisdom. To reach the goal—to establish peace and harmony—both parties should adopt the policy of give and take. The Extremists assert that the Government should accede to the wishes of the majority of the people in order to avoid 'all the cause of friction'. They forget that this is a very strange demand—rather a very large order. If there is the question of 'should' and 'must', we naturally ask why the Government should act up to the dictation of the Extremists and why should not the Extremists follow the behests of the Government. Such selfish and one-sided attitude adopted by Lala Lajpat Rai and his friends will never succeed in bringing about a compromise, but will, on the contrary, further widen the gulf now existing between the two parties. The Reforms have heralded a new era into this country and the time is specially propitious for an attempt—a genuine and sincere attempt—on both sides for a happy compromise—a golden mean."

8. Commenting on the interviews between Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"There is no Indian, with soul so dead, as not to welcome Swaraj for his country. But it could only be won through co-operation and by definite stages. We are no believers in the slogan of Swaraj in six months. Mr. Gandhi is not without the courage of his convictions. He will not hesitate to advise his countrymen to stop the movement of non-co-operation if he is convinced Lord Reading means well and will do something substantial for the country. The whole future of the country depends upon the statesmanship of Lord Reading. Into his hands are committed the destinies of a great people, a great country and a great Empire. For fourteen years the country has passed through various stages of repression. Our humble opinion is that, though seeming success has attended the operation of repressive laws as, for instance, during the period of the war, it has only contributed to strengthen the national movement. Now a stage has been reached when repression will be of no avail at all. It can only neutralise the good effects produced by the inauguration of the new councils. The Viceroy has to pour balm on some wounds and win over to his side all the educated community by the display of broad-minded statesmanship."

Sind Observer (12), 20th May.

9. We may inform our readers that the news received here so far from Simla about the interview of Mahatma Gandhi with the Viceroy, appears us to be very hopeful. This meeting of these two great persons is no small matter. It may well be called a 'compromise'; for while Mahatma Gandhi had laid bare before His Excellency the grievances of his country, the Viceroy has stated the difficulties of his Government. In our opinion, the whole matter could be very fairly decided upon, if the two parties heard each other patiently and tried to solve each other's difficulties. And the accounts received upto now from Simla leave no doubt in our mind or in the minds of our friends, that a very decent compromise will be made between the Government and the people of this country. Apart from Mahatma Gandhi, several others have had interviews with him. We trust their result will be beneficial for all concerned. Everything of course is in the hands of Providence. But it is possible that after these interviews are over, a 'Round Table Conference' might be called for the purpose of arriving at a sensible solution of the difficulty. We are not aware that any Muslim leader has had an interview with the Viceroy during the past few days. But we know that Mr. Hassan Imam, the spokesman of the last Indian Muslim deputation to the Turkish Conference in London, met the Viceroy some time back. Nothing is, however, known about the result of this meeting. But it is being said that there will be some further modifications in the terms of the Turkish Treaty. Thus it is plain that some settlement is shortly to be made about matters that have been disturbing this country, and Lord Reading himself appears to be engaged in that work.

Al-Haq (161), 21st May.

10. "There is a strong rumour that repressive measures including the Rowlatt Act and Press Act are going to be withdrawn. The country has agitated for their repeal; and in withdrawing repressive legislation Lord Reading will give some proof of his sincere desire to help India. But the one question which agitates the public mind at this hour is: Will His Excellency accept the three demands of the nation? These have been voiced in clear terms by the National Congress. Will justice be done to the Punjáb? The report of the Congress Committee makes certain recommendations for redress of the Punjáb wrong. Will these be accepted by the Viceroy? As to the Khiláfat, the Indian demand is set forth in clear terms by the Khiláfat Deputation. What the Indian Muslims are keen upon is that, in response to their religious sentiments, their Holy Places in Arabia and Palestine be freed of all non-Muslim control. Will the Viceroy see to it that the Muslim sentiment is respected and the Premier's pledge to Muslim India fulfilled? Behind these both is the third demand—that for *swaráj*. There is room for differences of opinion as to the details of Indian *swaráj*; but the demand in its essentials

The duty of Lord Reading.
New Times (9), 28th and 30th May.

is intelligible enough to Lord Reading. Will he respond to it? During the interview Mahatma Gandhi had with His Excellency, the latter spoke of the difficulties of Government. Indians have been painfully conscious of the 'difficulties'; or they would not have embarked upon a policy of non-co-operation. If the Viceroy really wishes to allay the present unrest, he has to find a way out of the 'difficulties'; he has to make the bureaucracy bend to the moral pleasure of the people." [In its issue, dated the 30th May, the paper writes:—"We do not share the easy optimism of those who think the new Viceroy is going to fight the battle of India's Freedom. Lord Reading has ability, has experience, has diplomacy. Lord Reading would like to help India, but, we believe, only to the extent such help would support the Empire in the East; and what we demand in the Swaraja Struggle of to-day is that India's interest be not subordinated to those of the British people, who dominate the Empire. Is Lord Reading prepared to help India to be an equal among equals in a Commonwealth of the nations? Nothing short of a status of equality is what India wants. It is believed Lord Milner resigned his seat in the Cabinet because he thought the British Government's policy in Egypt, Ireland and Middle Asia was not liberal enough; Lord Milner was an imperialist; but he felt the time was come to modify imperialism. Will Lord Reading resign if the British Cabinet reject India's demands? Then we would understand that Lord Reading is anxious to help India on the road to *swarajya*. As a matter of fact the new Viceroy has pinned his faith on 'the Reforms'; and the 'Reforms' do not open the door to freedom."]

What His Excellency the Viceroy can do.
Lokashahi (126), 30th May.

11. As a matter of fact the Viceroy can neither give us *swarájya* nor withhold it from us if given. After all he is only a fat-salaried servant of the British Cabinet! We ought not, therefore, to get angry with him for not satisfying the demands made by the non-co-operators. But then the question naturally arises whether he is doing what he is in a position to do. The Viceroy can certainly remedy some of the wrongs the bureaucracy have inflicted on the people. He can put a stop to the present pranks of the bureaucracy and can give great satisfaction to the people by releasing the Savarkar brothers. It does not, however, appear that he intends doing anything of the kind.

Appeal to the Viceroy to do justice in the case of Gohar Singh, one of the victims of Martial Law in the Punjáb.
Mahrátta (8), 5th June.

*12. "S. Gohar Singh, one of the victims of the demonic administration of Martial Law in the Punjáb, has petitioned to the Viceroy that the sequestrating of his pension may be cancelled and that the Lambardarship of his village should be restored to him. S. Gohar Singh is of 64 years of age and has served Government for 38½ years fn different capacities and received a pension of Rs. 100 a month. His offence in the eyes of Colonel O'Bryen, the Martial Law officer in charge of Sheikpura, was grave enough in that his sons were not forthcoming when they were wanted by the police. He was ordered to be arrested, handcuffed and subjected to other indignities. Colonel O'Bryen himself admitted before the Hunter Committee that he did not commit any offence but his sons were visited with vicarious punishment through him. Could injustice go further? The Viceroy would surely right the particular wrong, but incidentally he would get also an insight into the working of the mind of officers like O'Bryen. It was this officer who brazenfacedly told the Hunter Committee that he was given a blank cheque by Mr. Thompson, the then Chief Secretary of the Punjáb Government! and he believed that his misdeeds would be legalised afterwards. Mr. O'Bryen is one of the officers whose dismissal has been demanded by the Nation. The only punishment that he has received till now is that he is 'kicked up' to a higher post with a bigger salary. Lord Reading worships at only one temple and that temple is of justice. Will he then allow such men like O'Bryen, to contaminate the pure air of justice by their presence in India? There can be no peace, and there will be no peace, in the land till these men are removed from their posts."

The Ali Brothers' apology in connection with some of their recent speeches.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd June.

13. "We are not surprised to see that much capital has been sought to be made by the Anglo-Indian and Moderate Press, of the joint statement which Messrs. Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali have issued. We have no doubt the great bulk of their countrymen will appraise these outbursts at their proper value and that the brothers will rise higher in their estimation by their courageous action which is a striking demonstration of the determination of non-co-operators to see that the non-violent character of the movement is strictly maintained at whatever cost. Mr. Gandhi in a note published in yesterday's *Young India* explains the position of the brothers and the view which every non-co-operator will take of their action. [Here the paper quotes Mr. Gandhi's note.] His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech at the Chelmsford Club described the brothers' statement as a 'result' of his interviews with Mr. Gandhi, though His Excellency was rightly anxious to draw a veil over everything else that transpired at these interviews which both His Excellency himself and Mr. Gandhi regard as confidential. We do not wish to say anything as regards the propriety or otherwise of His Excellency singling out this matter out of many others that were discussed in confidence with Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi, however, it is to be noted, makes no reference to the Viceroy in his note. As for the brothers, they have, as Mr. Gandhi truly says, raised the tone and prestige of the Khilafat struggle they are leading."

Mahrátta (8), 5th June.

*14. "The statement issued by the Ali brothers will give a quietus to the thousand and one absurd things said or written about them. The Ali brothers possess courage of conviction in extraordinary degree and they have never minced matters in their public career. In spite of their internments, they stuck fast to their views regarding the Khilafat and none can charge them either of cowardice or prevarication. They made it plain when they joined hands with Mahatma Gandhi in his agitation of non-violent non-co-operation in order to get the wrongs done in regard to the Punjáb and the Khilafat redressed, that they were wedded to the policy of non-violence. They made no secret of their determination to fight for the Khilafat to the last and in case the non-violent non-co-operation failed to achieve its object, they were, they declared, enjoined by their religion to adopt any other remedy. In their present statement they have done nothing but repeated their faith in and their resolve to be true to non-violent non-co-operation and have thus undoubtedly 'raised the tone and prestige of the Khilafat struggle they are leading.' Such instances of hard discipline are rare and we can confidently hope that this method of non-violent non-co-operation will be given a full trial and its efficacy fully tested. While we thus commend the courage of conviction and honesty of purpose of Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali brothers, we cannot be blind to the attitude taken by their opponents in this respect. .... The bureaucrats are unscrupulous in their methods and never cared to look to the honesty or otherwise of the other side. They wanted to stifle the agitation for greater rights, but they were defeated in their objects by the timely intervention of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Mahatma Gandhi. It is remarkable to note in this conection that Mahatma Gandhi observed silence regarding this particular incident in his account of the interview, which shows his broader mind, and we are constrained to observe that the same cannot be said of other parties concerned. It was uncharitable, discourteous and ungenerous on the part of Lord Reading to refer to it in lighter vein as a matter of personal triumph. His speech as well as the Press Note issued by the Goverement breath the spirit of distrust and are couched in a language which leaves an impression that the Government are not satisfied as to the genuineness of the declaration on the part of Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. The attitude is most uncharitable on the part of the Government and we cannot but condemn it."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 5th June.

*15. "No one who seeks to promote the peaceful settlement of the Indian problem as speedily as possible can fail to see that the Ali Brothers have rendered a supremely patriotic service in making the statement which has relieved

Government of the painful necessity of launching a prosecution that cannot but have a highly unsettling effect apart from its merits. We most earnestly deprecate the articles in the *Leader* as being unstatesmanlike, unpatriotic, ungenerous and calculated to wound the feelings of a not inconsiderable section of our Mahomedan countrymen. As for the Ali Brothers, let us say this: though we have never been able to regard their pan-Islamism except as injurious to Indian unity, this act of self-effacement—for whatever their defects, all the country knows they are no cowards—has stamped them as true patriots and statesmen; and though it must be hard to them as high-spirited and impulsive men to bear taunts like those of the *Leader* they will abide by their promise to the letter."

Servant of India (10), 2nd June.

16. "On the pressure exerted by 'friends', the Ali brothers have felt constrained to tender an apology for making speeches calculated to incite to violence.......... They have given an underking that, so long as they are associated with the movement of non-co-operation, they will not, 'directly or indirectly advocate violence at present or in the future, nor create an atmosphere of preparedness for violence.' The high fault in which the Ali brothers indulge will now be apparent to all; their recent utterances, apart from their being objectionable from the standpoint from which their 'friends' look at them, are most mischievous in the sense that they are highly unpatriotic and such that no true Nationalist can tolerate for a single minute. It is very wise of Government to have declared that the Ali brothers will not be touched so long as they carry out their undertaking."

Indu Prakásh (45), 1st June; *Dnyán Prakásh* (42), 31st May.

17. An invasion by the Afghans may or may not be feasible, but the speech made by Mr. Mahomed Ali clearly shows that he would welcome it and that he would assist the Afghans on certain conditions. This was a direct challenge to Government, and no Government could afford to disregard it. Lord Reading is known to be a sensible statesmen and he, therefore, gave the Ali brothers an opportunity, through Mr. Gandhi, to express regret for their conduct. [In the opinion of the *Dnyán Prakásh* the apology will make Mr. Gandhi's task less difficult in coming to an understanding with the Viceroy.]

Gujaráti (17), 5th June, Eng. cols.

***18.** "All is well that ends well. But it must not be forgotten that the apology and undertaking issued by the Ali Brothers were, as stated by the Viceroy in his speech at the Chelmsford Club on the 30th May, the result of the interviews and discussions Mr. Gandhi had with His Excellency. The Ali Brothers knew all this when they issued their statement in which they try to make out that it was wholly at the instance of friends that they felt persuaded to set themselves right. That is not a quite fair or strightforward way. All of us want Government to be fair and just in their dealings. There is a corresponding duty cast upon their critics, including Mr. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. For our own part we entirely approve the forbearance of the Government of India and the prudent step the Ali Brothers have taken. In our judgement this was the best course for both the parties to follow. We think that the forbearance shown by Lord Reading's Government, which was conditional upon the apology and undertaking given by the Ali Brothers, should be repeated in every such instance upon the imposition of a like condition....... We hold that some of the recent prosecutions of offenders against the law with the resulting excitement and dissatisfaction should have been avoided by the adoption of a similar policy of generous forbearance. The Ali Brothers found an influential advocate with the Viceroy in the person of Mr. Gandhi who for the time being forgot or gave the go-bye to his principle of non-co-operation with the Government and saved a very unpleasant situation. Because he cannot intervene in other instances there is no reason why other indiscreet enthusiasts should be treated with severity and forced to rot in prison, when a more humane method is available for bringing them to their senses and opening their eyes to the realities of their situation and the actualities of the existing law. We take it that Mr. Gandhi himself will not fail to realise the force and justice of our contention. There should be no differential treatment as between Mr. Gandhi's intimate and influential colleagues and less known followers.......... We strongly appeal to Lord Reading's Government to consider in a very favourable light the suggestion we have made, and deal with those, who have already been convicted and sentenced for the indiscretions committed by them in the heat of excitement or through a misunderstanding of Mr. Gandhi's repeated instructions, in a spirit of generous forbearance. His Excellency has done well to grant interviews to several Indians and ascertain their views and feelings about the present situation. His speech at the Chelmsford Club dinner is calculated to inspire fresh hopes and dispel doubts and suspicions so far as he himself is concerned. Now is the time to follow the precedent set in the case of Ali Brothers in other instances of a like character and throw more oil over troubled waters. The law has already been vindicated in the case of the persons now in jail, and the action of Government in treating them with leniency can admit of only one interpretation. That can be attributed only to forbearance on their part. The people are being habituated to the sight and excitement of criminal trials and to think that there is very great patriotism and self-sacrifice in going to prison in a spirit of defiance. The history of Ireland should not be allowed to repeat itself in this country, and what ought to prove to be a deterrent should not be allowed to tempt enthusiasts to court martyrdom out of mere bravado."

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 31st May; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 2nd June.

19. We sympathise with the Ali Brothers in their agitation for securing justice from Britain in the matter of the Khilafat. We are, therefore, glad that some of their friends have drawn their attention to certain utterances of theirs that were likely to incite the illiterate masses to violence and are still more glad that these two brothers have frankly tendered an apology—as became them as gentlemen to do—for the words or expressions inadvertently used by them that were capable of inciting people to violence. [The *Akbhár-e-Islám* writes :—We hope the Ali Brothers will refrain in future from making use of the kind of inflammatory language for which they had to express regret.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 5th June; Eng. cols.

***20.** "The Ali brothers have saved themselves and their party from a good deal of trouble by tendering a public apology for the unnecessary heat of some of the passages in their speeches. They give a public assurance that so long as they are associated with the movement of non-co-operation they shall not directly or indirectly advocate violence at present or in the future. This is tantamount to confessing that they have advocated violence in the past. But a short while ago these brothers were declaring that they would not be afraid to go back to prison. They seem to have thought better of it, however, and we now know that it is a result of the interviews between the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi. It is noticeable that the Ali brothers pledge themselves to refrain from violence only so long as they are connected with the non-co-operation movement. This reservation mars the effect of their promise to some extent."

Young India (14), 1st June; *Political Bhomiyo* (77), 3rd June, Eng. cols.

21. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"The brief statement made by the Ali Brothers about some of their speeches will, I know, give rise to adverse criticism in whispers if not in public. It is best therefore to understand the apology. I am unable just now to go into the whole of the genesis, but I can safely inform the public that as soon as some friends brought passages in some of their speeches to my notice, I felt that they sounded harsh and seemed to be capable of being interpreted to mean incitement to violence. The air was thick with rumours of their arrest. No non-co-operator can afford to go to prison on a false issue, certainly not on a denial of his faith, *i.e.*, non-violence. I felt at once that I should draw their attention to the passages, and advise them to make a statement clearly defining their position. In the heat of the moment one is likely to use language which may bear a meaning never intended.......... The Ali

Brothers carry a big burden on their shoulders. The prestige of Islam, in so far as they are responsible for it, will be measured by the credit they acquire for the most scrupulous regard for truth and honesty in their dealings, and humility and courage of the highest order in their bearing. My 'alliance' with them, as our frindship has been called, is based upon my belief in thir strict honesty, frankness, fearlessness, courage and humility. I know that they are among much maligned men in India. All kinds of motives are attributed to them. They are said to be making me their easy tool. Time, I am sure, will disprove all these charges. But it was necessary that no hasty expression of theirs was used against them to damage their character or good faith. Nothing can be more hurtful to an honourable man than that he should be accused of bad faith. It was in order to safeguard them, in so far as it lay in their power, against any such imputation, that I advised them to make the statement now published. In my opinion, by making it they have raised the tone and prestige of the Khilafat struggle they are leading. They have set an example to other workers. We are not to seek imprisonment out of bravado......... The statement is a warning to all of us, that we who are fighting the battle for freedom and truth, must be most exact in our language.......... The Ali Brothers by their frank statement, have given the guidance. We must not speak, but if we must, we must weigh our words well, lest we say thoughtlessly what we do not mean, and thereby hurt the cause we represent." [The *Political Bhomiyo* remarks:—"Mr. Gandhi says in *Young India* of the 1st instant that the Ali Brothers have expressed this apology at his suggestion. We are glad to see that wisdom has come to Mr. Gandhi also. It may probably be the result of his interview with His Excellency the Viceroy. A week ago Mr. Gandhi could see nothing objectionable in Mahomed Ali's speeches. The same Mr. Gandhi asks Mahomed Ali to express regret for his violent speeches. We are glad that the Ali Brothers have apologised. They should have done it before. Our remarks are about Mr. Gandhi's mentality. We, with many others, expect a public apology from him for his own violent speeches and for the great harm he has done to the country."]

Comments on Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's objections to the non-co-operation movement.

Young India (14), 1st June.

22. In the course of an article in *Young India*, in which he deals with Dr. Rabindranath's objections to the non-co-operation movement, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"In all humility I shall endeavour to answer the poet's doubts.......... I would like to assure him and India that non-co-operation in conception is not any of the things he fears, and he need have no cause to be ashamed of his country for having adopted non-co-operation. If in actual application it appears in the end to have failed, it will be no more the fault of the doctrine than it would be of Truth if those who claim to apply it in practice do not appear to succeed.......... Nor need the poet fear that non-co-operation is intended to create a Chinese wall between India and the West. On the contrary, non-co-operation is intended to pave the way to real, honourable and voluntary co-operation based on mutal respect and trust. The present struggle is being waged against compulsory co-operation, against one-sided combination, against the armed imposition of modern method of exploitation masquerading under the name of civilisation. The poet's concern is largely about the students. He is of opinion that they should not have been called upon to give up Government schools before they had other schools to go to. Here I must differ from him. I have never been able to make a fetish of literary training. My experience has proved to my satisfaction that literary training by itself adds not an inch to one's moral height and that character-building is independent of literary training. I am firmly of opinion that the Government schools have unmanned us, rendered us helpless and Godless. They have filled us with discontent, and providing no remedy for the discontent, have made us despondent. They have made us what we had intended to become—clerks and interpreters....... The youth of the nation are its hope. I hold that as soon as we discovered that system of Government was wholly, or mainly, evil it became sinful for us to associate our children with it. It is no argument against the soundness of the proposition laid down by me, that the vast majority of students went back after the first flush of

India's degrading position in the British Empire.
Karma Veera (88), 3rd June.

28. The Honourable Mr. Shastri and the Rao of Kutch have been deputed as the representatives of India to attend the Imperial Conference which is now sitting in London. But who elected these representatives? Certainly the British Government itself. What are the aims and objects of this Conference? They are that the Empire should be placed on a firm footing, that there should be increasing goodwill between the several countries of which the Empire is constituted, that they should help each other in trade, and that they should be prepared to share the burden of the defence of the Empire. These are very good objects. They would deserve all praise if the Empire had been built up on the foundations of justice, equality and universal brotherhood. But the place reserved for Indians in this Imperial Court is the corner where the shoes are kept. They are hated and despised in the Colonies and treated like beasts by the 'Bada Saheb' in Fiji and such other places. And with all this the Indians have to part with their foodstuffs, for feeding the empire. No higher positions are given to them in the Army, and they have to fight as common soldiers and sacrifice their lives for the defence of the Empire. They have to keep their markets open for the Imperial trade. England is the mother wolf and the colonies are its young ones. India is a lamb in the midst of them all. In these circumstances, let those who feel proud of the Empire take that pride. Let those who wish to help the empire render that help. But those who have any sense of self-respect and patriotism will not consent to do these degrading things.

Reflections suggested by the grant of money compensation to Englishmen injured during the Punjáb disturbances.
Hindu (163), 27th May.

29. See what compensation was granted to the few Englishmen who received injuries during the Punjab disturbances. Mr. Thomson's widow was given rupees one lac and thirty-five thousand. Mrs. Stuart was awarded rupees three lacs. One Mr. Volton who was ill at the time and who it is said died from the shock, but not on account of any injuries, was also granted rupees seventy five thousand. Similarly an amount of rupees fifty thousand was proposed for Miss Sherwood, but she declined to accept the amount. Mrs. Easdon, who was said to have concealed herself from the pursuit of the mob, also received rupees twenty thousand. Wherefrom did such enormous amounts come? From the Government Treasury! Thus it was that the money sucked from Indian blood was squandered away! Fancy a man dying from a shock, real or imaginary, getting rupees seventy thousand! But it was only the white skin which got such compensation. What compensation did the numerous Indian victims get whose children also fell a prey to the bullet firing within their own homes? Practically nothing—a few rupees here and there was considered sufficient compensation in their case. Not only so, but the man who murdered Indians has been allowed by the Government to draw his pension from the Indian exchequer! And why should not the Governmont do so? Poor Dyer had laboured to rescue Indians from this hell of the British Raj to send them straight off to heaven. Why should then any compensation be necessary for Indians who have gone from hell to heaven! The goras alone need compensation who have been made to quit India which was a paradise for them. Further comments are unnecessary.

The Empire Day celebrations.
Pragatik (136), 30th May.

30. On 24th May some sycophants tried to celebrate the Empire Day at a few places and to sing the praises of the Empire on the occasion. The days are now past for Indians to feel any love for an Empire in which day by day they are being reduced to the last straits in its name, in no corner of which is the least honour shown to them and wherein organised attempts are being made to drive them out from places, wherever they might have gone. Even a child can see that the idea of the Empire Day has had its origin in the anxiety of astute statesman to lull to sleep countries once brought within the orbit of the Empire. Is it not against human nature for Indians to feel any enthusiasm for the Empire day? Only when the empire of Indians spreads over the whole of the earth will they take pride in it and celebrate its day. Till

then, they will have to traverse their dreary road through the Empire of despondency with the help of the walking-staff of non-co-operation. There is no other help!

Comments on the Government of India's *Communique* on the British Mission to Kabul.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 31st May.

31. It is gratifying to note that the Government of India have issued a *Communique* on the British Mission to Kabul. However, it does not tell us anything about peace with Afghanistan. It is but natural that Indians should be anxious for news from Afghanistan in view of the recent Bolshevist developments in that country. Let us hope that the terms of the proposed agreement with Afghanistan will be published simultaneously in England and India and that nothing will be kept secret from India. The figures about casualties on the Afghan frontier during the last two years and a half are quite appalling. It is owing to the Afghan trouble that more than half of India's revenue is swallowed up by Military expenditure on the frontier. Let us hope that some satisfactory arrangement is soon arrived at with the Amir. We would prefer giving an annual subsidy to the Amir to maintaining an extensive military force on the frontier.

The Situation in Persia
Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd June.

32. "The latest development in the Persian situation is, it is stated, not unexpected. It is the outcome of the strong feeling existing in the Persian Cossack circles against the employment of British officials, and the Cossack Party under the leadership of Reza Khan, besides being strong at Court, is stated to be also 'very popular throughout the country'.......... The British themselves are not a little to blame for this unfortunate situation which has been engendered by the part which British officials and 'advisers' had played till but the other day in Persian politics. The revulsion of feeling against them, now that their interference in Persian affairs is fast disappearing, is not, perhaps, unnatural. Still, we see no reason, why when conditions in Persia have settled down to the normal, the Persian authorities should not seek disinterested British assistance, as they would do that of any other nation, to aid them in putting their house in order. We believe such an opportunity will come before long."

Complaint about delay in the publication of the Report of the Bombay Archæological Department for the year ending 31st March 1919.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 31st May.

33. Commenting upon the report of the Bombay Presidency Archæological Department for the year ending 31st March 1919, the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The resolution of Government on this report has just been published. We are constrained to remark with regret that it is altogether undesirable, nay, unpardonable that the report of any Government department and the Government resolution thereon should be published after two years. The officials concerned should recognise the necessity of publishing these reports as soon as possible after the end of the year if it is really their intention to benefit the public in some way. We hope that the publication of the report of this department as well as the Government resolution thereon will not be delayed so long in future.

What is the function of the Director of Information?
Shubhodaya (94)), 2nd June.

34. A witness before a Court had made up his mind that when questioned he would give the only answer, 'No, I don't know'. We need not say how funny must have been the evidence of this witness. Persons of this type will be found in large numbers amongst our officials. When any of their actions leads to excitement amongst the people, they try to get out of the situation by saying that their actions could not be capable of bearing the interpretation put up on them by the public. If, however, they are asked to give their own interpretation they never give any answer. The answer perhaps in such cases is, 'I don't know'. The chief of these officials is the Director of information. His department costs us about 92 thousand rupees a year. His function is to say no. When there was discussion in the press about His Excellency the Governor's interview at Karáchi, the Director

enthusiasm. Their recantation is proof rather of the extent of our degradation than of the wrongness of the step. Experience has shown that the establishment of National schools has not resulted in drawing many more students. But the poet's protest against the calling of the boys is really a corollary to his objection to the very doctrine of non-co-operation. He has a horror of everything negative.......... In my humble opinion, rejection is as much an ideal as the acceptance of a thing. It is as necessary to reject untruth as it is to accept truth.......... Non-co-operation with evil is as much a duty as co-operation with good......... I therefore think that the poet has been unnecessarily alarmed at the negative aspect of non-co-operation. We had lost the power of saying 'no'. It had become disloyal, almost sacrilegious, to say 'no' to the Government. This deliberate refusal to co-operate is like the necessary weeding process that a cultivator has to resort to before he sows.......... The nation's non-co-operation is an invitation to the Government to co-operate with it on its own terms as is every nation's right and every good Government's duty. Non-co-operation is the nation's notice that it is no longer satisfied to be in tutelage. The nation has taken to the harmless (for it), natural and religious doctrine of non-co-operation in the place of the unnatural and irreligious doctrine of violence. And if India is ever to attain the *Swaraj* of the poet's dream, she will do so only by non-violent non-co-operation......... Non-co-operation is intended to give the very meaning to patriotism that the poet is yearning after. An India prostrate at the feet of Europe can give no hope to humanity. An India awakened and free has a message of peace and goodwill to a groaning world. Non-co-operation is designed to supply her with a platform from which she will preach the message."

The adddresses to Mr. Gandhi by local bodies do not mean the spread of non-co-operation.
Dnyán Prakásh (42), 29th May.

23. Mahatma Gandhi has been touring in India everywhere and at almost every place local bodies have been giving him addresses of welcome. But one must be very careful in drawing conclusions from the number of these addresses about the success of the non-co-operation movement; for it has been noticed that at many of the places most of the givers of these addresses are persons who have set at nought the non-co-operation resolution and the addresses make no reference to the movement. For example, Sholápur Municipality's address did nothing beyond giving a cordial welcome to a distinguished man like Mr. Gandhi. Nor have the nationalist preachers in the Municipality brought a resolution to refuse the Government educational grant. Can Mahatma Gandhi rightly say that such municipalities have been discharging their duties properly? From the co-operator's point of view, however, these municipalities are alive to their sense of duty. A similar deplorable state of affairs exists in Poona. The nationalist papers there published in bold type the news about other municipalities having refused Government grants. But the editors of these papers, though they are members of the local municipality have never thought of following their example. Mahatma Gandhi has been over and over again scolding the Deccan nationalists that they have disappointed him in the matter of non-co-operation. And this is why they seem to be cross with him.

The bogey of an Afghan invasion.
Kesari (120), 31st May.

24. The bureaucracy aims at perpetuating its autocratic authority over us by pursuing the policy of 'Divide and rule'. It is most regrettable that some of our own leaders, blind to this fact, should follow this policy of the bureaucracy and thus be responsible for creating further differences in a society in which there are already too many of them. The attempt of the bureaucracy to bring our leaders into disrepute by inventing the story of the Afghan spy was indeed frustrated, but the controversy thus raised was not without its aftermath and a queer man like Mr. Pal was tempted to assail the principle of non-co-operation. We are pained to see that our leaders fail to notice the traps set for them by the bureaucracy and are caught in them. To promise Government unqualified support in the case of an invasion would be like sounding the death-knell of non-co-operation. Government can very easily raise the bogey of an invasion whenever they find that the movement is

Mavalas themselves are not prepared to give up their lands the agreement between the Government and the Tata Company cannot affect their decision to offer *satyagraha*. In this agreement the bait of liberal compensation is put forward. But since the Mavalas are not inclined to part with the land of their birth, the question as to whether the compepsation is adequate or not does not come in. However, in the agreement in question Government and the Tata Company have safeguarded their own interests and have left the question of the compensation to be paid to the Mavalas to the discretion of a Government official! Nothing is said as to how many times the value of the crop the amount of the compensation would be, and no definite undertaking is given that the peasants would not be deprived of their lands until suitable lands in exchange are found elsewhere. In our opinion the publication of this Agreement provides no reason why the Mavalas should abandon the attitude they have hitherto taken up. The Mavalas will have to contend now with the all-powerful Government instead of with a private company. But this is not an altogether unexpected evil. When our Mavala brethren formed a resolution that they would not allow their lands and their places of worship to be submerged, they knew that Government and the Tata Company would come to some such agreement. But since that agreement has now been made public the Mavalas also should announce their own decision to the world, whatever it may be. If they stick to their resolve, and if Government do not come to an agreement with them, they can rely on the sympathy and help of of the whole of Maharashtra. This question does not affect the Mulshi Petha alone since Government themselves have announced that twenty-two more such works are goiug to be constructed. Our leaders have to consider whether they can quietly allow our peasantry thus to be destroyed and Maharashtra made a nation of coolies.

Alleged hardships suffered by Vinayak Savarkar after his transfer to the Ratnágiri jail.

Sandesh (141), 2nd June.

38. When Mr. Vinayak Savarkar was removed from the Andamans to the Ratnágiri jail people expected that he would receive better treatment. Not only has this expectation not been realised, but his hardships have increased. We want to bring this to the notice of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay. While in the Andamans he suffered many hardships for twelve years, but after that he was then allowed to wear his own clothes instead of those which prisoners have to wear. But this concession is now discontinued at Ratnágiri. It is the principle of law that a punishment given should not be vindictive. But this sacred principle Mr. Mehta, the Jail Superintendent, has trodden under foot. We suggest that His Excellency the Governor should look into the matter and allow Mr. Savarkar to wear his own clothes. Another concession which was granted to him in the Andamans was that he was permitted to arrange for his own food. But now at Ratnágiri he gets very coarse food along with other prisoners there. He was also allowed a great amount of freedom at the Andamans and permission to bring his wife and children there had been granted to him. And there was absolutely no danger in continuing this concession at Ratnágiri, too, for King Thebaw enjoyed it there for thirty years. Mr. Savarkar should at least be permitted to go about in the jail. He has already earned this right by his twelve years' imprisonment at the Andamans, and we hope the Ratnágiri jail authorities will not deprive him of it.

The strike of Assam tea estate coolies.

Indian Social Reformer (7), 5th June.

*39. "From what appears in the papers the strike of the coolies (on the Assam tea estates) seems to be a spontaneous movement arising from penury, suffering and despair. We had thought that the conditions had changed for the better after the stopping of the indenture and the amending of the Labour Emigration Act. There is a clear case for the immediate appointment of a Committee of Enquiry to examine the condition of the labourers in all the planting areas of Assam. It is futile to expect much help from the planters but it is the duty of the Government to give adequate relief to the stranded labourers. It is not enough if simply some medical relief is given when naturally epidemics rage amongst them, but all facilities should be given them if these unfortunates desire to go back to their homes. If the conditions of employment in their native villages are as alleged not satisfactory and if they have perforce to return to the planting tracts, it does not mean they should be left to the tender mercies of the planters.......... With 4 as. and 2 as. wage, we would rather have the whole of Assam swept away into the Bay of Bengal rather than that these conditions should persist there one day longer."

Comments on the report of the Bombay Development Department.

Servant of India (10), 2nd June.

40. "It is an interesting document giving some very detailed information about the huge schemes of building Greater Bombay that the Department has launched. But when one puts away the report after closely studying it, one is almost tempted to ask oneself in a somewhat doubtful frame of mind :—'Will the report be able to convince the public that the scheme, as chalked out, will solve in the shortest possible time the immediate and the most urgent problem of Bombay, *viz.*, sufficient housing accommodation for the working and lower middle classes?' We are afraid the answer will be 'no'......... When we look at the programme from the workman's or middle classman's point of view, we confess we feel a good deal of disappointment...... The solution of the housing problem has ever been, and rightly, the burden of his song since His Excellency Sir George Lloyd arrived here about two years ago. After presenting to the Bombay Council a close and clear analysis of this problem, his August speech declared that not less than 50,000 one-room tenements were immediately required to relieve the city of its present congestion......... Government have been warned time and again that time is the greatest factor in this matter. If you ignore it, the whole scheme will be nullified. The population of the city is increasing every day. And if the construction of 50,000 tenements which are necessary for the population already living in the city, goes on for a very long period, say for a decade or so, the relief secured by the accommodation of a part of the old population will disappear by the influx of the new population which will be very great indeed. Government were, therefore, warned to complete their scheme within as short a period as possible, five years at the most. But the pity is that the Directorate has not only not given any period during which it is going to complete the scheme, but it has not even undertaken to construct the whole scheme of building 50,000 tenements! Only 19,000 are proposed to be built in the near future. Even a mention is not made as to when the rest of the tenements are going to be taken in hand!......... The relief that will be given by the work of the Department is, therefore, bound to be miserably inadequate and the progress made in the solution of the housing problem disappointing."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 5th June.

*41. "The recently published report of the Development Department gives a list of its principal officers at the end, and there is not the name of a single Indian in it. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad parried a criticism in the Legislative Council by alleging that there are also several high-placed Indians in the Department, but it is curious that their names should be studiously kept out of this list. This report of an engineering enterprise of very considerable magnitude will go all over the world, and will widely advertise the fact that the Government of Bombay does not trust in the capacity of a single Indian engineer to fill a responsible position in this scheme. Even the Land Manager and the Auditor are Europeans. No doubt, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad is mentioned in the body of the report as the Member of Government in charge of the Department, but surely that cannot atone for the studious exclusion of Indians from this list......... Has British rule, or the Bombay Government, anything to gain by spreading the impression abroad that Indians are only political wind-bags, and there is not a single Indian who can be entrusted with even the valuing of land and auditing of accounts in a scheme of this kind? If it has, no better means could have been found of such propagandism. The same effect is likely to be produced by the non-inclusion of a single Indian in the Everest expedition. Some of the most venerated Indian shrines like Kailas and Kedarnath lie above the snow-line and are yearly visited by hundreds of pilgrims without any very elaborate preparations, and there should be certainly one or two Indians in the whole country who can give a good account of themselves in the Everest expedition. The Government of India has been culpably indifferent to the reputation of India in allowing this Expedition to start without any Indian in it except in the capacity of mule-drivers and baggage-carriers."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st May and 4th June.

42. "The more we consider the programme of the Development Board from their published report, the more we are convinced of the serious misdirection of public funds and of effort, particularly in reference to the proposed reclamation of Back Bay.......... There was a great rush of people going to Mesopotamia and elsewhere during the war in this city and owing to scarcity of building and other materials, building operations were not taken up on an adequate scale. The rush of temporary visitors set up rents in the city to such an extent that landlords everywhere tacitly combined to ask for more and these enhanced rents were the basis of many a calculation in the new building which has now turned out to be wrong. Men counted up the return on this basis in such a way that they felt all of a sudden the high value of the land on which the buildings could be put up. There was a proof of this to be found in the great rush that was made for plots sold by the Improvement Trust in the Dadar-Matunga scheme. Some of these plots were subsequently re-sold at a premium; but it is notorious that those who have got these plots are not in a hurry to put up the buildings and that the few men who have done so fail to find suitable occupants at rents which would cover their outlay. .... The demand for land in Bombay is being further reduced owing to the decision of the Bombay Municipality and the Improvement Trust not to permit the erection of factories inside certain areas—a decision which we fully endorse. ...... Every industry that is sent out of the limits of the Bombay Municipality means, to that extent, a reduction of the demand for land for residential purposes of the employes and staff of such factories......... Even if prospective purchases for land come forward, the shortage of building material in the city would be no small obstacle. Nor can we minimise the shortage of labour for building purposes which is acutely felt wherever building is going on in the city. While land, which is available for building purposes of all kinds would go a-begging in such a manner, we have the proposition of reclaiming from the sea a large piece of land at a very heavy cost. We are not still convinced of the utility of this sceeme. We do not see why Government offices and other buildings, which is proposed to locate on the reclaimed ground, should not be located on the land which would be made available in this locality by the removal of the Cotten Green from Colaba to Mazgaon and of the terminal station from Colaba. Whoever is going to pay several hundred rupees per square yard in this locality unless it be the officials with big salaries and those who have profited by bigger commissions out of the development and improvement of this city?......... We are not certain that the estimated outlay on the Back Bay scheme will be the actual cost, having regard to the cost of material and the official errors and miscalculations such as were proved in the case of arrangements made by the Bombay Port Trust for store of bulk petrol at Pirpau. We, therefore, suggest the Government should re-consider this question even at this stage and should drop the project of reclamation, which absorb several crores of rupees of public funds when they are urgently required for other objects.......... In any case, we object to the priority given in the Development Board's programme to this reclamation scheme over schemes more urgently needed in the interests of 'the masses'." [In a further article the paper writes:—"While the programme of the Development Board in the matter of the Back Bay reclamation is fundamentally wrong, its efforts outside Bombay with reference to the Island of Salsette and Trombay are open to the criticism that they are not so prompt and whole-hearted as they should be.......... So long as the position of existing railways is not improved, the suggested new suburbs near Khar Village and Chapel Road cannot in themselves do much good. Nor does it appear that the Development Board has considered the increased traffic likely to arise on these lines with the completion of the Mahim-Dharavi, Dadar and Matunga schemes.......... In the rest of the programme as set forth we do not see any mention made of any improvements in communication except the proposed Trombay Salsette railway and the proposed extension of kutchra siding. We have no doubt that this railway when constructed would lead to great improvement, but we would suggest as an earlier measure likely to lead to immediate results the extension of the tramway connection from Dadar through Wadala into Mahul. We would also emphasise the need of opening to public traffic the Harbour Branch of the G. I. P. Railway. The construction of a 80 feet road from Dadar into Mahul would have a more immediate effect in diverting population than any of the measures mentioned in the Development programme......... We do not approve of the wholesale acquisitions which are notified by the Development Board in Trombay island.......... We think there is a quicker and more economical way of getting things done than going in for wholesale acquisition and that is to frame definite rules which all builders have to carry out as in the Municipal area. We would even countenance the suggestion of taxing, after ready communication is established, owners of vacant lands who have not begun building operation. We suggest for serious consideration of the Government that if the unnecessary and ruinous Back Bay scheme is carried out they will have not enough money left for acquiring and paying for all the land shown red on their plan as West Salsette and for providing roads, drainage and water supply in that area, much less will they have money for any building operation at all.......... We should have liked further particulars of the orders which have been placed for plant through the Stores Department of the India office. We learn unofficially that these orders run into about two or three crores of rupees and that some orders were actually placed before the Department was formed. This is a constitutional matter on which the public look to the Government of Sir George Lloyd for immediate satisfactory explanation.......... We must also point out that the provision for the housing of working classes does not get that degree of priority in the programme, which it should on account of its urgency and importance. We think that since the formation of the Board there has been enough time for actually beginning building operations in connection with the two schemes for industrial housing mentioned in the report.......... The general impression left in our mind after reading the report is that the Board is not itself altogether clear as to what it is going to attempt and it seems that the rest of its work in Salsette and Trombay is a mere ornamental supplement to the primary object of its existence, viz., the Back Bay Reclamation. The public of Bombay, however, regard the Back Bay Reclamation as not only an altogether secondary, but also superfluous item involving immense waste and gross misdirection of public funds."]

Why Indian Civil Servants have not carried out their threat about resignation.

Kesari (120), 31st May.

43. When the reforms were under consideration, the Civil Servants sought to create an impression that in the event of their acceptance they would all resign and offer *Satyagraha*. But recent questions and answers in Parliament show that not a single Civil Servant thought of carrying his threat into execution. What a nice thing it would have been if this wished-for calamity had befallen us! We would have been rid of a malady without a medicine! According to an English paper the decision of the Civil Servants not to resign their posts redounds to their credit since they could have got better pay in England. We know the plight of these men in England and have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that there is not an iota of truth in what this paper says. They get better remuneration in India than that which they can hope to get anywhere else in the world, and even a child can expose the hollowness of their claim that they are here only with the object of doing good to the people.

Comments on the new post for Mr. J. P. Thompson under the Viceroy.

Kesari (120), 31st May; *Lokashahi* (126), 30th May.

44. The name of J. P. Thompson has become a by-word among Indians as one of the bloodthirsty fiends who were responsible for the Punjáb horrors. We now understand that this star of ill omen is going to get an appointment under the Viceroy. In our opinion to allow a man, who had a hand in the Punjáb massacre, to go unpunished, is to uphold that massacre. The Viceroy has had several opportunities of proving his sense of justice to the world, but he does not seem to have passed the test in any single case. People would have formed a better estimate of the Viceroy if he had sent Mr. Thompson out of India for good. They will not be satisfied simply by not allowing him to hold the post of Chief Secretary. If Lord Reading has made up his mind not to wound the feelings of the bureaucracy, and at the same time to give justice to Indians, then he had better not attempt that impossible task. [The *Lokashahi* writes :—The Viceroy has appointed this wolf from the Jallianwalla Bagh to a responsible post. His Excellency has no doubt hit upon an excellent method of inflicting further humiliation upon Indians.]

Sind Observer (12), 27th May.

45. " The Viceroy is a fine diplomat. The Punjábees did not want Mr. Thompson as Chief Secretary to Government. Well and good, said His Excellency. Let Mr. Montemorency go to the Punjáb and let Mr. Thompson stay at Simla in the Foreign and Political Department which is the Viceroy's own portfolio. The Punjábee clamour has been satisfied; and Mr. Thompson has been taken under the Viceroy' own wings. The Civil Service will not be offended; Mr. Thompson may have a better future before him. Only he has shaken the dust of the Punjáb off his feet. This gives an inkling into the Viceroy's nature and policy. He will satisfy the people, he will satisfy the Bureaucrat."

Comments on the sentence passed on Moulavi Hamid Ahmed by the Sessions Judge of Allahabad.

Kesari (120), 31st May.

46. Commenting upon the sentence of transportation for life and forfeiture of property passed upon one Moulavi Hamid Ahmed by the Sessions Judge of Allahabad, the *Kesari* writes :—The sentence is quite out of all proportion to the offence and will stun not only India but the whole world. The accused was charged with the offence of waging war against the King, but this 'war' did not progress beyond the mere expression of a few words. While an Indian who declares war simply by giving expression to some words is awarded such a fearful sentence, an Englishman who is responsible for the death of an Indian is let off with a fine of only Rs. 300! Such reckless sentences can never arrest the progress of the non-co-operation movement.

Reflections on Government's excise policy.

Young India (14), 1st June.

47. In the course of the sixth and last instalment of a contributed article headed 'Excise—And all it means,' *Young India* remarks:—" We have suggested that the drink evil has been foisted upon the people against their wishes and is totally unwarranted by the conditions in which they live. Under ordinary circumstances, it would have died a natural death; now it flourishes under the fostering care of the excise department, and like a parasite it lives and thrives on the life of the nation. More than one bold apologist has condoned excise as a 'necessary' evil. Others have even pointed out that without it Government will not be able to finance education. This is tantamount to saying that for the doubtful benefits of the education it gives, the Government is, and has been inflicting on the people the undoubted evil of drink. It seems to us necessary that such a Government should be superseded by one more moral, unless it shows, as has been so aptly stated, 'a distinct change of heart'. But it is imperative that such an immoral and dangerous experiment should be immediately ended. The contention that excise is a necessary source of revenue will not hold water on examination. It betrays a narrow and short-sighted financial policy. We may even say that it is both false and hollow. The excise policy of the Government ignores the fiscal axiom that the patrimony of the State must in no case be impaired. An unsound financial policy must sooner or later impair it. A Government guided by a sound financial policy would try its utmost to prevent the nation from spending its money on objects that undermine both the health and the morals of the people—and liquor and drugs ruin both. It would likewise not only prevent the money from being spent on 'unproductive' goods, it would also direct this along 'productive' channels. Liquor is certainly an 'unproductive' article. The money spent on it gives no return to the consumer, on the contrary it damages his working capacity, causes loss of efficiency, promotes ill health and disease, encourages other forms of vices, and prevents the money from being utilized to the advantage of the consumer, and hence of society and the nation. In short, as Mr. Micawber would say, it is a 'malignant growth'. Supposing, however, that the drink evil is abolished, will not the Government be a sufferer to the tune of 17 crores (the present revenue from excise)? The answer is simple: it cannot ultimately suffer. By abolishing excise, the nation will have on its hands the money it now spends on drink. The Government derives a revenue of 17 crores, but the nation spends at least 50 crores on drink. The nation can either spend the money or save it. If it saves this huge amount annually, the Government will be able to tax the people accordingly. Every economist from Adam Smith to Marshall has laid down that prosperity is based on thrift, and the taxable capacity of the nation is in proportion to its prosperity. Suppose the nation, instead of saving this money, spends it, say, on cloth. It will mean more growing of cotton, more manufacture of cloth, more employment and higher wages for the labour. Here again the nation will prosper. Why excise fails as a proper means of taxation—is not to speak of the sin of it—because, it accelerates the increasing poverty and chronic starvation of the people. As a doctrine, it is fallacious and unsound; as a policy it is ruinous and immoral. If this evil takes permanent root among the people, the Government will soon learn to its cost, like the man in the fable, that it has killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. Yet the Government persists in this most foolish of policies, in the face of strong public opposition......... The Government has been pleaded with, petitioned, and prayed to revise its excise policy. To such protestations, it turned a deaf ear. Suggestions were offered by Temperance Societies, and workers in the cause of humanity. They have been ignored, social workers started propaganda work with some success. Government officials looked on their humane efforts with cold disapproval. Some have even been arrested on sorry and flimsy pretexts. One provincial Government has even printed a circular eulogising the value of drinking! Such acts of petty, misplaced tyranny and unbecoming zeal only confirm our worst fears that the Government's excise policy is directed solely to the purpose of increasing its revenues, that it is shameless enough to exploit the sins of the people. But, what, after all, is the remedy? We remember Mr. C. R. Das saying sometime ago that 'Life was unbearable without Swaraj'—and that alone is the remedy."

Forest complaint from Kánara.

Chaitanya (105), 30th May.

48. There is a great deal of discontent among the people in the Kánara District owing to the harassment of the people by the Forest Department. In September last Government had issued a Press-note defining their policy with regard to forest administration and in it reference was made to the concessions about giving free of charge bamboos and other necessary materials for putting up hedges round crops. But the new price list issued by Forest Conservator gives the prices of the several things required for agriculture. The cultivators will thus have to purchase everything they require. To increase the income of the Forest Department in this manner by making the cultivators to pay for even trifling things will only intensify their discontent. A Committee with Rao Bahadur Sathe, M.L.C., as president was appointed to make inquiries into the Kánara forest grievances and to remove them. But not only has its personnel not yet been disclosed, but it is said that its inquiry has been postponed. Thus the forest grievances, instead of being removed, have been multiplied. Will the Minister explain why the inquiry by the Committee has been postponed and whether it is to be resumed or not?

Comments on the forfeiture of the *New Burma* security by the Burma Government.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st May.

49. "The latest exploit of the Craddockian bureaucracy is the forfeiture of the security of Rs. 1,000 deposited with Government by the printer and publisher of *New Burma*, the sole offence of the journal being stated to be the publication in its issue of 22nd April last of an article entitled 'Ireland and Burma' by Mr. Bernard Houghton, the well-known ex-Civilian......... The fact that Mr. Houghton is an ex-civilian of several year's standing does not seem to matter to the Craddockian bureaucracy. Perhaps, this very fact heightens the offence of Mr. Houghton in its eyes and since he is beyond its long arms, it seeks to take its revenge on him

by means of the vicarious punishment of the printer of *New Burma*. The exhibition of such revengefulness is, however, hardly calculated to enhance the prestige of British 'justice' in the eyes of the Burman. If, anything, it will strengthen him in his determination to make it impossible for the local bureaucrats to drag justice in the dust in this manner."

The Press Act Committee.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 30th May.

50. It is a matter for no small surprise that no press representative from Bombay has been invited to give evidence before the Press Act Committee. So far only representatives of the Moderate party have been invited by the Committee, which itself contains a preponderating element of Moderates on it. It is, however, gratifying to note that the Moderate witnesses examined so far have pressed for the repeal of the Press Act. The Press Act penalises the publication of truth. No nation on earth possesses an act like our Press Act. The Press Act is an arbitrary measure and the new Reforms will be considered worthless as long as it is allowed to exist on the Statute Book. India demands individual liberty prior to political reforms.

What should be done with the proceeds of unclaimed postal articles?
Bombay Samáchár (62), 2nd June.

51. The *Bombay Samáchár* dwells on the enormous number of postal articles which remain unclaimed in the Indian Post Offices for various reasons, such as insufficient address, etc., and writes :—It is necessary to know how Government dispose of the unclaimed articles because from the time that the Postal Department was founded upto now, their value must have mounted up to crores of rupees. Popular leaders should devote their attention to this matter, because according to law Government credit all such unclaimed property to the public treasury. But if public opinion is educated in this matter and the conclusions it arrives at are published, this huge sum can be utilised exclusively for the welfare of the country. Government may either utilise it for industrial development or for some charitable purpose. If Government keep this money absolutely under their control, their object, however good it may be, cannot be achieved because all the high officials change every five years. If Government appoint a trust composed of official and non-official members for the proper management of this money, the country will be largely benefitted by it. But it is doubtful whether Government will do so of their own accord. Desirable results will be obtained only when the Indian people bring moral pressure to bear upon Government. A committee should also be appointed to investigate the question as to why the Indian people evince such carelessness in the matter of posting articles and whether the said carelessness is more or less than that exhibited in other countries.

Alleged grievances of the Hajis.
Political Bhomiyo (77), 27th May.

52. The Hajis have to suffer many hardships owing to the carelessness of steamship companies. An example of this is furnished by Messrs. Turner Morrison and Company. The Anjumane-Khuddam-al-Nabi was informed by this Company that they would supply water to the Hajis in the hot season. Hence the Anjuman gave up the idea of doing this duty themselves. But Messrs. Turner Morrison and Company were negligent in performing their duty and hence the Hajis had to suffer much inconvenience. Such behaviour on the part of this well-known Company is certainly not creditable to them. Again, the notice issued by Government that no Haji should take with him more than one bag of provisions is also undesirable. Although we are sure that Government are honest in their intentions, yet the restriction is very inconvenient to the Hajis. The necessary concessions should be made in this matter. Government have done well in paying special attention to the question of return tickets and removing the misunderstanding caused in the matter. The Muhammadans are grateful to them for their kind attitude towards the Hajis. We hope that Government will take the necessary steps for the removal of several petty inconveniences suffered by the Hajis after consulting Muhammadan leaders.

Comments on the trial of war criminals in Germany.
Swardjya (149), 2nd June.

53. Commenting upon the trial of war criminals now proceeding before the German court at Leipzig, the *Swardjya* writes :—The English papers consider the sentence passed on Sergeant Heynan as scandalously inadequate. They are quite right. The German barbarians cannot possibly know how to administer justice. They should have asked for the loan of a Kincaid or a Clements to try and to punish their own people! If they could not do that they should at least have studied the way in which the English punish their guilty. The English mode of administering justice is really worthy of imitation. Sergeant Heynan ill-treated the subjects of the enemy, but General Dyer and O'Dwyer not only ill-treated their fellow subjects but shot them although they had committed no offence. Their offence was great and, therefore, the sentence also passed on them was commensurate with it. They were told that they must agree to receive heavy pensions from the treasury of the innocent people whom they killed!

The revised terms of the Sevres Treaty.
Servant of India (10), 2nd June.

54. "The letter which Mr. Montagu sent to the Khilafat deputation in England ought to convince, as we trust did convince the deputation, that, so far as Mr. Montagu is concerned, he did his level best to obtain the most favourable terms for the Turks. Indeed, it must be recognised that the revised terms of the Sevres Treaty constitute a very great improvement on the original terms which were extremely harsh. They do not come up to the level of the Indian Moslems' demand, it is true, but no one can support this demand in full. For instance, the restoration of Palestine to Turkey cannot be justified on any moral grounds and will not appeal to any rational being. It is time that the Moslem leaders expressed their real sentiments in the matter."

RAILWAYS.

A complaint against the G. I. P. Railway.
Prabodh (132), 22nd May.

55. The ***Prabodh*** complains that the arrangements made by the local merchants to supply cool drinking water to passengers at the Shegaon and Bhusawal stations of the G. I. P. Railway as the Company's arrangements in that behalf were defective have had to be suddenly stopped after lasting for one month at Shegaon and for eight months at Bhusáwal, owing to the orders of the District Traffic Superintendent. It goes on :—The Shegaon merchants made various suggestions for the continuance of the arrangement but without avail. The District Traffic Superintendent even refused to receive a deputation of the merchants. The Traffic Manager also said 'no'. An application made in the matter through the President of the Shegaon Municipality, who had favourably endorsed it, was also rejected. A representation was also sent to the Agent of the Railway Company on 24th April 1921, but no reply has yet been received. It appears that the root of all this lies in the fact that as the Railway Company is legally bound to make due provision for the supply of water to the railway passengers at the stations, it thinks it to be below its dignity to allow private persons on the platforms to serve water to them. The Company, no doubt, does supply water to the passengers, but they do not get it as it is required by them. The private service is, therefore, absolutely necessary. It is stated that the District Traffic Superintendent while stopping the private service said, 'You put on Gandhi caps within the station limits and supply water to non-co-operationists'. He was told that the matter had no connection with non-co-operation, but that all the passengers got the water, but he persisted in stopping the supply. All this shows how rotten the railway administration is and in how many ways it is troubling the people. Popular control seems to be the only remedy.

NATIVE STATES.

The Kolhapur correspondence.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 5th June.

***56.** "The correspondence reveals nothing short of utter political depravity in the instigator of and participators in it. They seem to have engaged in a nefarious conspiracy to get certain persons whose politics they did not like, thrust into jail for long terms of imprisonment, and in one letter the writer, an

English official, is represented as suggesting to the Maharaja that a certain judge should not try a certain case! If at all true, this is a flagrant interference with the course of justice which should make Lord Reading's hair stand on end. We cannot believe that the Maharaja of Kolhapur is capable of the obsession which seems to have overclouded the sanity and judgment of the letters imputed to His Highness. In any case, the people of British India, and of this Presidency particularly, have reason to distrust the action and movement of rulers whose notions of justice and judicial administration are anything like those revealed in this correspondence."

Lokashahi (126), 30th May; *Rajákáran* (138), 29th May.

57. The *Lokashahi* says that since the publication by the *Kesari* of the correspondence between His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur and certain high officials of Government, the people have been able to form a correct estimate of the real nature of the Maharaja's activities. It asks His Highness to renounce his *gadi* to atone for the sin he committed in opposing the movement for *swarájya*. The paper tells His Highness that since the recent exposures all people, including his own subjects, have completely lost faith in him and that he can no longer gracefully continue to be the head of his State. [The *Rajákáran* writes:—The Chhatrapati does not question the genuineness of the letters published by the *Kesari*. He only objects to their publication. The *Kesari* has no doubt performed a great national service in publishing this correspondence.]

Hindusthán (22), 28th May; *Model* (28), 29th May.

58. The *Hindusthán* publishes in its issues in instalments the correspondence between the Maharaja of Kolhápur and certain Government officials which appeared in the *Kesari* and in commenting upon it remarks:—The Maharaja has the presumption to think that he possesses higher wisdom than British officials and has advised them to resort to even worse forms of repression and blames the British Government for granting political reforms to India! It seems there was some deep political motive underlying the recent visit His Excellency the Governor paid to the Maharaja under the guise of *Shikar*. [The *Model* writes:—No one expected such sort of correspondence from the Maharaja. It makes it clear that he is unduly prejudiced against the Brahmins.]

Native States and newspaper criticism.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st May.

59. "The Home Member of the Government of India, during the debate on repressive legislation, displayed considerable anxiety to shield the Indian Chiefs and their administrations from the criticisms of the press in British India. Sir William Vincent, so we understand, is anxious to penalise criticism of the administration of the Indian States. But these Durbars have more than ample powers to defend themselves against press criticism, and Sir William's anxiety appears to us to be quite gratuitous. The treatment of the press, whether indigenous or British Indian, by the Indian States affords sufficient evidence of the correctness of our statement. A Maharaja of Kolhápur could send not only some of the journalists of his own State to rigorous imprisonment of two or three years' duration, but could also secure the punishment of journalists like the late Lokmanya and Agarkar, living outside the State. Without rhyme or reason, and simply to oblige the British Indian bureaucracy, the Gwalior Durbar, we have recently seen, has banned the entry into the State of several leading Nationalist journals. The Kashmir Durbar goes a step further. There are no newspapers in this State, and it appears the Durbar does not want any to come into existence there. The other day, a publisher applied to the Durbar for permission to start a newspaper in Jammu, but it was refused with the remark that 'in His Highness's opinion there is no desirability of a newspaper in the State territory'! The Maharaja appears to be a firm believer in the maxim that 'where ignorance is bliss, it is folly to be wise.' Sir William Vincent, we hope, sees that our Chiefs have in their possession stronger armour than any he can devise for their protection."

Necessity of Native Chiefs introducing *swarájya* in their States.
Kesari (120), 31st May.

60. In the course of an article entitled Native States and *Swarájya*, the *Kesari* says that Indian rulers must no longer hope to wield autocratic powers, and that if they insist upon doing so then there will not fail to be a great commotion in the country. It then writes:—The Chiefs cannot plead that the area of some of the States is too small to allow of the introduction of representative institutions therein. Since the smallness of the area of a State does not come in the way of a Chief's ruling it just like a mighty potentate, he should likewise have no objection to the establishment of a legislative body in the territory ruled over by him. And does not even a minor Chief spend lavishly on himself? Does he ever object to being styled 'His Highness'? Why should Chiefs, the extent of whose territory is not larger than that of a taluka or two, have a salute of 9, 12, or 21 guns, while the head of the great British Empire is entitled to a salute of not more than 101 guns? If area is to be any index to the salute, then many Chiefs will not be entiled to have even a rifle fired in their honour, let alone a gun; and, in the case of several, the needful will have been done if a small cracker is let off! Why should the Maharaja of Kolhápur claim to be considered as the ally of the King-Emperor when there is no comparison between the powers of the two? And why again should he make the futile attempt of rivalling the King-Emperor by assuming the title of Chhatrapati? If he wants the title, why should he not have representative institutions too? Similarly when the King-Emperor himself gets a fixed allowance from the treasury, why should there be no limit to the amount which the Maharaja can spend on himself from the revenues of his State?

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule :

- Alleged repetition of the Jallianwala tragedy at Chándpur (Assam) . 27
- Comments on certain of the activities of the Department of Industries. 24
- Comments on the strike of the Assam coolies 26
- England should link itself to the colonies alone and leave India to work out its own destiny. 28
- India and the Imperial Conference. 29
- India still requires the services of Europeans. 30
- Interest on Postal Saving Banks deposits should be raised to 6 per cent 22
- Protest against the exclusion of India from the Credits and Insurances scheme . . . . 16—18
- Protest against the refusal of the Deputy Commissioner, Láhore, to permit a meeting of the City Congress Committee. 32
- Reports of the proceedings of the reformed councils should be made available at cheap prices. 25
- The Bombay Labour Office 23
- The new Indian loan . . . . 19—21
- What India will do in the case of war between Australia and Japan . 31

Development of Bombay : The Development Department 15

Hajis : Government scheme for repatriating stranded — 56

His Excellency the Viceroy :

- Comments on Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club . . 1—9
- The bureaucracy has lost its influence over the Viceroy since his interviews with Indian leaders 10

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales : Comments on the report about the postponement of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to India. . . . . 11—14

Indians in the Colonies : Grievances of Indians in the Colonies . . . 57 & 58

Indian Press Act : The Press Act Committee . . . . 54 & 55

Judicial Matters:

- Defence of Government's recourse to prosecutions. 52
- The District Magistrate of Bijápur and the Gandhi cap. . . . 50 & 51
- Why is not the Bank of Bombay fraud case being proceeded with ? . 53

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Non-co-operation:
- Bombay Government and — 44
- Comments on Mr. Gandhi's views about an Afghan war . . . 47
- Comments on the apology published by the Ali Brothers . . . 33—39
- Failure of the — movement 43
- If Government's repressive policy continues there will be a revolution in India 46
- Mr. M. K. Gandhi's open letter to the Moderates 40
- Mussalmans should not be forced by Hindus to give up cow-slaughter . 41
- Patriots must be prepared to go to jail for the sake of their country . 45
- Signs that show that the Government policy of repression against — —has failed 42
- The anti-drink movement and Government . . . . 48 & 49

War:
- Comments on the reported execution of a British Indian Muhammadan by the Kemalists . . . . 59 & 60
- Why the Kemalists distrust England 61

EDUCATION—
- Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding raising of the prices of vernacular readers . . . . 63 & 64
- Government Resolution on the Director of Public Instruction's Report for 1919—20 62

NATIVE STATES—
- Native States must contributeto wards the maintenance of the Indian Army. 66
- The Kolhápur correspondence 65

RAILWAYS—
- Comments on the Railway Administration Report 67

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club.

New Times (9), 1st, 2nd 3rd and 4th June.

1. Commenting upon Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club, the *New Times* writes :—" Slowly and gradually the veil is being lifted off the Gandhi-Reading interview; and the jubilant manner in which speeches were made at the Chelmsford Club, the Viceroy referring to Lord Chelmsford as 'his distinguished predecessor', would seem to show that Government regard it a triumph on their part. Lord Reading feels they have scored a diplomatic success. His Excellency refers to the Ali Brothers' statement as 'the result of these visits and discussions'. Lord Reading does not seem to be in a mood to concert measures for a 'compromise' honourable to the two parties.......... The speech will create profound disappointment in the country, and will raise the question if the 'interviews' were not a political mistake. Lord Reading is mistaken if he thinks his speech will discredit the Ali Brothers or the National movement. His Excellency's speech must remove any impression in any quarter that Lord Reading is going to fight India's battle for *Swarāj*." [In the next issue the paper writes :—" No one will for a moment believe that racial equality has been the fundamental principle of the 'British rule in India.' Lord Reading's speech, however, indicates his desire to do away with racial discriminations! We must wait and see when His Excellency is going to cover the disance between desire and deed. After all, there is nothing new in what Lord Reading says. Queen Victoria's Proclamation promised a rule 'without distinction of caste, creed or colour.' The promise has remained a 'scrap of paper.'......... The one ill from which British rule in India has suffered is the European's notion of his 'racial superiority'. That is what is responsible for discriminaton in public services, law courts, the Army and the economic policy; India's interests have been subordinated to those of the European and of the jingo imperialist. But Lord Reading denies the very root-cause of India's trouble." In the issue dated 3rd June, the paper adds :—" The very first proposition he has chosen to enunciate for his guidance is the reverse of the actual position, *viz.*, that the British rule in India has never rested on any notions of racial superiority. As a matter of fact, the one malady of British rule has been 'racial discrimination.' Many had expected that Lord Reading, with his judicial frame of mind, will understand the realities of the situation and appreciate the Indian standpoint. They will be disappointed. The very root-cause of the trouble, *viz.*, subordination of Indian interests to those of the Europeans—is emphatically denied by Lord Reading. If he is unable to see the very root-cause of the problem, can one expect him to appreciate the standpoint of the national movement?" In the next issue the paper remarks :—" The Anglo-Indian papers are right jolly that Lord Reading made the speech he did at the Chelmsford Club and expressed views which they hail with delight. For them the problem is not the peace of India, but the loaves and fishes of office. The loaves and fishes of office would be secure if the *status quo* of 'Reforms' be maintained and a pronouncement made that Indians have had 'justice.' And that is what Lord Reading did. He tried to cut the ground from under the feet of Nationalists by making the astounding statement that the Britishers in this country 'have never indulged in any notion of racial superiority'! To contradict the most appalling fact of the Indian situation is to insult the inteligence of all thinking men and to refuse to recognise the very meaning of the whole agitation for the last generation in India.......... The plain fact is that so long as the ruling power in this country is in the hands of the Britisher, he would not recognise anything like equality between the Indian and the European. But as diplomacy, not plain-speaking, is deemed the better part of a statesman's achievement, perhaps it is necessary to profess racial equality. And this is the diplomacy, 'wisdom', 'statesmanship' which the *Times of India*,—that 'liberal' paper with a chilling imperial policy,—welcomes in Lord Reading. That is not the 'wisdom' that can make peace with political India."]

Young India (14), 8th June.

2. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I have been, in my early days, a student more or less accurate of the so-called historic speeches delivered by various Prime Ministers at the Mansion House. They seemed to me to have always an air of unreality about them. And it grieves me, after having studied the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy, to have to say that this one also has the same air of unreality about it. Not that Lord Reading had intended to clothe his speech with any such air. On the contrary there are in it evident traces of his having laboured to deliver a true message to an expectant India. But the speech has failed, in my humble opinion, in doing so, because of the many limitations that the office of a Viceroy carries with it. He could not, for instance, override the tradition of claiming infallibility for British rule. He laid it down as a proposition, 'beyond the possibility of a doubt,' that 'here in India there can be no trace, and must be no trace of racial inequality.' There is no more unreal proposition to the ear of the Indian than this, because his experience, be he ever so tall, belies it. Superiority of race is a passion, has become almost a religion with the average Englishman. Nor does he strive to conceal it from view. It obtrudes itself upon you in India as it does in the Colonies. It is written in the Statute Book. One misses in the Viceregal speech a frank recognition of the many failures of the past, and therefore a sincere desire for opening a new page. If His Excellency, in my humble opinion, was hardly happy in his statement of the 'fundamental principle of British rule,' he was, I fear, even less so in his reference to Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali. I recognise that he has been exceedingly cautious in his speech. He has attempted not to wound susceptibilities. As a matter of fact there was no question of wounding susceptibilities. He need not have spared the Maulanas where they might have erred. The statement made by the brothers was instigated by me and me alone. It is an apology tendered to friends, and not to the Government. It is made not to evade prosecution, but to put themselves right with their own conscience and with their friends. The assurance to them, therefore, that there would be no prosecution so long as they abided by their undertaking, was gratuitous, if not offensive. Lord Reading's Government is free to take up prosecution against the brothers at any moment they choose. This campaign of non-co-operation has no reference to diplomacy, secret or open.......... The Viceroy showed me the speeches. I realised that some passages in them did not read well. They were capable of being interpreted as an incitement to violence, and I realised that prosecution or no prosecution, there was no doubt in my mind as to the advice I should tender to the brothers. I venture to suggest to His Excellency, that if he is anxious to disarm non-co-operators, he will do so only by becoming undiplomatic and absolutely frank.......... Indeed, there is no room in the India of today and of to-morrow, for a governing class. His Excellency will, therefore, find out his mistake, if he clings to the belief that 'Indians will respond whole-heartedly to the just rule which we [British] intend to carry on.' I venture to prophesy, that it is not what the British intend that will count for the future destiny of India, but what the Indians themselves intend. And they are claiming more and more insistingly to govern themselves, anyhow. Good Government, they are coming to see, is no substitute for self-government. The fear, then, is not about His Excellency's intentions, which I am convinced are good, but the fear is as to the ideal he is working for. He thinks of a high destiny which is in store for India at some indefinable period, whereas non-co-operators at any rate are of opinion, that India's high destiny is even now being frustrated by the existing system, which appears to them to be devised for her prolonged, if not perpetual, subjection.......... Lord Reading will, perhaps, now better appreciate the truth of the proposition he has read and heard; *viz.*, that any action of the Government that falls short of the fullest reparation, however good it may appear in itself, will, by non-co-operators at least, be charged with a bad motive, that of prolonging India's agony in her slave state. British rule, today, lies under a shadow. It is tainted with the blood of the innocent victims of Jallianwala, and with treachery towards Islam. And even as the purest milk poured into a poison bowl will be counted by every sane man as poison, so will every act of the British Government be judged in the light of

its immediate past. The unrest of India can only be cured by dealing with the causes which have brought it about, never by covering the bitterness thereof by sweets of office or other privileges, no matter how tempting they may be, if they are not capable of dealing effectively with the causes themselves."

Mahrátta (8), 12th June.

*3. "Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club at Simla indicates clearly the groove of thought in which his mind works. Under the thin veneer of platitudes to which he gave utterance one can clearly discern the particular trend of mind to which India has grown accustomed during the last hundred years.......... He has proved to be the chip of the same block of bureaucracy.......... Lord Reading has, it seems, completely surrendered himself to the bureaucracy and has accepted their stand in regard to the Indian problem.......... A little analysis will crystallize his ideas into three solid propositions. Firstly, Lord Reading is well satisfied with the present rule in India and is determined to carry it on and further is pleased to call it 'just'. Secondly, he believes that it is England that is to 'lead' India to that high destiny which is in store for it, namely, becoming a partner in the British Empire. And thirdly, he believes that the day when India is to take its place in the Councils of the Empire is far, far off, because India has to rise to those heights which the imagination of man is as yet incapable of comprehension. These three propositions sum up his attitude towards the Indian problem and therefore we are constrained to say that he has surrendered himself to the bureaucracy in body and mind. These are the very arguments advanced by the bureaucracy when they oppose Indian aspirations. Lord Reading talked of doing justice and India hoped that he would do justice to her in her political struggle; but it seems that we mistook his keen desire to do justice in the ordinary field of judicial administration for a desire to do justice in the field of politics and there, it seems, we were wrong. We are disillusioned in that respect by his speech at Simla. It seems that Lord Reading was under the impression that what ailed India was the Martial Law atrocities in the Punjáb and if he would speak out a sympathetic word or do a graceful act in that matter by visiting the Jallianwala Bagh or by releasing some of the Martial Law prisoners or removing a Thompson from the Punjáb, he would have done sufficiently to win back India to the bureaucratic rule. He must have, it seems, thought that if he would in his way convince the leaders of the Khilafat movement that England has done or is ready to do its best in the matter of Khilafat, the problem before him was as good as solved. If that was his idea we can say that he has not grasped the Indian point of view at all.......... What India wants is *Swarajya*, full and complete within the British Empire if it suits both, but even without the British Empire if the latter cannot see its way to grant it as a matter of justice. The Punjáb atrocities convinced India of the immediate necessity of *swarájya*. The National honour was crushed to dust there. The Khilafat question brought conviction to the best minds of the country that unless Indians are masters in their house it is useless to talk of empires and commonwealths. 'Indians want to be free in India as Englishmen are free in England. India wants to be governed by her own will. She wants to make or break ministries at her own will. She wants to levy her own taxes, to make her own budgets, to educate her own people, to irrigate her own lands, to mine her own ores, to mint her own coin, to carry arms, to have her own army and navy, her own volunteers, to be a sovereign Nation within her own borders.' This being the aspiration of India India has determined to be free of the shackles of the bureaucracy instantly and immediately. If Lord Reading has not grasped this, he has counted without his host......... Lord Reading voiced the feelings of the bureaucracy only when he uttered the first proposition. The second proposition which the analysis of his speech yields, is to the effect that he believes that India has to be led to its destiny by England and herein we can see his mission. It was whispered at the time of his appointment that he was particularly chosen for the Viceroyalty of India because Mr. Montagu believed that he was the proper man to carry the Mont-Ford reforms to success. We do not of course quarrel with his mission or the mission of the godfathers of his Viceroyalty. We have only to say that the Nation with one mind has condemned the reforms as inadequate and insufficient......... The third proposition stated above is the old hackneyed idea of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, and not the philosopher,—that so long as the vision went he could not see the day when India would be fit for *swarajya.* The bureaucracy invented this bogey of unfitness and Lord Morley succumbed to it. Now it is the turn of Lord Reading to repeat the same, parrot-like. We know this cant of unfitness, present and future, was used by the bureaucracy in order to preserve their vested interests. .... We are sorry that Lord Reading has also at last succumbed to this cant. Nothing, therefore, can be expected from Lord Reading as can be seen from the above analysis. India must depend upon herself for her emancipation."

Servant of India (10), 9th June.

4. "Lord Reading's first important speech in India, though couched in very sympathetic terms, has not given general satisfaction. The reason is that the people were expecting to find in it some indication of the definite measures that the Viceroy will undertake with a view to the settlement of the Indian problem. This expectation has been disappointed. Beyond a reiteration of the desire to establish racial equality and to do national justice, there is nothing in the speech which can be interpreted as a sure sign that an attempt will soon be made to remove causes of the present discontent on lines which will be approved by the people. Even the references to justice and equality are not altogether clear.......... It is not a very comforting assurance for a people complaining bitterly of inequalities and injustices to be told that equality and justice have ever been the attributes of British rule in India. No doubt the Viceroy said that it was possible, by the measures it would be his duty to adopt in his régime, to re-establish these qualities of British rule on firmer lines, and it is the best part in Lord Reading's speech, but it is natural for those who looked for a detailed enunciation of the policy to be pursued for the next five years to feel disappointment. The great point which Lord Reading made of the fact that Mr. Gandhi first applied to him for an interview and that it was only then that the Viceroy condescended to meet him is, we must confess, altogether lost upon us. Being innocent of the usual official ceremony we do not understand why so much fuss should be made as to who makes the first overtures, when it is admittedly desired by both sides to come into relations with each other. That Lord Reading stood on ceremony and manoeuvred Mr. Gandhi into making advances to him in the first instance neither enhances in a particular manner the respect which the people feel for the personality of the Viceroy, nor betokens, in the imaginatian of the public, a surrender on the part of Mr. Gandhi, unless it be felt that it is wrong for a non-co-operator to seek an interview with the head of a government with which he is non-co-operating. In the Viceroy's references to the Ali brothers, however, we are unable to see any trace of ungenerosity or a desire to exploit their apology; on the contrary, they indicate a genuine sense of relief, on the part of the Viceroy, that it is no longer necessary for him to take the invidious course of prosecuting them. He accepted the apology as a full reparation and was disposed to believe that the undertaking given by them would be loyally carried out."

Gujarâti Punch (19), 7th June, Eng. cols.

5. "The speech delivered by His Excellency Lord Reading the other day at the Chelmsford Reform Club at Simla is one of the most remarkable pronouncements that we ever have had in this country and if the people at large could be convinced that it is indicative of the future policy of the Government of India, there can be little doubt that it may serve to resettle their minds to a great extent. Unfortunately, the system of Government in this country is such as to make it impossible for a Viceroy to lay down a policy with any hope of certainty that it will be followed for more than five years—the term of his viceroyalty. As a matter of fact our experience is that it is not......... It will all be to the good if the principles enunciated—though not for the first time in the history of India—by him are translated into action. We have said that Lord Reading's speech is the most

remarkable we have ever had in this country. It will soon be found, however, that it is remarkable not so much for the enunciation of high-sounding principles which have been so long professed but never practised as for the test which it lays down.......... Now all the world knows that the principle of racial equality is a proposition neither 'established beyond doubt' nor 'axiomatic of British Rule.' On the contrary, it is, if anything, a huge mockery. Proclamations and Charters and official pronouncements no doubt abound in a parrot-like repetition of it but in practise it is to be found nowhere. As a matter of fact, British-Indian administration has been one long negation of it.......... No Viceroy uptil now had either the statesmanship to realize or the courage to declare that they had a duty beyond the mere enunciation of high-sounding principles and that was to see that they were carried out in practice. Lord Reading has had that courage and great things may be expected from it.......... For the first time in the history of India, a Viceroy had the courage to declare that Government had a duty beyond the maintenance of what is euphemiously styled as Law and Order. Law and Order indeed! But what is Law and Order save a means to an end—the progress and welfare of the people? And yet our bureaucrats talk as if Law and Order were everything—an end in themselves.......... Lord Reading had the statesmanship to declare that the maintenance of Law and Order, to be useful, must be accompanied by the strengthening of those bonds which bind rulers and ruled, that an administration must be just and sympathetic if it is to advance the welfare of a nation—the only thing that can justify its existence."

Kesari (120), 7th June; *Indu Prakásh* (45), 3rd June; *Prabodh* (132), 5th June; *Lokasangraha* (123), 3rd June.

6. In the very first speech that he made in England after his appointment to the Viceroyalty Lord Reading announced his intention of giving justice to India. All our activities, too, are for securing justice for us. We have been subjected to various acts of injustice since the imposition of a foreign yoke upon us, 150 years ago, and we demand that these should cease. Therefore, if a man presents himself before us with the avowed intention of giving us precisely what we want, then that man will command our respect. But the man must be endowed with power as well as the desire to do good to us. The latter alone will accomplish nothing. In his speech made at the Chelmsford Club, he alluded to the present situation and gave an undertaking that in future no distinction would be made between an Indian and an Englishman. Indeed, according to him, no distinction was ever being made and it existed only in the imagination of the people. However, he advised his officials to conduct themselves in such away as to dispel all doubts from the minds of the people that may happen to exist therein to support this belief. As a mere promise the pronouncement is no doubt very admirable. But owing to our experience of the Queen's Proclamation we are unable to regard it as of any value. The great fault in the Viceregal pronouncement is the limitatation attaching to it. He wants the Europeans and Indians to be in the enjoyment of equal rights not throughout the British Empire but only in India! The Viceroy has purposely used the words 'Here in India' once or twice and has left no room for doubt as to what he means. It may perhaps be urged that the diction of a post-prandial oration ought not to be subjected to too close a scrutiny. But the trend of the whole speech shows that the occasion was purposely brought about and the *Times*' description of the speech as an extempore effort only tends to confirm our doubts. In short the Viceroy has made a deliberate statement that equal treatment would be meted out to Indians only in India. He does not give an undertaking that they would receive the same treatment if they were to step into any of the British Colonies. But is the Viceroy able to give what he has definitely promised? We are treated as slaves not only in foreign lands but in our own country. Can the Viceroy put an end to this humiliation? If he makes the attempt he will have an idea of the strength of the opposition he will meet from the Anglo-Indians. Lord Reading has proudly stated that he has the support of his Executive Council in his task. When he actually begins work he will know how far he can rely on this support. [The *Indu Prakásh* writes:—The Viceroy must know that sweet utterances and empty pledges can no longer give satisfaction to Indians. The *Prabodh* writes:—Indeed we are tired of speeches. We would ask His Excellency not to make any speeches but to quietly do what he thinks to be right. The *Lokasangraha* says:—We are anxious to know what steps Lord Reading means to take to remove racial inequality.]

Political Bhomiyo (77), 8th June, Eng. cols.

7. "The speech made by His Excellency the Viceroy at the Chelmsford Reform Club recently is indeed a noble utterance, and will rank as a memorable declaration of policy. His speech will certainly make a deep and favourable impression on the public mind......... At the present times when the atmosphere is somewhat fogged, when the best intentions and actions of prominent men are misunderstood and misrepresented, the Viceroy's clear enunciation of the fundamental principle of British Rule in India will to a great extent dispel misunderstandings and conduce to good-will. The concluding words of the speech regarding the intention of the Viceroy and his Government to act up to their responsibility, whatever happens, are worthy of note......... We assure His Excellency that the Indian people will respond whole-heartedly to the just rule which he and his Government are intending to carry on."

Gujaráti (17), 5th June; *Hitechchhu* (71), 5th June; *Bharat Seva* (16), 10th June; *Gujaráti Punch* (19), 5th June; *Gramya Swarájya* (68), 7th June.

8. The sentiments expressed by Lord Reading in the latter part of his speech at the Chelmsford Club go to show that he has not yet been caught in the snare of the bureaucrats. These pronouncements may be taken as the *Magna Charta* of India for the ensuing five years. People will judge Lord Reading's administration by the standard of these pronouncements of his. Lord Reading has no doubt assured us that Indians will not be subjected to any humiliating treatment in India because of their being Indians, but the question naturally arises as to what position India occupies in the Empire. Indians want that they should be given equality of treatment within the British Empire. Lord Reading should appoint a Committee consisting of Indians to inquire as to what parts of the Empire accord humiliating treatment to Indians. Lord Reading has diagnosed the causes of discontent in India, but he will have to exercise courage and perseverance to apply the remedies. If Lord Reading is really earnest in the desire to give justice to Indians he will have their full support, but no good results will ensue from merely playing upon words. [The *Hitechchhu* writes:—If Lord Reading means to restore the confidence Indians have lost in the British he should practise what he preaches. The speech is likely to create the impression that Lord Reading arranged for an interview with Mr. Gandhi for securing an apology from the Ali Brothers. We do not think any good purpose will be served by the threat that these brothers will be prosecuted for the warmth of their speeches if they do not carry out the undertaking given by them. We do not think that the Ali Brothers will be cowed down by the sword of Damocles that is kept hanging over their heads. These brothers have been shown at a disadvantage to the Anglo-Indians; but Lord Reading seems to forget that he has in doing so run the risk of displeasing the public. The *Bharat Seva* writes:—We have no reason to doubt the words of Lord Reading. But we have no hesitation in saying that the people will trust the British administration in India only when all the inequalities and humiliations to which the Indians are subjected on the railways, in the public service and in the courts of law are removed. The *Gujarati Punch* writes:—When will the policy of repression undertaken by the petty officials of Government come to an end? Government should issue a *communique* assuring the people that they are prepared to prosecute such of their officials as harass the people by their irresponsible behaviour and policy of repression. Indians will respond whole-heartedly only when Government succeed in making an impression upon the people about their own earnestness of purpose. Mr. Gandhi and his followers have begun to give proofs of their pure motives; and it now rests with the minor officials of Government to give a sympathetic response and to make a declaration about the purity of their own motives.

The *Gramya Swarajya* writes:—We are indebted to Lord Reading for the sympathy he has expressed towards India. We have great respect for his earnestness of purpose and for his desire to improve the political atmosphere of India; but we do not think that Indians will co-operate with Government until and unless they secure *Swaraj*. Indians will not think of co-operating with Government as long as the Punjab wrongs have not been righted, as long as the lacerated hearts of the Indian Moslems have not been healed and as long as Government do not think of giving *Swaraj* to India.]

Hindu (163), 4th June.

9. In the course of its comments on His Excellency Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club, the *Hindu* remarks:—Has the Viceroy made these statements deliberately, and after considering all the *pros* and *cons* of the present situation, or has he simply closed his eyes and spoken from imagination? Every one knows how far the British rule is based on equality, justice and the absence of racial distinctions. All know that we Indians have been disrespected by *goras* in our very homes. We have been reduced to the state of strangers in our own homes. Had the Indian administration been conducted on the principles mentioned by the Viceroy, Indians would not have got so sick of it as to wish to be free from the clutches of this 'satanic' Government. Evidently these principles are not meant to be put into practice, but are simply to be proclaimed to the world abroad. Whatever tactics may be adopted now, India as well as the world has realized already the principles on which British rule stands, and also the fact that British professions have been contrary to their practice. The Viceroy, by giving expression to the above words, has not in any way improved the situation. He has on the contrary whitewashed the misdeeds of the officials.

The bureaucracy has lost its influence over the Viceroy since his interviews with Indian leaders.

Lokamanya ( ), 3rd June.

10. Prosecution of the Ali Brothers was sanctioned on 6th May. Then why was not that sanction at once put into force? The reason lay not in the backing out by the bureaucracy, nor in their repentance. They were prepared to carry out repression to the utmost limits. But Lord Reading was not viewing things with the bureaucratic spectacles alone. He had begun to interview prominent Indians. Interviews between Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and His Excellency took place in the first week of May and since then the latter has avoided being guided by the bureaucracy alone. The Pandit's interview seems to have had considerable influence on Lord Reading. Government state in their explanation that after it had been decided to prosecute the Ali Brothers, it was suggested that the object of Government could be accomplished in other ways, and so the prosecution was not instituted. Who made the suggestion? Of course the Pandit. Accordingly the interview with Mr. Gandhi was arranged and he convinced His Excellency of the peaceful character of the non-co-operation movement. The question about the character of the Ali Brothers' speeches being then raised, Mr. Gandhi undertook to remove the misunderstanding prevalent about them and the result was the brothers' statement and the prosecution was dropped. Mr. Gandhi and Lord Reading came to know each other better by their interviews, and the bureaucracy were directed to drop prosecutions based on misunderstanding of matters. It will be seen from what has been stated above that the Pandit and Mr. Gandhi have, by their honest and straightforward interviews with the Viceroy, begun the task of gradually freeing His Excellency from the influences of the bureaucracy. The political atmosphere of Simla is now not so favourable to the bureaucracy as they would have wished. The Mahatma might not have won, but there are distinct indications of the decline of the influence of the bureaucracy.

Comments on the report about the postponement of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to India.

***Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 12th June, Eng. cols.**

***11. Referring to the report about the postponement of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to India, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—" The original purpose of the Prince's visit was to inaugurate the new Councils, but as this function has already been performed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the visit could well be postponed till the financial condition of this country has improved. It goes without saying that at present the finances of the country are not in**

a prosperous state, and much though the people would like to welcome the heir to the Throne, another Royal visit would throw an unfair burden both on the Indian treasury and on the native princes. Needless to say that when the time comes for the Prince to visit India he will be welcomed here with as much enthusiasm as has been evinced by the other parts of the Empire that he has visited."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th June.

12. "We do not know why some of the British journals and their Anglo-Indian contemporaries seek to camouflage the truth in connection with the now almost certain postponement of the Prince of Wales' visit to India.......... The lesson of the Duke's visit, in spite of all attempts at camouflage of the real feelings of official circles both in India and in England, has, no doubt, gone home and there appears to be no inclination to restage the serio-comic opera at the expense of innocent Royalty. Indians do not certainly wish to insult the Prince of Wales. They have the best friendly feelings towards His Royal Highness and would indeed like to make his acquaintance at any time. But for His Royal Highness' own sake Indians would wish that his visit should be postponed till a time when the people of this country, having emerged successful from the holy struggle they are carrying on with the so-called agents and representatives of His Majesty's Government, can face the Prince with a serene countenance and a heart purged of all trace of bitterness. For the Prince to pay a visit to this country at any moment earlier than this, and to be paraded as a symbol of a soulless Imperialism before the eyes of a helpless and prostrate people, will be little short of an 'Imperial' calamity."

Swarájya (149), 9th June; *Lokasangraha* (123), 6th June; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (89), 7th June.

13. Commenting upon the report published by an English newspaper that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is not going to visit India in the near future, the *Swarájya* writes:—The news will give a tremendous shock to Indians! However, they may derive satisfaction from the fact that it is not the Prince who is disinclined to pay us a visit. These Royal puppets have to dance to the tune of the statesmen. Apparently the authorities in India have informed the Imperial Government in England that the Duke of Connaught has done in India all that was necessary and that it is no longer necessary for the Prince to visit this country. But what has the Duke done? And if the Prince was to do the same thing that the Duke had done, then it is good that he is not coming. [The *Lokasangraha* writes:—The news is not wholly bad. It is an usual complaint that the Prince of Wales's visit costs Indian rulers enormous sums. People in British India are put to still greater loss. Even the *Times* is of opinion that the Prince should visit this country when the people are in a better frame of mind; and we agree with it. The *Karnátak Vaibhav* writes:—The country gained nothing by the Duke's visit and it has nothing to gain if the Prince were to come here with empty hands. So it would be better if the Prince postpones his visit until all the political problems in connection with this country are solved to the satisfaction of the Indian people and *swaráj* is obtained by them. India is just now in no mood to offer a hearty welcome to His Royal Highness.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 7th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 4th and 8th June.

14. According to the English papers it seems that the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will not be undertaken this year. A very great majority of the Indian people cannot but be sorry at this news. The Indian public opinion is of course a little divided on the question of the visit of His Royal Highness. Some people are of opinion that if he were to come to India in December next and become conversant with Indian affairs, he, after returning to his country, could not help pressing the British people to show more sympathy towards the Indian people. Others maintain that it is desirable to postpone his visit for about a year, because the Afghan question is not finally settled as yet, the non-co-operators have openly declared a boycott against his visit, there will be enormous expenditure and this is a famine year. We cannot subscribe to the latter view; on the contrary, this is the most suitable time to show India to him in its true colours. There is every chance of his completing the work of reconciliation begun by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. We assure the authorities that whenever he comes, the Indian people will offer him a royal welcome. They will convince the British people that in spite of the fact that they have suffered injustice at the hands of Britsh officers, they are loyal to their King-Emperor, look upon the Royal Family with extraordinary veneration, and the charge that the Indian people are trying to get *Swarájya* independently of the British Empire is totally unfounded. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks :—The two reasons mentioned in the English newspapers for not undertaking the visit this year are unsatisfactory. Much remains to be done as yet, and hence His Royal Highness' presence is quite essential here. His visit will undoubtedly serve the purpose of strengthening the hands of His Excellency the Viceroy. The argument that the visit of the Prince of Wales will throw a burden on the authorities would only mean this that they would have to watch anxiously over his safety and that they have no faith in the Indian people. We believe that this postponement has been brought about by the enemies of India. We are sure that the visit of the Prince of Wales will produce as good an effect as that produced by that of his Royal father when he came here as Prince of Wales. We are sure that the people will welcome him if he comes here and freely mingles with them like his Royal father. They will take him into their confidence, and this will help our Viceroy and the British Government to make the relations between India and the British Empire more happy and prosperous. In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—The idea that the King and the Royal Family should remain at a distance at their ease and only come out in prosperous times to enjoy and recreate themselves is repugnant to the Indian people, and it serves to show the Royal personages in an irresponsible light. We urge His Excellency the Viceroy, His Majesty the King and his Government not to postpone the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales which will enable him to achieve most successfully the task of removing the present discontent. In view of the opinion expressed by the Honourable Mr. White, a Royal Message to the effect that a law introducing dyarchy in the Imperial Government will be placed before Parliament should be sent with him.]

The Development Department.

Hindusthán (21), 5th June, Eng. cols.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 6th June.

15. In the course of an article in which it complains of high posts being monopolised by Europeans, the *Hindusthan* remarks :—"It would be a very pertinent enquiry as to the number of posts for Europeans above Rs. 500 at the declaratian of armistice and the same number of posts now. Our own view is that the European Civilians hold a larger number of posts at present than they did three years back. Take for instance the Development Department. It has actually been rushed into being and before the first meeting of its advisory board was convened above two crores of rupees was actually spent on machinery purchased in England of which about one crore of rupees worth of machinery had already been brought to Bombay. A number of posts is created to which naturally Europeans are appointed there being presumably no Indians capable enough to hold the posts. The Board appointed in connection with the Development Department is also purely advisory and has no controlling powers. We know what is the fate of such advisory boards which are appointed, for instance, in connection with the Department of Industries. It has got several schemes before it but we hope that representatives of the public on the Board will urge that the reclamation of the land from the sea should, if it is at all to be taken up, be taken up last. It is one of the clearest vagaries that while we have land 'a galore' within short distance of the Flora Fountain and while buildings like the University can well be shifted to Salsette and land made available for residences, attempt should be made to waste crores of rupees on fanciful schemes like the reclamation." [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—We are glad to hear that the Government of Bombay will not issue any loan this year but only borrow the required sum for the purposes of the Development of Bombay, etc., from the Imperial Government. The reason why we approve of the above arrangement is that the issue of separate loans by the Government of India and the provincial Governments tends to mislead the money market and to cause loss to the general public.]

Protest against the exclusion of India from the Credits and Insurances Scheme.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 9th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 6th June.

16. The House of Commons is reported to have passed a resolution moved by Mr. Lloyd George, excluding India from the Credits and Insurances Scheme on the score of that country not having honoured her outstanding obligations. Mr. Lloyd George seems to have made the statement ascribed to him without knowing the true facts. India never repudiated her commercial obligations, and the *impasse* in the Exchange situation was due to the exchange policy of the Government of India and the Secretary of State. His Excellency Lord Reading is not responsible for the slur cast upon India, and we hope he will use his influence to secure justice to India by getting the stigma removed. Indian merchants should make no delay in informing British merchants that they will have no dealings with them so long as Mr. Lloyd George does not withdraw the allegations he has made against India and so long as he does not include India in the Credits Scheme. [The *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—When the scheme was submitted to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau by the Government of India for their opinion they opined that it was unworkable and impracticable. However, there is no justification for the allegations made against India in excluding her from the scheme; and India would with one voice repudiate them.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th June.

17. "A Reuter cablegram published on Monday last announced that credits and insurance schemes affecting the whole British Empire had been passed by the House of Commons from which, however, India and the British 'possessions' in the Far East were to be excluded. The ostensible ground, the Prime Minister is reported to have stated, was 'the conditions under which outstanding obligations had not been fully honoured.' The implication of this highly pernicious and offensive allegation, which could not, of course, be allowed to pass unnoticed by any Indian public body, whether Chamber of Commerce or Council of Legislature, has called forth a rather belated explanation from Simla.......... In view of the explanation now before the public, we cannot understand why Mr. Lloyd George, on the eve of the assembling of the Imperial Conference, should have gone out of his way to insult India and her people by a gratuitous allusion to an unfortunate episode in the import trade of India with particular reference to the cotton imports. Unless Reuter's correspondent has added a spice of his own in transmitting the news, the Premier must have known that there was in this scheme no question of exports from the United Kingdom to India, as, on the admission of the India Office, India finds no difficulty in obtaining all she requires and does not produce herself. The charge of want of faith, if it can be levelled at all against the trading public of India, can only be aimed at the cotton importers. To libel the whole country and its people is an impertinence which becomes an unpardonable insult when offered by such a personage as the Prime Minister of Britain in the supreme legislature of the Empire. The Government of India were in duty bound to whitewash the Premier's inconsiderate statement. But assuming that the scheme is not necessary for the benefit of India, and we agree we have no need to offer special temptation to British exporters to send their stuff to this country, the reference of the Prime Minister to the imbroglio becomes all the more inexplicable and therefore inexcusable. The Indian Merchants' Chamber, we are glad to see, has made it clear to the Government of India that the country cannot be satisfied by fatuous attempts to explain away an inexplicable and indefensible libel on an entire nation.......... We have had too long an experience of abuse and ill-treatment in the outlying parts of the Empire. But this is the first instance in which the Prime Minister of England has openly insulted the entire Indian nation and admitted the impossibility of any justice to India if her rights should ever clash with those of the British section. Let Lord Reading take heed as to his intention of doing justice to India. Let our 'representatives' at the Imperial Conference beware of such interested Daniels when they sit in judgment."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 12th June.

*18. "The news which Reuter sent that the Premier, while asking the House of Commons to pass the Empire Credits Scheme, informed the House that India and the Far East were to be excluded on account of the lack of commercial morality and integrity of the merchants there, is illcalculated to soothen or remove the Indian distrust of English vested interests. One would have thought that the plea, absurd as it is on the face of it, would have been dropped altogether but unfortunately it has been sought to be maintained and buttressed first in the Government of India's second reply on the 7 per cent. loan as dictated by the Secretary of State and now again has been repeated by the Premier himself.... ..... We are glad to see the reassuring *communique* in which the Government of India say 'the problem in India is to provide credit facilities at the other end, *viz.*, in respect of her exports to certain foreign countries and the question of India's participation in some scheme of international credits is under separate consideration.' The Premier's remark has been virtually repudiated by the prompt manner in which the *communique* has been issued and by the significant silence over it. It were much to be wished that the Government of India had in a like tactful manner refused to incorporate this plea in their reply on the 7 per cent. loan."

The new Indian Loan.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 12th June, Eng. cols.

*19. "The new Government of India Rupee Loan issued in five year and six year 6 per cent. Bonds is offered at favourable terms, and it is expected that the investing public will take advantage of them to the fullest extent. Holders of the 1921 and 1922 five-and-a-half per cent. Bonds will be able to tender the same at par as subscription for the new loan. Those who hold large quantities of these bonds will no doubt derive benefit from this arrangement, for it will save them the trouble of investing their holdings elsewhere......... It is announced that interest on War Bonds, 1921, not tendered for conversion will cease from 15th September next. From this it may be inferred that Government intend to pay off on maturity such amount of these Bonds as are not tendered for conversion. This amount can, however, be only small; for the rate of interest of the new loan being higher and the period shorter, most people will find it more advantageous to convert the 1921 Bonds into the new stock."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th June.

20. "The terms of the new Loan floated by the Government of India make instructive reading and constitute a tempting investment. But for the unduly, inexplicably and unjustifiably generous terms granted to the British investor in the 7 per cent. sterling Loan, the investing public would have welcomed it with open arms, and the comparison makes the terms of the new loan still more unfavourable, in view of paragraph 12 of the notification, under which subscriptions can be received by the branch office of the Imperial Bank in England 'on payment in sterling of the nominal value of the Bonds applied for at the rate for telegraphic transfers on Calcutta on the date of payment.' Apart from the invidious fact that the present loan has been amply notified in advance in England, while the corresponding sterling loan was not at all advertised or notified in this country, thereby giving excellent opportunities for profitable investment to English investors at the same time that similar opportunities were withheld from Indians, this para is open to the objection on the ground that it permits English investing public to make the most of the present unfortunate Exchange situation between Britain and this country....... The loan is without limit. We take it that it has been floated to take up unfunded debt of the Government of India falling due shortly. It is a recognised and not illegitimate expedient to take up old debt and substitute new debt instead......... But, to-day, in the third year after the armistice, it is pitiful to find the Government of India driven to borrow at 6 per cent. free of Income Tax—not for any definitely productive purpose—but merely to take up an old debt of 5½ per cent. However much we may welcome the terms of this loan from the standpoint of the investor, we cannot but protest against a financial system which cannot right itself after three years of normal peaceful years, which will not boldly face the evil and take radical, immediate and effective remedies to stop the unpardonable waste involved in such reckless financiering."

Sánj Vartamán (33), 7th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 7th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 8th June.

21. The terms on which the Government of India six per cent bonds are to be issued may be considered to be satisfactory by the public. Full-page advertisements in respect of the new loan appear in the Anglo-Indian papers while no Indian paper has been deemed worthy of publishing them. When the Indian public is to be appealed to, Government, make use of the Indian papers and it is a matter for surprise that they should boycott them in the matter of advertisements regarding the new loan. It is sheer waste of money to publish full-page advertisements in the Anglo-Indian papers. Government should give such advertisements to Indian papers so that the attention of the public may be drawn towards them. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses satisfaction with the terms on which the new rupee loan has been issued. The *Bombay Samáchár* also expresses satisfaction with the terms of the loan and expresses hope that it will soon be amply subscribed by the general public.]

Interest on Postal Saving Banks deposits should be raised to 6 per cent.

Chaitanya (105), 6th June.

22. In 1918-19 the Postal Saving Banks had deposits of 19 crores of rupees which Government could utilise for their own purposes. Government thus get a very large amount of money at a very low rate of interest. Formerly the general rate of interest was not very high, but for the last seven years it has gone up so much that to take deposits from the people at the old low rate is to take an undue advantage of their helplessness and ignorance. The rate of interest should, therefore, be raised to at least six per cent. Such a step will increase the popularity of the Postal Savings Banks.

The Bombay Labour Office.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 7th June, Eng. cols.

23. "We are living in an age when strikes are the order of the day. .... Now it cannot be denied that workers in big industrial concerns are generally poorly paid and that they deserve and ought to command better treatment. Every human being has a right to a decent living and a fair return for his labour, and he should not be cheated of it by any system of industrialism. But there are always two sides of the shield and it cannot be denied that industry, too, has its own considerations to make. In these circumstances, the task of the general public, as an outside judge which is equally interested in the welfare both of labour and industry, will be much facilitated if there were regular statistics about the hours of labour and general wages which they carry. Such statistics exist in every civilized country and are found, by experience, to be of great help in arriving at a just appreciation of the case of either side by the outside public. In these circumstances, it is gratifying to learn that the Bombay Labour Office has set about collecting such satistics and that the Bombay Mill Owner's Association has promised to use its influence to secure the necessary particulars. The move is in the interests of both labour and capital and there is no reason why employers of labour should fight shy of it. Statistics thus collected will only be of a general character and they will not afford scope for invidious comparisons. Thus it is but proper that the Bombay Mill Owners' Association should offer its active sympathy in the matter and we hope other organizations will follow in the wake. An intelligent understanding of a case is far more desirable than general sympathy and these statistics enabling us to advance a step further in that direction should be of great help to us in these days of strikes."

Comments on certain of the activities of the Department of Industries.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th June.

24. "During the last three or four years of its existence the officers in charge of the Industries Department have done nothing more than indite school-boys' essays which they have palmed off on the public as 'administrative reports.' The one thing most evident in these 'reports' is the anxiety felt by the 'Director of Industries' to justify his existence. What is more curious still is the fact that he is being aided by men most of whom have no right to be in the Industries Department. To quote an instance, Government have appointed one Mr. Walke as 'Superintendent of Fisheries' and from Bombay down to Bhatkal, the southernmost port of the Presidency, Mr. Walke is walking about just to ascertain what revolutionary methods he can introduce in curing fish, preserving oysters and extracting oil. What particular knowledge of pisciculture Mr. Walke had before he was elevated to the responsible post of Superintendent of Fisheries is not known. What is known to the public is that he was for some time in the employ of the Bombay Steam Navigation Company, but whether he had occasion during this period to handle any fish is extremely doubtful. Later he joined Government service as a coast-guard Inspector and in that capacity may have prevented the commission of a few crimes against the Customs and Excise Acts. The fact that the establishment of coast-guard inspectors has been abolished as being unnecessary, shows what little work there was to be done by a coast-guard inspector.......... Mr. Walke has, perhaps, extracted half a dozen bottles of fish oil and the Director of Industries also, perhaps, thinks that it is considered to be a more pleasant drink than cod liver oil, though he is not sure whether from a medical point of view it can be a substitute for that renowned oil. The Bombay Government or, at least, the Director of Industries and the Superintendent of Fisheries do not seem to be aware that such oil is extracted by illiterate fishermen for the purpose of varnishing their boats, that by rude and cheap methods a very large quantity of oil is produced by fishermen in the Madras Presidency and that such oil is exported to foreign countries.......... If Governmhnt were truly alive to their responsibility to the tax-payer and if they did not feel the necessity of providing some Europeans with high-salaried posts, they would have once more read the Report, submitted by W. H. Lucas, I. C. S., in 1910. He was specially appointed to report on the Fishery Industry and his honest opinion, if adhered to, will cut at the root of the present Fisheries Department. [Here the paper gives quotations from Mr. Lucas' report and proceeds:—] Mr. Lucas was admittedly an experienced officer, a keen observer and an open-minded Civil Servant who had actually seen the state of the people and who knew also that it was no use carrying on useless experiments, such as have become a hobby with our present-day official industrial 'experts.' Walke is experimenting, perhaps, to disprove what Mr. Lucas said. He is welcome to conduct whatever experiments he likes within the four walls of his office, but he should refrain from unnecessarily interfering with the peaceful avocations of the poor people living along the coast and from imposing undue hardships on them. Here are some of the ways by which the Superintendent of Fisheries justifies his existence. It is stated that at Tadri (North Kánara) he has prohibited the poor people, mostly fishermen and women, from fishing for oysters along the coast. To these poor people the only source of sustenance for generations has been what little fish they are able to gather from the sea-side. Mr. Walke now steps in and with a single gesture of authority deprives them of their means of livelihood. Revenue officials were appealed to by the poor people, but though clearly sympathetic they plead helplessness before the new authority that has been set up. Mr. Walke also intends to 'civilise' the fishermen. Fish curing has all along been conducted by these poor people in thatched huts. Mr. Walke, however, wants the operations to be carried on in mud houses! The Government of Bombay owe it to themselves to put a stop to these activities of Mr. Walke and save the fishermen along our coasts from the hardships which such irresponsible actions are bound to entail on them. Well may these fishermen and the public, in general, of the Presidency exclaim, 'Save us from these experts!"

Reports of the proceedings of the reformed Councils should be made available at cheap prices.

Dnyán Prakásh (42), 3rd June.

25. The reports of the proceedings of the Legislative Councils used to appear until now in the Government Gazettes. But this practice has been changed since the new Councils came into existence and Government have decided to publish the reports in book-form just like Parliamentary reports. The Government of India have already given effect to this and the Bombay Government too have followed suit.

But it is to be regretted that these reports have not yet been supplied to the newspapers, nor offered for sale. If reports of almost all departments are supplied free of charge to the newspapers why could not the Legislative Council reports be similarly supplied to them? Similarly the reports should reach the editors in time. Now that the representative system of Government has been introduced voters naturally wish to know what their representatives are doing in the Councils. These reports should, therefore, be sold as cheap as possible to the public. If the daily parliamentary reports can be had for three or four annas, why should those of the Legislative Councils be highly priced? Government should bear the extra expense to educate the masses.

Comments on the strike of the Assam coolies.
Young India (14), 8th June.

26. Referring to the strike of the Assam coolies, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I refer to the trouble only to state that I knew nothing of its coming. I should be sorry if anybody used my name to lead the men to desert their employers. It is clear enough that it is purely a labour trouble. It is admitted that the employers reduced the wages......... It is evident that the reformed Government has failed to cope with it. I observe that the *Times of India* has made the most illegitimate use of the trouble to impute enmity to English commercial interests in India. It has become the fashion to attribute hatred to non-co-operators. I make bold to say that non-co-operation has alone prevented racial feuds and disturbances, and directed the anger of the people in the proper channel. The aim of non-co-operation is to hurt no interest whatsoever, by reason only of its belonging to a race. Its aim is to purge every interest of its injurious or impure character. Every English or Indian interest that is based on injustice or brute force, or is antagonistic to the growth of India as a whole, is undoubtedly in peril.......... If the Assam planters are not sustained by the exploitation of Indian labour they have nothing to fear. A time is certainly coming, when there will be no more unconscionable dividends. The profits of big concerns must bear relation to the wages of the workers. I lay down these categorical propositions, because I know that non-co-operation is beyond the reach of the bayonet.......... I am aware, too, that the labouring class in India has not yet become enlightened enough to have the ability to regulate the relations between capital and labour on a just basis. But that time is coming soon,—faster than we may imagine. I am hoping that the capitalists, be they European or Indian, will appreciate the new awakening, and the new force that has arisen in our midst."

Alleged repetition of the Jallianwala tragedy at Chandpur (Assam).
Mahratta (8), 12th June.

***27.** "General Dyer would have some satisfaction to know that he has at least one prototype of his in India and that too an Indian. Mr. Dey, the Divisional Commissioner who was responsible for the cold-blooded massacre of the innocent and starving coolies, told Babu Akhilchandra Dutta in his interview that he wanted to create a 'moral impression' on the coolies and on the non-co-operators who were growing violent. He admitted that there was no show of resistance either before or after the attack of the Gurkhas. The mental attitude that induces these Dyers to create moral impressions is contagious. It may create similar germs in the minds of the people which will be fraught with worst consequences. It is in the interest of the British Government to have less of these Jallianwala Baghs which may one day react on the heads of the perpetrators."

England should link itself to the Colonies alone and leave India to work out its own destiny.
Hindu (163), 3rd June.

28. We cannot help feeling anxious when we note the condition of India and the Colonies within the British Empire. An Imperial Conference is shortly to sit in London. It was originally intended that the question of India and the Colonies would be decided there. But it now appears that it is being postponed to next year. Evidently the rulers of the Empire are not aware that differences between India and the Colonies have become very acute, and that Indians have reached the limits of their patience and have no desire to bear degradation any longer. Everyone knows that there is very great restriction to Indians settling in the Colonies. It seems that Indians are not wanted anywhere. Since India forms part of the British Empire, it is the duty of the Government to see that Indians enjoy facilities at least within its own territories. But the British Government shows its helplessness and declines to interfere in the matter on the ground that the colonies are independent so far as their internal affairs are concerned. We would now ask why is the Government keeping such a large Empire if it is not able to look after its Indian subjects? There is only one question now before the British Government, which is this, that either India will remain within the Empire or the Colonies. For both to remain within the same Empire is not only difficult but impossible. India wants equal treatment and equal rights everywhere. But the Colonies will not allow that. The only course now left to the British Government is either to fight the Colonies or refuse their people entry into India. This is the problem which the British Government has to solve at the present moment. But blood is after all thicker than water. The British Government feels more interested in the Colonies than it does in India. Naturally, therefore, it would not like to displease them. Under these circumstances it would be better for the British Government to link itself to the Colonies alone and leave India to work out its destiny in its own way. Everyone is dissatisfied with the treatment accorded to Indians in the Colonies. The labours of the Imperial Conference will be fruitful only when India is dealt with squarely and honestly. There is no salvation for India without *swarâj*, and without *swarâj* the question of the Colonies will also remain unsolved.

India and the Imperial Conference.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th June.

29. "'Let India's representatives refrain from asking of the Conference something that they know cannot be granted; let them not alienate the sympathy of the rest of the Empire by girding against the inevitable.' Such is the grandmotherly advice of Boree Bunder. But one would like to know from this oracle which of the members of the Empire have as yet demonstrated any 'sympathy' for India, which the latter should guard against alienating. Is it South Africa or Canada or Australia or East Africa, Fiji, British Guiana or Mauritius?......... India goes to the Conference as an equal member and as a friend. If the British Dominions are not prepared to acknowledge her as such let this be clearly given to her to understand. She wants no more smooth phrases like 'Pax Britanica', 'Imperial citizenship,' 'Imperial Preference,' 'Imperial Defence' and so on. If the Dominions are not prepared to acknowledge the rightful status of India, why are the people of India being deluded by British statesmen and their servile imitators among the Rao Bahadurs and Khan Sahebs with talk of the 'blessing of Imperial Comradeship'? India asks for her rights and not for any sympathy. Our contemporary speaks of reciprocity. India is prepared to recognise this principle; but it should be genuine reciprocity and not a 'heads I win, tails you lose' kind of reciprocity. India would be prepared strictly to abide by the principle 'Do as ye would be done by'. Are the Dominions prepared to do the same?"

India still requires the services of Europeans.
Sindwási (168), 29th May.

30. It has been observed that Messrs. Tata and Company often appoint Europeans to the superior posts under their control. The *Bombay Chronicle* raised a protest some time back against the employment of Europeans on high salaries in the Tata Industrial Bank. We are reminded of one thing in this connection. The *Bombay Chronicle* had a European editor at its start, and even at the present time has a European as its chief editor, who is ruthlessly criticising the Tata Co. Why is not an Indian editor engaged for this paper? Is no one available? Why should it not be considered that the same reasons, which exist for appointing a European as editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, do apply to the employment of European element in the Tata concern. The fact is that for carrying on certain duties we do still require the services of Europeans.

What India will do in the case of war between Australia and Japan.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 12th June.

***31.** In the course of its comments on Mr. S. E. Stokes' book, "The failure of European Civilization as a world culture", the *Indian Social Reformer* writes :—" In the case of war between Australia and Japan on the colour question, we shall certainly refuse to send a single soldier or spend a single rupee to help Australia to defeat Japan which has as much right to the waste and vacant spaces of Australia as those who call themselves Australians. We shall not only refuse to help Australia but we shall openly declare that we have no sympathy with it. If Great Britain chooses to back up Australia in her intolerable claim, she will have to do so without India's support and co-operation. If England resorts to coercion to make India help Australia, then India will have to reconsider the question of her position in the British Empire. We do not believe in forcing the pace, and we believe that the purpose for which India accepted British rule has not yet been exhausted. In the interests of Great Britain no less than in those our own, we must make our protests against injustice and oppression and our demands for equal citizenship insistent and effective. But we must not think of breaking away so long as there is the least prospect of our evolving in sympathy with the Empire."

Protest against the refusal of the Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, to permit a meeting of the City Congress Committee.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th June.

32. " The refusal of the Deputy Commissioner, Lahore, to permit the City Congress Committee to meet for the purpose of consideration of the rules and such other matters of a more or less informal character, is an act of unmitigated tyranny against which an emphatic protest must be made by all who value freedom of speech and meeting. The Deputy Commissioner's excuse is, of course, the operation of the Seditious Meetings Act which is still in force in Lahore. But the official ignores—and deliberately ignores—the fact that it was not a public meeting that was convened, open to any member of the public who chose to attend, but one limited to members of the committee only.......... The Commissioner does not point out specifically what items in the agenda are objectionable? It is, however, plain that he is out to suppress, by hook or crook, all discussion of public affairs."

Comments on the apology published by the Ali Brothers.
Mahrátta (8), 12th June.

***33.** " The ungenerous and infelicitous reference to the statement of Ali Brothers in the Viceroy's speech and in the Press Note subsequently issued by Government, is being unanimously condemned in the country. We cannot comprehend the spirit of the note of triumph which marks the writing of a section of Moderate and ultra-loyal press. What is there in the statement of Ali Brothers that makes them jubilant? The Ali Brothers had wedded themselves to the principles of non-violent non-co-operation, and when suspicions were raised as to their creed they reaffirmed and reasserted their faith and expressed regret for words—if there were any at all—used in the heat of public speeches which may be twisted into indications of the desire for violence or preparedness for violence—a meaning which they themselves never intended to convey. The Moderates or the Government would have certainly a cause for feeling triumphant had they prosecuted the Ali Brothers and had they then recanted their faith and tendered an abject apology in order to save their own skins. But there is nothing in their statement which warrants their jubilation. In his Broach speech Mr. Mahomad Ali asserts that he would, as his religion dictates, have recourse to other methods, if this non-co-operation fails and there is nothing but sincere honesty in it. Where is then the ground for triumph? We think that the Moderates and the apostles of bureaucracy were in constant dread of the Ali Brothers and their very names would make them nervous. And when they found them condescending to make a statement of their faith, these poor creatures construed it into a triumph for themselves! None would grudge these small contemptible people their unearthly joy because there can be very few occasions when they can do so."

Young India (14), 8th June.

34. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"Some newspapers, mistaking the apology of the Ali brothers as of weak men seeking to avoid the discomfort of the prison life, have suggested that the Government should take similar undertakings from those undergoing imprisonment for political offences, and discharge them. No non-co-operator worthy of his creed can possibly purchase his discharge by giving any undertaking to the Government. Every one of them has probably protested his innocence of violent intent. The Ali brothers, had they been prosecuted, would still have made the statement now made. That would not have prevented their imprisonment. The makers of the unacceptable suggestion even know, that many have been sentenced for disaffection, or for refusing to give security that they will not speak. It is the duty of a non-co-operator to preach disaffection to the existing system of Government, to prepare the country for 'civil' disobedience, to refuse to give security of the kind just referred to. The Ali Brothers have given no undertaking to refrain from any of the first two things. If, therefore, the Government desire (to punish only incitement to violence, almost all the men recently imprisoned are entitled to be discharged without any undertaking on their part. So far as non-co-operators are concerned, they are or ought to be totally indifferent. Prison life must be the normal life of the majority of them."

Servant of India (10), 9th June.

35. "The speech which Mr. Mahomed Ali delivered at Broach as president of the Khilafat Conference renders it not a little difficult to put implicit trust in the testimonials which Mr. Gandhi has of late been lavishing upon the Ali Brothers. This speech is a clear attempt to wriggle out of the apology which he was induced to tender. It is possible to take a disparaging view of the apology, but we choose to regard it, with most non-co-operators, as reflecting credit on the Ali Brothers. It is even described as magnanimous. If it is so, how must this latter attempt to explain it away be characterised? Not certainly as magnanimous. It is futile for Mr. Mahomed Ali to contend that his speeches could not be properly interpreted to contain incitement to violence. He himself says in his statement that he saw the force of the argument and interpretation of his friends. This means in plain English that he concedes that his speeches at any rate lent themselves to be interpreted as they actually were. What then is the use of his saying that that interpretation is wrong? Who are his friends who insist upon misinterpreting his speeches? Is Mr. Gandhi among them? And if, in fact, his speeches are unoffending and can only unjustly and improperly be interpreted as instigating to violence, why does he make the apology at all? If he was for once betrayed into violence and, on being corrected by friends, he tendered a public apology, it would be regarded as a creditable thing; but the fencing to which he now resorts in order to neutralise the effects of his apology possibly on such of his followers as are apt to confound heroics with heroism, is not exactly creditable."

New Times (9), 31st May and 3rd June.

36. "It is a clear statement the Ali Brothers have made concerning their attitude to the Swaráj movement.......... We have not taken serious notice of an Afghan threat because we have, with Mahatma Gandhi, regarded it as more or less a 'bogey.' It is easy to understand how the bureaucracy would profit by creating a split in the Hindu-Muslim camp over this question. We cannot think Afghanistan is in a position to invade India.......... We are out to win Swaráj; we do not believe any foreigner can win it for us; we do not think the country would welcome, or in any way help, an Afghan invasion. It may be, as Mahatma Gandhi says, the Afghans are a 'God-fearing' people. But we have no faith in the altruistic impulses of any foreigner strong enough to dominate or conquer; and however 'God-fearing' the Afghan may be, more God-fearing people have, we know, conquered portions of earth's surface in His name and maintained their rule in self-interest. .... We entirely agree with those who urge that India's frontiers must not be left to the tender mercies of any outside Power. But the way to guard the frontier, the way to secure peace in India, is not by maintaining a

huge army, but by building up Swaráj. National freedom is the greatest guarantee against a foreign invasion. The Government of India continues to spend more and more upon the army--continues to ask for a 'new equipment'. The Government does not trust the people; the Government trusts the munitions of war. Once the Government becomes 'democratic'—and that will be when India achieves Swaráj—the fear of a foreign aggression will cease to trouble it, and some of the millions it spends for the army will be diverted to real nation-building.......... The Ali Brothers said, some time ago, they would join Afghanistan if it came for a *Jehad*. We thought the days of *Jehad* were over. And who is to decide, if it is a *Jehad* or the ambition of conquest and territorial aggrandisement? By their latest declaration, we are happy the Ali Brothers have flung aside the charge that they were in secret sympathy with the Afghan in his designs upon India. The Ali Brothers have affirmed their faith in non-violent non-co-operation; and as long as that faith endures there would, we believe, stand the Hindu-Muslim compact which is the hope of our future." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"The Government, in their *communique* published yesterday, characterise the Ali Brothers' statement to the public as an 'apology' (to Government?), 'a promise for the future, and a solemn public undertaking'.......... The Ali Brothers have not offered an apology to Government; they have made clear their position to their countrymen; they showed 'unnecessary heat' in some of their utterances; we believe their regret is honest, not prompted by a desire to meet diplomacy with diplomacy. And we fail to understand why Government should have shown an anxiety to accept 'apology' when they had already suspended their action against the Ali Brothers.......... It connot be denied the attitude behind the *communique* is one of antagonism to the non-co-operation movement. Are we to believe that is the first-fruit of the recent interviews with the Viceroy? Is it that Gandhiji has committed a mistake in interviewing the Viceroy? It is impossible to dissociate Lord Reading from the *communique*. We have not regarded non-co-operation as a failure; neither do we regard it as a success. Non-co-operation is on its trial; and we can but hope that the people will show more courage, more solidarity, more sacrifice, and not let Government communiques and threats of 'prosecution' for 'disaffection' demoralise the movement."]

Kesari (120), 7th June; *Lokamánya* (New), 6th June; *Rájakáran* (138), 5th June.

37. We are told that some of the speeches made by the Ali brothers were such as to give encouragement to violence and that, therefore, it was decided to prosecute them. We do not believe this. The bureaucracy naturally preferred to catch the brothers indirectly in their net instead of having recourse to a court of law, and Mahatma Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy was considered necessary for the spreading of this net. This shows who was really thirsting for this interview. It is again a question whether after all the bureaucracy were able to gain their object. In our opinion it has completely failed. Mahatma Gandhi asked the Ali brothers to publish the explanation in question to remove the obstacles in the path of non-co-operation; and they did so in obedience to his orders. The transaction was only between Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali brothers. There is nothing in all this to send the bureaucracy and its protégés into ecstasies. [The *Lokamánya* writes:—Muhammad Ali has declared at Broach that his explanation was not an apology and that it was not tendered out of fear of prosecution. The brothers hold that under the Islamic law a Mussalman must fight the enemies of his religion. They were likewise of opinion that the present occasion does not call for armed resistance. They believe like Mahatma Gandhi that peaceful means will suffice to gain them their object. They declare even now that a Mahomedan must not hesitate to resort to force when his belief in peaceful means is shattered. The *Rájakáran*, on the other hand, writes:—The Ali brothers' apology ill becomes their reputation. They refused to face imprisonment in spite of their oft-repeated declarations that the jail had no terrors for them; and for this their followers will not fail to blame them. On the whole Lord Reading scored a great triumph in obtaining an apology from the Ali Brothers.

Sânj Vartamân (33), 4th June; *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* (31), 10th June; *Gujarati* (17), 5th June; *Gujarâti Punch* (19), 7th June, Eng. cols.; *Gramya Swarâja* (68), 7th June.

38. We must congratulate the Ali Brothers for expressing regret for certain inflammatory speeches of theirs at the request of Mr. Gandhi. Had the regret not been expressed Government would have prosecuted these brothers and they would perhaps have been in jail by this time. We feel sure that the Ali Brothers possess a stout heart and would not have minded a prosecution and would have willingly gone to jail; but their prosecution would have created excitement among the people and, we are afraid, it would have led to some evil results. Lord Reading has taken a step that redounds to his high statesmanship. [The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* writes:—Government showed high political wisdom in expressing their satisfaction with an explanation offered by the Ali Brothers and in not insisting upon a written apology; but it is to be regretted that certain non-co-operationists have been expressing annoyance at the *communique* issued by Government. The *Gujarâti* writes:—Government were quite justified in regarding the speeches of the Ali Brothers as inciting to violence. The *communique* should prove a warning to those who indulge in irresponsible and wild talk while preaching non-violent non-co-operation. Referring to the apology published by the Ali Brothers, the *Gujarâti Punch* remarks:—"This, by common consent, is the immediate result of the Gandhi-Reading interview and is good so far as it goes. The non-violent part of the non-co-operation movement has been sincerely put by Mr. Gandhi but many of his lieutenants have from the very beginning regarded it as a mere cloak to cover their attempt to convert the present helplessness of the people into preparedness for violence in some form or other and that was its greatest danger.......... The pronouncements of the Ali Brothers specially tended in that direction, and it is not a little gratifying to note that Mr. Gandhi has been able to extract from them a promise not to do so in the future." The *Gramya Swarâjya* writes:—Many people are of opinion that the Ali Brothers have no faith in non-violent non-co-operation and that they have taken to the movement only owing to the leadership of that movement by Mr. Gandhi. We need not look into the motives of the Ali Brothers and should take into consideration the sacrifices they make in adhering to the movement they have espoused. They have done a praiseworthy thing in expressing apology for the warmth of their speeches. Had these brothers been prosecuted there would have been a stir among the Muhammadans, and it is doubtful whether the non-co-operation movement would have retained its non-violent character. Government have now given up their intention of prosecuting the Ali Brothers and have thus escaped the risk of endangering peace.]

Sindwâsi (168), 2nd June.

39. Referring to the apology published by the Ali Brothers the *Sindwâsi* remarks:—Government says that it will proceed against them on the same speeches if they use such intemperate language again. Ali Brothers appear to be in a tight corner now. But for this they themselves are responsible. It was only in name that they became Mahatma's followers and accepted his principle of non-violence. In reality they felt themselves emboldened under the shield of Mahatma's name and personality and spoke what they liked. We cannot say what their present statement is worth. They declare that they have full faith in non-violence and that they will remain true to it. Formerly also they had given out that the principle of non-violence was acceptable to them; but at the same time they had said that if a *jehad* was announced they would be bound by their religion to assist the Muslim invaders—nay, they went so far as to declare, that they would even help a foreign power if it invaded India to chastise the British. We shall see what becomes of Islamic injunctions and duties which they have hitherto been proclaiming.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi's open letter to the Moderates.

Young India (14), 8th June; **Mahrâtta* (8), 12th June.

40. Mr. M. K. Gandhi addresses in *Young India* an open letter to the Moderates in the course of which he writes:—"It is a matter of no small grief to me that I find myself estranged from you in ideas.......... What is it that has flung me away from you and into the lap of the Natonalist party? Why do I find more in common with the Nationalists than with you? I am unable to see that you love your country less than the Nationalists. I refuse to believe that you are less willing to sacrifice yourselves for the country's good than the Nationalists. Certainly the Moderate party can claim as much intelligence, integrity and ability as the Nationalists, if not more. The difference, therefore, lies in the ideals. I will not weary you with a discussion of the different ideals. For the moment I will simply invite your attention to some of the items in the constructive programme in the movement of Non-co-operation. You may not like the word itself. You may intensely dislike, as I know you do, many items in the programme. But if you concede to the Non-co-operators the same credit for love of the land that you will claim for yourselves, will you not view with favour those parts of the programme on which there cannot be two opinions? I refer to the drink evil. I ask you to accept my evidence, that the country as a whole is sick of the drink course.......... I invite you to take advantage of the wave of feeling that has been roused against the drink traffic. The agitation arose spontaneously. Believe me the deprivation to the Government of the drink revenue is of the least importance in the campaign. The country is simply impatient of the evil itself. In no country in the world, will it be possible to carry on this traffic in the face of the united and the enlightened opposition of a people, such as is now to be witnessed in India. You will not be deceived by the spacious argument that India must not be made sober by compulsion, and that those who wish to drink must have facilities provided for them. The State does not cater for the vices of its people. We do not regulate or license houses of ill-fame. We do not provide facilities for thieves to indulge their propensity for thieving. I hold drink to be more damnable than thieving and perhaps even prostitution. Is it not often the parent of both? I ask you to join the country in sweeping out of existence the drink revenue and abolishing the liquor-shops. Many liquor-sellers would gladly close their shops if the money paid by them were refunded. 'What about the education of the children?' may be the question asked. I venture to suggest to you that it is a matter of deep humiliation for the country to find its children educated from the drink revenue. We shall deserve the curse of posterity if we do not wisely decide to stop the drink evil, even though we may have to sacrifice the education of our children.......... And that brings me to the existing system of government. The country is the poorer for the Reforms. The annual expenditure has grown. A deeper study of the system has convinced me that no tinkering with it will do. A complete revolution is the greatest need of the time. The word revolution displeases you. What I plead for, however, is not a bloody revolution, but a revolution in the thought-world, such as would compel a radical revision of the standard of life in the higher services of the country. I must frankly confess to you that the ever increasing rate of salaries paid to the higher branches of the Civil Service fairly frightens me, as I hope it would frighten you. Is there any correspondence between the life of the Governors and of the governed millions who are groaning under their heels? The bruised bodies of the latter are a standing testimony to the truth of my statement. You now belong to the governing class. Let it not be said that your heels are no softer than your predecessors' or your associates'. Must you also rule from Simla? Must you also follow the policy that only a year ago you criticised adversely? It is under your *regime* that a man has been sentenced to transportation for life for holding certain opinions. You may not plead that he was inciting to violence, for not very long ago you dismissed such pleas. The Ali brothers have apologised for even a suspicion of violence in their speeches. You will be doing a cruel injustice to the country if you allow yourselves to believe that any fear of prosecution has prompted the apology. A new spirit has been born in the country.......... Do you know that during the past six months several high-souled youths, your countrymen, have gone to gaol, because they will not condescend to give security—which in their opinion was dishonourable for them to do? It is under your *regime* that the patience of utterly innocent Moplas has been put to a severe test and has as yet not been found wanting. I would gladly think, as I really believe, that you are not responsible for the atrocities that are at present being perpetrated in the name of peace and justice. But you will not let the public or me say that you are helpless where you are not hoodwinked.......... If the country can only get your assistance in stopping the drink traffic you will certainly add to the many services that you have rendered it in the past, and, maybe, that one step will open your eyes to many another possibility." [Commenting on Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Moderates, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"He winds up his appeal by requesting them to join hands with the country in stopping the drink traffic. We do not know whether this appeal will touch the hearts of our Moderate friends. There were times in the past when the Moderates turned a deaf ear to such appeals. Till now they looked up to Government for the cure of all the National ills but now their merging themselves in the bureaucracy has torn asunder all the ties that held them bound to their country. Had they however exerted what little influence they wield in the interests of the people there would have been only the necessary estrangement but the reforms have made them nothing short of docile and deferential administrators, and only useful wheels in the official machinery. There was a time when they could have played a useful and important part in the struggle for emancipation that is being carried on by the country at present. Had they but joined the National boycott of councils, the Nation would have been surely nearer its goal than at present whether they liked it or not, whether they believed in its efficacy or not. Councils without any responsible representative of the people would have been an impossibility......... We desire every success to the appeal of Mahatma Gandhi and hope that the Moderates will at least bend a little in making a common cause with the people in matters where there is no difference of opinion unless they create it. The Moderates have been charged to be traitors to their country in being merged into bureaucracy and thus being a party to the repression. An opportunity has been afforded to them to redeem themselves. Let them grasp the opportunity and do a turn in the interest of their country."]

Musalmans should not be forced by Hindus to give up cow slaughter.
Young India (14), 8th June.

41. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Professor Vaswani has unfurled the banner of the cow's freedom. The danger has come sooner than I had expected. I had hoped that it would come when India could regard it with equanimity. In my humble opinion, Professor Vaswani might have started the movement under better auspices. Any movement started by Hindus for protecting the cow, without whole-hearted Musalman co-operation, is doomed to failure. The Hindus' participation in the Khilafat is the greatest and the best movement for cow protection. I have, therefore, called Khilafat our Kamadhuk. The Musalmans are striving their utmost to respect Hindu susceptibilities in this matter of life and death to the Hindu.......... We could not accuse our Musalman countrymen of apathy in the matter. The surest way of defeating our object is to rush Musalmans. I do not know that Musalman honour has ever been found wanting. With them as with everyone, prejudices die hard. We have got enlightened Musalman opinion with us. It must take time for it to react upon the Musalman masses. The Hindus must therefore be patient. There is nothing strange about all the Shikárpur Hindus having voted unanimously in favour of the prohibition of cow slaughter. Is there a Hindu who will not vote for it? The use of that unanimous opinion for bearing down Musalman opposition is the way to stiffen it. The Hindu members must have known, must have ascertained, Musalman feeling. And they should have refrained from going to a division, so long as the Musalman opinion was against them. Let us recognise that there is an interest actively working to keep us—Hindus and Musalmans—divided. That very interest is quite capable of developing regard for Hindu susceptibilities in this respect. I should beware of it and distrust it. I strongly advise the Shikárpur friends to wait for their Musalman brethren.......... Let the Shikarpuris one and all become true non-co-operators and hasten the redress of the Khilafat wrong. I promise they will save the cow when they have done their utmost to save the Khilafat. It must be an article of faith for every Hindu that the cow can only be saved by Musalman friendship. Let us recognise frankly that complete protection of the cow depends purely upon Musalman good-will. It is as impossible to bend the Mussalmans to our will as it would be for them to bend us to theirs. We are evolving the doctrine of equal and free partnership. We are fighting Dyerism—the doctrine of frightfulness.......... As Professor Vaswani truly remarks, cow protection means brotherhood between man and beast. It is a noble sentiment that must grow by patient toil and *tapasya*. It cannot be imposed upon anyone. To carry cow protection at the point of the sword is a contradiction in terms."

Signs that show that the Government policy of repression against non-co-operation has failed.
New Times (9), 2nd June.

42. "Confidential circulars are being issued asking for aid of Government servants to suppress non-co-operation! 'Bharat-Mata ki-jai'—a sacred national cry—is being suppressed by school-masters; and the Gandhi cap and the cry 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai' are bugbears to the bureaucrats. A Seth in Sadebad being arrested under section 124-A. was hauled up before the court; the Magistrate adjourned the case; the accused left the court after uttering the words:—'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai', the Magistrate called back the accused, and for this 'crime' fined him Rs. 200. Another Magistrate in a circular damns the movement of non-co-operation as one of which the result, if it succeed, will be, 'anarchy, fighting, destruction, incendiarism; rapine'; and he calls upon the men in his office not to subscribe to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. 'He who pays such subscription,' he adds, 'sympathises with the enemies of Government, and he is informed by means of this notice that by so doing he himself will be considered an enemy of Government'! Such things are a confession on the part of Government that the counter-propaganda it relied on, has failed; repression, we may add, will equally fail. The way to end non-co-operation is to end the present system and 're-form' Government in accordance with the people's demands."

Failure of the non-co-operation movement.
Lokasangraha (123), 8th June.

43. The non-co-operation movement was launched with the avowed object of securing what we want by paralysing Government, and it must be admitted that from that point of view it has proved a failure. Educational institutions are as full as before, and staunch non-co-operatiors are seeking to get themselves employed in aided institutions, Courts are crowded with lawyers and litigants, Government servants stick to their posts, and the leaders of the non-co-operation movement have begun to visit the heights of Simla. If any item in the non-co-operation programme has done harm to the nation it is the boycott of the Legislative Councils. This boycott has made the path of the Moderates and the sycophants very easy and deprived the people of the very places where they could have effectively opposed the will of the bureaucracy.

Bombay Government and non-co-operation.
Kesari (120), 7th June.

44. Although the Government of Bombay do not openly take part in the campaign of repression, it need not be supposed that they are wholly quiet. As the Governor of Bombay is very shrewd he has neither assumed that non-co-operation would die a natural death nor is he employing drastic methods to crush the movement. However, he is always on the look-out for less drastic means to kill it, and, according to this policy, picketing at Ahmedabad, Bhusawal, etc., provided the authorities with an opportunity to attack it. But all these attempts have failed. We strongly believe that the Government of Bombay have issued a circular to their officials in connection with non-co-operation. The Commissioner in Sind is not as shrewd as the Governor, and, therefore, his circular in which he he has asked the Mukhtiarkars to oppose the non-co-operation movement has come to light. The Commissioner has also ordered that Government advertisements should not be sent to papers who usually criticise the policy of Government. Do Government hope that by these childish tricks they will be able to destroy the non-co-operation movement?

Patriots must be prepared to go to jail for the sake of their country.
Lokashahi (126), 6th June.

45. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad wants a hundred thousand men to be ready to go to jail to achieve a satisfactory solution of the questions of the Khilafat and *swarájya*. Can these men by thus sacrificing themselves free their land from the misery of subjection? We have no hesitation in saying that they can. The Moulana's demand correctly interpreted means that at least a hundred thousand men, willing to sacrifice their all, should come forward to work for the elevation of their country. The bureaucracy will not be able to resist the temptation of sending these men to jail for fear that they may lose India if they leave them at large. At such a time we must be perfectly calm and must not resort to violence. We must even deny them the satisfaction of having punished us justly. We must regard imprisonment as the necessary price that we must pay for the attainment of our object. Our labours will not be wasted but will surely render the foundations of bureaucratic rule in India shaky. Upto this time we have been holding meetings and delivering speeches with a view to ending bureaucracy in India, but we now find that these means do not avail us. We, therefore, pray to all lovers of their country to be ready to go to jail. Who is sent to jail in the present campaign of repression? That man is sent to jail who does not drink at the liquor shops kindly opened for him by Government and whose eyes are unable to bear the sight of other people partaking of intoxicants; that man is sent to jail who takes the vow of *swadeshi*, boycotts foreign goods and asks others to do the same; that man is sent to jail who disregards tyannical and iilegal orders while engaged in the performance of meritorious acts; that man is sent to jail who does not seek to harass Government by committing excesses; that man again is sent to jail who, although perfectly innocent, does not try to defend himself in a court of law. We say to our countrymen, therefore, arise and go to jail!

If Government's repressive policy continues there will be a revolution in India.

Gramya Swarájya (68), 7th June.

46. Everywhere we hear talks of arrests and imprisonments. Government may be making the arrests because they think it advisable to do so. But there should be a limit even in this matter. A person ought not to be hanged for an insignificant offence and if any Government does so it cannot be said really to have a human heart but to possess a nature permeated with brute force. The noble desire of sacrificing themselves and their lives for their country has been kindled in the hearts of the Indian people. Hence we see that some of the noble sons of India have either been suffering imprisonment or transportation as a result of the repressive policy of Government. Indians are no longer afraid of such repression. But Government seem to be on the war path. They have even been surpassing the kings of the Bhils. The kings of the Bhils used to put men to death living. Our civilized Government have also begun to act like them. A cruel incident occurred at Unan near Lucknow. Nine Khilafat workers of the Mohom District were arrested and among them was a youth of twenty-two years. He was suffering from high fever and unable to stand when he was brought before the Court. A petition was made for his release on bail before the Deputy Collector sentenced him. But the Collector refused to do so. The Collector showed no mercy. From this we are at a loss to know whether we should call him a man or not. The people prayed that the sick man should be carried to jail in a conveyance. But the Collector ordered him, who had not the strength to stand, to go on foot in the hot sun. That youth died in jail. People asked for his dead body but it was not handed over to them. At last a telegram was sent to Maulana Abdul Bari. He secured the corpse from the Commissioner after reasoning with him. There is no wonder if such an incident tends to excite the people. It would be no exaggeration to say that the cruelty of the Collector was beyond all bounds. If repression thus continues to increase, it should not surprise anybody if there is a great revolution in the country.

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's views about an Afghan war.

Gujaráti (17), 12th June, Eng. cols.

*47. "Mahatma Gandhi seems to think that the menace of an Afghan invasion is all an illusion and his view has been repeated by some of his well-known followers. But the fact of the last Afghan invasion which robbed the Indian taxpayer of twenty-two crores of his hardly-earned rupees, cannot be treated as a 'bogey,' and those who want the people of India to remain absolutely indifferent to the happenings on the north-west frontier have got to face it before their advice can be accepted. Neither Mr. Gandhi's antecedent career nor his present absorbing preoccupations justify confidence in his knowledge of international politics with their intrigues and complications, and if there are fire-eating military jingoes in India, who are inclined to make a mountain of a molehill on the slightest pretext, it is not wisdom for others to go to the opposite extreme of ruinous optimism or self-delusion. It is no use shutting our eyes to the fact that the hitch between the Government of India and the Amir has not yet been removed, and although the Afghan war came to an end long ago, the British Mission to Kabul has not yet succeeded in settling the terms of any treaty between the two governments. It may be conceded for the sake of argument that either the one or the other party, or both are to blame for this unconscionable delay in coming to a settlement. But that itself proves that the frontier troubles, whatever their genesis, can not be treated in a light-hearted spirit. To what extent the Afghan militarists are busy intriguing with the Bolsheviks, the Turkish Nationalists and the German fomentors of mischief can never be known by the Indian public with precision at the moment they would like to know the real facts. At present they are being treated to all kinds of reports the truthfulness of which it is impossible for outsiders to determine.......... The relations between the Indian and Afghan Governments have become straitened since the outbreak of the Afghan war. Arms and ammunition are no longer supplied from this side of India as before and there is nothing inherently improbable about the above story. The Afghans must have vividly realised by their experience of the warlike operations carried in their territory by the British in the last war as well as from the reports of the great European war that their military resources must be properly organised and their forces adequately equipped on modern lines. What is more natural for them than to seek the assistance of their co-religionists like the Turks who are now on unfriendly terms with the British? We cannot believe that the Turkish or German officers in the service of the Afghan Government will be favourably inclined towards England. It is very likely they would favour the idea of fomenting troubles or intrigues on the frontier. We, therefore, think that neither the excessive pessimism of military faddists eager for a fight nor the abounding optimism of Mr. Gandhi in regard to the Afghan menace is the safest or wisest attitude for the Indian people to take up. What is wanted is watchful caution and alert vigilance. There is one warning we have to give to the Indian Government. Their frontier policy has not been above suspicion and the information they supply to the Indian public is altogether meagre. In both these respects there is ample room for improvement. The frontier ditch has hitherto proved a financially ruinous ditch for the poor taxpayer in India and we want the Indian Government to realise fully the magnitude of this fearful loss and do nothing that will not commend itself to the conscience of a God-fearing Government in dealing with the frontier situation. If the perennial troubles on the frontier do no credit to the wild tribes, they certainly afford no gratifying evidence of British statesmanship or convincing proof of their desire to safeguard the interests of the starving people of India, who have already poured and are still called upon to pour millions into a bottomless abyss."

The anti-drink movement and Government.
Karnatak Vritt (90), 7th June.

48. The policy which underlies British rule in this country is merely a commercial policy. So it is quite impossible that they can ever wish success to the anti-drink movement or entertain an honest desire that people should be free from the drink habit. Facts have come to light to show that the British traders are sending liquor worth lacs of rupees to America and carrying on their trade secretly in that country, in spite of the fact that the Americans have prohibited liquor traffic by legislation. It is, therefore, quite natural that the British who are foisting their selfish projects on an independent country like America should put obstacles directly or indirectly in the path of those who are trying to eradicate the drink evil in this country, which is entirely subject to their control. Fourteen crores of rupees go into the coffers of Government on account of the drinking habits of the people. A large number of white officials are supported from this revenue and thousands of rupees are paid to them as salary. If the people stop drinking, this huge mass of money will disappear and these British boys will be thrown out of employment. So much about the revenue which goes to Government. But the liquor merchants of England have their own interest in this traffic and they also make huge profits by their trade. How then is it possible for the Government or the British traders to entertain any desire to stop this liquor traffic which is a source of great benefit to them. It is on account of this reason that our officials run amok as soon as the anti-drink movement gains strength.

Din Mitra (111), 1st June.

49. The anti-drink crusade is at present being vigorously carried on. If it is conducted peacefully with an eye to its principles, Government will not oppose it and if it lasts for a long time it will no doubt prove of the greatest benefit to the public. But the campaign, we are afraid, will not prove lasting for the present unity between Hindus and Muhammedans is not of pure origin. Moreover, the movement is more intended to humble Government than to benefit the people. The high-handedness of the bureaucracy is the cause of the present Hindu-Moslem unity and when that cause is removed by political reform the unity will pass away and the movements that are now in progress will not only die away but assume another aspect. We are of opinion that this unity, born of religious sentiments, will in the end result in a quarrel between the two communities.

The District Magistrate of Bijápur and the Gandhi cap.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th June.

50. Referring to the incident in which the District Magistrate of Bijápur is reported to have fined Mr. Kowjalgi, a pleader, for wearing the Gandhi cap in Court, the *Bombay Chrohicle* writes :—"It is imperative that some one at the seat of Government, endowed with common-sense, if not with sense of responsibility, pulled up sharp Mr. Henderson, District Magistrate, Bijápur, and put a stop to his pranks. He has developed a sudden and unaccountable horror of the 'Gandhi cap', and feels that the majesty of his office suffers eclipse in the presence of this innocent-looking article of headgear. We know, of course, that a certain class of officials in this country have taken an aversion to the cap and have threatened Government servants with dismissal should the latter don such headgear. But it is the first time, we believe, that an official has sought to penalise the use of the cap on the part of the general public. Mr. Henderson evidently, proposes to seek refuge under Section 228, Indian Penal Code, which deals, with 'contempt of court.' In these days when quite new meanings are being read into the innocent sections of the Penal Code, and the law is being prostituted for purposes which its framers had little dreamt of, it is, perhaps, not to be surprised at that Mr. Henderson should imagine that Section 228 affords him quite a legitimate weapon to knock down the non-co-operator. Who knows Mr. Henderson's discovery will not be hailed as a godsend by his brother bureaucrats who are at their wits' end how to fight the ubiquitous 'Gandhi cap'?"

Mahrátta (8), 12th June.

***51.** "The innocent looking pure white Ghandi cap seems to have developed qualities of fairly frightening our bureaucrats.......... We cannot comprehend what is there in the Gandhi cap, which is being worn more for its simplicity, elegance and cheapness, than anything else, which puts to fright our official bulls! At the most the cap is nothing more than a symbol of non-violent non-co-operation which has at least no terrors for the bureaucracy as they are known to pour ridicule on it in season and out of season......... The Central Provinces Government declared war against the cap and tried to kill it by prohibiting circulars; but they thought discretion to be the better part of valour, and wisely withdrew their order. But now it is the turn of a District Magistrate to batter his head against it. [The paper here repeats the incident in the Court of Mr. Henderson, I.C.S., District Magistrate, Bijápur, who fined one Mr. Hanumant Rao Kowjalgi over and over again for persisting in appearing before him in a Gandhi cap and proceeds.] The lesson of the episode is writ large for all those who read it. The bureaucracy is nervous of any attempt to organise and concentrate the forces that go to inspire the people with confidence and courage in their battle for *Swarájya*. The innocent looking milk-white cap symbolises the desire for freedom and self-purification and it is but natural that it acts prejudicially on the nerves of the bureaucracy."

Defence of Government's recourse to prosecutions.
Sind Observer (12), 31st May.

52. "But prosecutions are inaugurated in the case of those who actually break the law; and the law should be upheld if peace should be maintained. Some prosecutions might have been ill-advised; some sentences might have been very heavy; some sections in the criminal law may be in need of amendment; we ourselves have criticised some of the methods of the judiciary in passing unconscionably heavy sentences; but the law as it at present stands (and no man is nowadays punished on account of recorse to extrodinary legislation) permits these punishments after a trial in established courts. By all means enter the Councils, introduce bills amending the criminal law and make it more humane, but don't cry from the housetops that most innocent doves have been imprisoned on account of the rascality of the moderates and the Government with a double dose of original sin. We admit the orders against the Gandhi cap and *khadar* are very silly and ought to be rescinded."

Why is not the Bank of Bombay fraud case being proceeded with?
Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th June.

53. "Several correspondents have written to us asking what has happened to the Bank of Bombay fraud case. The case against Mr. Khusru N. Banaji came for hearing two or three times and was then postponed; but nothing further has been heard about it. It is several months now and the C. I. D. authorities owe an explánation to the public as to why this case is not being proceeded with. There were ominous rumours in the city even then, and doubts were expressed how such a thing could happen in a Bank whose working, we are told, is permeated through and through with the traditional 'British character' by means of a large staff of Europeans. The amount involved was something like Rs. 17 lakhs, and the accused, Mr. Banaji, is still at large. Has the case been compounded? It is impossible that a criminal case can be hushed up in this manner for fear of further disclosures. Surely, there must be some explanation, and unless the authorities take the public into their confidence the latter cannot help drawing their own conclusions in this matter which will surely not be to the credit of the Bank's administration. If Mr. Banaji is innocent he must compel the authorities to give him justice. At any rate things cannot be left where they are at present. A remand does not mean postponement till eternity! Justice must be stern and justice must be prompt."

The Press Act Committee.
Gujaráti (17), 5th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 6th June.

54. We fail to understand why the Press Act Committee is conducting its proceedings *in camera*. It is complained that most of those who were called upon to give evidence before the Committee belonged to the Moderate camp. Why should not men of all shades of opinion be asked to give their evidence? The Press Act gives arbitrary powers to the officials, and one of the bad uses to which it is put is to give warnings to newspapers orally through the Police or the Criminal Investigation Department. Government keep an account of such warnings and make use of them when a prosecution is lodged against a paper. Besides, the Magistrate calls upon all those who appear to make declarations to furnish securities. It is but fit and proper that Government should know the names and addresses of printers and publishers and that no publication should appear without such particulars. Government may pass a general law for the regulation of presses, but they should on no account allow the oppressive Press Act to continue. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* understands that the Press Act Committee have unanimously recommended the repeal of the Press Act and hopes Lord Reading's Government will allow no delay in accepting the recommendation. It suggests that Lord Reading should take care to see that no differentiation is made between Indian and Anglo-Indian papers.]

New Times (9), 3rd June.

55. "Will the Press Committee of the Indian Legislature repeal the Act or simply modify it? The Press Act, as it is, is mainly a restrictive act which demands a toll from you if the executive—and the executive itself is the judiciary—is dissatisfied with you............ The 'New Era' of the reforms did not find it convenient enough to recognize the liberty of the press; and the national movement in India is being subjected to a sterner test than that of the Press Act. There is, we confess, nothing to be said for that Act! It operates in the case only of national newspapers, thus introducing them to the people's attention! It makes us pay some price for political liberty, and it publishes abroad to the civilised world the fact that an 'over-fretful' bureaucracy, nervous of free expression of opinion, tries to suppress popular opinion. Again the wide and vague sections 124A, 153A, 144 and 108 in the Criminal Procedure Code are more than a match for any the biggest 'agitator'. Under one section alone, an 'agitator can be sentenced for life'! The Press Act is only as a hammer compared to the mammoth stroke; and its disappearance cannot establish any greater faith in the bureaucracy. A repeal of the Act will be a poor consolation. What needs must go is the system that keeps India down—the parent of the Press Act."

Government scheme for repatriating stranded Hajis.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 10th June.

56. Government have prepared a scheme for repatriating Hajis in distress, and we hope the Muhammadans of India will give a hearty response to the appeal Government have made for their help. The scheme was prepared by Government in consultation with Moslem leaders, and we have no doubt that it will evoke the approval and sympathy of the Moslem public. An additional proof of Government's solicitude for the welfare of the Hajis is afforded by the fact that the fund proposed to be raised will be administered by a Committee consisting mostly of Moslems and non-officials. We feel sure that the scheme will evoke the approval of Moslems and that they will make a generous response to the appeal for funds.

Grievances of Indians in the Colonies.
Gujaráti (17), 12th June, Eng. cols.

*57. "From the latest letter from the correspondent of the *Times of India* at Nairobi, dated 21st May, it appears that the Indian inhabitants of Kenya had their patience exhausted, and decided in consequence on a policy of passive resistance in connection with the collection of income tax. Following the lead given by the Mombasa Indians, a mass meeting was held in Nairobi at which the following resolution was carried unanimously.......... It will be seen from the terms of the resolution that our countrymen object to the imposition of income tax on the ground that they have no representatives in the Executive and Legislative Councils to watch their interests and that the burden, though unduly heavy, the Indians are not allowed to share adequately in the fruits of this taxation. [The paper here describes the attempts made to arrive at an understanding between Nairobi Indians and the local Municipality. It then continues :—] It rests now with the Colonial Office to decide the question of policy involved in the controversy regarding the status of Indians in British Protectorates and Dependencies. No decision based upon racial differences will satisfy the people of India or the Indian settlers in the Kenya Colony. The Government of India has taken the right attitude towards this question and it is permissible to hope that the Colonial Office will not be a party to any policy based upon racial distinctions and inequalities and bring eternal discredit not only on itself but on the British Empire itself."

Indian Social Reformer (7), 12th June.

*58. "When repartriation was first mooted as a possible solution of the colonial Indian problem, we pointed out that the Indian village would not welcome the returned prodigal, and that is what is happening. The colonial Indian feels cramped and wants to go back to his accustomed life in the sugar plantation in Natal or Fiji. We approve of the policy of the Indian Emigration Bill, of disallowing all organised emigration of the labouring classes.......... We do not want to send any more emigrants of Indian labourers but, on that account, we are under an obligation all the more to see that the Indians already domiciled in the Colonies are treated on a footing of absolute equality with the other colonials.

We owe it to the country that we should sternly demand redress for any disability imposed by reason of the nationality or colour of these domiciled men, insisting at the same time for perfect freedom of movement throughout the Empire for the educated classes—travellers, professional men, merchants and students. The Reciprocity resolution passed at two Imperial Conferences proceeded on this principle, and it is a pity that it has been completely ignored."

Comments on the reported execution of a British Indian Muhammadan by the Kemalists.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th and 7th June.

59. "That the Nationalists have executed a British Indian subject, Mustafa Saghir, who 'went through Angora hoping to utilise the prestige of Indian Moslems to influence Turkish sentiment in favour of Britain and ultimately to prepare the conclusion of a Turco-British Entente,' seems natural enough; for whether the man was a spy or merely a 'propagandist', his activities, aiming at the destruction of the Bolshevik support, without whom Turkey would be helpless at the mercy of the Allies, can hardly have been welcome to the 'Extremists' ruling at Angora. Such agents are employed by any Power. They carry their lives in their hands, and are disavowed by their employers and left to their fate unless the said employers are in search of a *casus belli* or a grievance which can be developed into one.......... It is a fact, we know and we have often stated, that the Turkish patriots have come through harsh experience to regard the British enemies of their country, striving by every underhand means to work its ruin even while professing friendly sentiments. If England, as we have lately been assured, is really anxious to do away with that unfortunate impression, she must be prepared to exercise a good deal of patience and considerable self-restraint, while endeavouring to prove by friendly acts that she has changed her policy towards Turkey.......... And the execution of a 'propagandist' who lied about the views of Indian Moslems seems hardly a sufficient pretext for another great world war. Yet 'Reuter is informed that the British Government contemplates vigorous action against the Angora Government', as if the British Government were unaware that by such vigorous action it will be playing into the hands of Lenin!......... There is a way in which the Soviet plans can be frustrated and the Soviet designs on Asia brought to nought. Before the armies of Lenin can liberate the Asiatic peoples whom England at the present moment holds in thrall, let England liberate them of her own accord. Then there would be nothing left for the Moslems of the East to fight against in England's policy; and if the Russians still wished to pursue the war, everyone would then know that they did not fight for liberation but for pan-Slavonic domination and for loot." [In the subsequent issue the paper writes:—"We have no knowledge of Mustafa Saghir whom the British seem anxious to set up as a new Nurse Cavell. But we do remember words of authority which were heard through the telephone at an English newspaper office directly after the Belgian affair: 'Pile on Nurse Cavell for recruiting purposes.' Mustafa Saghir is quite incapable of obtaining a single recruit in India or elsewhere, so we regard him as a *casus belli*—not a very fine one but the best obtainable—with the Angora 'Extremists.' Lloyd George is, we understand under obligations to the Greeks, and even the report of the inquiry commission as to their atrocious conduct cannot keep him from returning to them at the first occasion. They are 'Christian' and 'European,' you see, so it doesn't matter how many Moslems they may torture and put to death."

Mahrátta (8), 12th June.

*60. "The execution of a British Indian named Mustafa Saigir Bey by the Angora Government has created a critical situation in the international affairs. The Allies in general, and the British Government in particular, in this connection has one important factor to take into consideration, namely, the feelings of Indian Muslims. The Allies are on the point of declaring war against the Angora Government and the British Government will have to take its share in the operations. However the British Government will have to think twice before entering into war with the Kemalists. Unless they make out a strong case and convince the Indian Moslems of the necessity of warlike operations, it would be height of unstatesmanship to take any action. Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad of Calcutta has issued a note of warning stating that the relations between the Indian Muslims and the British Government would be strained to breaking point and the Muslims, as he says, would be compelled according to their religious commandments, to review their attitude and not to rely upon the non-co-operation movement only. We urge the Government not to a alienate the feelings of the Muhammadans under the present circumstances."

Why the Kemalists distrust England.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th June.

61. "When we consider that the Greeks possessed no valid claim to any part of Turkey, that England let them loose on Thrace and Asia Minor for reasons which will hardly bear publicity, since they are bound up with a pecuniary transaction between individuals, that the Greeks have behaved atrociously towards the Moslems of the countries they have been allowed to 'occupy', and that in spite of all the talk of a new friendliness towards the Turks upon the part of England, the most elementary justice is still denied to Turkey and the murderous Greeks are still on Turkish territory, we cannot wonder that the Kemalists show distrust of England.......... The Greeks could never have obtained a foothold upon Turkish territory, where they have no right, unless the British had supported them by active military means. And we threaten to resume that unjust support, although a commission of inquiry has, this minute, brought a clear report of Greek iniquities, unless the patriotic Turks do what we wish.......... Ii is a deplorable and shameful thing, this exhibition of debased mentality before the Oriental world. which still retains its high ideals and its belief in God. And what a line of argument to take with men who, whatever their shortcomings may be, are most gallant gentlemen!"

EDUCATION.

Government Resolution on the Director of Public Instruction's Report for 1919-20.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 5th June.

62. "In noticing the Government resolution on education in this Presidency, we (*vide* paragraph 58 of W. R. No. 19 of 1921) took exception to the statement that the profession of teaching is considered 'degrading' for women. We have since received the Director's report on which the resolution was based, and we find at page 21 the statement which, evidently, is the basis of the sweeping and untrue generalisation of Government (in the Transferred Departments). The brother-in-law of one of her (the head of the Poona College for Mistresses) students offered to pay for the girl's training provided that she promised not to take up a teacher's post after completing her course! And Government have adopted and given currency to this Head Mistress's view based upon this solitary instance. The fact is that Indian social feeling continues largely to regard marriage as the proper goal of a woman's life, but whether women who choose a career as teacher or doctor are regarded as having elevated or degraded themselves depends entirely on what they are. Government cannot be too careful about what they give currency to in their official pronouncements. It is a misfortune that a Government resolution should have made itself the medium of advertising such stupidly exaggerated prejudices of some eccentric individual."

Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding raising of the prices of vernacular readers.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 12th June, Eng, cols.

***63.** Commenting upon the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding the raising of the prices of the vernacular readers, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—"It is added that Government are contemplating the establishment of some other agency for the publication of school books. It is not quite clear what is meant by 'some other agency', but we hope the idea is to allow private publishing firms to print readers of their own, as is done in the case of English readers. The present system does not allow any variety in the matter of vernacular readers. As they are all published under the supervision of a Government Committee there is an uniformity about them that simply deadens all originality. If private firms were allowed to publish readers of the modern type we really do not see why we should not have our own Indian Macmillans and Longmans to carry out the enterprise with success and to the satisfaction of all concerned. In these days when the talk is all about national education, popular agencies should be allowed to prepare and publish such readers as would suit the needs of the present generation."

Bombay Samáchár (62), 11th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 11th June.

64. It will be seen from the Press Note issued by the Bombay Government that the prices of the Vernacular readers have been increased. Considered by itself the increase is no doubt insignificant, but we will not be surprised if a protest is raised even against such a small increase in a poor country like India. Primary education has made very little progress in this presidency in spite of the fact that it is made compulsory. The increase in the prices of text books cannot under such circumstances be pleasing to the people. Again, on account of the raising of prices the people are likely to look with suspicion upon the Educational Department, which is a transferred department. We wish that this increase had either not been made or that Government had adopted some other way of meeting the additional expenditure to be recouped. Consider ing that education is a subject of universal importance, the Educational Department should not have attached any weight to the question of the increase in the cost of paper and printing. If Messrs. Macmillan and Company could not sell these books at their former prices, the duty should have been entrusted to some other company. If not, Government should have arranged for some kind of grant to help to maintain the current prices. The public would have been satisfied with this latter course. They will be hardly satisfied with the assurance that the prices of the books will be reduced when the cost of printing goes down. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—Considering all the circumstances, the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay is hardly satisfactory. We are of opinion that Government have made a great mistake in increasing the prices of these books, if the principle accepted by the public, by the Parliamentary Joint Committee and by the responsible authorities that increase in education is essential for obtaining more rights is to be adhered to. We are all the more sorry because the Honourable Mr. Paranjpe, who is a Minister responsible to the Legislative Council, has made the present arrangement. Is not this step of his likely to strengthen the hands of the non-co-operator? The decision at which the Minister and Government have arrived is hasty; and we request them to again consider this matter calmly. The total proceeds from the increased prices will not be a considerable burden on the Government treasury, while the increased prices will act as a discouraging influence on a large section of the people who should receive the benefits of education.]

NATIVE STATES.

The Kolhápur correspondence.
Lokasatta (124), 28th May.

65. A perusal of the Kolhápur correspondence raises a doubt in the mind as to whether the Maharaja can really claim to be a Chhatrapati occupying the honoured throne of the Marathas. This treasure of his to the nation would make one to look upon him as a *bhang* plant growing in the midst of *tulsi*. The bureaucracy must be considering him a fool, but the rotten brain of the Maharaja is unable to understand it. The only object of the Maharaja in making friends with the bureaucracy seems to be to curry favour with them in order to secure for himself freedom from all restraint.

Native States must contribute towards the maintenance of the Indian Army.
Servant of India (10), 9th June.

66. Mr. Gopinath Kunzru writes in the *Servant of India*:—" All those who are benefitted by the army maintained by the Government of India must contribute equally towards its expenses......... Then, in justice to the Indian ratepayer, why should the Indian Princes not be asked to contribute in proportion to their revenues and population towards the cost of the Indian army? It will, perhaps, be said that the Indian States maintain the Imperial Service Troops and pay for them. It may be pointed

out that these troops cannot by any means be called part of the Indian army. They should be left out of account altogether......... During the last war whatever contributions were made in men and money by the Indian Princes, were made as part of the burden which they ought to have borne and they did bear it. Under the circumstances it will be better if the entire army of India is maintained under one organisation and command, with the Commander-in-Chief as its head. The recruitment for the army may be made in the various Indian States, but the Princes should be asked to contribute towards the Common Army Fund; and the joint fund for the army should be administered by the Government of India."

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the Railway Administration Report.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th June.

67. In the course of its comments on the Railway Administration Report the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—" The figures relating to net receipts and return on capital are misleading. The net receipts of the Railway Board are different from those of the Finance Department. The ordinary reader cannot grasp the mystery of these statistics as there is nothing in the Railway Administration Report to indicate the difference. The reason for this lies in the exclusion of 'surplus profit' paid to companies from working expenses. Then there is no reference to the interest and other charges. The calculation of the percentage return is worthless because the 'surplus profits' charge is not deducted, and the final net yield after meeting all charges is not given. The apparent object of the Railway Board in omitting these necessary figures and inserting a few misleading items seems to be to make the railway revenue appear as high as possible. It is highly discreditable that such a manipulation of statistics should be permitted in the Administration Report. The statistics given in this report should be as full and as clear as those given in the Financial Secretary's memorandum on pages 20 and 66, while corresponding figures for previous years should also be shown."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 16th June 1921.

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

A law should be passed against prostitution in Bombay 15
Alleged injustice to the Imperial Bank of India 8
Alleged instigation by non-co-operators of the Mavalas of Mulshi Petha against the Tata Company 14
Comments on the abolition of the Bengal Publicity Bureau . . . 16
Comments on the activities of the Industries Department . . . 1
Comments on the reply of the Finance Department of the Government of India to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau on the subject of the 7 per cent. sterling loan 6
How England is exploiting India and other dependencies . . . 7
Grievances of the Assam tea-estate coolies . . . . 9—13
Protest against the proposed photographing of documents instead of copying them in registers 17
Reflections on the Bill introduced into Parliament to prohibit the exhibition of performances by beasts and birds 18
The Empire Credits Scheme and India . . . . 3—5
There should be an Indian Director of Industries for Bombay Presidency . 2
Development of Bombay: The Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau 54

Excise:

Condemnation of the present — policy of the Government of India . 48
Need of a law in the Bombay Legislative Council providing for complete prohibition of the drink traffic. 49
Hajis: Comments on the Government of India's scheme for a Repatriation Fund for the relief of stranded — 50
His Excellency the Viceroy: Comments on Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club . . . . 19—21
Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the reported proposal to re-despatch to the Fijis the coolies who have returned from the islands . . . 51
Indian Press: The policy of the new Gujrati weekly, the *Hind Mitra* . 53

Indian Reforms:

Comments on the Instrument of Instructions for the Viceroy . . 22
Dyarchy ought now to be introduced in the Government of India . 23
Judicial Matters: Comments on the sentence passed on Swami Govindanand 46

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Military matters: The Military Requirements Committee 55

Non-co-operation:

- An appeal to Maharashtra not to slavishly follow Mr. Gandhi . . 45
- Can there be a compromise with Government? 27
- Comments on Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Moderates . . . 29
- Comments on the Láhore District Magistrate's order prohibiting a meeting of the Láhore City Congress Committee 36
- Comments on the summons received by Principal Gidwani, for a speech made by him at Bezwáda 35
- Dr. Gour's protest against the use of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code to suppress political agitation. 34
- How temperance volunteers are harassed in Ahmedabad 40
- India will continue to fight for *Swarájya* even after the Punjáb and Khilafat questions are satisfactorily solved 44
- Mr. Gandhi's failure to collect one crore of rupees 43
- Peace Associations and what good can they do 41
- Protest against the Collector of Bijápur's attitude towards the Gandhi cap and the anti-drink movement . . . . 30—33
- Reflections on the repressive policy in Sind 37
- Reply to the *Times of India's* comments on the — movement . . 28
- The Ali brothers' apology and Mr. Gandhi . . . . 24 & 25
- The anti-drink movement . . . . 38 & 39
- The Gandhi interview in Parliament 26
- What Government should do to establish peace and order in the country 42

Public service.

- Number of Collectors' posts should be reduced for the sake of economy. 56

Posts and Telegraphs: Complaint that delivery of telegrams to Congres workers is purposely delayed 52

Revenue matters: Alleged abuse of the provisions of section 65 of the Land Revenue Code 47

War:

- Comments on the bombardment of Eregli by a Greek warship . . 57
- Comments on the strained relations between England and Angora . 58

LEGISLATION—

Comments on Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill 59

EDUCATION—

A non-Brahmin protest against the Educational Minister's policy . . 61

The question of affiliating the Royal Institute of Science to the Bombay University 60

MUNICIPALITIES—

The question of cow-slaughter in Shikárpur Municipality . . . 62

RAILWAYS—

Protest against railway material for Indian railways being purchased only in England 63

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the activities of the Industries Department.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th June.

1. "Our observations in our issue of Friday last (*vide* paragraph 24 of Weekly Report No. 24) on the activities of the 'experts' of the Industries Department of this Presidency, particularly of the officer in charge of the Fisheries section, have elicited an explanatory communication from Mr. R. D. Bell, Director of Industries, which we publish elsewhere. While we are thankful to Mr. Bell for taking the trouble to correct some of our misapprehensions we hope he will pardon us for saying that his communication, failing as it does to answer most of the vital questions we had raised and traversing only one or two points, can hardly be considered satisfactory.......... We want to assure Mr. Bell that our criticism is not directed against the development of fishing industry. Let it be developed by all means, if there is scope for such development. But we would like the Industries Department to explain to the public in what way the conclusions of Mr. Lucas, arrived at after exhaustive investigations, have been found defective and what new scope for the improvement of the industry has been discovered since the Industries Department has come into existence. The Presidency can ill afford at this juncture to waste its funds on the maintenance of any white elephants and we fear the Fisheries Department, unless it is managed by real experts in place of the present amateurs who run the show, will prove a white elephant of a most obnoxious type......... Coming to the two specific instances we gave of Mr. Walke's activity in undesirable directions, Mr. Bell remarks that the Tadri oyster beds are worked by the people 'not so much for the sake of the molluse as for the shell which is exported in large quantities to Goa for lime making.'......... It would be no exaggeration to say that for several families the sole means of sustenance on many occasions is fish, specially oysters, as these latter can be secured even when fishing in the sea becomes impossible owing to storms or high seas. On any day in the season, hundreds of children and women can be seen waist deep in the water picking shell-fish and oysters for their daily sustenance. By prohibiting them from fishing in this manner, their only means of livelihood is being snatched away from them and their wretchedness is sure to be intensified.......... As regards the prohibition of oyster fishing itself, we would like to know what is the real object in view. If it be culture of oysters and development of the oyster-beds with a view to starting a canning industry, we would like to know if, beyond mere prohibition of fishing, Mr. Walke has done anything all these years. Has he replaced any of the beds by better oysters from anywhere? We suppose the oyster beds when developed will become Government property and a 'reserved area' like the forest lands from which every year the peasants of Kánara are being driven out, and, probably, one day we shall find some concession hunter acquiring the beds from Government for some consideration. Is that what Government have in view? How will such an arrangement benefit the people of Kánara, and especially the thousands of poor fisher-folk, whose sole or principal means of livelihood will be taken away from them in this manner?"

There should be an Indian Director of Industries for Bombay Presidency.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 12th June, Eng. cols.

2. The *Gujaráti Punch* supports the request of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to the Government of Bombay to appoint an Indian as Director of Industries, and remarks:—"A European Director of Indian Industries is an anamoly and cannot, in the ordinary course of things, be expected to come in line with popular expectations; and an examination of the record of that Department's work will be found to amply justify our above contention. That Department has been inaugurated since three years, and yet what is its record of work? The Bombay Presidency is none the better for the annual spending of a few lakhs on a Department of Industries, and the main reason for it is the importation of a European official. The fact is a Director of Industries, to be able to serve any earthly purpose, must be familiar with the mode of life of the people at large and

must be easily accessible to them. Besides, India is a land of small industries and big industrial concerns as are known in the West are only of recent growth. Even then they must be an exception rather than a rule. Consequently, what an Indian Director of Industries must specially look after is the development of small industries and to organize them on a co-operative basis to make it possible for them to withstand the competition of large-scale production. For this, a European Director is not an unavoidable necessity. On the contrary, an Indian Director would be more useful. In these circumstances, it would be much better if Sir George Lloyd's Government appoints an Indian as the Director of Industries."

The Empire Credits Scheme and India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th June.

3. "While Reuter's local Agency assures us that the London cable of May 1st containing a reference to the Premier's speech on the Empire Credits Scheme, was issued in India just as it was received, the Government of India, after enquiry, tell us that the remarks attributed to Mr. Lloyd George were in reality made by Sir Philip Lloyd Graeme, Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade. This is satisfactory, so far as the Premier is concerned. But it is impossible to minimise the significance of the fact that a member of His Majesty's Government such as Sir Philip Lloyd Graeme had thought it fit to indulge in an insulting reference to the commercial morality of India which he ought to have known that that had nothing to do with the extension of the benefits of the scheme to India. We are glad to see that the Government of India have dissociated themselves from the remarks made by Sir Philip. But that is not enough. The Government of India ought to demand a withdrawal of the gross libel on the people of India implied in the speech of this member of His Majesty's Government. But apart from this aspect of the question, the mystery of the circumstances leading to the exclusion of India from the Scheme still remains as unsolved as before, notwithstanding the reiteration by the Government of India of their previous statement that the suggestion originated from themselves and themselves alone. It is impossible to reconcile this statement with the statement of Sir Philip Lloyd Graeme in Parliament, that the exclusion of India had been necessitated by 'conditions under which outstanding obligations had not been fully honoured'. The Government of India, on the other hand, are anxious to assure us that they sought the exclusion of this country because 'the scheme would be of no benefit to India's trade'. Now, we want to know which way lies the truth.......... The mystery cannot be allowed to remain as it is. The communique of the Government of India only deepens the mystery. We quoted on Monday a resolution adopted early in May by the India section of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce and communicated immediately to the Department of Overseas Trade, in which these British merchants urged that India should be excluded from the scheme because her inclusion 'will prove mischievous and harmful to the interests of (British) traders.' This resolution coupled with Sir Philip Lloyd's statement cannot but raise the strongest suspicion in the mind of the public of this country that it is the jealousy of the British merchants rather than the so-called voluntary suggestion of the India's financial advisers that has prevented India from sharing in the benefits of the Scheme, in which even mandated territories are to participate."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 15th June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (59), 15th June.

4. The Government of India deserve to be congratulated on the prompt steps taken by them to issue a press note in the matter of certain remarks reported to have been made by the Premier in connection with the exclusion of India from the Empire Credits Scheme. Let us hope that the Government of India will not stop short at merely getting the present explanation, but that they will use their influence to bring pressure to bear upon the Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade to withdraw his allegations which have given offence to India. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes:—The Viceroy has shown commendable courage in issuing the explanation for which he deserves to be congratulated. It is to be seen how far it goes in satisfying the wounded feelings of Indian merchants.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 13th and 14th June.

5. Britain derives no small benefit from India and still it is excluded from the Empire Credits Scheme! And to add insult to injury the Premier declares that India has not respected her obligations. The Indian Merchants' Chamber has done well in protesting against the insulting remarks made by the Premier. [In the subsequent issue the paper again expresses its indignation at the exclusion of India from the Credits Scheme, and fears that the Premier's insult will tend to add to the present discontent in India.]

Comments on the reply of the Finance Department of the Government of India to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau on the subject of the 7 per cent. sterling loan.

Gujaráti (17), 19th June, Eng. cols.

*6. "We see that the Finance Department of the Government of India, in their reply to the representations of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, have rather admitted the charges made against the loan but justified the action of the Secretary of State by advancing hollow or insincere pleas. With reference to more than one charge, they have to take shelter under the simple phraseology that the question was a 'matter of opinion.' Well, 'matter of opinion' is a convenient phrase, but when any administration drifts now and then into positions of doubtful justification, one cannot resist the conclusion that there is something rotten in it. The Government, we have seen, admits that the terms of the loan were unquestionably high; but their curious plea is that the London market had to be cajoled with good terms, scared as it was by the political agitation carried on in England, misconceptions being sedulously fostered by the alarmist section of the Britishers; by this of course is meant, no doubt, the Ampthills, Sydenhams, O'Dwyers, Dyers, Yates and others of the same ilk. But if the British public is misinformed by these precious worthies then is it not the duty of the Government of India to dispel their doubts and thus put a check to the mischievous activities of this anti-Indian clique? Otherwise of what use indeed are the Government Publicity Bureaus? We recommend that these Information Bureaus should turn their activities to more fruitful channels and should not allow enemies of Indian progress to have a clear field and deliberately create a false impression in England. In the meanwhile, the Government must be charged with a clear dereliction of duty for not having done what they should have done months ago. The Government has indeed admitted, if it needed any admission, that the terms of the loan issued were high, that somehow or other they failed to exploit the Indian money market first; that the Indian investors got no opportunity to invest in the highest-priced loan of their country."

How England is exploiting India and other dependencies.

Mahrátta (8), 19th June.

*7. "All over the British Empire, the 'dependencies' are struggling to be free, and all their attempts are scotched under one plea or another; but in all these pleas there runs the thread of 'self-interest.' Ireland is not to be granted freedom because a free Ireland is just like a pistol held at the heart of England, to quote the words of these Imperialists. English statesmen find no solution of the question of Ireland by way of solemn treaty or other military and naval arrangements in order to keep England alive except in keeping Ireland rotting in slavery.......... Ireland's war of freedom would be ended by extermination of the Irish people, but England would not budge an inch from its position of self-interest!......... The same case is of India. The primary object of establishing a great empire in India is its economic exploitation, and that work is steadily going on since the days of the East India Company to the present day. The rulers of the land profess that they have before their minds' eye only one object and that is of making India fit for Self-Government and leading it on the road towards that goal. But these are speeches made to suit the ears of Indian people only with a view to chloroform and kill what national sense may have remained in them. They speak their real mind when they speak to their own countrymen either in India or in England.......... We must look in these speeches for their true mind. There the identity of their class interests as Englishmen in India is fully revealed......... One can see from the above instances that there looms on the horizon of an Englishman in India—an administrator or an explôiter—nothing but his 'self-interest.' There is no sign of any appreciation of the capacities and claims of the Indian people or any thought of the place they are to occupy after generations of foreign administration and exploitation. The present administration does surely denote the advancement and prosperity of the British nation, but it certainly does not connote the welfare and happiness of the children of the soil. There is thus no identity of interest in India between the ruling race and subject races, but there is an absolute conflict of interest. If an inch of *Swadeshi* cloth is produced in India, there is a corresponding loss to England. If one Indian is engaged on a higher post it means a loss of a post to an Englishman. If a measure serves to advance the interests of Indians, it does at the same time prejudicially affect the position of Englishmen. The interests are conflicting; and it does not and cannot serve the purpose of Englishmen to advance the interests of India because it means corresponding loss to them.......... England is engaged in an economic life struggle with the other nations of Europe, and unless it exploits the vast population and natural resources in India it cannot live. The aim of its policy is to have a complete command of these resources. Under the circumstances therefore there is no other alternative in India before Indians but to be self-dependent and self-reliant. Let India soon learn to depend more upon her products and her resources and less on foreign ones. That is India's salvation!"

Alleged injustice to the Imperial Bank of India.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 14th June.

8. Here is one more instance of the gross negligence of the Government of India in financial matters. All the presidency banks of India have now been amalgamated into one bank, namely, the Imperial Bank of India; and it has been so arranged that its relations with the Government of India should be the same as those between the Bank of England and the Government of England. But what is the real state of affairs? The authorities responsible for Indian affairs in England have as it were forgotten the existence of this bank. All the arrangements concerning the seven per cent. sterling loan issued in England were made only through the Bank of England and all Indian money in charge of the Secretary of State and the High Commissioner for India is deposited without interest with the same bank instead of with the Imperial Bank of India. This state of affairs lowers the prestige of the Government of India and the Imperial Bank of India, lessens the importance of the latter and does much injustice to India. Does this method of working not justify the complaints that the English money market and business world are benefitted and the British factories patronised at the expense of India? It is a farce to continue such a policy after the bringing into existence of the Imperial Bank of India; and we trust that the Government of Lord Reading will take action in the matter with a strong hand and will soon introduce a change for the better. In the natural course of things the Imperial Bank of India should have had the sole right of getting the big discount and brokerage on the new loan that the Bank of England was allowed to earn through favour. Its prestige would have been increased in the markets of England and other countries of the world by making it responsible for this loan. Will not the present state of things produce the bad impression in the markets of England and other countries that the Government of India themselves have no confidence in their own bank, since they are neglecting it and having recourse to other banks? And will such an impression not tend to restrict its sources of income to that extent? If the Government of India consider it safer to deposit their reserves with some other bank rather than the Imperial Bank, how can private bodies and people in England and other countries place full confidence in it?

Grievances of the Assam tea-estate coolies.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 16th June, Eng. cols.

9. Referring to the exodus of the Assam tea-estate coolies and their maltreatment at Chandpur, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks:—"The local leaders provided the coolies with food and medical relief. The Bengal Government did nothing. They did however send down Sir Henry Wheeler, Member, Executive Council,

to enquire and report on what had happened. His report, as might have been expected, exonerates the local authorities of all blame and justifies the action of the Gurkhas. Now, as we all know, there is nothing in the world that cannot be defended or justified. Was not the Jallianwala Bagh massacre justified on grounds of military necessity? After the report sent in by Sir Henry Wheeler it is doubtful whether the Government of Bengal or the Government of India will do anything to express their displeasure of the shameful abuse of authority at Chandpur. Sir Henry Wheeler does admit that a number of persons were wounded; but he considers the violence used was justifiable, since the coolies would not leave the station otherwise. It has been repeatedly urged that colour has nothing to do with a bureaucracy and an Indian bureaucrat may be as high-handed as an Anglo-Indian bureaucrat. The principal offender on this occasion was an Indian, a man who has been for twenty-seven years a member of the Indian Civil Service. He sent for the Gurkhas, and the District Magistrate under him issued the order to drive out the coolies. Mr. De never stopped the Gurkhas, though he saw they were using unnecessary violence. On the contrary, he was evidently proud of what had been done, for he told the local leaders that he wanted to produce an impression—on the starving, unresisting and suffering coolies. He even threatened to send the Gurkhas to the town to put an end to the *hartal*. How can we distinguish between this officer and others who are not Indians? It is the system that is to blame; and if outrages like these are to become impossible the system of the administration must be radically changed."

Young India (14), 15th June.

10. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The Assam tragedy has enabled Mr. Andrews to draw up a terrible indictment against the Indian Government. The callous indifference, in the name of impartiality, shown to the immediate wants of the labourers, even assuming that they were in the wrong, the charge of the Gurkhas and the hackneyed defence of the necessity of using force against a perfectly helpless people, mark out the Government as barbarous and utterly unworthy of respect. Why were the Gurkhas let loose upon the coolies? Every one knows that the army contains some men simply trained to be brutal and inhuman. When the soldiery is sent in the midst of an unarmed civil population, people know what that means. Every one knows that the recruits for the army contain some of the worst specimens of humanity. They may be good for war, but to employ them for dealing with coolies on strike is to side with the rich and the powerful. In every vital matter the Reforms are hopelessly breaking down. There is no doubt that the next few months will witness, either a transformation in the system of Government so that the meanest will count as much as the loftiest, or a conflict with it such as the world has never seen before. The refusal to take the rice offered in name of the Government was a refusal to live by the hand that humbles. And when that spirit of quiet courage and resignation pervades India, the fate of the Government is sealed. We need to learn, not the art of doing violence but that of suffering violence, of dying. Success by methods of violence will replace one monster of Government by another, and the poor and the innocent will certainly continue to be ground down just as they are to-day."

Sind Observer (12), 10th June.

11. "We must confess the Assam and Bengal Governments' *communiques* are masterpieces in the art of *suppressio veri* and *suggeestio falsi*.......... Writers of *communiques* at the various Government Secretariats seem to have the non-co-operator always on their brain. To drag him into every conceivable communique is to pay no doubt an unconscious homage to the Almighty non-co-operator but such attempts do at times become laughable. The facts about the Assam labour troubles, stripped of all verbiage, are these......... There are stories that the men on the plantations are treated in a brutal way. It is said the Government officials and magistrates are mere tools in the hands of the planters who are the *Râj* of Assam, and no cooly on a plantation would get justice against his master. We do not want to go into these stories though the Bengalee press is full of them and though Mr. Andrews speaks of the

Day of Judgment having been begun and asks the Government to face the question :—' Are you on the side of the rich or are you on the side of the poor? Are you on the side of Mammon or are you on the side of God? It is said on behalf of the planters that their trade is in a depressed condition, that they had to dispense with some of their European employees and that they are not at present in a position to pay higher wages to their men. The planters paid from 80 to 200 per cent. dividends during the war and yet they have kept their labourers, through whose sweat of the brow they have earned such enormous profits, in a condition not far removed from starvation at a time when prices of foodstuffs and cost of living were going up by leaps and bounds. Having hired thousands of labourers with promises of an idyllic life in the Eldorado of Assam to say that the labourers are at liberty to go at any time to their homes, knowing very well that they have not the wherewithal to buy their return passage, is to add insult to injury. And when the labourers actually start on foot to return to their homes unable to bear the privations and hardships on the hills of Assam to attribute the exodus to the rascality of the agitator and to try to make a scapegoat of him is not only unfair but unjust."

Servant of India (10), 16th June.

12. "It is sad to contemplate the needless misery and loss of life to which the unfortunate Assam labourers at Chandpur were subjected by the wrong attitude of the Bengal Government and of the local non-co-operators......... Mr. De, the Commissioner of the Division, sent about a thousand coolies by steamer to Goalando at the expense of a private fund; but when it was exhausted and the stream of coolies continued to pour in, he moved them on at Government expense, but without the sanction of the local Government. When, however, the latter came to know about his action, it disapproved of it......... This decision was most unfortunate as it was the main cause of all the subsequent misery and loss of life......... Though Mr. De's attitude was perfectly right on the repatriation question, he was absolutely wrong in employing force in the way he did in clearing the railway station......... Mr. De surely could not have been unaware that the Government of India had, in connection with the Punjáb disturbances, strongly repudiated the employment of force for creating a moral impression. It is passing strange that the lesson of General Dyer should have been so easily and so soon lost upon him......... In the Commissioner of a Division more tact and foresight are certainly expected. His and the local Government's follies were a god-send to the local non-co-operators. They provided opportunity and excitement. The embers burst into high tongues of flame. But it is reprehensible that in catching a political opportunity, the non-co-operators should have paid no heed to the dictates of humanity. Medical help for the sick and dying from Government was not accepted with any readiness. Aid from the relief fund was rejected because Mr. De was indirectly connected with it. The *hártal* and strikes called by the non-co-operators interfered with the supply of food and medicines to the patients, besides putting the general community to great hardships. They were continued with the object of bringing the Government on 'its knees' though by doing so the repatriation of the coolies was necessarily postponed and cholera and disease found time to play dreadful havoc. Thus the lives and interests of the innocent coolies were sacrificed for the sake of a political gain by those who professed to be their friends. The follies and passions of the Government and non-co-operators thus added an unnecessary load to the melancholy burden of the country."

Lokamanya ( ), 11th June.

13. The *Lokamanya* refers to the expulsion of coolies by the Gurkhas from the Chandpur Railway Station and describes the incident as a miniature Jallianwala Bagh. It gives expression to its conviction that the capitalists sweat the poor with a view to enriching themselves. It observes that while the owners of tea gardens in Assam were making a profit of 30 or 40 per cent. on their outlay, they paid the coolies only an anna or two per day per head, and calls it legalised loot. The paper bitterly remarks that there is hardly any difference between robbers and the capitalists and tells the latter that they will not fail to get their deserts at some future date.

Alleged instigation by non-co-operators of the Mavalas of Mulshi Petha against the Tata Company.
Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 15th June.

14. It is to be regretted that the Mavalas of Mulshi Petha are being induced by certain non-co-operationists to go back upon their promise. There are no two opinions that the terms offered by the Tata Company to the Mavalas for their lands are generous to a degree. The Company have undertaken either to give adequate compensation to the Mavalas for their lands or to secure lands for them elsewhere. But certain non-co-operationists are stirring up these Mavalas in the name of Mr. Gandhi to resort to *satyagràha* in the next cold weather when the Company resume their operations. Such ill-directed instigations will not succeed in stopping the work of public utility undertaken by the Company; but they are sure to involve the poor and illiterate Mavalas in needless trouble.

A law should be passed against prostitution in Bombay.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 14th June; *Sánj Vartamán* (33), 11th June.

15. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes at great length on the evils of prostitution in Bombay, and while reviewing the pamphlet issued by the Committee formed in Bombay last year to obtain information as to the conditions under which prostitution is carried on in Bombay and to arouse public opinion on the subject, remarks:—It is the duty of the people and Government to frame a law to prevent such degradation of their women. Let us hope the public will give their support to the recommendations of the Committee and bring pressure to bear upon Government to pass a law similar to the one that is in operation at Colombo and Rangoon. Such a law alone will set a lesson to those who profit by the 'white slave traffic' and save unfortunate girls from grave temptations and sin. [The *Sánj Vartamán* also suggests that a law should be passed to penalise prostitution.]

Comments on the abolition of the Bengal Publicity Bureau.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th June.

16. "Few would shed tears over the untimely end of the Bengal Publicity Bureau. On the other hand, every sane man would devoutly hope that the event would be the precursor of the exit, sooner or later, of the four or five contemporaries which are pursuing their questionable vocation, more often than not to the disgust of everybody and little credit to either themselves or their official patrons.......... The public of India are sufficiently enlightened to need being fed on patent mental foods, which, in many cases, have proved to be as great 'frauds' as some of the patented foods of the medicinal variety with which the market is flooded. The official publicity bureaus, even during their brief existence, have done more to discredit the bureaucracy than many of their questionable deeds themselves. If the authorities in other provinces are wise in their generation they would take the earliest steps to wind up their 'publicity' businesses in the commendable manner of Bengal. And the beginning should be made with the Central Publicity Bureau."

Protest against the proposed photographing of documents instead of copying them in registers.
Kesari (120), 14th June.

17. The *Kesari* protests against the order of the Inspector-General of Registration, made applicable at present only to the Haveli taluka in the Poona District by way of experiment, that documents tendered for registration should be photographed and not copied as is being done at present. It remarks that the experience of the people concerned does not support Mr. Anderson's claim that the expenses of registration under the new system would only be as much as, or even less than, those under the old one. It apprehends difficulties arising in the future owing to a photograph failing to record distinctly such important details as date, name of the purchasers, signature of the witness, &c. It observes that the object underlying this order is to promote the sale of foreign materials pertaining to photography. The paper asks Government to cancel this order made by the Inspector-General of Registration without their sanction.

Reflections on the Bill introduced into Parliament to prohibit the exhibition of performances by beasts and birds.

Swarájya (149), 16th June.

18. Commenting upon the Bill recently introduced into Parliament prohibiting the exhibition of performances by animals and birds with a view to put a stop to the sufferings to which they are subjected during the period of their training, the *Swarájya* writes :—The Bill will probably be passed since the English are a very tender-hearted people. One would naturally suppose that people who are so very kind to dumb creatures must be exceedingly so to human beings. The facts, however, are otherwise. The English are wholly callous to the sufferings of the peoples who inhabit the different parts of their Empire. Indians in South Africa and Fiji are treated worse than beasts and we all know how the coolies from the tea gardens in Assam were treated at Chandpur. In these circumstances, it will be very good if the English devote a fraction of their humanity to ameliorating the lot of their fellow-creatures instead of expending the whole of it on beasts and birds.

Comments on Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club.

Hindu (163), 5th June.

19. The recent speech of Lord Reading is not only a flight of his imagination, but it implies a serious blunder. The Viceroy seems to think that we, Hindus, are harbouring groundless suspicions against the officials and that there is only some baseless misunderstanding which requires to be removed. With due deference to him we would submit our case to him thus :—Sire! Indians are discontented not owing to some baseless misunderstanding but because they have personal experience of actual sufferings. The blood of the innocent Indians has been shed, the chastity of the Indian women has been violated, the religion of the Indians has been interfered with, and they have been duped and deceived. In sheer desperation as a result of long suffering, they have taken to non-co-operation. We have adopted non-co-operation not because we have any groundless prejudice against the bureaucracy but because we fully understand its aims and motives. The aim and object of the bureaucracy is to keep India anyhow in complete control and subjection. Its endeavour all along has been made not to allow India to rise. On reading Lord Reading's speech we sat down to think how far the statement made therein, that the British rule in India was based on equality of treatment, was correct. We racked our brains, and turned the pages of history, but nowhere could be found evidence in support of the above statement. On the contrary we found that the British rule in India was and is based on colour distinction. Under the British rule *goras*, *i. e.*, the white people, are treated differently from the dark people. Innumerable instances can be cited in support of this. In short, as far as we can see, we find colour distinctions all round us.

Sindvási (168), 7th June; *Sind Sudhár* (167), 11th June.

20. In his recent speech at the Chelmsford Club, Lord Reading spoke on three propositions which he said were established beyond the possibility of doubt. Every Indian who loves his country will endorse these propositions. But it ought to be seen how the facts actually stand and whether Lord Reading is going to take some action in this matter or is merely pleasing the people by his tall talk. We find racial inequality everywhere. There is one law for European criminals and another for Indians. High and well-paid appointments are reserved for *goras*, although Indians of far superior talents are always available. The racial inequality prevailing in the colonies within the British Empire is known throughout the world. The Colonies deny even the ordinary rights of citizenship to Indians. Racial inequality is even more pronounced in the Military policy of the Government. We have to see how Lord Reading is going to put a stop to this racial inequality. Lord Reading's second proposition was about humiliation of Indians. Now owing to notions of racial superiority Europeans have been behaving shabbily towards Indians. Their conduct has been unseemly in railway trains, in trams and on public roads wherever Indians have met them. Let us see what effect is produced on the Europeans by Lord Reading's speech and how the British officials are going to act on his third proposition. [The *Sind Sudhár* remarks :—The Viceroy's

recent speech is full of sympathy and good-will. Every sane man in India will endorse what he has said about Government's policy and attitude. Racial distinction is at the bottom of the present feeling of distrust and discontent in the country. We hope that this distrust and bitterness will disappear as soon as the Viceroy's noble sentiments and generous principles are acted upon everywhere in India.]

Shubhodaya (94), 16th June.

21. Referring to Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club, the *Shubhodaya* says:—From the explanation published by Mr. Gandhi it is clear that Lord Reading did not invite the Mahatma with the intention of asking him to advise the Ali brothers to offer an apology. This much is true that in the course of conversation the Viceroy drew the attention of the Mahatma to certain strong passages in the speeches of the Ali brothers. Everything else is the invention of Lord Reading. That the officials issued a press-note on the strength of these inventions is a matter for condemnation. It is scarcely to be believed that the Mahatma and the Ali brothers who are courting imprisonment every moment of their lives would yield to threats of Government action. Lord Reading also said that there cannot be the slightest trace of racial inequality in India. Anybody who reads this without a feeling of indignation scarcely deserves to be called a man. If we refer to the laws framed by these rulers, we shall come across sections which distinguish between Englishmen and Indians. One finds racial distinctions everywhere, in Railway carriages and restaurants, in the salaries of Government servants, in the residential areas in villages and even in the case of latrines and urinals at railway stations.

Comments on the Instrument of Instructions for the Viceroy.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 18th June; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (24), 19th May.

22. If we make a careful study of the Instrument of Instructions issued by His Majesty the King-Emperor to Lord Reading on his appointment to the Viceroyalty of India, we shall find that it is within the bounds of possibility for us to make rapid strides on the path of political progress during the regime of the present Viceroy, provided we act with discretion. The Instrument is a very valuable document inasmuch as it disproves the supposition entertained in certain quarters that the rate of our progress towards responsible Government is to be determined by the British Parliament alone. The Instructions contained in the Instrument leave no doubt that progress towards responsible Government can be made during the regime of the present Viceroy. If the Viceroy and the Legislatures act hand in hand and make a unanimous demand for further political rights, we do not think Parliament will refuse to grant it. It, therefore, rests with the members of the Legislative Councils and the other Assemblies to make use of tact and to direct their energies in such channels as would enable India to derive the greatest possible benefit from the Royal Instructions with a view to enabling the Viceroy to immortalise himself by enabling India to secure rapid political progress during his tenure of office. [Referring to the revised Instrument of Instructions issued to His Excellency Lord Reading, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"We are sure His Excellency will lose no opportunity to make a full use of the powers entrusted to him to carry the country forward towards the realization of responsible self-government, which is the final aim of the Government of India Act."]

Dyarchy ought now to be introduced in the Government of India.

Servant of India (10), 16th June.

23. The Honourable Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Ayyar writes:—"One of the problems which, in the near future, should engage the attention of thoughtful politicians is the introduction of dyarchy in the Central Government......... The time has come for considering seriously whether the plan which has worked so well in the Provinces should not be introduced in the Central Government. It is true that from the Imperial Councils more than from the Provincial Councils very many capable men have kept away; and yet the testimony borne by the President of the Legislative Assembly proves that the Assembly as a whole is capable of undertaking heavier responsibilities than have

been entrusted to it. I have no doubt that it can as efficiently as the mofussil councils discharge the functions which dyarchy will confer on it. The determination of *modus operandi* for the introduction of the scheme deserves serious thought. The proper procedure would be to dissolve the present Assembly and to bring in a new set of members for working dyarchy, because the present Assembly was not elected for that purpose. But it may be said that the sitting members have put themselves to considerable expense and trouble, and it would be unfair to ask them to go away within a year of their election. If the members consider that the sacrifice they are asked to make with a view to ushering the new order of things will not be sufficiently compensated by the step, they cannot be accused of being indifferent to the welfare of the country. They have two alternatives before them—one, personal sacrifice and the prospect of being turned out in the hustings, and the other, the prospect of securing for their country a real step in the path of self-government. As regards the second alternative, there is the prospect of giving opportunities to men who had stood aloof in the elections to come in and to assist in the administration of the country. On the other hand, the members of the Assembly can argue that they are as capable of undertaking the new responsibilities as those that, like Achilles, have skulked in the tent. If that is the predominant view, they should ask that further power should be conferred on them. This ought not to be difficult. Anyhow, the time is come for claiming to go up another step in the ladder."

The Ali brothers' apology and Mr. Gandhi.
Servant of India (10), 16th June.

24. "In regard to the apology of the Ali brothers, Mr. Gandhi practically endorses everything said about it by Mr. Mahomed Ali that the speeches for which the apology is tendered were not really inducive to violence or open to any other serious objection, their only fault being that they were so worded as unfortunately to render them susceptible of an adverse interpretation; and, again, that both the apology for the past and the undertaking for the future were intended for friends and not for the bureaucracy. No final verdict on this matter is possible till the whole account of what passed at the interview is available, but what has been so far published makes it extremely hard for outsiders to accept without demur the version of the Maulana and the Mahatma. If the speeches in question were not really calculated to incite to violence, but were only capable in unfriendly hands of such an interpretation, we cannot understand why Mr. Gandhi should have at all worried about them. If the worst about these speeches was that 'some passages in them did not read well,' the anxiety which Mr. Gandhi showed in persuading the brothers to apologise and to engage themselves not to utter incitements to violence in future was excessive, if not entirely misplaced. This atonement, Mr. Gandhi says, was necessary 'to put themselves right with their own conscience and with their friends.' What had they done to put themselves wrong with their conscience? That they made speeches which were unjustly suspected of instigating to violence, perhaps by Lord Reading? In that case Mr. Gandhi should have made the Viceroy apologise and not the Moulanas. Again, who are the over-scrupulous friends to whom the speeches appeared to be of a violent character? Not Mr. Gandhi, nor any other friends whom we know of, for they have all been saying that the speeches did not in fact contain an instigation to violence? To whom, then, was the apology due? To none."

Young India (14), 15th June.

25. Mr. M. K. Gandhi publishes long excerpts from a letter received from a prominent non-co-operator, who blames him for co-operating with Government in the matter of the interviews with the Viceroy and the apology of the Ali brothers. The following occurs in the course of the comments:—"The letter breathes nobility and courage. And those very qualities have led to a misapprehension of the situation. The unfortunate utterance of the Viceroy is responsible for the misunderstanding. The apology of the brothers is not made to the Government. It is addressed and tendered to friends who drew their attention to their speeches. It was certainly not given 'at the bidding of the Viceroy'. I betray no confidence when I say that it was not even suggested by him......... There was no question of bargaining for their freedom. Having had my attention drawn to their speeches, I could not possibly allow them to go to gaol (if I could prevent it) on the ground of proved incitement to violence. I have given the same advice to all the accused, and told them that if their speeches were violent they should certainly express regret. A non-co-operator could not do otherwise. Had the brothers been charged before a court of law, I would have advised them to apologise to the court for some of the passages in their speeches, which, in my opinion, were capable of being interpreted to mean incitement to violence. .... What, however, is galling to the writer is that whilst the brothers have remained free, the lesser lights are in prison for having spoken less strongly than they. That very fact shows the real character of non-co-operation. A non-co-operator may not bargain for personal safety. It was open to me to bargain for the liberty of the others. Then I would have given away the whole case for non-co-operation. I did not bargain even for the brothers' liberty. I stated in the clearest possible terms that no matter what the Government did it would be my duty, on meeting the brothers, to advise them to make the statement to save their honour. We must 'play the game,' whether the Government reciprocate or not. Indeed, I for one do not expect the Government to play the game. It was, when I came to the conclusion that there was no honour about the Government, that I non-co-operated. Lord Reading may wish—does wish—to do right and justice. But he will not be permitted to. If the Government were honourable they would have set free all the prisoners as soon as they decided not to prosecute the Ali brothers. If the Government were honourable they would not have caught youths and put them in prison, whilst they left Pandit Motilal Nehru, the arch-offender, free. If the Government were honourable they would not countenance bogus Leagues of Peace. If the Government were honourable they would have long ago repented for their heinous deeds, even as we have for every crime committed by our people in Amritsar, Kasur, Viramgam, Ahmedabad, and recently in Malegaon. I entertain no false hopes or misgivings about the Government. If the Government were to-morrow to arrest the Ali brothers I would still justify the apology. They have acted in the square, and we must all do likewise. Indeed, inasmuch as the Government are still arresting people for disaffection, they are arresting the Ali brothers. The writer is again not taking a correct view of non-co-operation in thinking that non-co-operators who are in gaol are less fortunate than we who are outside. For me solitary confinement in a prison cell without any breach on my part of the code of non-co-operation, or private or public morals, will be freedom. For me, the whole of India is a prison, even as the master's house is to his slave.......... I feel no pity for those who are suffering hardships in the gaols of the Government. Inocence under an evil Government must ever rejoice on the scaffold. It was the easiest thing for the brothers to have rejected my advice and embraced the opportunity of joining their comrades in the gaols. I may inform the reader that when during the last stage of the South African struggle I was arrested my wife and all friends heaved a sigh of relief. It was in the prisons of South Africa that I had leisure and peace from strife and struggle."

The Gandhi interview in Parliament.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th June.

26. "The dialogue between Mr. Montagu and Viscount Curzon which Reuter reports to-day illustrates at once the methods employed by enemies of Indian progress to misinform the British public regarding the course of events in India and the unfitness of the average Britisher, who represents the British democracy in Parliament, to 'govern' India. Mr. Montagu said it was impossible to believe that any one would believe the statement that Lord Reading was probably sympathetic to non-co-operation. Mr. Gandhi has, of course, never 'publicly' made this statement. But what if Lord Reading were really sympathetic towards non-co-operation? If Mr. Montagu was possessed of imaginative statesmanship of high order, he would realise that the only right thing that Lord Reading can do is not only to sympathise with the non-co-operators, but to voice their demands. Mr. Montagu says that Mr. Gandhi has honourably fulfilled the conditions under which the interview was held.

We wonder if Mr. Montagu thinks that the Viceroy has, on his part, entirely fulfilled those conditions. Or, was His Excellency not bound by them ?"

Can there be a compromise with Government?

Young India (14), 15th June.

27. In the course of an article in *Young India*, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"Mr. Pal is right in thinking that I expect a settlement by discussion and compromise in matters not of vital interest. But I did not discuss the terms of settlement with the Viceroy. It is for the accredited representatives of the people to do so. There is no fear, I assure Mr. Pal, of my arriving at any settlement over the heads of the people. Nor will there be any confidence when, if ever, the terms of a settlement are discussed. Confidence there must be when two strangers meet for a friendly intercourse and wish to know each other. We only met to know each other. I wish, however, at once to ease the mind of the reader by telling him that as an outcome of the interview he need not expect any settlement at an early date, if only because the people have not yet sufficiently prepared themselves for it; and the Viceroy appears to me to be anxious to reconcile the irreconcileable. He cannot pour new wines into old bottles. He cannot keep the Khilafat and the Punjáb sores open and still make India happy and contented. Mr. Pal is quite right when he says that if the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs are redressed I should leave it to the other leaders to carry on the agitation about *swaráj*; for the simple reason that when India has made her power sufficiently felt in connection with the two great questions, she can have *swaráj* for the asking. *Swaráj* is not for me something apart from the people's power to right every wrong, to prevent Dwyerism and Lloyd Georgism. The cult of Sir Michael O'Dwyer stands for terrorism and that of Mr. Lloyd George for treachery. When we have dealt with these two demons I suggest to Mr. Pal that we are ready to govern ourselves. If my followers in Bengal do not resent my interview with the Viceroy, they know that for me there is no settlement without a settlement of the two wrongs, they know that time for discussing *swaráj* schemes will come only after the two obstacles to any scheme of settlement are removed. Without their removal there is nothing for India save complete independence. The Bengalis who attended the Barisal Conference resented Mr. Pal's discussion, because, as I apprehend, they considered it to be premature and calculated to interfere with the evolution of the proper *swaráj* spirit. Mr. Pal's performance was like that of a mason trying to tackle the top-most storey before the foundation was solidly laid. I would humbly urge Mr. Pal not to land the country in an untimely discussion of *swaráj* schemes, and ask him to accept my assurance, that so far as I am concerned, I would not do a single thing about any *swaraj* scheme without an open consultation with the representatives of the people. There is no question of consultation about the Khilafat and the Punjáb, because the minimum terms are fairly well understood."

Reply to the *Times of India's* comments on the non-co-operation movement.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th June.

28. "In the course of a long rigmarole, our local morning contemporary yesterday dilated on the sins of the non-co-operators. 'The most damaging criticism that can be levelled against the non-co-operation movement', the *Times of India* tells us, 'is that it is a denial of universal brotherhood.' And the proof of this is the *charkha* which our contemporary says is the symbol of the boycott of foreigners. Granting this we do not see why this should mean the denial of universal brotherhood. Surely, our contemporary does not suggest that the Indian people are in duty bound to import Manchester goods. And has our contemporary forgotten that it was mainly in the interests of Manchester that the indigenous industry was, with deliberate callousness, and in cold blood, ruined, spreading misery in thousands of Indian homes? Where was universal brotherhood then? And where, in all conscience, has there been any trace of universal brotherhood in the continued denial of their birthright of self-government to Indians or in the arrogant claim of superiority which assumes that the English people have the divine right of 'training' Indians to self-government? There cannot be universal brotherhood so long as this evil of racial arrogance which afflicts

the Europeans is not exorcised. And hundred Chelmsford Club post-prandial orations will not exorcise it so long as action suited to the word is not forthcoming.......... The racial arrogance of the English people, in fact of the European peoples generally, is the greatest menace to universal brotherhood. There can be only two answers to it—violent opposition or non-violent self-assertion. India has chosen the better, nobler and more effective answer."

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Moderates.
Sindvási (168), 12th June.

29. Commenting on Mr. M. K. Gandhi's letter to the Moderates, the *Sindvási* writes:—Now this question of liquor traffic was not originally included in the non-co-operation programme. It has been brought in only recently. It has, however, no connection with politics. Hence we doubt if the Moderates will assist in this work, so long as it forms part of the non-co-operation programme. It is a social matter altogether and needs a distinct organization. There is no doubt that the entire country is against liquor traffic and is moving of its own accord to put it down. All the same, this question should not be mixed up with political matters. We cannot agree with the Mahatma's suggestion of meeting educational expenses by introducing spinning in every school and college. Want of funds has prevented the starting of many National schools; while those that have been started have also done very little useful work owing to the same cause. Let the Mahatma first introduce spinning in these schools and meet their expenses with the income therefrom. He may then tender advice about other schools. There is one other thing in the Mahatma's letter which is rather surprising. His object is to enlist the support of the Moderates in the suppression of the liquor traffic. But he writes of political matters also. He says that Reforms have increased the country's annual expenditure which the people have no strength to bear. He inquires whether the Moderates who now form part of the Government at Simla would support that policy which they condemned last year. He informs them that it is in their time that a person has been transported for five years only for expressing his views, that the Ali Brothers have had to apologise, and that within the last six months several promising young men have been sent to jail for not giving any security. He does not of course hold them responsible for all this, but he thinks that they are being hoodwinked. We are of opinion that if anyone is responsible for so many young men having gone to jail it is the Mahatma himself. If he had only issued proper instructions in the beginning, as he has been doing lately, Government would have found no reason to set the law into motion.

Protest against the Collector of Bijápur's attitude towards the Gandhi cap and the anti-drink movement.
Kesari (120), 14th June; *Lokasangraha* (123), 13th June; *Lokamanya* ( ), 17th June; *Pragatik* (136), 13th June; *Indu Prakásh* (45), 9th June.

30. Mr. Henderson, the Collector of Bijápur, seems to have gone mad. This is why he lost his temper at the sight of the inoffensive Gandhi cap. [The paper then refers to the report published by the *Bombay Chronicle* that Mr. Kowjalgi of Bijápur appeared before Mr. Henderson with the Gandhi-cap on and that the latter made it out to be a penal offence.] We wonder what Mr. Henderson hopes to gain by sending Mr. Kowjalgi to jail. Perhaps he knows by this time that the attempt to remove one Gandhi cap out of his sight will only result in hundreds of them appearing before him to give offence to his eyes. Is it safe, even from the point of view of Government, to entrust the administration of a whole district to an officer whose brain is out of gear. [The paper then refers to Mr. Henderson's orders in connection with the temperance movement.] Is our Governor going to tolerate these pranks of Mr. Henderson or is he going to put a stop to them? But after all he, too, is a kinsman of Lord Reading's. Why should he come forward to give justice when the latter is only talking of it? And, this being so, why should Mr. Henderson hesitate to indulge in unlawful acts? These people should, however, remember that although Indians cannot bring them to justice, the bureaucracy, too, has no longer the power to crush the non-co-operation and the temperance movements. [The *Lokasangraha* says that the prosecution of picketters, and the subsequent order issued by Mr. Henderson that picketting would not be allowed within a radius of 300 yards from a liquor shop, show that he and the liquor contractors have decided between themselves to crush the temperance movement. The *Lokamanya* writes :—If the sight of only the Gandhi cap was enough to cause Mr. Henderson to lose his head, we cannot imagine what stupid acts he would not be guilty of if he happens to see Mr. Gandhi himself. The *Pragatik* wonders what latent power the Gandhi cap, which costs only a few annas, possesses to produce such results. In the opinion of the *Indu Prakásh* doings like those of Mr. Henderson will only result in a further spread of the use of the cap.]

Gujaráti Punch (29), 12th June; *Model* (28), 12th June; *Gramya Swaráj* (68), 14th June.

31. Commenting upon the incident in the court of Mr. Henderson, I.C.S., District Magistrate, Bijápur, who fined one Mr. Hanumant Rao Kowjalgi over and over again for persisting in appearing before him in a Gandhi cap, the *Gajaráti Punch* remarks :—The only question that arises from this case is, 'Why should the Magistrate have persisted in making him take off his cap'? We do not believe that he did so owing to his dislike for the Gandhi cap, for Mr. Gandhi himself interviewed the Viceroy of India six times with such a white cap on. Would it have looked proper if the Viceroy had been as obstinate as the Magistrate of Bijápur? Another question that arises is that the Hindus do not take off their caps like Englishmen when they enter any building. Why should the Magistrate then have asked Mr. Hanumant Rao to take the cap off? This is a sad and deplorable incident. The Magistrate ought to have acted with a cool head. The Viceroy is responsible for the internal administration of India, and it rests with him as to how it should be carried on. We wonder why Lord Reading does not bring about any change for the better in the administration of this country. We only hear of 'justice' in the speeches delivered at the capital of India and on the hills of Simla. But the policy of attending to small matters and neglecting great ones should be immediately revised. [The *Model* remarks :—The whole country is wonderstruck at the strange attitude of Mr. Henderson, the District Magistrate of Bijápur. He has no doubt misused the provisions of the Indian Penal Code by punishing a person for wearing the Gandhi cap. We are aware that certain officials in the country dislike the Gandhi cap and that they have been harassing their subordinates for wearing it. But what shall we say of the sense of justice of an official who under the Penal Code punishes people for wearing particular kind of dress! Have the Indian people become so very powerless after the subjection of hundreds of years that they have not even the power to decide what dress they shall put on and what not? Will the people quietly obey the orders of the haughty officials to give up *dhoturs* and put on trousers if they are asked to do so? If the people have the least sense of self-respect they will not allow others to settle for them what they should eat and what they should put on. We request His Excellency the Governor of Bombay to inquire into the autocratic behaviour of the District Magistrate of Bijápur and take proper notice of his strange attitude.]

Loka Bandhu (91), 12th June; *Karma Vira* (88), June.

32. From the perverse attitude of the District Magistrate of Bijápur in respect of the Gandhi cap, one can see how the authorities, on vain pretexts, are picking quarrels with the people. They cannot bear that people should wear the innocent Gandhi cap. But, then, are not the British great lovers of freedom? Is not everybody under their rule free to act as he likes? How is it then that they do not like that anybody should behave in a way different from their own? The fact is that the British, drunk with power, cannot discriminate between right and wrong. The simplicity and the peaceful habits of Indians are too much for them to bear. They have been intoxicated with pride on account of the victory which they attained in the Great War. A great many improved weapons of warfare have been invented and they are eager to use them and make a show of their bravery. We are not aware, however, that the British showed their bravery in the war with the Germans. We used to hear only about the exploits of the Indians and the French. The only news we heard about the British was about their retreats. This was what they did there; but here in India they are too eager to show their bravery to a peaceful and unarmed people. [The *Karma Vira* says:—We do not know what there is in the Gandhi cap to irritate the authorities. Those who are to-day the masters of the whole of India and who are possessed of all kinds of weapons and instruments of war are afraid of the very name of Gandhi. However, it is for us a matter of pride that Mr. Koujalgi was the first to be punished for wearing a Gandhi cap. We are told that these officials who lose their temper over such trifles and rush upon the people like mad dogs are fit to rule over us and that we are unfit for self-government. We do not think that such men are a whit better than the bugs and fleas which infest the seat of justice.]

Gramya Swarájya (68), 14th June.

33. Like the wolf in the fable several officers of Government have begun to adopt the policy of pouncing upon non-co-operators on some pretext or other. In pursuance of their repressive policy they have begun to turn their attention to the dress of the non-co-operator because they have not succeeded in any other direction. The non-co-operators have adopted the simple Gandhi cap as their head-dress and they go everywhere with these caps on. Why should others interfere when the dress of the people is in accordance with the needs of the country? Why do the English people feel proud to put on trousers and coat? We also feel proud of our dhotars, vests and caps made of *khaddar*. If people are not proud of their own dress, they have not the spirit of nationality in them. Some very philosophic and wise Englishmen who used to appreciate the spirit of nationality when they saw any Indians dressed in a coat, trousers and hat, they used to tell them to their face, "Do you imitate us because you have no respect for your national dress?" When such a question was put to any Indian, he had to hang down his head in shame. Such Englishmen are our true friends. How can we co-operate with our Government as our friend since, although it is eager to be our friend, it does not know how to befriend us? When true friends blame us for putting on English dress, this Government who outwardly pretends to be friendly with us tries secretly to compel us to put on English dress and punishes us for putting on our national dress. The Gandhi cap has long been in disfavour; but up till now some Government subordinates who put on these caps have only been threatened while others have been dismissed from the service. But there was not a single case as yet in which a person was punished by law for putting on this cap. But this also has happened in the past week. How is it possible for the Viceroy to know of such events? It seems that the District Magistrate of Bijápur considers himself to be even higher than the Viceroy. When Mr. Gandhi interviewed the Viceroy, he did not ask Mr. Gandhi to take off his cap. We wonder how many officers there must be at the present moment who, like the District Magistrate of Bijápur, try to satisfy their wolfish tendencies under the shelter of a court of law! When such people get power, they think that they can make use of it in any way they like. The Magistrate ought to have known that if he considered India to be as meek as a goat, he was labouring under a mistake. The people are no longer ignorant and cowardly and will not draw back out of fear of punishment. It is owing to this spirit in them that the people are opposing the British policy and they will continue to make Government dance to any tune they like until such time as they achieve all they desire.

Dr. Gour's protest against the use of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code to suppress political agitation.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th June.

34. "In the course of an interview with a representative of the Associated Press, Dr. Gour referred to the 'free use of section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, by the Government' and said that 'the section was never enacted to suppress political agitation' and 'that it is not right to use it for that purpose.' And yet the Government have freely applied that section, not only against laymen, but also against some distinguished lawyer-politicians, conscious of their own omnipotence and also of the fact that the Congress has not yet given the mandate for any civil disobedience; otherwise, there should have been long before this a severe test of the wisdom of the course which the Government have pursued. So far as the Assembly is concerned, of which Dr. Gour is a Member, he says that that body approved of the action of Government to suppress riots and rowdyism and did not give them a *carte blanche* to suppress *bond-fide* political agitation, by which, we presume, he means the non-violent non-co-operation movement.......... Dr. Gour seems to think that the Assembly will be able to check the reactionary career of Government. But the past session has already proved that the hope is chimerical. To thwart the unrighteous ambition of Government, the country has long ceased to look to the Legislative Councils, but it has confidence in the new spirit and the moral strength of the people themselves."

Comments on the summons received by Principal Gidwani for a speech made by him at Bezwada.

Young India (14), 15th June.

35. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"To illustrate the dishonourable character of the existing system of Government, I have a telling instance before me. Principal Gidwani, the *Vice*-Chancellor of the Gujarat Vidyapith, has received a summons from Madras to answer the charge of disaffection in connection with a speech delivered two months ago at Bezwada. There is no question of incitement to violence, as the charge itself would show. The Section 124A, under which Mr. Gidwani is charged, runs: 'Whoever...... attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished......' No one preaches hatred or disaffection towards the King. The disaffection, which Mr. Gidwani must have preached, the Ali Brothers are preaching ceaselessly. No one, perhaps, excels me in harbouring and promoting disaffection towards it. Indeed, I hold it to be the duty of every good man to be disaffected towards the existing Government, if he considers it, as non-co-operators consider it, to be evil. Having decided not to prosecute the Ali Brothers, the Government should have stopped all prosecutions except for violence. But under the existing system of Government, even an ex-Lord Chief Justice of England cannot prevent a divorce between profession and practice, unless he tears himself from his environment, and supersedes the corrupt traditions of a corrupt system."

Comments on the Láhore District Magistrate's order prohibiting a meeting of the Láhore City Congress Committee.

Young India (14), 15th June.

36. Commenting upon the order of the District Magistrate of Láhore prohibiting a meeting of the Láhore City Congress Committee, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"It is quite evident that the officials are challenging and provoking non-co-operators to offer civil disobedience. A few more such orders, and I promise that the challenge will be heartily taken up. Hitherto, we have obeyed such orders out of our weakness. Now we are obeying out of strength—which is daily growing. All over the country, wherever such orders are given, the desire is keen for civil disobedience. It is the exemplary self-restraint and self-imposed discipline, which are keeping those who receive such orders from civilly disobeying them. The country will gain for having undergone still more discipline and exercised still more self-restraint. We shall need much more of both these qualities before we can regard ourselves as fit for the privileged exercise of civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil excludes all bluster—all violence. It excludes lawlessness. A civil resister courts imprisonment. It is, therefore, wrong to demonstrate against his arrest. There must be real rejoicing, as there is when one has one's heart's desire fulfilled. There could be civil disobedience to-morrow, if we could ensure its restriction strictly to approved laws and orders, if we could be sure that the people would not resort to violence on the arrest of prominent leaders. Civility is to disobedience what non-violence is to non-co-operation. Disobedience is the acutest form of non-co-operation—more so than non-payment of taxes. A civil resister becomes law unto himself. Courage and discrimination of a high order are needed for the practice of the virtue of civil disobedience. It is a total denial of the authority of the State, and is permissible only when the State has proved itself corrupt beyond redemption. I may be stupid, but I see not only no sign of repentance about this Government of ours, but I notice a determination on its part to provoke people to violence, and then to justify a repetition of Dyerism. The refusal to right the Punjáb wrong in the only way possible, means that on the people going mad as in Amritsar, their sins will be visited upon the innocent and the guilty alike, and that, in the words of one of the Amritsar officers, the future generations must be made to pay for the sins of the present A forced imposition of the British yoke is intolerable and humiliating. A nation awakened to a sense of its self-respect will and must go through the fire of suffering, and bear all the hardships that may be entailed in throwing off the yoke. The English can remain in India, only as friends and equals, and if they serve, they must become real servants, scrupulously carrying out the wishes of their employers. There can be no exploitation of Indian labour, and no concessions to British capitalists. They must compete with the meanest of us on equal terms. Their organising talent, their industry, their resourcefulness must command a market which none can dispute. But the means of their rifle and their whip must cease for ever. The refusal to redress the Punjáb worng, the refusal to placate Mussalman opinion means that the menace is not to cease. On our part, there must be no compromise with that attitude. Weak or strong, we must fight it to the bitter end, cost what it may. As, soon, therefore, as we have secured a reasonably safe atmosphere for the working of civil disobedience, we must launch out into it. Meanwhile, let us submit even to the preposterous orders such as the Láhore District Magistrate's. The power of rightful disobedience will come to-morrow, from willing obedience to-day."

Reflections on the repressive policy in Sind.
Young India (14), 15th June.

37. Mr. M. K. Gandhi publishes in *Young India* a communication received by him in which the realities of repression in Sind are described. The communication closes with the following sentence:—"Are these the methods with which Lord Reading and Sir George Lloyd wish to fight the movement"? Mr. Gandhi comments on the communication as follows:—"The last sentence is evidently a friendly hit at me. It is to remind me that I have said some complimentary things about Lord Reading and Sir George Lloyd. My compliments stand notwithstanding these revelations. They prove the essence of my charge against the system, that it makes the best of administrators powerless for good. Sir George, probably, has as much influence over the Commissioner of Sindh, as he has over a street urchin. He has to fear the former, and can, if he wishes, even frighten the latter. The great feat of Lord Reading's is to invite Mr. Thompson of the Punjáb fame to accept a higher post, and succeed in inducing him to condescend to do so. Sir George Lloyd, where he can personally supervise shows himself to be tactful and yielding as a rule. Lord Reading can procure palliatives, as in the case just mentioned. But Sir George will not resign, because the Commissioner of Sind says he is as good as Governor Lloyd. Nor would Lord Reading resign because the officials in the plains laugh at his intention to do justice. Both honestly believe, that without them things might at least have been worse. Non-co-operation has stepped in, to show to all who care, that they may not flirt with evil and hope to do good. When the basis is evil, a superstructure of good adds strength to evil. It would be wrong to blame such administrators, because they fail; for they fail in spite of themselves. Our non-co-operation will open their eyes to the depth of the evil that is in the system, if we will discriminate between the system and its administrators, all of whom certainly are not bad. But all this academic discussion about the merits and demerits of administrators can bring little comfort to the Sindhi sufferers. I tender my congratulations to them for their courage and patience under very trying circumstances.......... We must try, by patient endurance, to win over to us our misguided countrymen, who become easy tools in the hands of unprincipled officials. Gradually, as in other parts of India, so in Sind, the villagers will shed the fear of the officials, and welcome Congress and

Khilafat men as their real friends and deliverers. If we have faith presently it will become impossible to play the Muhammadans against the Hindus and *vice versa.*"

The anti-drink movement.

Servant of India (10), 10th June.

38. "A critic" writes in the *Servant of India*:—" The net result of the present movement (of picketing) will be that while the enthusiasm which is just now observable lasts and liquor shops are attended by volunteers in large numbers, the shops will be deserted, but not a day longer. It is thus inherently impossible to close down permanently any of the existing shops by these means. The Liberals have ready to hand a much more effective means of suppressing the drink traffic, of which the non-co-operationists in their perversity have deprived themselves.......... The picketing movement had a utility of its own when the matter was in the hands of an irresponsible Government which questioned the strength of the popular sentiment in favour of abolition; but now that it is amenable to popular control and in charge of ministers who are quite alive to the public feeling, the demonstration serves no very great purpose. If the ministers do not adopt prohibition forthwith, it is not because they fear that such a measure will meet the popular opposition, but only because they do not see their way clear to replenishing the treasury which will be largely depleted by the immediate application of prohibition. The non-co-operationists do not provide a solution for this financial difficulty. Even if picketing were to lead to a complete cessation of the drink traffic, the financial difficulty would remain as before. The non-co-operationists do not even attempt its solution. Mr. Gandhi says that, even at the cost of the stoppage of education and other useful activities, prohibition ought to be introduced. If ministers were to take up this position and to persuade the general public to undergo this grave sacrifice for the sake of a dry India drink traffic would be abolished to-morrow. But such a serious question cannot be tackled in this airy fashion. Alternative sources of revenue have to be provided, if it is desired to dispense with the drink revenue in the near future. What is Mr. Gandhi's contribution to such a permanent solution of the problem? It is only this: he declares that 'the country cannot bear fresh taxation; even the existing taxation is unbearable.' By such pronouncements Mr. Gandhi, without intending it, is seriously retarding the advent of prohibition or temperance. No one is a greater enemy of progress in India at the present moment than he who persuades the people into believing that the limits of taxation have been reached. The disservice which Mr. Gandhi is unwittingly doing to the cause of political and social reform is proportioned to the influence which he wields. The non-co-operationists are going the wrong way about the work, and if they continue to preach what Mr. Gandhi has been doing, namely that the Indian people have come to the end of the tether, they will prove in practice the greatest stumbling blocks on the way to the attainment of what they and we have at heart in common. Nor is Mr. Gandhi's statement true in fact; if he can raise, as he hopes to do, several crores of rupees merely for the sake of setting some twenty lakhs of *charkhas* in motion, surely for the abolition of drink it ought not to be impossible for the people to raise sufficient money."

Lokashahi (126), 13th June.

39. We are glad to state that the anti-drink movement has been duly launched in Bombay under the auspices of the Bombay Congress Committee as suggested by the *Lokashahi*. The object of this movement is to secure *swarajya* for India at the earliest possible date. The spread of the disgraceful drink habit in India has been entirely due to the advent of British rule in the country. The British people stand first and foremost in the whole world in drunkenness and India is, therefore, naturally following in the footsteps of her rulers. We know fully well that the drunkenness of our rulers is going to be the greatest obstructions in the path of our movement. The movement is thus a political one and we are not afraid to acknowledge the fact. Since the advent of the beneficent British rule, the country has been reduced to the uttermost poverty and the drink habit has been aggravating the state of things. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of all the people to assist in the movement which is one of the most efficient means to attain *swarajya*. Many people outside Bombay are prepared to come here to assist us in picketing liquor shops, but they should, instead of doing so, picket the liquor shops opened by the *mabap sarkar* at their own places. The anti-drink movement in Bombay City is such a vast question that it will not be successfully solved unless all the Ward Congress Committees in the city take it up seriously.

How temperance volunteers are harassed in Ahmedabad.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 12th June, Eng. cols.

40. "We draw the attention of the authorities concerned to the startling revelations made in the latest weekly report of the progress of temperance movement in this city.......... Besides recording instances of illicit sale of liquor, it enumerates various instances of harassing volunteers who have taken to picketting at the various liquor shops through the connivance, and at times even directly at the hands of the constables on police duty there. Now, we have said more than once that whatever the exact views of the Government may be with respect to the non-co-operation movement as a whole, the temperance movement is such as to command at least its sympathy, if not its support. The temperance movement is primarily a Social Reform movement; and nothing would be more damaging to the Government than the creation of the impression among the people that it is interested in stifling it. It is, therefore, upto the Government to take strict cognisance of any action of its subordinates which tends to create that impression. Moreover, this way of harassing public volunteers is the most reprehensible; and we believe it will soon be taken due notice of by the proper authorities. If the volunteers commit any breach of the ordinary law or trespass on another's right, let them be prosecuted for it in an open court of law. But to harass them in the way it is alleged is not the best of way of maintaining the present neutral attitude of theirs; and we really wish the authorities concerned will show by prompt action that the alleged harassments, if true, are the result of the over-enthusiasm of subordinates and not of anything else."

Peace Associations and what good can they do.

Sindvási (168), 8th June.

41. Peace Associations have been started everywhere in the United Provinces with the object of counteracting the evil propaganda of non-co-operators. The latter call these associations by the name of "Slavish Associations", and consider their own movement to have descended from heaven. These new bodies have dealt a severe blow to the non-co-operation movement. The Kissan cultivators who were instigated by non-co-operators to rise against their zamindars have now come to realize their game. Such associations have now become necessary in order to prevent the mischief of non-co-operators who are spreading revolutionary ideas among the people and are attempting to create disorder in the country. The zamindars are now found going to these *haris* to induce them to attend the meetings of the associations. The non-co-operators showed them only one side of the picture. The co-operators have now shown them the other side. Now they know how best to utilze their time, and what their responsibility is. Co-operators can of course do much if they continue to work as they have done so far. The United Provinces will then be purged of even the name of non-co-operation. This is all the result of violence on the part of some non-co-operators.

What Government should do to establish peace and order in the country.

Khairkhâh-i-Sind (164), 4th June.

42. It is only under British administration that it is possible for the lion and the goat to drink water from the same fountain. Many opponents of the British Government say that separate laws have been framed for the Europeans and Indians. But the difference complained of is only apparent and not real. No doubt fearlessness and crime are on the increase and have added to the anxiety of the peace-loving and just Englishmen. Today breakers of peace are making every effort to create discontent and unrest among the people. It is necessary for Government to counteract the evil propaganda of these men. The existing state of the country is far from satisfactory. Political unrest is increasing day by day. It will be useless for us to tender advice to Lord Reading and the Governors because they are fully conversant with the art of Government. Lala Harkishinlal told Lord Reading in Lahore that one great defect in the British Government was that it begins and ends with the administration of the criminal law. Lord Reading replied that the point deserved consideration. But it does not seem to have been considered upto now, or perhaps Lord Reading does not approve of it; otherwise Swami Govindanand would not have been sentenced to five years' imprisonment and Mahatma Gandhi not touched at all, though he is always saying that he is more opposed to the present system of Government than Govindanand himself, and demands to know why he is not arrested. On the contrary His Excellency the Viceroy granted him an interview for five successive days which had no other result but this that Mahatma went on preaching non-co-operation even at Simla. Will political mischief cease by sending men to jail? Surely not. The world is not able to understand why leaders are not touched by Government, while their followers are sent off to jail. Either both should be sent to jail or none at all. The present mischief in the country can best be stopped by taking the advice of the district officers who are well acquainted with what is transpiring in the country. Legislation cannot serve a useful purpose on each and every occasion. Government should also guard against some rich and influential persons, who, professing themselves to be loyal to Government, are nevertheless harassing poor people and creating ill-feeling between them and the Government by their haughty demeanour. It is the duty of Government to save its subjects from the mischief of such men. The district officer can easily acquaint himself with their doings, provided he has a mind to take trouble. In a word if Government desires peace and order in the country and the obedience of its subjects as of old, it should carry out its primary duty of protecting peace-loving and respectable people from the tyranny of evil and cruel men; otherwise there is a danger of things getting worse.

Mr. Gandhi's failure to collect one crore of rupees.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 19th June., Eng. cols.

*43. "The non-co-operation movement is now undergoing its 'acid test'. Mr. Gandhi has worked very hard, travelling all over India from place to place, to collect one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaraj Fund, but it appears that up to now he has not succeeded in obtaining even 40 lakhs. He now appeals to the rich Bhattias, Marwaris, Memons and Parsis to contribute the remaining 60 lakhs by the end of this month. Does this mean that he has no hopes of getting a single pie more from the other parts of this vast peninsula? Bombay alone to pay for the *swarāj* that is to come to the whole of India? Nothing from the rich and wealthy zamindars and merchants of Bengal? Nothing from the landowners and jagirdars of the United Provinces? Nothing from the wealthy *inamdars* of the Punjāb? Nothing from the rich cotton-growing districts of the Central Provinces? Nothing from the sleek and well-fed millionaires of Madras? Bombay alone to pay for everything?......... Mr. Gandhi has great confidence that even if the other communities in the city do not fulfil their duty, the two great communities—Bhattias and Marwaris—will make up the required amount 'with the determination that they will never remain slaves of the British Government'. One wonders how if the Bhattias and Marwaris were slaves they could have collected so much wealth.......... What a pity that even Mahatmas cannot do without the help of Marwaris and the Parsis! Meanwhile Mr. Gandhi has not lost sight of the Parsis. He wants the rich and generous Parsi *shethias* to open their purse-strings wide and give him out of their abundant store.......... We hope the Parsis will keep in mind the fable of the spider and the fly, and not walk unwarily into the seemingly nice little parlour into which Mr. Gandhi wishes to invite them. We watch with some anxiety the result of Mr. Gandhi's approaches to the Parsi Central Association."

India will continue to fight for *Swarájya* even after the Punjáb and Khilafat questions are satisfactorily solved.

Gujaráti (17), 12th June.

44. The question would naturally be asked as to what the people will do if the pledge in respect of the Khilafat is respected and if justice is given in the matter of the Punjáb affairs. Only the attitude of the people towards Government will be changed. At the most they will cease to be non-co-operationists. But on no account will they give up their efforts for securing *Swaráj*. We must not think that non-co-operation is *Swaráj*. People will continue to clamour for *Swaráj*, be they co-operationists or non-co-operationists. People will continue to make efforts for securing *Swaráj* as long as the bureaucratic British officials do not hold themselves responsible to Indians and rule the country in accordance with public opinion. Bondage under an alien may be very beneficial, but it is not desirable. The chains of bondage may be made of gold, but we would prefer the cottage of independence to them. Lord Reading requires to be told that promises of equality and justice are not likely to divert the attention of Indians from their goal. They will continue to agitate for *Swaráj* even if they are not able to secure it within one year. It is now for England to prove whether it is in favour of giving *Swaráj* to India or whether it means to continue the present bureaucratic form of Government, whether it means to give *Swaráj* quickly or gain time by procrastination.

An appeal to Maharashtra not to slavishly follow Mr. Gandhi.

Lokasangraha (123), 17th June.

45. The country has seen to what extent Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement has succeeded, though it was given the time which he demanded for it. From the form which the movement has now assumed it appears as if the National Congress, forgetful of its original aims, is to become a society for the advance of morals. The Mahatma has indeed become a great puzzle in Indian politics. People unquestioningly obey his mandates as to observance of *hartal*. As soon as he advocates extension of the use of the spinning-wheel, it comes to be regarded as a great weapon. No sooner does he declare the Bhagwat Gita to be a promoter of peaceful methods than the people fall in with his idea, and who knows but they might even come to look upon the *sudarshan* in the hands of Shri Krishna as merely a form of the spinning-wheel! In short, we are to-day the witnesses of the extremely sorry spectacle of the nation completely handing over its own reasoning powers into the keeping of Mr. Gandhi. It is he who controls the puppet-show of Indian politics. The seed of the nation's destruction lies in this slave mentality; whether the slavishness is towards the bureaucracy or towards Mr. Gandhi makes no difference. To-day many among the people might dislike these words of ours; but doubtless they will realise their truth hereafter. If Maharashtra is going to accept this slavery, we have nothing to say. If it means to adopt Mr. Gandhi's philosophy in spite of its own historic past, then these words are not meant for it. Vainly it appears did Maharashtra give birth to men like Vishnu Shastri, Gokhale, Tilak, and others, and vainly has Mr. Tilak laboured for forty years to break down Maharashtra's mental shackles!

Comments on the sentence passed on Swami Govindanand.

Sind Observer (12), 4th June.

46. "The severity of the sentence in the case of Swami Govindanand has been commented upon widely in the press. We have no mind to go into the merits or otherwise of the case now; but we do share the opinion of the *Indian Social Reformer* that the sentence should have been much lighter—an year's simple imprisonment would have met the ends of justice in view of the unanimous verdict of the Jury. Even the *Pioneer* says 'that Government's forbearance towards the Ali Brothers will be greatly enhanced if followed by action precluding any suggestion that while the principal offenders had been given an opportunity to withdraw at the eleventh hour smaller fries have been deprived of that benefit'. That is exactly the opinion of many people. We are glad the *Pioneer* wants mercy to be shown to the people already convicted. When the *Pioneer* writes in this strain Government should seriously consider the advisability of releasing those convicted of political crime during recent months on their giving a similar undertaking like the Ali Brothers.......... It is clear from the comments, in the press that the sentences in some cases should be reduced, if public opinion is not to be outraged, even though the Prince of Wales may not visit India this year or in the near future. It will be going against public opinion, Indian and European, if the sentence is not substantially reduced in the case of Swami Govindanand. Why not then release the prisoner now on a similar undertaking as has been given by the Ali Brothers?......... In this connection we may say we have received some letters from correspondents about the ill-treatment of Swami Govindanand in jail. The Hyderabad papers have taken up the matter; but we have refused to publish the letters on the ground that their publication would serve no useful purpose. Kicking up a row in the papers would only result in the removal of the Swami to another distant jail where the climate may not be as pleasant as that of Karáchi."

Alleged abuse of the provisions of section 65 of the Land Revenue Code.

Satya Shodak (143), 12th June.

47. There have recently occurred two instances of the abuse of the provisions of section 65 of the Land Revenue Code by Mr. Vaidya, Deputy Collector in charge of the Southern Sub-Division of the Ratnágiri District. Mr. Bhargava Krishna Joshi has been fined Rs. 150 for having, without the permission of the authorities, allowed the erection of a theatre in the rice crop land in front of his house and belonging to him. In our opinion, the Deputy Collector is completely mistaken in his interpretation of the words "using agricultural land for non-agricultural purposes," occurring in the section. The land on which the theatre was erected is never used for agricultural purposes during the hot season, and the theatre was only temporary erection of matted palm-leaves for the hot season and was dismantled before the rains. It is worth notice that the land has been thus used during the last 20 or 25 years and the revenue authorities have never before this raised the present objection. The real object of the section is to prevent the use of agricultural land in such a way as to interfere with its cultivation, and to read into it any further meaning would be simply to make an exhibition of one's own ignorance. We do not understand why the authorities should take to harrassing innocent people in this way. If the interpretation of the section by Mr. Vaidya be correct, then scarcely any one in Ratnágiri will be able to escape similar fines. Moreover, the imposition of the fine of Rs. 150 is too heavy for such a technical offence. It appears as if it has been imposed vindictively for some other reason. The other instance is of Mr. Vasudeo Krishna Paranjpe being fined Rs. 75 for allowing his land to be used for laying mud bricks. This fine also is altogether unreasonable. We hope the Collector will take notice of the above and redress the grievance.

Condemnation of the present Excise policy of the Government of India.

Mahrátta (8), 19th June.

***48.** Dr. N. S. Hardikar of New York writes in the course of an article in the *Mahrátta*:—"At a time when the people in the United States are engaged in making their country dry, the British Government in India is busily engaged in making India wet. From time immemorial, India has been dry.......... Whereas now the benign British Government has encouraged the trade of intoxicating liquors. Not only with England is this traffic carried on, but with France, Germany, Holland and America, all of whom call themselves Christian countries.......... For many years influential men and women in India have been protesting against this trade. The Indian National Congress, the Indian Industrial Conference, the Provincial Conferences, the Congress Democratic Party, the various Home Rule Leagues and other similar organisations have protested again and again.......... The All-India Temperance Association came into existence a long time ago. This and other organisations have taken active steps in forcing the Government to close the liquor-shops; but to no avail. Even such extreme measures as picketting saloons have been used, with the result that leaders of that movement were punished by fines and imprisonments for having encroached upon 'the liberty of the drunkards'. The liberty of indulging in the desires and appetites of man is precious in the eyes of the Government and is safeguarded by them! At the same time are they listening to that passionate cry for freedom? No! This is what is called 'British justice.'......... When the Indian people demand liberty and the application of the principle of 'Self-determination' then the British are deaf. But when it comes to the trade of liquor their sense of justice awakens and they shed crocodile tears and use all their strength in defending and preserving the liberty of the people who drink. And why it is that they encourage this trade? Because:—(1) It fills their coffers......... (2) It keeps the illiterate people, the workers of the land, in utter darkness as to what is going on in the country. It makes them actual slaves. They thus forget their country and always remain under the false impression that the British are really benevolent as they claim to be. 'Then it is easy for the 'Defenders of the Faith' to protect the liberty of the drunkards,' while at the same time oppressing the people. (3) It makes it easy for the capitalist masters—both British and Indian—to pay low wages to the employees, who when once under the influence of liquor and drugs do not care what they get and work at hard labour as many hours as their masters demand of them......... (4) It affects the life of the worker as well as lowers the whole moral tone of his family and eventually that of the community.......... Then think of it! Under the new Government of India Act the only substantial source of income put under the control of Indian Ministers is the Excise (liquor) revenue. With this education, sanitation and other public services must be maintained. In other words, the necessary measures which have to be taken to raise the standard of living, must depend for its financial support upon a vicious traffic which leaves degradation and destruction in its wake; while the major portion of the entire revenues collected from land sources, etc., is used on the upkeep of the military. What a 'see-saw' game it becomes! But the most humorous part is that everything done in India by the British bears the stamp of civilisation. We wonder what Christ would think if he were alive to-day and should go to India to investigate the conditions endured there under a people who claim to be His followers!"

Need of a law in the Bombay Legislative Council providing for complete prohibition of the drink traffic.

Mahrátta (8), 19th May.

*49. "The success that has attended the efforts of the volunteers in stopping, for a time at least, the drink traffic has stimulated other efforts, and it was resolved in a meeting held at the Poona Sárvajanik Sabha Hall, attended by representatives of all shades of opinion, that efforts should be made to get a Bill passed in the local Legislative Council providing for the complete prohibition of the manufacture and sale of liquors in Bombay Presidency after the 1st of April 1924. There are people who are mortally afraid of any bold action even as the one resolved above and they draw a picture of horrid consequences and argue that the 'legitimate consumers' would be deprived of their rights, and such a step would be a prelude to other sweeping laws. We confess we cannot enter into the spirit of these arguments except as only academic questions.......... In the same category we place the fear expressed in some quarters that prohibition would deprive the Government of a big slice of their revenue and this deprivation would seriously affect the other efforts of public weal. So long as there is the revenue raised by the Excise department, this difficulty would be there and the Nation has to face it one day. And if this is the case why not tackle it even at present? It was the reluctance on the part of Government to put an immediate stop to the liquor traffic that drove the people to bring into requisition moral force of public opinion by way of picketing. If picketing movement is allowed to move in peaceful channels, as it is doing at present, the Government would be face to face within twelve months with the fact of 'no revenue from the Excise', as there would be no bids for licenses next year. If the Government is honest in its desire to drive away this fell curse, let it put an end to the manufacture and sale of liquor instantly and immediately and spend its energy in finding ways and means to replenish the treasury by some other means."

Comments on the Government of India's Scheme for a Repatriation Fund for the Relief of stranded Hajis.
Insaf (72), 10th June.

50. Till now, owners of steamship companies and Government used to help the stranded Hajis to return to their homes. But the Press Communique issued by the Government of India now states that such help is not very useful to these helpless people. Hence after consulting the leading Muhammadans, they have devised a scheme for raising a large fund for the relief of stranded Hajis and have invited contributions to it from Moslem Ruling Princes and the Moslem public. Government also intend to hand over the management of this fund to a Committee of non-official Muhammedan leaders. The sympathy which Government feel for poor Hajis is worthy of all praise; and we appeal to Muhammadans of all classes, the rich, the nobles and princes as well as those belonging to the middle classes to come forward to help in this philanthropic undertaking.

Comments on the reported proposal to re-despatch to the Fijis the coolies who have returned from the islands.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th June.

51. "The extract from the speech of the Governor of Fiji to which Mr. Andrews has drawn attention is, indeed, a remarkable document and makes one wonder how, while the public of this country has been completely in the dark as to the existence of any movement to send the repatriated Indian labourers back to Fiji, the Governor of Fiji should be exulting in the prospect of such a return of immigrants through the good offices of the Government of India. The Government of India, when questioned on the subject of happenings in Fiji, have been in the habit of expressing ignorance or, at the most, of giving out but belated information. But, here is the Governor of Fiji referring with great satisfaction to the almost certain successful termination of his confidential negotiations with the Government of India for the withdrawal of the prohibition against the return from India of the Fiji repatriates! How is it that the Government of India have as yet given no inkling of the progress of these negotiations to the people of this country?......... What right have the Government of India to give the Fiji authorities any favourable assurance, without consulting the public opinion of this country? There has been a shrewd suspicion in the public mind that the recent report of a movement among the repatriated Indians to go back to Fiji was circulated by persons interested in getting these men back to Fiji and that the tale of their sufferings in this country has been purposely exaggerated with the same end in view. The speech of the Governor of Fiji but strengthens this suspicion......... The Government of India would be guilty of an unpardonable crime against our struggling countrymen in Fiji if they encourage in any way the re-despatch of the men to Fiji before the strike comes to an end."

Complaint that delivery of telegrams to Congress workers is purposely delayed.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th June.

52. "We would like to know if it is in pursuance of any policy of non-co-operation that the Telegraph Department tries to prevent messages addressed to Congress workers in Ahmedabad from reaching their destination in time. Mr. Gandhi has already more than once referred to this fact. We have it now from Mr. Gidwani that he seldom receives a telegram in less than ten days after it is received in Ahmedabad. Other workers in Ahmedabad also have the same complaint to make. One of the tricks of the Department is that if a telegram tells any Congress worker in Ahmedabad that his presence is required at a certain place on a certain date, it is delivered to him on the previous night, though it could very well have been placed in the addressee's hands a week earlier. The earlier phase of this telegraphic non-co-operation movement was more honest. Telegrams were indiscriminately returned to the senders as objectionable and the money refunded. Now, workers in Ahmedabad and correspondents pay and the Department accepts the message but wilfully keeps them back till they cease to be useful.......... If the Department really wishes to non-co-operate with the non-co-operators, let the facts be at least publicly stated so. But to accept the money of the non-co-operators and then to refuse to deliver the 'goods' is not what one would call honest."

The policy of the new Gujaráti weekly, the *Hind Mitra*.
Hind Mitra (new), 12th June.

53. The *Hind Mitra* has been started to-day and it promises the public that he will fight hard on their behalf until such time as India secures complete *swarájya*. We are quite convinced that India will never be completely prosperous, she will not be able to develop her Commerce and Industries as she likes, the Khilafat question cannot be solved in accordance with the dictates of Islam and complete justice for the terrible atrocities in the Punjáb cannot be obtained unless she wins complete *swarájya*. Such being our strong belief, we willingly accept Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement. The *swarájists* are also conducting a movement against drink and other intoxicating substances in connection with this movement and suffering many hardships and also imprisonment for its sake. We earnestly urge them to continue this struggle fearlessly after the manner of the followers of the Khilafat movement. It is also the duty of the authorities to deal severely with those who oppose the temperance movement, when any disturbances take place in connection with it. Our so-called councils should make laws without delay to remove immediately the evils caused by drink. We do not understand why the Councils do not also make laws to put an end to cow-killing. Finally, in view of the entirely unsatisfactory and disappointing character of Lord Reading's recent speech, we advise Indians to follow the lead of Mr. Gandhi and obtain *swarájya* soon. We are of opinion that Indians cannot preserve their self-respect, prosperity and happiness in India, the British colonies and all parts of the world without securing *swarájya*.

The Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 15th June.

54. The arguments used by the Bombay Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in their reply to the letter of the Development Department in connection with the reclamation of the Back Bay can scarcely evoke our admiration. We fail to understand the grounds on which the Chamber raises doubts as to the usefulness of the ground reclaimed from the sea. Bombay would not have been what it is if the ground reclaimed from the sea were not fit for building purposes. The city of Bombay has been built on ground reclaimed from the sea, and there is no reason why the land reclaimed from the Back Bay should prove unfit for building purposes. The Indian Merchants Chamber and the people have, however, to see that the Back Bay reclamation scheme is not pushed forward at the expense of the scheme for providing housing accommodation for the poor.

The Military Requirements Committee.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 19th June.

***55.** "A Committee has been appointed 'to examine the Military requirements of India with the object of preparing materials for a further examination of this question by a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence.' The personnel of the Committee is satisfactory and it is gratifying to see that four Indians are serving on the Committee and that in what was considered as a secret and unapproachable field for Indian talent and enquiry, Indians have been freely admitted to share with Englishmen in their counsels and deliberations. No doubt, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the President, will and must safeguard the Military requirements but being quite new to India he will, we hope, cast off his military predilections and allow himself to be guided as well by civil and financial advisers, and will take a statesmanlike view of the financial condition and the military needs of India. The Budget speech of Mr. Hailey affords a glimpse that at least in this matter he will make up for the other disappointments he has caused to India and will plead successfully for the utmost economy and retrenchment.

consistent with efficiency and fighting strength of the Army. The Indian Members possess the confidence of the country and the people can rely on Messrs. Shafi and Sapru and Sir Sivaswami Iyer exerting their utmost to mould the Military Budget according to the ability of India to bear the burden. They need no reminder that the Army problem in India both in its cost and in the strength and composition of the Army has been a burning question for a full half-century and that successive Congresses and Conferences have been crying in the wilderness till now, without any response whatsoever......... The present Committee will first have to undo the mischievous results of the Esher Committee and then examine the question from the pre-war and other standpoints. In spite of the fact that the Government have approved of Sir Sivaswami Iyer's resolutions negativing the Esher Report in some matters, a reference to the Budget of the last two years would show that some of the recommendations of that Committee have been acted upon and have therefore helped to swell the ordinary military expenditure in the last two years. Hence it will not be enough for the present Committee, and for Sir Sivaswami Iyer in particular, to go on the basis of his resolutions already accepted, but it will have also to re-examine those recommendations of the Esher Report which have been given full pratical effect and which really dominate the Military Budget at present. Without clearing the tangle and commitments caused by that Committee, their further work would prove infructuous. The Committee is enjoined in particular to 'ascertain the views of the Local Governments regarding their requirements in the matter of troops for purposes of internal security.' We are glad of this suggestion because Local Governments, especially the Government of Bombay, have on the whole given proof of the possession of a larger sense of proportion than the Government of India, and, moreover, they know that it is they that will have to pay ultimately for extravagance in military expenditure."

Number of Collectors' posts should be reduced for the sake of economy.

Satya Shodhak (143), 19th June.

***56.** Under the pretext of effecting economies in Government expenditure, plans are being laid for reducing the lower establishments. The number of Talatis are to be reduced by placing one Talati in charge of 2 or 3 *sajas* and one Police Patil in charge of two villages. Similarly revenue Karkuns and Circle Inspectors are also to be reduced in number. What we would ask is why should not the reduction reach higher up? Why should not the number of Collectors also be reduced? Their salaries, too, have been recently increased and by appointing one Collector for every two districts a substantial reduction in expenditure will be effected. Moreover, when two districts are placed under the charge of one Collector he will have less leisure to indulge in monkey-like pranks like those of Mr. Henderson, the Collector of Bijápur, and there will occur less occasions for insulting the rayats.

Comments on the bombardment of Eregli by a Greek warship.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th June.

57. "Have the Allies, and especially the British, given the go-by to the policy of strict neutrality, which they assured the world a few weeks ago they would maintain in regard to Constantinople and the Dardanelles? If they have not—for we have not heard of such abandonment—how comes it that a Greek warship is allowed to pass through the Dardanelles and bombard Eregli, the Kastamuni port? The Greek warships are also reported to be blockading the Kemalist ports on the Black Sea. If this be a fact, it can only mean that the Allies are deliberately conniving at the violation of their own solemn pledge. If the Allies have resolved to abandon neutrality, or have actually departed therefrom, it would be a different matter. But unless they wish to stand before the world as self-confessedly dishonest people, who from the beginning never meant to keep their word, they cannot reconcile their present attitude to the pledges so solemnly given only a few weeks ago......... Whatever the facts His Majesty's Government owe it to the world, and the Indian Moslem world in particular, to clear the mystery and their own conduct in it."

Comments on the strained relations between England and Angora.
Political Bhomiyo (77), 17th June.

58. The inadequate and one-sided reports that reach us in the matter of Angora make it clear that diplomatic relations between Britain and Angora are on the point of being broken and that the former country is threatening to give help to Greece. Be that as it may, the present *impasse* is undesirable, and it is likely to seriously endanger peace in Asia. Matters as they stand cannot be said to be tending to the advantage of England. England should see to the world conditions and the atmosphere prevailing in the Empire before taking any step. We hope the matter will be settled in an amicable manner.

LEGISLATION.

Comments on Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill.
Musafir (166), 4th June.

59. Dr. Gour has brought a bill in the Indian Legislative Assembly for the purpose of validating marriages between persons of different faiths and enabling the offspring of such unions to inherit the property of their parents. May we know whether an earthly power has any authority to ignore a law laid down by God? We doubt if Government will be so unwise as to pass such a foolish measure, which, instead of being followed by orthodox people, will only create additional excitement in the country. For such a law will mean unjustifiable interference with religious and social beliefs, which can never be tolerated. No earthly power can break divine laws. But if it does so, irreligion and immorality will increase and ultimately ruin the country. No earthly laws can possibly erase such impressions from the human mind as have been stamped by the laws of God. Hence any attempt in this direction will be quite useless. Every religion has its own rules of marriage. No marriage can take place between two persons unless they adopt the same religion. Outside their own religion, Muhammadan males can marry women belonging to the revealed religions, *i.e.*, Christianity and Judaism. But a Muhammadan woman in marrying a Jew or a Christian must either change her own faith or her affianced must adopt hers in order to make the marriage valid. Now even if Government should break these religious checks and pass a law legalizing inter-religous marriages, such unions can never become common; and the few that may take place will have their origin in sin and lust. Such a law, therefore, will increase immorality, and by giving the right of inheritance to the offspring of such unions, will cause great injustice to the otherwise rightful claimants.

EDUCATION.

The question of affiliating the Royal Institute of Science to the Bombay University.
Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 19th June, Eng. cols.

*60. "The Senate of the Bombay University was right in referring to the syndicate the resolution of Dr. N. H. Moos to affiliate the Royal Institute of Science to the University as a science college. There are already a sufficient number of science colleges under the wings of our University, and there is no necessity to add one more to the number which would most likely be a disadvantage to others. The Royal Institute of Science was brought into existence out of money given by the Bombay public, and the general desire is that it should be an institution for the promotion of scientific research and post-graduate studies. This purpose would not be served at all were it to be enrolled as an ordinary science college turning out science graduates by the score. It is true that the Director of Public Instruction gives an undertaking that the Institute will be turned into a research college at an early date, but the undertaking is too vague and indefinite to prove satisfactory."

A non-Brahmin protest against the Educational Minister's policy.
Vijayi Mardtha (154), 11th June; *Rashtra Vir* ( ), 12th June; *Din Mitra* (111), 15th June.

61. The manifesto issued by the progressive party had raised high hopes in the minds of many non-Brahmins that the new rights under the Reform Act would prove specially profitable to the masses. But it appears that the party had indulged in all that rigmarole simply because it wanted the non-Brahmins to assist it in securing Council seats. So at least it appears from the attitude now taken up by the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye. Mr. Vichare's resolution to secure

special concessions to non-Brahmins in the matter of Government posts was opposed by this very gentleman on the ground that it would give rise to inter-caste animosities. Implicit faith in the vain babblings of the Extremists as well as of the Moderates has hitherto deceived the non-Brahmins. We should never again repeat this mistake, but like Muhammadans be persistent in our demands. We should never forget the bitter experience we have got that whether it is an Englishman or an Indian like Mr. Paranjpye who holds the reins of authority, it needs the squeezing of his nose to secure the opening of his mouth, and that the mere making of friends with either never benefits. The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye should now proclaim what special concessions he is going to grant with regard to education to the backward classes. He will never have such a golden opportunity again. [The *Rashtra Vir* also makes a similar complaint against the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye and points out that the amount he has allotted for scholarships to the untouchable and backward class pupils in the Budget is not even as much as his pay for one month. It further remarks that if the Minister believes that compulsory primary education is impracticable for ten years more, let him say so publicly and resign his post. The *Din Mitra* declares that the Minister does not care for the welfare of the backward classes and asks them to hold meetings of protest against his policy.]

MUNICIPALITIES.

The question of cow-slaughter in Shikárpur Municipality.
Al-Haq (161), 4th June.

62. Recently the cow-slaughter question came before the Shikárpur Municipality for discussion. The Hindu members being in majority the resolution was passed stopping the killing of cows. History will record this painful incident of the Hindu members taking undue advantage of the Muhammadan members who were in the minority. We warn our Hindu brethren against this religious interference which, will lead to no good result. They will be well advised to get the resolution cancelled and leave the whole question to be settled by the generous-heartedness of the Muslims. Mahatma Gandhi also is against imposition of any legal restriction on the Muhammadans in this matter.

RAILWAYS.

Protest against railway material for Indian railways being purchased only in England.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th June.

63. Referring to Mr. Montagu's statement in Parliament that the whole of the sterling loan will be expended on the purchase of railway material in England and that no part of it will be expended abroad, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks :—"If, in order to benefit British capitalists, India is to be prevented by her masters from buying in open markets and on terms advantageous to her, may we ask where is the use of assuring the people of this country that their interests will not be subordinated to those of other parts of the Empire? We have categorical proof, in several instances, that British materials are forty to fifty per cent. dearer than those of continental make and India's interests are to be sacrificed so that unemployment doles may not be paid to the unemployed railway material workers in England. This is altruism with a vengeance and the policy underlying it is on a par with that of the 7 per cent. Sterling loan and the concessions granted to the British investors of taking up the Indian Rupee loan."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government :
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 24th June 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 25th June 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule :

Comments on Mr. Montagu's reply in Parliament to a question about the pension charges for Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer being transferred to the British Exchequer 15
Comments on Mr. Sastri's utterances in England . . . . 9 & 10
Comments on the appointment of the Indian Fiscal Commission . . 21
Comments on the Instrument of Instructions for the Viceroy . . 13 & 14
Comments on the interview of the Rao of Cutch with a Reuter's representative 11
Disapproval of the tendency to dissuade Indians from going to England for education 17
Indians should strive to emulate Europeans and Americans in improving their agriculture 18
Protest against the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial office . 12
Protest against the rumoured appointment of Mr. Lees Smith as President of the Fiscal Commission 22
The Empire Credits Scheme and India . . . . 19 & 20
The example of Ireland should prove a warning to India . . . 16
The problem of India before the Imperial Conference 8

Indians in the Colonies :

Indians in the Kenya Colony . . . . 55 & 56
Indians in Uganda 57
His Excellency the Governor : Appreciation of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's action in removing an Income-tax grievance at Surat . . 4

His Excellency the Viceroy

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Ahmadiya Community's deputation 3
Comments on Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club . . 1—2
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India . . . . . . 5—7

Judicial matters :

Comments on the acquittal of Sergeant Coles of the charge of causing death of a Sholápur agriculturist 43
Comments on the arrest of additional persons at Málegaon in connection with the riot cases 46
Comments on the Sliakot Cantonment Magistrate's decision in the Private Mulligan case of assault on a Hindu widow . . . 44

H 76—a Con

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Judicial matters—concld.

Comments on the withdrawal of summons issued against Principal Gidwani from Madras 48

Complaint about the doings of the Málegaon (Násik) authorities . . 45

How justice is administered in sedition cases against speakers . . 49

Injustice is still being done in cases wherein Europeans are the accused in spite of Lord Reading's determination to see justice done 47

Military matters:

Comments on the new Indian Soldiers' School at Belgaum 52

Comments on the refusal of Mr. Gandhi to give evidence before the Military Requirements Committee . . . . 53 & 54

Non-co-operation:

Appeal to the people to contribute to the Swaraj Fund 33

Anti-drink movement in Bombay city . . . . 26 & 27

Anti-drink movement in Sátára and Poona . . . . . . , . 28 & 29

Comments on the order of the District Magistrate, Láhore, prohibiting a meeting of the City Congress Committee 36

Is it possible to secure *Swarâj* by means of a friendly compromise with Government? . . . . , ... 38

Mr. Gandhi and the Parsis . . . . 34 & 35

Mr. Gandhi's — movement and Mahárâshtra Extremists 42

Mr. Gandhi wants Moderates to abolish liquor-shops 30

Non-co-operation alone can awaken the sense of justice of the English. 39

The Ali Brothers' apology and Mr. Gandhi . . . . 31 & 32

The anti-drink movement and Government Officers . . . . . 23—25

The Mogul and Mahratta Governments were better than the British . 37

Why Indian Mussalmans are talking about setting up a Republic in India . . . . 40 & 41

Police:

Complaint about Indian passengers being vexatiously treated by — officers in the Bombay harbour 51

Indian public and the — 50

War:

Advice to the British Government not to help the Greeks against the Turks 58

Bolsheviks are more fair in their dealings with other nations than England . . . . , ... 65

Comments on a recent speech of Mr. Churchill 66

Comments on Lord Chelmsford's speech in connection with Turkey at the Central Asian Society's annual dinner 64

Comments on the strained relations between England and Angora . 59 & 60

Probable evil results of a — between England and the Angora Government 61

The attitude of Britain towards Turkey 63

The Turko-Greek hostilities 62

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding raising the prices of vernacular Readers . . , ... 68

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye should resign his post if he thinks his hands are not free 67

RAILWAYS—

Alleged negligence by the G. I. P. Railway in the matter of the carriage of live stock 70

Third class female passengers should have separate waiting rooms at Railway Stations 69

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club.

Navjivan (75), 19th June; *Deshodaya* (67), 21st June.

1. Mr. M. K. Gandhi, under the heading "More about the Viceroy", writes in the *Navjivan* :—We must give some more consideration to the Viceroy's speech delivered at the Chelmsford Club. India is at present suffering from a grave malady and none but a physician of extraordinary abilities can lay claim to effect the cure. But Lord Reading seems to be taking recourse to half-hearted measures, and we need not be surprised if he incurs the displeasure of both the people and the bureaucracy. While Lord Reading declares that there must be no inequality on the score of colour within the Empire, he does not make any reference to the gross inequality observed within the Empire on account of colour prejudices. The speech is likely to create the impression upon a stranger that no cases of colour prejudice occur in the Empire and that if there are any such they are merely exceptions to the rule. But colour prejudice is in fact the rule and the absence of it the exception. India is not likely to be pleased with sweet words. India wants simplicity and truth. How can then Indians be placated by the dry leaves scattered over the Viceroy's speech? We want to give a go-bye to false notions of position and honour while the Viceroy reminds me of his address at Simla! He desired to have an interview with me and still compromises his own position by making a statement to the effect that the desire for an interview came solely from me! He goes to show that the Ali Brothers expressed an apology with a view to escape the prison walls and creates an impression on the reader that he himself showed liberality towards them. Lord Reading knows that the Ali Brothers are not afraid of jail. These brothers have not apologised to escape being clutched in prison, but they have done so to show their high-mindedness. They have, moreover, not expressed their apology to the Viceroy but to their own friends. In spite of knowing this the Viceroy is not ashamed to state that the Ali Brothers were not to be arrested till they did not cause any breach of the peace! Had the Viceroy so desired he could have said that Government would have gained nothing by arresting them and that their arrest would have added to the turmoil in the country and seriously affected Government's work of preserving the peace. It was this fear on the part of Government that led them, for their own convenience, to give up the idea of arresting the Ali Brothers on the publication of the statement issued by them. People would have formed a good opinion of the Viceroy if he had made his speech to the above effect. But what can the Viceroy do? Telling the truth has come to to be considered as a sin and weakness. It is on this account that officials unnecessarily give publicity to false statements. The Viceroy cannot see the changed times and realise the strength of public feeling. He does not know that people have been disgusted with false appearances, pomp and threats. He has lost a good opportunity in trying to respect traditions. He has not acted as the times required him to act. He has failed in his first examination. [The *Deshodaya* writes:—The statements made by Lord Reading can scarcely be said to be true. His Excellency has said that there is no place for racial inequality in the Empire; but it is to be regretted that racial inequality is observed in every Government department. How can we then swallow the Viceroy's statement about equality of races? It is not with words but with deeds that Lord Reading can succeed in his mission.]

Lokamanya (new), 22nd June.

2. In his speech made at the Chelmsford Club, Lord Reading declared that racial distinction was non-existent in the British Empire. This statement, which is wholly untrue, has naturally displeased Mahatma Gandhi. Even a blind man cannot fail to notice the distinction that is being made in the British Empire between a white man and a coloured one, and, therefore, a man like Lord Reading, who has eyes to see with, cannot possibly be unaware

of it. Therefore, even if the Viceroy has to feign blindness the fault lies not with him but with the system he is called upon to administer. There is no doubt that the Viceroy believed his speech at the Chelmsford Club to be highly statesmanlike. But the adverse criticism to which it has been subjected during the last month or so must have convinced him that his statesmanship did not avail him much. It is quite clear that owing to this speech he has suffered in the estimation of Mahatma Gandhi. We trust the Viceroy will recognise at least now that it is necessary to be absolutely straightforward while dealing with the Mahatma.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Ahmadiya Community's deputation.

Bombay Chronicle (2), 26th June.

*3. Commenting on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Ahmadiya Community's deputation, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—"His Excellency said acts of racial arrogance must have been due to 'mistakes of judgment'! Well it has been so for a long, long time and now, your Excellency, it has become a matter of congenital pre-adaptation not only to the white race that governs the country and arrogates to itself the powers of Divine providence, or trades out here, but even to its semi-demi invertebrate brown and black descendants. 'Damned Nigger' your Excellency will hear even from a European child of six in this country.......... Mistakes of judgment—what a word your Excellency has chosen to cover all the sins and iniquities of an alien rule! Its connotations will cover reams of paper if instances are recorded in India. .... What an expression has been chosen to camouflage all official vagaries, Dyerism, Haileyism and Fullerism and what not! Sweet and persuasive eloquence and kind words and even honest assurance of good intention will no longer keep the restive soul of India quiet—as even the road to hell may be paved with good intentions. No more words, your Excellency—you 'have come to bury Cæsar, not to praise him'."

Appreciation of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's action in removing an Income-tax grievance at Surat.

Sánj Vartmán (33), 23rd June.

4. It is clearly an unjust procedure that the officer who assesses Income-tax should also have to decide appeals against that assessment. This is the practice which is followed at many places in this Presidency, and there is great bitterness among the people on that account. But this undesirable practice is going on because the subordinate officials and the Collectors do not care to draw the attention of Government to this matter. The attention of Mr. Kabraji, the Collector of Surat, was drawn to this matter, and he in his turn drew the attention of Government to it. The Government of Bombay have done justice to the people of Surat and decided that the Collector himself should hear all appeals regarding Income-tax. If he has no time to spare for such work Government will appoint a special officer for the purpose. We hope that the above decision of Government will satisfy the people. We thank Mr. Kabraji, the Collector of Surat, for the interest he has shown in the matter. But His Excellency the Governor of Bombay is specially worthy of praise because he has attached proper weight to the grievance of the people by using his foresight. But why should such a procedure be not followed in all parts of the Presidency? Government derives a large revenue out of Income-tax. Hence if Government were to appoint a separate officer in every district to hear appeals, Government will not have to undergo any very great increase in expenditure. Fortunately we have got such a thoughtful, calm and competent Governor as His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and hence we have not many cases of violence in this presidency. The present political situation is full of intense agitation. A repressive policy has long since been adopted in other presidencies. But the reason why this unpopular and thoughtless policy has not been adopted in our presidency is as much due to the wise programme of the people of this presidency as it is due to the goodness of His Excellency the Governor.

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 2nd June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62) 24th June.

5. A great majority of Indians will welcome the news that the Prince of Wales will land on the Indian shores in November next. Some people suggested that there was no wisdom in inviting the Prince of Wales to India while the non-co-operation movement was going on and that his visit would not perhaps be appreciated if the monsoon were to fail this year also. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that his visit is likely to benefit India immensely. An opportunity should be given to him to see the Indian political agitation in its full force. Not only will he get a better idea of the Indian aspirations by coming into contact with leaders of all shades of political opinion, but he will also get a correct idea as to which party in the country has got greater influence with the people at large. He will thus be enabled to relate his personal experiences more effectively to his Royal father and enlighten the British public on the state of Indian public feeling. We are not exaggerating when we say that the Indian people are eagerly desirous to offer the Prince a very enthusiastic welcome. We hope that all the unpopular [laws will be repealed, justice done to the Punjáb and all the political prisoners released before he comes. The real object of his visit will only be fullfilled if he is allowed to mix freely with the people. The Indian people desire that there should be no unnecessary expense in useless show in welcoming him. If there is any surplus money, it should be devoted to the establishment of primary schools, dispensaries, hospitals and industrial institutions in Indian villages in the name of the Prince of Wales. [The *Bombay Samáchar* makes similar remarks and adds :—All classes of people are highly pleased with the authoritative news of the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales. We wish that the people will co-operate with Government to express their feelings in this matter. We assure the Prince of a hearty reception worthy of his position. We also hope that his visit to India will be more memorable and fruitful than the visits of his ancestors, and that the connection of India with Britain and her Royal Family will thereby be so strengthened as will never break.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (31), 25th June, Eng. cols.

6. "We trust the announcement that the Prince of Wales, despite rumours to the contrary, will visit India next cold season will be received with cordiality, and unfeigned pleasure throughout the country. The present announcement will at once dispel that air of distrust and disingenuousness. The announcement will also make for public confidence in the Government; for it will show that, in spite of the anxious and unquiet times, the Government is in the practical and confident temper of 'business as usual'. This fine temper has a tonic and inspiring effect upon the populace, and it serves to allay the vague terrors and suspicions with which unsettled times fill the ordinary mind. The extra caution in the repeated postponements of the Prince's visit also implied an element of injustice. For, even the Extremists have made it clear that they have no quarrel with the reigning family, and that they would do nothing which might savour of disloyalty or disrespect towards the Royal House........ It was a wise precedent, therefore, which her late Majesty Queen Victoria established of sending out the heir to the throne to gain personal experience of Indian conditions; and it has been wise of British sovereigns and statesmen to have followed that precedent till now. The presence of the Prince here even at a time when there is so much acute discontent and even disaffection in India, will have a happy effect upon the people. It will show that the King and the Prince trust the people of India: and the people of India too will thereby be confirmed in their regard for and trust in the reigning house."

Lokamanya (new), 25th June.

7. Commenting upon the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India the *Lokamanya* writes :—The Anglo-Indian Journals welcome the Prince's visit not because of the Prince's many virtues, but because they believe it shows that the Government of India do not wish to attach much importance to the non-co-operation movement. If they are right in their supposition then we think the Government are making

a very great mistake. The bureaucracy are certainly not well-advised in making the Prince a pawn in the game solely with the object of spiting the non-co-operation movement. Pomp and splendour will certainly not be lacking when the Prince comes, thanks to the willing co-operation of the Chiefs and Moderates; but these will not reflect the true state of the country.

The problem of India before the Imperial Conference.
Mahrátta (8), 26th June.

***8.** In the course of its remarks on the problems before the Imperial Conference the *Mahrátta* writes:—"The question of immigrational rights puts the whole situation in a nutshell. It is well-known that Hon. Mr. Shastri, one of the representatives of India at the Conference, was asked to refuse to discuss the question of Imperial defence and Imperial preference unless perfect freedom to own land and trade was granted to Indian settlers in the self-governing colonies and a policy of political equality with the colonials in favour of such settlers was adopted. India demands that a status of perfect equality with European colonists should be granted to Indians and Indian settlers in Crown Colonies, protectorates, dependencies and the mandatory territories. This clearly indicates that there can be no conception of a Commonwealth unless equality of status in all walks of National life is guaranteed and this guarantee reduces itself into a grant of full Swarájya to India, internal independence to Egypt and a full Republic to Ireland—which under different names mean the same thing. The question is. 'Will England do it? Will the Imperial Conference take this broader view of the question? .... To the British people and the Dominions the Empire means at present free and unbridled license to exploit the helpless countries like India, Egypt and Ireland, but a Commonwealth cannot be built upon this immoral basis. If this same policy of keeping these nations in fetters of slavery to serve the purpose of their economic exploitation is persisted in, there will be end of the Empire in the near future. That is the peril engendered by the attitude of the bureaucrats and narrow Imperialists.......... The statesmen ought to bring to bear upon the problem their varied experience and combined wisdom to the solution of the problem before them. The whole trend of time-spirit clearly indicates the way. The yawning chasm between the 'Dependencies' and 'Dominions' must be bridged. This nomenclature and the disabilities it carries with it must be ended...... ... Let freedom be the birthright of all. Emancipation of India from the load of thraldom which lies so heavily upon her, cannot but in the long run give a strength to the new Commonwealth."

Comments on Mr. Shastri's utterances in England.
Indian Social Reformer (7), 26th June.

***9.** "The utmost circumspection is necessary in commenting on Reuter's summaries of Mr. Srinivasa Shastri's speeches and addresses in England.......... Some of the summaries are patently incomplete, unless, indeed, Mr. Shastri has been suddenly overtaken by a desire to mis-represent Indian opinion to the British public.......... The statement, for instance, that India is not interested in the renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Treaty beyond that there should be no mention in it of the defence of India, is palpably untenable. India is deeply interested in the renewal of a treaty continuing close international relations between two great Powers with one of whom she is integrally united, and to the other of whom she is bound by ties of immemorial spiritual import and, at present, of common colour and continental disabilities. India cannot afford to see the only great Asiatic Power submerged in the tide of White supremacy. Mr. Shastri's lecture to Mahatma Gandhi, again, would have been more pertinent in India than in England where the only purpose it can serve is to confirm the British people in their inveterate view that an Indian enjoys nothing so much as running down a fellow-Indian behind his back. The most grotesque performance, however, seems to be Mr. Shastri's consoling message to Englishmen that their services have never been more required than they will be under the Reform scheme in India. If Mr. Shastri said this, or anything like this, we can only infer that he has ceased to see except through Mr. Montagu's eyes. It is not fair to the British public to delude them with the idea that responsible Government in India is any more compatible with the continued large employment of alien personnel than responsible Government in Australia or South Africa."

Mahrátta (8), 26th June.

*10. "Many a man looks astounded at the attitude taken by our benign Government's representatives, Mr. Shastri and the Maharrao of Cutch, in misrepresenting matters regarding India, and concentrating all their energies upon the one single question of Dominion status for Indians everywhere in the Empire, but outside India. But we are at a loss to understand how else could they represent the master that deputed them? It is no wonder that the autocrat of Cutch—himself not willing to part with the least authority over his own people—should go out of his way and declare that the Reforms have given supreme satisfaction to India. But it is a pity to see a man like Mr. Shastri attributing unrest in India wholly to economic causes, addressing English audiences on the destructive and reactionary influence of Mr. Gandhi, and at the same time cutting jokes at the expense of Mr. Gandhi and saying that he would turn his Non-co-operation movement into some social and humanitarian channel. As to their concentration on the question of Dominion status for Indians, Mr. Shastri himself gives the clue. In his opinion that is the only one topic where the India Office and the Government of India have shown any vigour in tackling. So that is the reason why these representatives are so enamoured of that issue. That is the only question which allows of any success to these co-operators backed by the India Office and the Government of India. Moreover, if the trio fails it can well wriggle out of the situation by pending the question marking time, or hanging it on the peg of diplomatic Self-determination. But certainly Government will do its best to bring success to these representatives, and heighten its own value in the eyes of co-operators. We however do not hope any substantial success for India through such conferences so long as it has not got *Swarâj*."

Comments on the interview of the Rao of Cutch with a Reuter's representative.

Jâm-e-Jamshed (23), 23rd June.

11. When the Rao of Cutch was appointed as a representative of India to the Imperial Conference many people were not sure whether he would fight fearlessly the battles on behalf of India or only support the opinions expressed by the officials. The views expressed by him in an interview with a representative of Reuter will remove this doubt. It shows that he will fight vigorously on behalf of India and that his deeds will justify his words. He rightly said that the most important question regarding India which is to be brought before the Conference is the demand of equal rights for Indians in the British Colonies as British subjects. He also rightly said that the Indian people will be disappointed if the Imperial Conference will not come to some definite decision on this point. He has alluded to the question of the grant of full powers to India in the matter of preferential tariff. The people of India are also eager to see that an impartial settlement of this question is arrived at by the British officials and the Conference. The Rao of Cutch agrees with our opinion that a fixed number of high officials of Great Britain and the British Colonies should be invited to India every winter with a view to their being convinced that the Indian nation is not composed of coolies but of educated, civilized and respectable citizens.

Protest against the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office.

Servant of India (10), 23rd June.

12. "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the strategic importance of Aden.. .... It is true India has every year to be out of pocket for the sake of Aden to the extent of nearly three-quarters of a crore of rupees; but this amount will decrease rather than increase as the development of Aden proceeds, until at last it completely disappears. India cannot willingly consent to part with such a valuable port, especially when it is looking forward in the near future to having a navy of her own.......... Without belittling the part played by other communities in the development of the Peninsula, it would be no exaggeration to say that the credit for its present level of progress must in no small measure be given to Indian money and enterprise.

.... It is also a matter of common knowledge that Aden serves as a convenient outlet for a portion of India's surplus population. Under these circumstances it would be most unfair, in these days of self-determination, to transfer the charge of about half a lakh of human beings without the majority of them being given an opportunity to have its say in the matter....... The Indian opposition to the contemplated transfer is based also on the fear that it would mean a repetition of all that colour prejudice and racial bitterness which constitute such a black spot on British colonial policy. Who can say that the fear is groundless in the face of what is at present happening in several British colonies, notably in South Africa, Kenya and Fiji? Besides, past experience clearly shows that in racial contests between the whites and the coloured people, the Colonial Office has found itself powerless to offer any relief to the latter. No wonder then that the proposal to transfer Aden to the Colonial Office is looked upon with so much disfavour and resentment in India. The transfer, if carried out, will strengthen the impression now sedulously fostered in India that Indian interests are not allowed their due weight in the consideration of imperialist schemes. Thus it will be seen that the contemplated step is undesirable and should be abandoned as being detrimental to Indian interests; and Indian merchants should be allowed to develop Aden according to their own lights. At the same time the need of raising the educational level of the natives of the soil with a view to their eventually participating in the Government should not be lost sight of."

Comments upon the Instrument of Instructions for the Viceroy.
Gujaráti (17), 19th June.

13. Does not the Instrument of Instructions issued by His Majesty the King-Emperor to Lord Reading make the Viceroy and his government responsible to the British Parliament and the people of India? The Instrument, no doubt, puts an end to bureaucracy, but we do not think that a dual responsibility would be conducive to the welfare of India. It is now clearly proved that if the Legislative Councils know how to use the powers vested in them the control of the British Parliament will prove ineffective. We are of the opinion that Parliament would not like to take objection to any measure passed by unanimous Indian opinion in the Legislative Councils. Should Parliament take any objection it will be due to the weakness of the Indians to avail themselves of the powers vested in them. If Indian members try to avail themselves of the powers of the Government of India and secure some of the portfolios in its charge, we feel sure that Lord Reading will not fail to respect public opinion. The work to be begun ten years hence will be thus undertaken forthwith and completed within the tenure of office of Lord Reading. India has been promised its due place in the Empire. The Instrument does not make it clear what this due place means. It now devolves upon the Viceroy to take the leadership of Indian public opinion with a view to securing to India its due place in the Empire. Our rulers have shown great wisdom in giving publicty to this Instrument. It will secure the place of a Magna Charta. However, the "will and pleasure" of His Majesty must not be allowed to remain merely on paper, and strenous efforts must be made to secure its actual realisation.

Prabodh (132), 19th June.

14. The Instrument of Instructions issued to the present Viceroy does not conain much that is encouraging. Some of the instructions, do indeed, command the Viceroy to conform to the policy laid down in the preamble of the Government of India Act of 1919, and also to make the Provincial Governments do the same. But no Viceroy has up to this time ever admitted having gone against the King's commandments. Even the characterisation of the Queen's Proclamation as an 'impossible charter' by Lord Curzon was not considered a breach of royal command. Moreover, as a matter of fact, the policy laid down by Parliament in the Act does not trench in any way upon the powers enjoyed by the bureaucracy. It may, therefore, be said that these instructions will not have any appreciable influence on the character of the Indian administration. In the seventh and eighth instructions His Majesty commands the Viceroy to conform, according to his discretion, to public opinion as expressed by the various Indian Legislatures. Even if these instructions are carried out to the letter, the bureaucracy, we are sure, would not fail so to arrange matters that the dependent condition of the people does not undergo any change. We wish the instructions should have commanded the Viceroy to carry out the public's wishes even if they were wrong in some respects. The instructions no doubt show His Majesty's anxiety for India's welfare, but the question is whether they contain what India wants. India wants herself to be placed on a footing of equality with other members of the Empire. That the instructions do not concede. India is called the brightest jewel in the British crown, but the utmost stinginess is being shown in granting her the rights of *swardjya*. We, however, do not blame His Majesty for this for he has to see through bureaucratic spectacles.

Comments on Mr. Montagu's reply in Parliament to a question about the pension charges for Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer being transferred to the British Exchequer.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th June.

15. "Last month Colonel Wedgwood interpellated the Secretary of State for India if he would state how much was contributed annually from the Indian Budget for Dyer, O'Dwyer, Frank Johnson and Bosworth Smith and if he would approach the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a view to getting these charges transferred from the Indian to the British Budget. [The paper quotes Mr. Montagu's reply and says:—] If the course suggested by Col. Wedgwood had commended itself to His Majesty's Government, the fact would have redounded to the credit of the British nation, for it would have shown to the world that the British Government and the British people truly repented of the crimes committed by some Britons in the name of their Government and nation. But it is evident that the present Government is in no mood to repent and that it is determined to perpetuate the infamy of the arrangements for all the world to see. The spectacle is tragic indeed."

The example of Ireland should prove a warning to India.

Bharat Seva (16), 24th June.

16. The chaos which prevails in Ireland owing to the armed revolt to which that country has resorted and the worsening of its condition day by day goes to show that constitutional agitation for securing political rights is to be preferred by far to a revolution. It is true that there would be a long delay in securing *swardj* by means of constitutional agitation, but that path is a safe and a sure one. *Swardj* can also be secured by the use of arms and brute force, but this path though a short one is fraught with grave dangers and uncertainties. India is a disarmed country and so resort to violence on its part is full of danger. It is on this account that we have been advocating the acquisition of *swardj* by legitimate agitation and through the means of the Legislative Councils. We would ask those who advocate violence for securing *swardj* to be warned by the example of Ireland.

Disapproval of the tendency to dissuade Indians from going to England for education.

Servant of India (10), 23rd June.

17. "B. I. M." writes in the *Servant of India*:—"Attempts are being made for some time past to dissuade Indian youths from going to the United Kingdom for education. Except for a few scholarships tenable in the United Kingdom, the Government has never encouraged Indian youths. In recent years the India Office assisted in the restriction of Indian boys entering Oxford and Cambridge. The presence of large numbers of Indian students in the United Kingdom is an embarrasing problem to the India Office. The tendency of the Government, if not its declared policy, is to confine the education of Indian boys to India. Some of the Indian leaders seem to favour the policy. The Nationalists clamouring for national education, whatever that may mean, are opposed to Indian youths going to foreign countries for education. Their objection is based upon the supposed denationalisation or Westernisation entailed in education in foreign countries. The creation of an Indian Bar may be an excellent ideal. The attainment of the ideal now will involve the staying back of more than half the

Indian youths who now go to England to qualify for the Bar.......... It can hardly be denied that a few years' education in the free atmosphere and in the midst of the free institutions of England has a great moral effect on the Indian youths. Much of the social and political advancement in the country is directly attributable to the initiative, courage and energy of the English educated Indian.......... What with false ideas of national education, growing hatred of Western institutions and the Government discouraging foreign education, one should stop to consider the effect of any measure assisting the retrograde policy."

Indians should strive to emulate Europeans and Americans in improving their agriculture.

Shri Dharma Vir ( ), 11th June.

18. India is an agricultural country and three-fourths or more of its population depend upon agriculture for their maintenance. But owing to insufficiency of production and slackness of trade this country has, since a very long time, become a prey to poverty and famine. Now who is responsible for this woeful state of things. The Government or the people themselves? To our mind it is the people who are to blame for the wretched condition in which they are placed at present. We are so lethargic and unprogressive that we take no advantage of the inventions of upto date agricultural implements in Europe and America. We are still sticking to instrument that were in vogue over two thousand years ago. It is not a shame that we can produce only 11 bushels of corn from an acre, while in Europe they have reached a minimum of 44 bushels, and even their minimum is 26 bushels, *i. e.*, over double what India is producing at this time. While the Europeans and Americans have been making rapid progress in all directions, we have sat with folded hands and allowed ourselves to be overwhelmed with misery and poverty. We have of course copied them in their bad points, but not in their good points. Milk forms an important part of the food of the people in this country. And yet the condition of the cattle is no better than that of agriculture. In Europe it is quite an ordinary thing for a cow to give five seers of milk per day. But there are cows which give so much as 20 seers daily.......... We ought to imitate the Europeans in striving to improve our lot. It is a sin to remain contented with a bare maintenance. We must be up and doing, otherwise our country will be absolutely ruined.

The Empire Credits Scheme and India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th June.

19. "We congratulate the Government of India on their promptly securing from Sir Phillip Lloyd Graeme a recantation of the extraordinary views he had expressed earlier in the House of Commons. Sir Phillip now states that he never intended to cast any reflection on the merchant community in India, and expresses regret that his remarks should have given rise to any misunderstanding regarding the reasons for the exclusion of India.......... So far so good. But what about the representation by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce to the Department of Overseas Trade that the inclusion of India in the scheme will prove 'mischievous and harmful' to the interests of British traders? Did this consideration weigh with either His Majesty's Government or the Government of India and had it anything to do with the exclusion? An assurance by both of them to the contrary would go a long way to dispel the suspicion still lurking in many minds that in this affair the interests of India have been once more sacrificed to those of British merchants. The fact that the Indian mercantile community was not at all consulted before the Government of India came to a decision on such an important subject is calculated to strengthen rather than dispel such a suspicion. Where was the need for coming to a decision behind closed doors and above the heads of the public of India, especially when, as the Government of India say, the suggestion to exclude India was voluntarily made by them in India's own interests?"

Bombay Samáchár (62), 21st June.

20. The Government of India deserve to be congratulated on the prompt steps they have taken to clear the misunderstanding caused by Reuter's message in respect of the Empire Credits Scheme. The

Secretary of the Department of Overseas Trade has done well in withdrawing the allegations made against India, but we are not satisfied with the reasons advanced by him and by the Government of India for excluding India from the Scheme. In arriving at their opinion Government consulted the merchants of Bombay only and did not refer the question to mercantile interests in other parts of the country. We do not consider such a procedure desirable. Let us hope that the Credits Scheme will still be extended to India with a view to stimulating its export trade.

Comments on the appointment of the Indian Fiscal Commission.
Bombay Samáchár (62), 21st June.

21. India has been subjected to grave injustice in fiscal matters, and justice cannot be done to her unless the whole question is properly sifted by persons competent to undertake the responsible work. We would, therefore, lend our full support to the protest lodged by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in the matter of the appointment of the Indian Fiscal Commission. We hope Government will grant the demand made by the Chamber for an Indian majority on the Commission and for the appointment of an Indian gentleman as its president.

Protest against the rumoured appointment of Mr. Lees Smith as President of the Fiscal Commission.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st June.

22. "Rumour says Mr. Lees Smith has been appointed chairman of the fiscal inquiry. What are his qualifications save the white skin? He has been a professor in the London School of Economics where, unless the programme has been recently changed and he has been cast for another turn, he used to give lectures on Public Administration. His ordinary work could have taught him nothing of the practical adjustment of a nation's tariff, thirsting to get her industries on a proper footing......... He lectured for a few months under the auspices of the University of Bombay some years ago, but his lectures were far from inspiring. If it is desired to reward him in some manner, we submit there is ample patronage at the disposal of Mr. Lloyd George. A less important and more ornamental post, *e.g.*, a mission to Soviet Russia, can be found for him without encumbering Indian industry for another generation with the fads of English theorists. Must we always be made to pay for the cast-off articles of Britain? Mr. Smith's knowledge of India and her problems is next to nothing. His little book on 'Tariff Problem' ought, if anything, to procure him a permanent exclusion from any share in shaping our tariff legislation......... And this makes us question if Lord Reading has read that passage in which the joint authors of the report on Constitutional Reforms have admitted that the overwhelming bulk Indian opinion is strongly protectionist......... If a Commission of Inquiry was inevitable to ascertain,—not the public sentiment on the given topic, which, as already remarked, is too clear to be mistaken,—but the best means to give effect to that sentiment in practice, where is the necessity to go out of India to seek a Chairman? Are Indians of requisite experience and training not to be found? Or, is the person selected so unquestionable a superman as to leave no room for reasonable doubt as to influences at work in such selection."

The anti-drink movement and Government officers.
Kesari (120), 21st June.

23. The *Kesari* declares that Mr. Henderson, the Collector of Bijápur and his henchman, Mr. Hiremath, seem, by their actions against picketers, to think that drinking has not yet sufficiently spread in the country. The paper also accuses Mr. Moisey, the Collector of Sátára, with indulging in acts of high-handedness under the pretext of maintaining order to put down picketing. It considers the fine of Rs. 200 inflicted on each of the four accused persons for parading a drunkard in the streets of Sátára to be too heavy for the offence, and declares that it betrays the vindictiveness of the local authorities. It then attacks Mr. Joshi, a Magistrate in East Khándesh, before whom a few cases in connection with the anti-drink campaign are pending, and remarks that Mr. Joshi purposely postpones these cases every time they come up for hearing with a view to harassing the accused. The bureaucracy and its proteges will not

fail to be disappointed, says the paper, if they hope to kill the temperance movement by such pin-pricks.

Karnatak Vaibhav (89), 21st June.

24. The *Karnatak Vaibhav* refers to the picketing activities at various places in the presidency and the prosecutions launched by Government in connection therewith, and asks whether the Minister of Excise is asleep and whether he does not think it his duty to curb the officials who are indulging in a reckless campaign of repression with a view to suppress the movement. The paper alleges that the Police, the Magistrates and the liquor contractors are all acting in concert, in furtherance of a common aim, *viz.*, suppression of the movement, and asks whether this repressive policy of the officials has got the approval of the Minister. The paper then refers to the picketing activities in the Bijápur District, and says that the accusations of violence and intimidation which were levelled against the volunteers were groundless and false and that they were fabricated by the Collector in order to justify his order forbidding the volunteers from picketing within a distance of 300 yards from the liquor shops. The paper goes on to show that the facts were entirely the reverse of what Mr. Henderson represented them to be, and invites the Minister to come to Bijápur to see things for himself at first hand. Concluding, the paper calls upon the Minister to cancel the Collector's order.

Jágaruk (46), 19th June.

25. Though Government officers have been observing praiseworthy neutrality in the matter of the anti-drink movement at Poona, elsewhere they have commenced to interfere with it in a censurable manner. For example, the Collector of Bijápur has indirectly proclaimed his resolve to suppress the movement. In his opinion the picketers have been depriving people of their personal liberty by coming in the way of their drinking liquor. But why can the Collector not take into consideration the fact that this partial attack on the personal liberty of the drunkard saves his wife and children from his attack of their liberty? What has he to say to the fact that one drunkard destroys the happiness of at least five persons? Does he think that the drunkard's personal liberty will be left untouched, when Government themselves restrain drinking by law as they mean to do? Have not Government murdered the liberty of the nation by imposing this unnatural and demoniac vice on its people under the pretext of protecting the liberty of a handful of drunkards when the majority of the nation was against drinking? But we need not be afraid of these defenders of drunkards, for now the power to destroy the vice has been placed in the hands of the people, and they are determined to make use of it, whether Government stops picketing or not.

Anti-drink movement in Bombay City.

Kaiser-i-Hind (24), 26th June, Eng. cols.

***26.** "The 'white caps' have now commenced their temperance campaign in Bombay......... The methods employed by some of the temperance volunteers in order to prevent customers from going into the liquor shops are as a rule peaceful, that is to say, they do not use any personal violence; but some enthusiasts are seen in their zeal to overstep the bounds of moderation and good manners. Thus if a person is bold enough to enter a shop in spite of their persuasion, he is greeted with such a volley of filthy abuse, and in certain cases personal maltreatment on his exit, that there would surely be a serious breach of peace were it not for the fact that all parties seem to be tacitly agreed that there should be no disturbance of the public peace. The shopkeepers also are showing a good deal of patience and forbearance, in spite of the gross insults, annoyance and personal loss which they have to suffer by this capricious campaign. The question is how far will this picketing prove successful in stamping out the drink evil in this city......... As long as the picketing continues there will no doubt be falling off in the consumption of liquor and the number of persons frequenting the shops; but as soon as the check is removed those who are addicted to drink will take to drinking as hard as ever. Picketing can have no permanent moral value, and as such it is the most ineffective weapon that can be employed by the temperance workers. But even the temporary effect of the movement is, from the temperance point of view, lost by the fact that all the shops from one end to the other are not picketed at one and the same time. If this picketing is to be at all effective it must be carried on simultaneously in all parts of the city so that all the shops are at one and the same time under vigilance. If this movement is intended to deprive the Government of the revenue derived from the liquor traffic, the leaders ought to know that for the present it is utterly useless, in that Government have not to lose a single pie through their efforts. The Excise Department has already collected about 40 lacs of rupees in license fees for the current year from the shop-keepers, and the Department knows very well that it has nothing to lose substantially for the present. So it stands quietly by and watches the game and lets the shopkeepers suffer without taking any steps to safeguard them in the peaceful prosecution of their trade. Had the movement been set on foot at the time when the auction sales were in progress, the Abkári Department would certainly have been more alert and anxious about the safety and security of the goose that lays the golden eggs. As it is, it holds aloof knowing that it for the present stands to lose nothing. The only people, therefore, who have really to suffer, and suffer most unfairly, are the license holders, who have many of them paid exhorbitantly large sums for the privilege of holding their licenses, and whose plight is now really pitiable. They see their business steadily falling off and themselves facing serious loss, even ruin. We have no objection to the temperance movement as such, if conducted on proper and legitimate lines; but we contend that the movement ought not to be carried on in such a way as to unfairly hit any one class of people and deprive them of their daily bread. We do not hold any brief for the liquor-shop owners, but we affirm that in all fairness Government ought to take steps to safeguard them from unnecessary loss, for have not the Government charged them enormous fee for the privilege of carrying on their trade?......... We must also draw the attention of the leaders of this movement to the fact that by driving off a few people from the liquor-shops they may perhaps drive them to the use of intoxicants of a more harmful nature. The sale of such drugs as opium, *gánja* and *charas* is increasing, as would appear from recently published satistics. These drugs are more harmful in their effects even than liquor. They should, therefore, start a crusade to put a stop to the sale of such drugs also.......... The true methods of carrying on the temperance movement are those that have been employed with the greatest success in America and Europe for the past forty years. These are open-air meetings; distribution of temperance literature among the people; organised work to improve the economic condition of the working classes.......... Will Mr. Gandhi and his followers follow their example."

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 25th June.

27. Commenting upon the picketting operations started in Bombay at present, in connection with the temperance movement, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—It seems from the statement made by one of the picketters in the court of the Honorary Magistrates of Girgaum that some of these so-called volunteers are paid for the work that they do. It does not concern us whether the picketters are volunteers or paid servants. What the public and the class of people who make use of liquor demand is that these 'men with white caps' should do their work by keeping themselves within the bounds of law. Unfortunately they do not do so. We believe that if such a state of affairs is allowed to continue a little longer, there cannot but be a breach of the peace. They do not also hesitate to abuse the community to which owners of the liquor-shops belong. We request the leaders of the temperance movement to do the needful in the matter. We sympathise with the temperance movement, but do not approve of the method of picketting. Can the Police Commissioner do nothing in this matter? An order like that of the Collector of Bijápur to the effect that no picketter should go within a distance of three hundred yards of liquor shops except on legitimate business will serve well in Bombay. The authorities should take steps immediately in this matter to preserve the peace of the city and to protect the people staying in the vicinity of liquor-shops.

Anti-drink movement in Sátára and Poona.
Mahrátta (8), 26th June.

*28. "The success that has attended the efforts of the picketing volunteers in putting a stop to liquor traffic has brought upon them the ire of our bureaucratic gods. The laugh and the ridicule have given place to anger and sense of defeat. Consequently the mailed fist is everywhere visible. The Sátára Magistrates are busy engaged in their prosecutions and their operations under Section 144, while those of Belgaum and Bijápur are viewing the spectacle of the volunteers being beaten by the ruffians with calm composure. The love of the liberties of 'legitimate consumers' seems to be in rising tide in Poona, while the usual crokers in the Anglo-Indian press are pitiously appealing to the bureaucrats to save the Poona people from the tyranny of mob-rule and drench the thirsty throats of these poor people with drink. All these signs portend the coming of the storm. Let the volunteers and workers in the prohibition cause keep their heads cool and trusting in God do the right."

Prakásh (137), 22nd June.

29. The 16th of June was a memorable day in the history of Sátára, for on that day there took place the *hartal* which showed the strength of the anti-drink movement which has been going on in the town for the last five weeks. The *hartal* originated in a case in which four picketers were prosecuted for blackening the face of a drunkard named Malvade and parading him through the streets of the town. The proceedings in the case in the Magisterial Court completely confirmed the reports about the highhanded methods usually followed there. The case had created a great stir in the town as both non-Brahmin Hindus and Musalmans were among the picketers charged and as the public expected from the sort of justice dispensed by Mr. Baskerville, the Magistrate, in the previous picketing case, that the accused in this case also were sure to be floored. Mr. Rajopadhye appeared for the complainant Malvade before the Court, and as soon as the case commenced, filed his petition for withdrawing his complaint. Immediately, the Magistrate's face was worth a study. It was explained to him that a complainant could withdraw his complaint at any stage of the proceedings, but the Magistrate continued to grumble and to show temper and in the end decided that the complainant had put in the petition through undue pressure and so the case should go on. The accused's pleader, Mr. Apte, declined to produce evidence in view of the agitated state of mind of the Magistrate. The Magistrate thereupon fined each of the accused Rs. 200 and ordered the fine to be paid before the rising of the Court and half its amount to be paid to the complainant. Mr. Apte had applied for transfer of the case to another Court, but the application was rejected without stating reasons! [Elsewhere the paper states that the Magistrate's decision produced a great commotion in the town and that the next day there took place a complete *hartal* and a crowded public meeting was held. The impression produced upon the minds of the authorities, the paper says, can well be imagined.]

Mr. Gandhi wants Moderates to abolish liquor-shops.
Young India (14), 22nd June.

30. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I take great pains to be accurate and plain. And yet I have succeeded in leaving the impression in 'a critic' in the *Servant of India*, that I expect the Moderates to join the non-co-operators in picketing. I do nothing of the kind. Picketing might appear to the co-operators to be too clumsy and too incomplete to commend itself to them. But I thought, that they would help the temperance cause in their own way, *i.e.*, by immediately abolishing the drink shops. It is the least they owe to the country. Daily, as the heat of the picketing is increasing, the pickets come in for the attentions of the keepers of liquor shops and of their customers. I understand, that two pickets were struck by some ruffians and had their heads broken in Ahmedabad. These brave men now daily appear at their post with bandaged heads. A volunteer was slapped in the presence of a crowd in Bombay, and he stood his ground firmly but did not retaliate. Such instances must multiply, as the effect of picketing is felt by the sellers of spirituous liquors. It is impossible to stop this reform, even though pickets

lose their lives in the performance of their duty. The work must continue, so long as there are enough young men and women found ready to take up picketing, and so long as they are ready to risk their lives without retaliating. It was because I was aware of the danger that I appealed to the patriotism of the Moderates with a view to abolishing at a stroke all drink-shops, and thus saving young men and young women from injury to limb or life. It grieves me, therefore, to find that I failed in my letter to carry the point home. I am aware that at some future date temperance reform will come. It is small comfort to a man whose house is on fire, that appliances are in course of preparation to deal with such fires."

The Ali Brothers' apology and Mr. Gandhi.
Servant of India (10), 23rd June.

31. "The Ali Brothers' complaint is that the Government publicly declared that they dropped the prosecution because of the apology; the brothers seem to have hoped that the Government would quietly suspend the prosecution without relating it to the apology in any manner. Mr. Gandhi however sees no objection to such a disclosure of the sequence of events. He says: 'The statement was not conditional upon a revision of the Government's decision. That the Government revised the decision on the strength of the statement was a wise and natural act on their part.' We can quite believe that so far as Mr. Gandhi is concerned, in advising the brothers to tender an apology it was not his object to bargain for their freedom, and it is just because of this belief that we fail to see why such frantic efforts should be made to show either that the speeches were not violent or that the expression of regret was made only for non-co-operators, but not for Government. One can only apply to the non-co-operators the advice which Mr. Gandhi has tendered to Lord Reading—'Do not be diplomatic.'"

Gujaráti (17), 26th June, Eng. cols.

*32. "We are ready to accept Mr. Gandhi's emphatic and unequivocal statement that he did not bargain for the Ali Brothers' liberty and that it was he who prompted their apology. But some difference of opinion is likely to arise when it is claimed that the apology 'was not made to the Government but addressed and tendered to "friends" who drew their attention to their speeches.' There is no doubt that Mr. Gandhi was one of them, because, as he himself admits, he was instrumental in getting the Ali Brothers to apologise, of course, to their friends. What and how many friends drew their attention to the objectionable tenor of their speeches is not stated. That has an important bearing upon the question why the apology was given the widest publicity in the public press.......... If it was not meant to influence the mind of Lord Reading's Government, a private apology to Mr. Gandhi would have been more than sufficient. The Ali Brothers' other friends seem to have been dragged into the incident without any adequate justification. We do not suggest that there was any thing wrong on the part of the Ali Brothers in apologising to the Government. But Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers are extremely anxious to make out that the apology was not meant for them. We confess we cannot appreciate this anxiety.......... If the Viceroy's speech was unfortunate, the Ali Brothers' statement, which was drafted after careful consideration, is equally so. The former conveyed more, according to Mr. Gandhi, than what was intended or was actually said and the latter too errs exactly in the same way. Assuming that the apology was not meant for the Government, the latter must be congratulated all the more on the wisdom of their decision not to prosecute the Ali Brothers, which was incontestably arrived at in view of their public apology and undertaking regarding their conduct in future. Even according to Mr. Gandhi, the 'satanic' Government has acted 'wisely' in coming to such a decision. 'It has' says Mr. Gandhi, 'given me relief'! We go further and say that it has relieved the minds of all, whether co-operators or non-co-operators. It is, therefore, unfair, if not ridiculous, to contend that this happy close of an unpleasant incident was not the result of the interviews which Mr. Gandhi had with the Viceroy, in the course of which both parties were more or less equally anxious to influence each other's attitude and views by a frank interchange of thoughts.

.... We think that both Lord Reading and Mr. Gandhi have 'co-operated' with each other in bringing about this satisfactory result, though the latter will not feel disposed to admit that the special pleas he has given for seeking an interview with the Viceroy and the promise that he gave to His Excellency to obtain a 'clearing statement' were more in consonance with the creed of an open-minded co-operator than that of an unyielding non-co-operator. The brothers' apology was a moral triumph for Mr. Gandhi, and we congratulate them all as well as Lord Reading and his Government upon the happy termination of a disquieting episode and the prevention of still more unfortunate developments in the country."

Appeal to the people to contribute to the Swaráj Fund.

Gramya Swardjya (68), 21st June ; *Arya Prakash* (15), 12th June.

33. Some Englishmen take pride that it is they that have inculcated the ideas of liberty in India and that India would not have been what it is (ill-fed and ill-clad) without the British. There is nothing but self-glorification in this. India has now realised the benefits of *swardj* and has begun its efforts in the direction of regaining it and they have fixed the time for realising their dream. It rests with the people to secure *swardj*. For years past Government have disregarded our demands for *swardj* on the plea that we are not fit for it. We have now to prove that we are fit for *swardj*. It, therefore, now behoves us to carry out the Bezwada programme by the end of this month. We shall not evoke the admiration of other nations without making a hearty response to the appeal that is being made for contributions to the Tilak Swaraj Fund. [The *Arya Prakdsh* makes a strong appeal to the Arya Samajists to contribute liberally to the Swaráj Fund.]

Mr. Gandhi and the Parsis.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 21st and 22nd June., Eng. cols.

34. Referring to the meeting between Mr. Gandhi and the Parsi Central Association, the *Jdm-e-Jamshed* remarks:—"Alone almost among myriads of stout lunged orating wanderers, who teach politics to those who do not want them at the monetary expense of the latter, Mr. Gandhi has preserved his reputation for selflessness. Because, however, what he inculcates is based on altruism it does not follow that the Parsis should accept it without a thoughtful analysis. So far as the Parsi feeling can be gauged, many men and some women are prepared to throw in their lot with the great Gujaráti as regards his economic innovations. But there is one objective of his in the attainment of which the Parsis frankly and most unequivocally decline to co-operate with him. And that is the immediate abrogation of British suzerainty. Mr. Gandhi has the power of persuasive eloquence. It is possible that he may convert some of the impressionable and less thoughtful of his Parsi audience...... To such as may remain in doubts and would not resent a plain word of warning, we would emphatically urge to pay—now and hereafter—every mark of respect to Mr. Gandhi as a great social reformer and as a powerful reviver of the national traditions of old India but not to accept his political guidance unless and until he and his colleagues are prepared to rescind the offensive article in the new Congress creed which aims at the disastrous severance of connection with Britain.......... We wish space permitted our reproducing extracts from the startling opposition offered to undiluted Gandhism by Bengali journals like the *Sanjibani* and the *Nayak* which reaches at the lowest computation 15,000 educated men on the other side of India. We have often been asked why we do not acquaint our Gujarati and especially Parsi readers with the destructive criticism levelled at Gandhism both in Bengal and Madras. Our defence is that in the first place we have too much personal respect for Mr. Gandhi to unnecessarily help create antagonism to him. And in the second place it is our rooted belief that the storm will pass away leaving the Parsi community with spiritual affection for Mr. Gandhi and unshaken loyalty to the Crown." [In the next issue the paper adds:—"If Mr. Gandhi's trend of thought were not liable to abrupt variations, India as a whole would congratulate the Parsis on the conference between the latter and

Gandhi. Very many have called upon Mr. Gandhi to define his swaraj. His replies have been unsatisfactory. The one or two men who are students of politics among the Parsis elicited the satisfactory answer from Mr. Gandhi. They have done a service to the country at large. Mr. Gandhi admitted that he will be content with the Dominion form of self-government. This statement procured from Mr. Gandhi is a solid achievement of the conference. On the other hand, the public cannot but deplore the great opportunity that has been otherwise missed.......... The entire Gandhi movement has for its fifth wheel the Khilafat. Was there any one among the representatives of the Parsis ready with knowledge to confront Mr. Gandhi with the uncontestable fact that for a Hindu to aid the maintenance of the Khilafat as it has been defined by Moslem divines is to act the hypocrite? Mr. Gandhi has achieved great nominal success in his appeal to the masses on this score. And yet he is a believer in truth and an opponent of shams. We have sufficient respect for him to aver that had the question been straightforwardly put to him the Parsis would have earned the credit of eliciting from him a confession of his Himalayan error with regard to substantial support of idolators to the institution of the Khilafat in the abstract."]

Sánj Vartamán (33), 20th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 20th June; *Broach Samáchár* (64), 23rd June.

35. The holding of an urgent meeting of the Council of the Pársi Central Association of Bombay to meet Mr. Gandhi for an informal discussion on the present political situation marks an epoch in the history of the Parsi community since its advent into India. The Parsis as a community have remained aloof from the present political agitation, and that a necessity should arise to convince them of the desirability of participating in it goes to show that the Parsis are deteriorating and losing their old prestige. It was the Parsis who laid the foundation of political agitation in Western India and it was a Parsi who outlined the goal of *Swaráj* for India on the Congress platform. Unfortunately the community has fallen so low that it does not at present possess a political leader worth the name. However there is no cause for despair. Mr. Gandhi indulged in plain and straightforward talk before the Parsi Central Association and gave satisfactory replies to the questions asked by the Parsis present on the occasion. In our opinion it is a crime to postpone the gift of *swaráj* for India. The Parsis should read the writings of Mr. Dadabhoy Nowroji to convince themselves of the low economic situation of India, and if they are once convinced of the truth of what he has written, would it not be a folly on their part to offer opposition to those who are demanding *swaráj* for India? [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, writes:—Mr. Gandhi was apprised of the Parsi opinion by the Council of the Parsi Central Association, and he was given to understand that there was only a difference of degree between his opinion and that of the Parsis, and that while his non-co-operationist followers pressed for the grant of immediate *Swaráj*, the Parsis asked for it by gradual stages. The Association made it clear to Mr. Gandhi that Indians would not be able to retain *Swáráj*, even if it were granted to them, as long as they did not possess the strength to defend themselves against foreign invasion, and as long as caste prejudices and jealousies continued to sway the hearts of the Indian people. The reply given by Mr. Gandhi in the matter of foreign invasion goes to show that he is very simple-minded. Some of our Indian brethren have been so much swayed by enthusiasm that they do not wait to give consideration to all the questions that confront them. But the Parsis are not hasty, and they examine the question of *swaráj* from all points of view. The Parsis are convinced that the non-co-operation movement is likely to end in violence and bloodshed, and it is on this account that they refuse to countenance it. The *Broach Samáchár* writes:—We would urge upon the Parsis the necessity of taking part in loyal and constitutional agitation, but would tell them never to join the non-co-operation movement. Mr. Gandhi must have been now convinced that the Parsis as a community will not join his movement.]

Comments on the order of the District Magistrate, Lahore, prohibiting a meeting of the City Congress Committee.

Hindu (163), 16th June.

36. The District Magistrate of Lahore stopped the meeting of the Congress Committee by issuing a stupid, illegal and despotic order. One of the reasons that the Magistrate seems to have assigned for stopping the meeting is, that the holding of the meeting might possibly cause a breach of peace. These irresponsible officials have been doing whatever they have liked during the last few months under the pretence of preserving the peace. We never heard that the holding of any meeting of the Congress Committee in any part of India caused any breach of peace. They were going to summon another meeting of the Congress Committee, so that the District Magistrate might get an opportunity to correct himself. Throughout the whole country the District Magistrates had pressed them so hard that they would either have to practise Satyagraha and break the illegal orders, or the passionate amongst them would be obliged to use violence.

The Mogul and Mahratta Governments were better than the British.

Young India (14), 22nd June.

37. "'Observer' in the *Times of India* asks me some questions pertaining to the movement.......... 'Observer' asks, whether the British 'is not a better Government than the Mogul and the Maratha'. I must dare to say that the Mogul and the Maratha Governments were better than the British, in that the nation as a whole was not so emasculate or so impoverished as it is to-day. We were not the Pariahs of the Mogul or the Maratha Empire. We are Pariahs of the British Empire."

Is it possible to secure *Swarâj* by means of a friendly compromise with Government?

New Times (9), 23rd June.

38. Referring to Mr. Bepin Chander Pal's declaration that there should be a friendly compromise with Government in the matter of getting *Swarâj*, the *New Times* writes:—"Are we to depend upon the 'good offices of the British' and get *swarâj* by a 'compromise' with the Government? Can India expect to rise out of her present condition of a vassal state to that of a free Nation by seeking a 'compromise' with Government? We have said again and again that *swarâj* is self-reliance; it is not for us to seek 'compromise' with the present Government; it is for Government to come to terms with the Nation; and Government will not seek a 'friendly compromise' with the people until the people show their strength by self-reliance and sacrifice. Not until we show our strength in such a measure as to make England realise that it is not worth her while to be in India except on our terms, can India achieve *swarâj*. As it is, England still believes she can hold us on her own terms—in the interests of the whole Empire or for purposes of exploitation......... No, it is not for us to seek 'compromise'; it is for us to build up our economic, social and educational life. Then let Government, if it will, seek 'compromise' with us; we then can meet Government on our terms. It is premature to talk of settlement by compromise at a time when the nation has not asserted its economic and moral strength. How to do it—is the question the Congress should consider at a very early date. We want a clear, consistent programme; we want a readjustment of the national outlook in the light of recent events and experiences; we want a definite attitude to the question of *swarâj*. When the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs have been redressed, India—Mahatmaji thinks—'can have *swarâj* for the asking.' Our way of looking at the matter is different. When *swarâj* is achieved, India, we think, can redress the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs. Seek ye first the Kingdom of Swarâj and all other things will be added unto you."

Non-co-operation alone can awaken the sense of justice of the English.

Lokamanya (new), 22nd June.

39. When the Duke of Connaught came here he noticed that the dark shadow of Amritsar had spread over the face of India. He besought India, therefore, with tears in his eyes, to forget the past. If tears alone could suffice to wipe out the sin of Amritsar then the Duke's object would certainly have been achieved. But although it is three or four months since the

Duke returned to England the shadow is still there, thus showing that neither words nor tears have the power to lift it up. The Duke does not seem to have done anything to obtain justice for India after he returned home. We are prepared to believe that the Duke sincerely desired that India should get justice in regard to the events at Amritsar. But since the Duke proved wholly incapable of obtaining justice for us, the obvious conclusion is that the British nation itself does not wish our wrong to be redressed. It is futile to expect justice at the hands of England. Some simpletons believe that Lord Reading will give them justice in regard to the happenings in the Punjáb but these men do not realise that Lord Reading, who is only a servant of the King, cannot possibly give them what his uncle had not the power to give. Non-co-operation alone can awaken the sense of justice of the English.

Why Indian Mussalmans are talking about setting up a Republic in India.

Karma Veera (88), 24th June.

40. If Government persists in its present repressive policy even after we fulfil the Bezwada programme, we shall have to prepare ourselves for still more serious work. If the Government carries out its own will, in utter disregard of the unanimous desire of the people for *swarájya*, there will indeed be very little difference between Ireland and India. It is on account of this reason that the Indian Mussulmans are now talking about the setting up of an Indian republic. Even the Hindus, peace-loving as they are, will be compelled to indulge in similiar talk. If the Government is still obdurate, the time will not be long in coming when the connection which exists between the Government and the country will be broken.

Lokamanya (new), 20th June.

41. Commenting upon the decision of the Executive body of the All-India Congress Committee that in the event of a conflict between England and the Angora Government Indians should not fight on the side of England, the *Lokamanya* writes :—This resolution will not fail to be embarrassing to the authorities. It will certainly have no effect on the Hindus and the Muhammadans who are already serving in the army but it will certainly affect recruiting if undertaken on a large scale. It will therefore not be to the interest of Government themselves to completely disregard the views expressed by the Congress Committee. Both the Hindus and the Muhammadans desire that the Turks should not be molested on their own soil. The Congress Committee having come to the decision from this point of view, there is nothing wrong in it either politically or morally.

Mr Gandhi's non-co-operation movement and Maháráshtra Extremists.

Dnyán Prakásh (42), 19th June.

42. We have all along been saying that the non-co-operation movement would never succeed but would produce ill effects. The Maharashtra Extremists too never liked the movement, but as they lacked the moral courage to stand up against Mr. Gandhi and the Congress majority, they continued to sing its praises. But this hypocritical attitude could not last long and the Extremists are now impatient to get out of the false position, and the *Lokasangraha* of the 17th instant (*vide* Weekly Report No. 25, paragraph 45) has appealed to the people of Maharashtra to sever their connection with Mr. Gandhi. It says he is a great puzzle in Indian politics. It ought, however, to have seen this long before. The conditions which he laid down for the achievement of *swarajya* within a year were such as could have never been fulfilled. It is people like the editor of the *Lokasangraha* who are responsible for the pitiable condition to which their party has to-day been reduced as they foolishly pretended to pursue the *swarájya* phantom raised by Mr. Gandhi. The slave mentality in Maharashtra of which the *Lokasangraha* complains is due not to Mr. Gandhi but to the Tilakite party. Mr. Gandhi has never preached unquestioning obedience to Congress resolutions. It was the Tilak cult that first proclaimed Congress decisions as binding on all. The seed of slavery was thus first sown by that cult. It is, therefore, ridiculous for it to find fault with others.

Comments on the acquittal of Sergeant Coles of the charge of causing death of a Sholapur agriculturist.
Kesari (120), 21st June.

43. Commenting upon the prosecution and acquittal at Poona of Sergeant Coles of the charge of causing the death of an agriculturist near the Kem Railway Station in the Sholápur District, the *Kesari* says that the case provides one more example of the way in which the goddess of justice really proves to be blind when the accused happens to be a European and the sufferer an Indian. The paper calls the decision a sample of British justice and makes a present of it to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Comments on the Sialkot Cantonment Magistrate's decision in the Private Mulligan case of assault on a Hindú widow.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st June.

44. "Elsewhere will be found the proceedings of a case disposed of by the Cantonment Magistrate of Sialkot, in which Private Mulligan was tried for committing an indecent assault on an Indian widow. The Magistrate was satisfied that it was a case of causing simple hurt to the widow and fined the accused—a virtual acquittal. The assault was committed in broad daylight at 10 A.M. [Here the paper gives long extracts from the Magistrate's decision with comments and concludes:—] Is an Indian woman to have no justice, because it is a British soldier who assaults her in an attempt to dishonour her? She complains and her character is gratuitously questioned and the whole matter is wound up, not for the correction of the offender, but for the prevention of 'future attempts at blackmailing.' We have seldom come across a case so scandalous, or an officer so unfit to administer justice. We are being smothered with sentiments touching the genuineness of words and deeds, and we wonder if in a case so distressing as this, Lord Reading's Government will interfere. It would be a shame to leave Mr. C. D. Thorne's judgment as the last word on the subject."

Complaint about the doings of the Málegaon (Násik) authorities.
Mahrátta (8), 26th June.

***45.** "The Committee appointed by the Mahárásthra Provincial Conference is engaged in making its report but the enquiry seems to have made the minds of the authorities there completely uneasy. They thought that their authority was being challenged. They at once arrested some of the leading Congressmen including Mr. M. V. Khare, who had immensely helped the Committee. It is a strange coincidence indeed that his offence was discovered just after the departure of the Committee. He along with others is charged for dacoity, murder and arson. It is said that a poll-tax is being imposed on the city to recover damages done during the riot."

Comments on the arrest of additional persons at Málegaon in connection with the riot cases.
Kesári (120), 21st June.

46. The arrest of five or six respectable persons immediately after the departure from Málegaon of the Committee appointed by the Mahárásthra Provincial Conference to inquire into the causes of the Malegaon disorders cannot be an accident but is a deliberate move on the part of the bureaucracy. Government viewed this committee with disfavour and, therefore, they must have arrested the men who had any dealings with it and who gave valuable assistance to it, with a view to spiting it. Otherwise, how is it that the Police discovered only now that these peeple were concerned in the disorders? They were not in hiding nor had they absconded. People know how to account for their sudden arrest at this stage of the inquiry.

Injustice is still being done in cases wherein Europeans are the accused in spite of Lord Reading's determination to see justice done.
Mahrátta (8), 26th June.

***47.** "Lord Reading came to India to see that stern justice is done to and administered in India. He has been weighed and found wanting in the capacity to do justice so far as India's political future is concerned. People are indeed astonished to see him an empty shell. So far as administration of justice is concerned let him study the recent 'Khoria' shooting case, where a young planter who was alleged to have asked for th daughter of Gangadhar, a cooly, on the tea estate an d on his refusal wounded him with revolver shots. He was acquitted. Sergeant

Coles who was charged with shooting an agriculturist was acquitted by the District Magistrate of Poona for want of evidence against him. In the Punjáb a soldier was fined only Rs. 50 for the offence of assaulting an Indian woman. The authority of the law is blunted against white skin. Let Lord Reading reflect on the consequences."

Comments on the withdrawal of the summons issued against Principal Gidwani from Madras.

Gujaráti Punch (19), 19th June Eng. cols.; *New Times* (9), 17th June.

48. "The withdrawal of summons against Mr. Gidwani chiefly, it is believed, through the good auspices of the Bombay Government is, indeed, a wise step and will cause widespread satisfaction. The prosecution of one for speeches delivered about three months back, whatever its merits from a technical point of view, does not appear to the layman as anything better than persecution, and we are glad it has been abandoned in the case of Mr. Gidwani. Thanks to Sir George Lloyd, the Bombay Presidency is as yet free, comparatively speaking, from repression; but this prosecution of Mr. Gidwani, had it taken place, although undertaken by the Madras Government, would have caused a certain amount of bitterness on this side. Fortunately better counsels have prevailed and the contingency avoided—at least for the time being. We hope it will not be sought to be revived." [The *New Times* remarks:—"So another Sindhi—this time an immediate lieutenant of Mahatma Gandhi—was sought to be prosecuted under section 124A—the common bureaucratic remedy for inconvenient N. C. O's. throughout India. Has the Government any idea as to what these prosecutions will lead to? They may lead to many things for the bureaucratic mind but they will lead ultimately to one thing—they will strengthen the moral backbone of the national movement."]

How justice is administered in sedition cases against speakers.

Bhárat Máta (104), 15th June.

49. Prosecution of a speaker in these days is merely a farce. Speeches are generally made in the vernacular when no shorthand writers are present and the speeches are taken down by some policemen. From the notes jotted down by these ignorant men reports of the speeches are prepared at their leisure by the reporters who make additions of their own to the speeches, and on the strength of such reports Government sanction prosecutions. Then there is more fun. The judge is generally ignorant of the vernacular in which a speech is made and the proceedings are in English. The speech which is already misreported has further to undergo translation into English and also to run the gauntlet of interpretation by Barristers and Pleaders and witnesses, and the judge has to give justice by listening to all this! The case is thus based on a false foundation and the accused is heavily sentenced. Will His Excellency the Viceroy say that this is all justice?

Indian public and the Police.

Prabodh Chandrika (133), 13th June.

50. The Director of Information has recently issued a leaflet entitled 'Police and the Public' and has tried therein to give an answer to the complaint that the Indian police abuse their powers and harass the people. The leaflet says in reply that during the preliminary training of the police the importance of truthfulness, politeness, impartiality and other rules of conduct is duly impressed on the minds of the pupils and they are warned that any transgression of them while discharging their duties would not be overlooked. All this may be true but how can it succeed in influencing public opinion when every day they see instances of ordinary police sepoys' over-bearing conduct towards Indian gentlemen? It would be no misrepresentation to say that a policeman is never a gentleman and that he has no regard for truth or impartiality. Even thousands of such leaflets would not succeed in removing the bad opinion the people have formed about the Police. The chief cause of all this lies in the crooked policy of Government whose heart and outward actions are never in agreement. The bureaucracy scents sedition in every public movement and to suppress every indication of it instantly it has invested the police with extraordinury powers. The suspicious Government not caring to see how these powers are used, the police are encouraged to act according to their sweet will and every now and then to raise the spectre of sedition and thus to curry Government's favour. A conscientious policeman is an eyesore in the department and he loses his rights of promotion. Only recently, a Sub-Inspector in Bengal who gave true evidence in a non-co-operation case had to undergo incarceration and was in addition dismissed from service. As long as the heart of Government is not purified any number of moral lessons given to the police would be of no avail.

Complaint about Indian passengers being vexatiously treated by Police officers in the Bombay harbour.

Sánj Vártman (33), 23rd June.

51. Passports of passengers coming from England to Bombay are examined on board the steamers by Police officers. Some Indian passengers who came by the last mail steamer have made a bitter complaint to us in the matter. They inform us that European passengers were allowed to leave the steamers as soon as their passports were examined, while the Indian passengers were detained and examined very minutely. It does not matter if all the passengers are examined in this way; but evidently distinction is observed between Europeans and Indians. Indians come to their country, and if they are treated with suspicion they feel insulted. The practice of examining passports in this way and allowing the Europeans to go away easily is to be depricated. Indians are not treated in such an insulting manner in England. We draw the attention of the Police Commissioner of Bombay to this complaint and hope that no racial distinction will be observed in the matter of checking passports in future.

Comments on the new Indian Soldiers' School at Belgaum.

Indu Prakásh (45), 21st June.

52. It is announced that the Indian soldiers' school established at Belgaum is to begin work on 1st July. The curriculum contains various subjects and is intended to make the Indian soldier a model citizen. It is, however, to be noted that while English history is considered necessary to secure the object, the founders of the school have completely ignored the history of India. The people have been urging the necessity of turning the citizens into soldiers, and the great war has also proved the need; but a deaf ear has been turned to the demand. The contrary course, that of trying to turn the soldier into a citizen, which Government have deliberately adopted, will scarcely be welcomed, and we have doubts whether it will at all succeed. It would be fruitless to attempt to force subjects like history, geography and mathematics into the unpolished and uncultivated brains of the Indian soldier who has spent his life in receiving drill lessons alone, and who has all along considered illiteracy and boisterousness as his chief merits. Considered from any point of view, anyone will say that money spent on the school would be simply wasted.

Comments on the refusal of Mr. Gandhi to give evidence before the Military Requirements Committee.

Jám-e-Jamshed (23), 24th June.

53. Commenting upon the refusal of Mr. Gandhi to give evidence before the Military Requirements Committeee, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—We are very sorry to note that Mr. Gandhi has refused to give evidence before this Committee because he is a non-co-operator. His movement would not have suffered in any way if he had sent suggestions to Government as to how to reduce the vast Military expenditure of this country. Such inquiries are undertaken very rarely, and so Mr. Gandhi has not benefitted the country in any way in losing this opportunity. The Indian politicians should present such a constructive scheme before Government as will impress upon them the necessity of reducing the military expenditure. Mr. Gandhi and men of his opinion should listen to the arguments advanced by Mr. Bepin Chandra Pal in accepting the invitation for the same. We wish that Mr. Gandhi had consented to give evidence before the said Committee. Mr. Gandhi is not justified in clinging to the non-co-operation movement to such an extent as this. A great majority of the people of this country look upon the negligence of the All-India Congress Committee with displeasure. We hope that other non-co-operators who are invited will walk in the footsteps of Mr. Pal and thus not lose the opportunity of serving the country.

Servant of India (10), 23rd June.

54. “To Mr. Gandhi it does not seem inconsistent with non-co-operation to apply to the Viceroy for an interview, but it does seem to him inconsistent to appear as a witness before a Committee of the central legislature in order to give evidence even when requested by them to do so. We confess we are unable to appreciate the reasoning which leads Mr. Gandhi to seek the one and reject the other. But anyhow it must not be possible for anyone who abjures the councils as death traps to accept an invitation to place his views before a body created by those very Councils. This decision of Mr. Gandhi acquires special significance in view of Mr. Kasturiranga Aiyangar's appearance before the Press Laws Committee. Mr. Kelkar could not go to Simla in person, but still he did not fail to telegraph his views on the Press Act to the Committee. Again, Mr. Kelkar's conduct in giving defence in a case has been impugned by the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee which resolved at a recent meeting that ‘non-co-operators should not, in the event of prosecution or a civil suit being got up against them, participate in the proceedings.’ Several prominent non-co-operators are planning with the aid of ‘co-operators’ to bring forward legislative proposals for the introduction of prohibition or local option. All these acts, we know, proceed from public spirit and are highly commendable to us, but they also serve to show how little hold non-co-operation has upon such stalwarts as Mr. Kelkar, who has been appointed to guide and promote the movement throughout the Deccan.”

Indians in the Kenya Colony.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd June.

55. “We are assured that in pursuance of instructions from the Imperial Government the Colonial Government have now withdrawn the notice creating a European reservation in Mombasa and have decided that no other reservation should be proclaimed. We are also assured that no sales of township plots would be held in Kenya from which Asiatics are excluded from bidding. For this happy result the major portion of the credit must go to our brave countrymen in Kenya who refused to yield to the last moment to either the coaxing or the bluff of the Whites there. Credit is also due to the Government of India and particularly to Sir Benjamin Robertson for exposing the hollowness of each and every contention advanced by the Whites and the Kenya Government for introducing racial discrimination in the matter of franchise, trade, residence and purchase and sale of lands. The suspension of hostilities on the part of the Kenya Whites will hold good, we know, till a decision is come to on the general question of policy raised in the Government of India's despatch. All the same, the Kenya Whites have been now clearly given to understand that they cannot have their own way in everything.”

Bombay Samáchár (62), 23rd June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 20th June.

56. Neither the selfish whites nor the Government of the Kenya Colony have taken care to sympathetically listen to the protests raised by the Indians in that Colony against the injustice done to them, though supported by the people and the Government of India. Hence the news that the Government of England have intervened and put a stop to their autocratic attitude cannot but please the people of India. We are informed of this through the Press Note issued by the Government of India. This shows that the angle of vision of the Government of England has really changed and that she has become as eager as the people of India to secure for Indians equal status in the Empire. We hope that the example set by the English Government regarding the Kenya Colony will not only prove to be a lesson for that Colony but also for all the Colonial Governments who behave towards Indians in an inhuman manner. Indians will not be satisfied unless the whole question regarding them is solved. The above order passed by the English Government cannot but prove to be a good beginning in the matter. The Government of Lord Reading

should support the Indians whole-heartedly in their struggle. The Government of England will be able to remove one of the important causes of the discontent in India by doing full justice to the Indians in the above matter. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* makes similar remarks and adds :—We congratulate the Government of India for the information contained in the Press Note issued by them regarding the Kenya colony. His Majesty's Government have shown foresight in issuing such an order and we hope that the final settlement in the matter will be equally satisfactory. His Majesty's Government is now aware that Indian opinion is unanimous on the question of not contributing at all for the protection of those British colonies where the self-respect of Indians is not maintained. A good proof of this is the opinion expressed by Mr. Sastri boldly to the above effect. Mr. Sastri is to bring forward this question before the Imperial Conference and we hope that it will serve to change the angle of vision of the British people and the whites in the British Colonies.]

Indians in Uganda.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd June.

57. "Indians have refused to participate in the work of the Uganda Legislative Council because, though they number 3,518, they have been allotted only a single seat in the Council, while the whites, who number only 809, monopolise all the rest of the seats, without counting the purely official element in the Council. The Colonial Office, by a species of logic which is characteristic of present-day 'Imperial' mentality, has expressed reluctance to support the Indian claim for further representation until 'the Indians have shown willingness to avail themselves of the representation recommended by the Governor and adopted by Lord Milner.' The dodge of the Colonial Office is too thin for the Indians not to see through it.......... Indians were no party to the arrangement 'recommended by the Governor and adopted by Lord Milner' and they cannot regard it as sacrosanct.......... The arguments of the Uganda Whites are even more hollow than those of the Colonial Office. They point out to the Uganda 'native', who in their opinion is 'far more advanced than his Kenya brother, has a greater claim to equal representation than the Indian, being in greater numbers, having larger interests, and being very nearly as well educated.' If this is the honest opinion of the Whites, why do they not devise a system of franchise which would permit these children of the soil to take a share in the administration of their country commensurate with their numbers and interests? Indians have not only no objection to the franchise being thrown open to the 'natives' along with the Whites but they would wish to see that this was done. But are the Whites prepared to do justice to the 'natives'? If they are not, they cannot justify the wrong they are doing to Indians, on the strength of this wrong."

Advice to the British Government not to help the Greeks against the Turks.
Sind Observer (12), 22nd June.

58. "We hope the British Government will nor render any help direct or indirect to the Greeks against the Turks. Constantine has personally gone to conduct the operations and he means business. The Allies can afford to watch the game as disinterested spectators. A sound beating given to Constantine will do him a world of good for he will vacate the Smyrna region and all those ill-gotten lands to which he has not a shadow of claim. If, on the other hand, Mustapha Kemal Pasha is worsted he will moderate his warmth for the Gospel of Pan-Islamism and seek the Allies' protection for the preservation of the remaining portions of the Ottoman Empire. Indian Muslim opinion has definitely expressed itself against any British adventure in Anatolia against Mustapha. The Viceroy, we are sure, has apprised the British Cabinet of Indian feeling in the matter. It will be a sad mistake on the part of Britain to join hands with Constantine, whom she had but a few months ago denounced as a traitor to the Allied cause and refused to recognise him as King of Greece. In the East Great Britain will be considered, if she joins Constantine now, as having absolutely no principles, and it will be a blow to her already diminished prestige......... We beg the Cabinet not to estrange Muslim feeling in India any further. Britain will stand to lose all her prestige and reputation in the East by another war against Turkish

Nationalists who, rightly or wrongly, are considered by the Islamic world as the only upholders of the Khilafat and as fighting and dying for their religion."

Comments on the strained relations between England and Angora.
Baroda Vartamán (61), 20th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 22nd June; *Gujarát Mitra* (18), 19th June.

59. Threats are still being advanced against the Government of Kemal Pasha of Angora. But to point a finger at Angora is the same thing as striking the last blow on the Khilafat. The Indian Muhammadan leaders have begun to declare that they would not tolerate this. There seems to be a difference of opinion between France and England on the question of intrigues against Kemal Pasha and of helping Greece in order to destroy the vanquished Turkey. But as Lord Curzon, Mr. Churchill and Lord Milner who are advocates of an Imperial policy want to have their own way, none can say how far the sparks of the Angora conflagration will reach. Kemal Pasha has shown his strength by defeating Greece and now he is engaged in making friends with Persia, Afghánistan, Arabia and Egypt. It seems that the Pan-Islamic movement has begun to gain ground, because Persia after coming to terms with Afghánistan has come out to make friends with Turkey. If all the Muhammadan states combine together and the friendship with the Bolsheviks is strengthened, it will not matter much whether Germany extends a helping hand towards Afghánistan or not. But who knows whether Germany is not playing an altogether different game through the Bolshevik agents under the pretence of refusing to grant the demands of the Afghán Mission. Be that as it may, Pan-Islamism is gathering strength and hence if Greece and England want to preserve their monarchy, they should cease troubling Angora and allow her to do her work independently. We hope that England and her Allies will show wisdom in the matter. [The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks:—Peace with Turkey is as essential for England as it is for the Arab States, and England cannot get rid of her military expenditure before concluding peace with Turkey. Hence we hope that England will try her best to settle her disputes with the Angora Government and try to bring about an amicable settlement with Turkey. Although the attitude of the Government of Angora causes a little anxiety, yet instead of building high hopes on the Arab States about to be formed England will be better able to preserve her own interests as well as those of her Muhammadan population by removing aside the menace of Greece and granting the demands of Turkey. The young Turks declare almost with certainty that Greece cannot bring down the Angora Government without the help of England. Hence England's interest lies more in compelling Greece to come to terms with Turkey than allowing her to have her own way. At present Greece is about to come to terms with Turkey and such an event is fraught with greater danger for the peace in the Middle East than the alliance of the Angora Government with the Bolsheviks. The Turks want to prevent Greece from taking over purely Turkish provinces. The Government of Angora is reported to be willing to make peace on such reasonable terms. We hope that the Government of England will try their best to make use of this opportunity to secure the peace of the Middle East. The *Gujarát Mitra* adds:—All know that the Government of Angora are on friendly terms with the Bolsheviks. The party of the Allies has also become absolutely weak in Persia. There is complete chaos in that country and the present Government of Persia is on friendly terms with the Bolsheviks. Afghánistan also does not look upon England with friendly feelings and the Ámir has just now entered into an agreement with the Bolsheviks. It is also well-known that there is always fighting going on between the Government of India and the Afghan tribes. The same state of affairs is also found in Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine. But as France and England want to maintain political control in Middle Asia there may be a serious political revolution there and there is a danger that this may cause disturbances in Russia and India. There is also great discontent in India at present. We wish that England will adopt such a policy in Middle Asia as will satisfy the Indian people. But this is not probable and hence the future is quite uncertain.]

Gujarâti Punch (19), 19th June. Eng. cols.

60. "The unfortunate execution of a Mustapha Saghir by the Angora Government bids fair to convert a hopeful situation into a most critical one. While England sees in it a fresh indication of a change of attitude towards Britain on the part of the Government of Mustapha Kamal Pasha and even goes so far as to consider it a sufficient ground to reconsider her attitude towards that Government, the Indian Mussalmans declare that any hostile action on the part of England against Angora will be understood by them to mean hostility to Islam and they will act accordingly. Now, it will be readily admitted that a most serious situation has suddenly developed.......... The world wants, to-day, nothing so much as peace and we hope it will not be lightly risked. In the meanwhile want of detailed and accurate information makes it difficult for outsiders to judge on the exact merits of the case and the Government of India has here a special duty to perform. Besides strongly pressing upon the Government of Mr. Lloyd George the utter inadvisability of and the grave risks involved in any light-hearted aggressive attitude, it must come forth with accurate information about the true state of affairs. The Government of India and almost all the provincial Governments maintain at enormous cost Departments that they are pleased to style as Publicity Departments or Information Bureaus. If, however, they are to be true to their name, here is a chance for them.......... A Government Publicity Department is only to supply accurate information and not to carry on a propaganda on its behalf, and we wish these Indian Publicity Departments will, for once, give up their usual though usurped role and be true to their name."

Probable evil results of a war between England and the Angora Government.

Bhâratvâsi (162), 14th June; *Sind Vasi* (168), 15th June.

61. Maulana Abu Al Kalam Azad has made a new pronouncement. He says that if England declared war against Kamal Pasha's Government at Angora, it would be tantamount to a war against Islam, which would drive Indian Muslims to a position not realized by the proud British Government. He further says that in an eventuality like that, Muhammadans would have to reconsider their line of action, as non-co-operation alone would not suffice for their purpose. The situation is really very serious. The hopes of a satisfactory Turkish peace have been frustrated, and recent telegrams point to the danger of a fresh conflagration in Eastern Europe. Originally there were two parties in Turkey, one headed by the Khalifa Sultan and the other of Young Turks headed by Kamal Pasha. At present, however, in Angora itself, there are two parties, one of which is the Angora Government's party, whose minister Sami Bay was very glad at the terms Turkey was offered at the London Conference. But the party in opposition to Sami Bay disagreed with him, and there has been lot of disagreement between the British and Angora Governments since then. The former now declares that Angora Government has not kept faith with it, and it will, therefore, be obliged to declare war against it. This shows the situation is quite serious. The Angora Government has on the other hand formed a fresh connection with Bolsheviks and secured a great amount of money for carrying on war with England. Anwar Pasha has gone to Berlin with the express object of getting munitions from there. England has now called a council of the Allies to settle the question and Kamal Pasha is gone to Paris to attend it. If this war breaks out it will have very serious consequences for India. There will be fresh trouble on the frontier, and in Afghanistan. Maulana Abu Al Kalam has already made the ominous pronouncement stated above, which means that Indian Muslims will resort to violence in addition to non-co operation. He says that the Islam Government is at Angora and not at Constantinople. Maulana Abu Al Kalam's argument is not sound, because it appears to us that the Khilafat leaders in India are anyhow bent upon following the Young Turks; and openly say that they will not bind themselves to non-violent non-co-operation. We have always been saying that the Mahatma's connection with the Maulanas is not such as can last long. Mahatma and other Hindus and even Muslims, whether Extremists or Moderates, are primarily attached

to India and then to religion. In fact their country is above everything else. The Maulanas, on the other hand, are primarily attached to their religion, *i.e.*, to Pan-Islam, and then to anything else. It is plain that they have no feeling for their country, India. The Ali Brothers call themselves servants of the Kaaba and not servants of India. They are always acting in futherance of the interests of Pan-Islam. We have never believed them to be sincere advocates of the non-co-co-operation movement and their insincerety has led us to oppose it. [The *Sind Vasi* remarks:—Moulana Azad says that if England declares war with Angora, Indian Muhammadans will not bind themselves to the principle of *Ahinsa.* Messrs. Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali also spoke in similar terms some time ago, but found themselves obliged to take shelter under the Mahatma's banner of *Ahinsa.* It is possible they may change and talk of *jehad* and other matters again. At the instance of some fanatics they have already started speaking in that strain. We are sorry Mahatma Gandhi does not yet understand these men.]

The Turko-Greek hostilities.
Karnátak Vaibhav (89), 21st June.

62. Referring to the Turko-Greek hostilities, the *Karnátak Vaibhav* writes:—Do the British really wish to take up an attitude of neutrality, or do they think that the course which they have adopted was ordained by Heaven? What is the British squadron doing there, around Constantinople? Can it find no other place for its movements? Is it desirable to embark upon a new war, after proclaiming in vain terms that the world has had enough of war and that it needed peace? Can it be supposed that the Greeks have been talking of war without the direct or indirect aid of the British? If the British put pressure upon the Greeks, will not the Greeks respond? Moreover, if the Greeks take the field, the Turks are prepared to meet them and deal with them effectively, even though they have been exhausted by a continuous warfare for 10 years. We have therefore to request the Allies, and especially the British, not to declare war with the Turks, under the pretext of protecting Greece.

The attitude of Britain towards Turkey.
Sánj Vartamán (33), 24th June; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (31), 25th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (62), 25th June; *Political Bhomiyo* (77), 24th June.

63. Great Britain adopted a very commendable policy towards Turkey in the times of Disraeli, but unfortunately that policy has been abandoned. The present policy of Britain towards Turkey has created the impression among the Muhammadans of Asia, and particularly among the Indian Moslems, that England has become an enemy of Turkey. This impression will not only affect the prestige of Britain but will cause great harm to its Empire in the East. If Britain continues to adhere firmly to its present policy the Moslem rulers in the East will make a common cause and will prove a source of menace to the British Empire by entering into an alliance with the Bolshevists. The present policy of Britain consists in enfeebling Turkey. Greece has no right over Thrace and Smyrna, which have been entrusted to that country in violation of the pledge given by the British Premier. England is actuated by the same policy in creating an independent Arab State in Mesopotamia. We fail to understand why the proposed Arab State should not be placed under Turkey. Lord Chelmsford has rightly pointed out the folly of the British policy towards Turkey. Had he, as a Viceroy, insisted upon carrying out his wishes, the Muhammadans of India would not have been inoculated with the virus of disaffection. It is not yet too late if Britain would but make use of the opportunity presented to her to win the confidence of Indian Moslems. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The attitude of England towards Turkey shows a marked lack of wisdom on her part, as clearly shown by Lord Chelmsford in his lecture before the Central Asian Society. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks:—Let us hope that the weighty opinion expressed by Lord Chelmsford on the Eastern policy of England before the Central Asian Society will serve to open the eyes of Great Britain. An opportunity has been offered to Britain to convert Turkey into her friend, and we believe she will avail herself of it with a view to put an end to her troubles in the East. The *Political Bhomiyo* writes:—The lamp of Islam has begun to grow dim and so the Islamic powers are thinking of making a common cause. The aim of Pan-Islamism is not to terrorise

over the world but to protect Islamic States against the intrigues of European nations. The Islamic States will be of great help to the Allies to oppose the Bolshevist menace. The Allies should, therefore, use their influence to avert the alliance of the Islamic States with the Bolshevists. What charm do the oppressive and irreligious Bolshevists possess that the Islamic States are led into an alliance with them? If Great Britain and the Allied nations try to go to the root of the question and to conciliate the Moslem States we feel sure that the Bolshevists will not ultimately be able to achieve anything.]

Comments on Lord Chelmsford's speech in connection with Turkey at the Central Asian Society's annual dinner.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th June.

64. "With the substance of Lord Chelmsford's speech at the annual dinner of the Central Asian Society we should have been in agreement, had it not been for his Lordship's mention of Turkey's 'unprovoked participation in the war'. The present writer was strongly opposed to Turkey's taking part with Germany, and being in the counsels of a section of the Young Turk party, he in conjunction with a few—a very few—other Englishmen did all he could to prevent that happening. But he found that, for his efforts, he was put into the black books of the British Foreign Office, and those efforts were opposed at every point by Foreign Office agents, so that long before the war he was aware of an intention on the party of the Entente— of which in those days Czarist Russia was the head—to drive the Turks into the arms of Germany. [Here the writer refers to the seizure without compensation by the British Government of two Turkish Dreadnoughts being built in British yards and goes on :—] Turkey's participation in the war was far from unprovoked. We say that she was forced by the Entente into the war upon the side of Germany, and we believe that she was forced deliberately, in order that the division of her territory might pay the bills between the Allies. It is natural that Lord Chelmsford should ignore all this, and being an official, speak in terms of our official propaganda....... Indeed we are coming to believe that the Indian public will soon have to change to some extent its judgment of Lord Chelmsford, and ascirbe some of what appeared as his 'colossal incompetence' as an administrator to the difficulties left by his more charming and perhaps courageous predecessor. We cannot forget that Lord Hardinge was the man who made the Anglo-Russian Alliance, that he quite well knew the fate in store for Turkey and the disillusionment in store for Indian Muslims when he urged them to serve England in the war. But he had charming manners and personal courage, and those two qualities won the Indian people, who are not first to be deceived by that astute displomatist.......... Lord Chemsford's plea for generosity towards Turkey is our own, so we need hardly say it has our sympathy. But on the same day that we received the report of Lord Chelmsford's speech, an utterance by Mr. Chamberlain, a much more influential person, also reached us. In reply to a question in the House of Commons he refused to give the 'categorical though indefinite undertaking' asked of him that no assistance whatsoever would he given to the Greek forces at present operating in Anatolia against the expressed will of the Allies! Considering the foul atrocities committed by the said Greek forces, of which there is no doubt whatever, and the extraordinary thrill of horror due to those atrocities and the cool attempt of England to ignore them. which has run like fire through all the East, the utterance of this refusal by a responsible British Minister must rank as an imperial disaster. For it shows that far from consulting the Government of India in the way Lord Chelmsford wishes, *i.e.*, being guided by its opinion, the Government of England still lives in a fool's paradise, still goes on behaving as if Europe only were important, and insulting Asia. We do not ask for punishment for the Greeks, who have richly deserved punishment at the hands of the Allies. We do not ask for any portion of Greek territory to be subjected to a foreign yoke. But after their atrocious conduct in countries where they never had the right to be, we do demand that the Greek forces shall be ordered out of Thrace and Anatolia, bag and baggage, back to Greece. The bare idea of England giving any assistance whatsoever to them after our professions of neutrality above all, after their career of murder, rape and pillage both in Thrace and Anatolia, is sufficient to prevent all peace with Turkey and to raise the East."

Bolsheviks are more fair in their dealings with other nations than England.
Kesari (120), 21st June.

65. The Allies and especially England have been spreading false reports about the Bolsheviks with a view to discrediting them. But the terms of the treaties which they have concluded with Persia and Afghanistan clearly show that they are prepared to give to the other nations the same liberty that they enjoy themselves, whatever their own notions may be about economics and sociology. The Allies only indulge in tall talk about self-determination but have not yet allowed a single nation to benefit by it. The Bolsheviks have allowed the fullest liberty to Persia and Afghanistan. They even restored to them the portions of their territories which were unjustly snatched from them during the Tsarist regime. The neutrality of the Bolsheviks in matters of religion too is commendable. When European nations want to conquer a country their *modus operandi* is first to introduce missionaries there and then to send troops on the plea that the former are being persecuted. The Bolsheviks, however, are not going to countenance the activities of Russian missionaries in Persia and have allowed the Persian Government to attach all their property. It is not surprising that in view of the Bolsheviks' sense of justice as revealed by acts such as these, Persia should prefer them to the English who only plume themselves on their civilization, and Afghanistan should refuse to fall a victim to the wiles of England.

Comments on a recent speech of Mr. Churchill.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd June.

66. Referring to Mr. Churchill's recent speech on the Eastern question, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"We are thankful to Mr. Churchill for his declaration that no 'primary or directly strategic interests concerning India' are involved in holding Mesopotamia. Politicians in England and their gramophones of the Anglo-Indian press here have been trying to make out that the British hold of Mesopotamia is necessary in the interests of India's defence. That myth is exploded by Mr. Churchill. Regarding Palestine, we are told that that country is still in an unsettled condition. We are afraid that the country will never see settled conditions till the futile attempt to impose the will of the Jewish minority on the huge Arab majority is given up. The papers received by last mail contain accounts of the activities of the Vicar of Thaxted, who, according to the *Illustrated London News*, hangs the Red Flag and the Sinn Fein flag in his church, issues leaflets one of which contains an appeal 'to help the Catholic Crusade to shatter the British Empire, and all other Empires, to bits', and has banished the Union Jack from his church as being the emblem of 'Snatch, grab, and brag' and 'might is right', substituting the flag of St. George as representing 'Right is might'. The expressive phrase 'Snatch, grab, and brag' is an apt description of the policy indicated in Mr. Churchill's speech."

EDUCATION.

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye should resign his post if he thinks his hands are not free.
Karnátak Vaibhav (89), 21st June.

67. The *Karnátak Vaibhav* refers to the grievances of the primary school teachers, and says that even the advent of Mr. Paranjpye as Minister of Education has not brought any relief to them. Continuing, the paper says that the extension in of primary education has altogether been given up and that the Minister is at his wits' ends to know how even to keep up the advance that has been already made, without allowing it to suffer for want of funds. The paper asks whether this is the result of the appointment of Mr. Paranjpye to the Ministerial post and whether Mr. Paranjpye has forgotten all the principles which he himself advocated till recently. The paper adds that the words which Mr. Paranjpye now speaks, as though he were possessed by some evil spirit, are mere repetitions of the words which were spoken by his predecessors. The Minister, the paper says, is trying to defend himself by parading about his heavy responsibilities which others cannot realize. The paper asks why he should shoulder these responsibilities with which he cannot cope when he is not called upon by anybody to do so. Proceeding, the paper remarks that the Minister may

resign his post if he feels that his hands are not free and if he is not influenced by motives of money and resume his post as College Principal.

Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding raising the prices of vernacular Readers.

Praja Bandhu (30), 19th June; *Gujarâti Punch* (19), 19th June.

68. Some people expected that there would be great changes in educational matters when the Educational Department was converted into a transferred department in accordance with the Reform Scheme. These hopes began to change into disappointment since the time the budget was presented. The budget has been so framed that our Indian Ministers cannot dare to spend money liberally on departments pertaining to public utility. The Ministers themselves felt that the budget was disappointing. In spite of this, being eager to make the Reform Scheme as successful as possible, they neither cared very much for the disappointing elements in the budget nor did they realize that their powers to make reforms without means were limited. Now slowly, the Reform Scheme has begun to bear fruit! The Minister of Education has found it necessary to increase the price of vernacular text-books and he says that he has done so on account of the increased cost of printing. Primary education is as essential as other necessaries of life. Hence although other kinds of education may be costly in civilized countries, yet primary education is free and compulsory. Not only is it so, but young children are also supplied tiffin free of charge in some countries. Primary education will take a long time to reach this stage in India, but does this system of showing parsimony to give some grant to supply vernacular books at cheap rates not show the evil effects of the Reform Scheme? We are more sorry because the Honourable Mr. Paranjpe has given his consent to the proposal of increasing the prices of text-books. If as is stated in the Press Note this increase is only for a short time, Government would not have incurred a great loss if they had postponed making this increase. But such events do not fail to show the position of our Indian Ministers in their true light. [The *Gujarâti Punch* makes similar remarks and adds:—Although this increase is insignificant, yet Government should have rather adopted the policy of self-sacrifice in this matter. We believe that there are two courses open to Government in this matter. In the first place, Government should keep up the old rates and bear any additional expense or they should as soon as possible find out publishers who are willing to sell the Readers at the old rates.]

RAILWAYS.

Third class female passengers should have separate waiting rooms at Railway Stations.

Chaitanya (105), 13th June.

69. A correspondent writing in the *Chaitanya* suggests that Government should compel the Railway Companies to have separate waiting rooms for third class female passengers at least at the bigger if not at all the stations, as they have to undergo great hardships and to suffer many insults by having to sit mixed up with the male passengers in rooms full of tobacco smoke and strewn with heaps of smoked *bidis*. He points out that the suggested arrangement is quite necessary as it is not customary among either Hindu or Muhammadan females to sit in company with males or to mix freely with them even on ceremonial occasions or in places of worship, etc. He also suggests that such female waiting rooms should have watertaps and privies just near them and warns the Railway Companies and Government that the honour of Indian females is in no way less than that of European females.

Alleged negligence by the G. I. P. Railway in the matter of carriage of live stock.

Prabodh (132), 19th June.

70. Mr. Vinayak Narhar Barve writes:—I was a witness of a pitiable scene at the Niphad Station of the G. I. P. Railway, on 4th June 1921, at 8 A.M., when waiting for the down passenger train. I saw a goods train in the station. A cattle truck attached to it was so crowded with bullocks that they could not move from their places Two of the bullocks were lying dead on the floor and two more were sitting down, being unable to stand up, and the rest were battering each other. A most disagreeable stench issued from the rotting carcasses and the filth lying on the floor. The label on the truck, No. 28468, indicated that it was loaded for Deolali on 2nd June 1921 at the Dhulia Station. Since leaving Dhulia at least 40 hours must have elasped before I saw it at Niphad, and it appeared that during all this time nothing had been done to feed the bullocks; nor did there appear to be any caretaker with them. The Railway Rules regarding the carriage of live stock leave nothing to be desired; but it appeared that in the above case not one of the rules had been carried out; and I am afraid such negligence is constantly taking place on the railway owing to want of supervision.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 1st July 1921.

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Third class female passengers should have separate waiting rooms at Railway Stations.

Chaitanya (105), 13th June.

69. A correspondent writing in the *Chaitanya* suggests that Government should compel the Railway Companies to have separate waiting rooms for third class female passengers at least at the bigger if not at all the stations, as they have to undergo great hardships and to suffer many insults by having to sit mixed up with the male passengers in rooms full of tobacco smoke and strewn with heaps of smoked *bidis*. He points out that the suggested arrangement is quite necessary as it is not customary among either Hindu or Muhammadan females to sit in company with males or to mix freely with them even on ceremonial occasions or in places of worship, etc. He also suggests that such female waiting rooms should have watertaps and privies just near them and warns the Railway Companies and Government that the honour of Indian females is in no way less than that of European females.

Alleged negligence by the G. I. P. Railway in the matter of carriage of live stock.

Prabodh (132), 19th June.

70. Mr. Vinayak Narhar Barve writes:—I was a witness of a pitiable scene at the Niphad Station of the G. I. P. Railway, on 4th June 1921, at 8 A.M., when waiting for the down passenger train. I saw a goods train in the station. A cattle truck attached to it was so crowded with bullocks that they could not move from their places Two of the bullocks were lying dead on the floor and two more were sitting down, being unable to stand up, and the rest were battering each other. A most disagreeable stench issued from the rotting carcasses and the filth lying on the floor. The label on the truck, No. 28468, indicated that it was loaded for Deolali on 2nd June 1921 at the Dhulia Station. Since leaving Dhulia at least 40 hours must have elasped before I saw it at Niphad, and it appeared that during all this time nothing had been done to feed the bullocks; nor did there appear to be any caretaker with them. The Railway Rules regarding the carriage of live stock leave nothing to be desired; but it appeared that in the above case not one of the rules had been carried out; and I am afraid such negligence is constantly taking place on the railway owing to want of supervision.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 1st July 1921.

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*Reported in advance.

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CONFIDENTIAL.] [No. 27 of 1921.

Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 2nd July 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged falsity of certain complaints made against the Satya Samajists. 27
Alleged outrages by Brahmins against Satya Samajists 26
Anglo-Japanese Alliance and India 35 & 36
A victory for the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland 37
Both the Excise and Education ministers are failures 28
Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding the Pandharpur Ashádhi fair 30
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's speech at the Imperial Conference 22—24
Comments on the new system of photographing documents instead of copying them in registers 29
Comments on the Premier's speech before the Imperial Conference 15—21
Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial office 33 & 34
Moral degradation of women on some of the Assam tea estates owned by Europeans 31
Non-Brahmins and the present *Swarájya* agitation 25
The Savarkar Brothers 32
His Excellency the Viceroy: Comments on His Excellency Lord Reading's speech in reply to the Ahmediya Deputation 6—8
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India 1—5

Indians in the Colonies:

Comments on the Fiji Inquiry Committee 66—68

Indian Reforms:

Comments on the reported intention of Government to introduce diarchy in the Viceroy's Executive Council 11
Protest against the proposed introduction of diarchy in Burma 12
The proposed Parliamentary deputation to the Indian Legislatures 9 & 10

Judicial matters:

Comments on the acquittal by the Calcutta High Court of William Lemon Reed of the charge of shooting a tea garden coolie 64
Comments on the decisions in the Private Mulligan case and the Khoreal shooting case 58—61
Comments on the sentence of five years' transportation on Sardar Sardul Singh, editor of *Akáli* 65
Acquittal of Mr. Kowjalgi of the charge of contempt of Court by the Sessions Judge of Bijápur 62 & 63

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Military matters :

Extravagant Indian Army expenditure and the duty of the Military Requirements Committee to reduce it . . . . 69 & 70
Protest against the employment of Indian soldiers outside India . . 71

Non-co-operation:

Agitation should be started for securing *Swarájya* originally demanded by the Congress 55
Alleged reaction against Mr. Gandhi's — movement 57
Appreciation of the principles and programme of the Sind Swaraj Society started in Hyderabad (Sind) 52
Comments on the completion of the crore of rupees for the Tilak Swarajya Fund . . . . 38 & 39
Condemnation of the action of the All-India Congress Working Committee in asking the Indian Muslims not to side with the party opposed to the Angora Government . . . . 40 & 41
Deccan extremists and the All-India Congress Working Committee's resolution on boycott of law courts 53
Government should fulfil all their promises about doing justice . . 51
Indians must face imprisonment for securing India's freedom . . 46
Likelihood of civil disobedience being launched if the present repression continues . . . . 47 & 48
Mutual relationship between England and India 50
Picketers should joyfully go to jail if prosecuted 45
Reflections on the anti-drink movement in India . . . . . . 42 & 43
Squandering of public funds by the national workers 54
The Ali Brothers' apology 49
The dangers of picketing liquor-shops in Bombay . , ... 44
Will non-co-operators be prepared to join hands with co-operators if the latter ask them to do so? . . 56
Public Service: Protest against the proposed grant of further increments of pay to the higher services in India . . . . 13 & 14

War :

Campaign against Mustapha Kemal Pasha deprecated 76
Comments on the treatment accorded to Turkey by the British Government . . . . 72 & 73
England and the Angora Government 74
Praise of the foreign policy of the Bolsheviks. 77
Turko-Greek question and the Allies 75

LEGISLATION—

Adverse comments on Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill 78

EDUCATION—

Alleged grievances of subordinates in the Educational Department . . 83
Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's speech at Poona . . . 79—82

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the method of working pursued by the Hyderabad (Sind) Municipality 84
Government should publish the resolution under which they have stopped the grant in connection with the salary of the chief officer of Nadiád Municipality 85

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

(As it stood on the 1st July 1921.)

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay Chronicle	Bombay	Daily	Marmaduke William Pickthall; Englishman; 45.	9,000
2	Do. (Sunday Edition).	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	6,000
3	Bombay East Indian	Do.	Fortnightly	Alek Dias De Mello; Roman Catholic; 43	300
*4	Commercial Gazette	Sukkur	Weekly	Abdul Baki *Wd.* Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 22.	200
*5	Daily Gazette	Karáchi	Daily	S. Lupton; Englishman; 37	3,500 to 4,000
6	Indian Social Reformer	Bombay	Weekly	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A.; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin); 50.	870
7	Mahrátta	Poona	Do.	Dámodar Vishwanáth Gokhale, B.A., LL.B.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 35.	1,200
8	New Times	Karáchi	Daily	Tikamdas Khemchand Jeswáni, M.A.; Hindu (Lohána); 25.	800
9	Servant of India	Poona	Weekly	The Honourable Mr. V. S. Shriniwas Shastri; Hindu (Madras Brahman); 48; and Shridhar Ganesh Vaze, B.A.; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 43.	2,000
10	Sind Observer	Karáchi	Daily	K. Pummie	1,000
11	Weekly Observer	Bombay	Weekly	......	...
12	Young India	Ahmedabad	Do.	Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi; Hindu (Bania); 53.	5,000
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
13	A'ryă Prakásh	Surat	Weekly	Pardhubhai Valabhai Sharma; Hindu (Brahm Bhat); 39.	900
14	Bharat Seva	Bombay	Do.	Harjivan Kalidas Mehta; Hindu (Nágar Bráhmin); 38.	900
15	Gujaráti	Do.	Do.	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái; Hindu (Bania); 38.	19,000
16	Gujarát Mitră	Surat	Do.	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála; Hindu (Dashalad Bania); 44.	1,200
17	Gujaráti Punch	Ahmedabad	Do.	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh; Hindu (Mesri Bania); 45.	4,000
18	Hind Mitra	Bombay	Do.	......	...
19	Hindi Punch	Do.	Do.	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár; Pársi; 63	520
20	Hindusthán	Do.	Do.	Ramniklal A. Mehta; Hindu (Nagar Bráhmin); 40.	2,000
21	Hindusthán and Akhbari Saudagar.	Do.	Daily	Do. do.	4,000
22	Jám-e-Jamshed	Do.	Do.	Phirozsháh Jehángir Marzbán, M.A., J.P.; Pársi; 45.	6,000 to 6,500
23	Kaiser-i-Hind	Do.	Weekly	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin; Pársi; 38.	8,500
24	Káthiáwár Opinion	Do.	Do.	Tribhovandás Damodardás Gadhia; Hindu (Lohana); 38.	1,000
25	Káthiáwár Times	Do.	Bi-weekly	A. S. Wazirani; Hindu (Brahmakshatriya); 27.	900
26	Model	Bombay	Weekly	......	...
27	Pársi-Sansár	Karáchi	Do.	Pherozshah Hormusji Dastur; Pársi; 37	1,500
28	Praja Bandhu	Ahmedabad	Do.	Chimanlal Mohanlal Modi Hindu (Shrimáli Bania)	2,700
29	Praja Mitra and Pársi	Bombay	Daily	Meherjibhái Pálanji Mádon; Pársi; 61	6,500
30	Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra.	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	5,000

* These papers are not being received in this office at present.

H 82—1 CON

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI—*concluded.*				
31	Sánj Vartamán	Bombay	Daily	Rustamji N. Vátcha-gándhi ; Pársi ; 55	7,000
32	Stock Exchange News	Do.	Weekly	Mancharsha Sorabji Bhumgara ; Pársi ; 27	1,600
33	Wafádár	Navsári	Do.	Saiyad Mahomed Saiyadali ; Muhammadan ; 24.	400
	ANGLO-KANARESE.				
34	Kánara Leader	Kumta (Kánara)	Weekly	Atmarám Venkatrao Bhatkalkar ; Hindu (Saraswat Bráhmin) ; 44 ; and Ramrao Sheshgiri Nadkarni ; Hindu (Saraswat Brahmin) ; 45.	900
35	Karnátak Mitra	Belgaum	Do.	Narayan Sharma Bhaon Joshi Hundekar ; Deshastha Bráhmin (Vaishnav) ; 31.	1,000
36	Karnátak Times	Dhárwár	Do.	H. S. Shivalingashastri ; Hindu (Lingáyat) ; 46.	500
37	Navina Bhárat	Belgaum	Weekly	......	...
38	Vibhákar	Do.	Do.	......	...
	ENGLISH, KANARESE AND MARA'THI.				
39	Kánara News	Kumta (Kánara)	Weekly	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin) ; 51.	400
	ANGLO-MARA'THI.				
40	Dnyánodayă	Bombay	Weekly	Rev. J. F. Edwards, Englishman ; 50	900
41	Dnyán Prakásh	Poona (and Bombay).	Daily	Anant Vináyak Patwardhan ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 49.	1,000
42	Dnyán Prakásh	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	2,000
43	Hindu Missionary	Bombay	Do.	Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, B.A. (Páthâre Prabhu) ; 52.	450
44	Indu Prakásh	Do.	Daily	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 57.	2,000
45	Jágaruk	Poona	Weekly	Válchand Rámchand Kothári, B.A. (Jain) ; 28.	1,700
46	Jágriti	Baroda	Do.	Bhagavantráo Balavantráo Pálekar ; Marátha ; 43.	800
47	Nireekshaka	Bombay	Do.	Damodar Bhaurao Gupte ; Kayastha Prabhu ; 32.	1,000
48	Subodh Patrika	Do.	Do.	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 45.	500
	ANGLO-PORTUGUESE.				
49	O Anglo-Lusitáno	Bombay	Weekly	W. F. Pais ; Goan ; 40	800
	ANGLO-SINDHI.				
50	Daulatdár	Shikárpur	Weekly	Daulatsing Chimandas Thakur ; 45	300
	ENGLISH, PORTUGUESE AND CONCANIM.				
51	A Luz	Bombay	Weekly	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 39	600
52	Goa Mail	Do.	Do.	B. Vasco D'Gama	...
53	O Amigo Do Povo Goano	Do.	Do.	Manual Anastaz Fernandes ; Goan ; 49	900
	GUJARA'TI.				
54	Akhbár-e-Islám	Bombay	Daily	Kázi Ismáil Kázi Muhammad Porbundari ; Muhammadan ; 51.	1,500
*55	Anavil Sevak	Surat	Monthly	Dayálji Nanubhai Desai ; Hindu (Anavil Bráhman) ; 45.	3,000
56	Baroda Vartamán	Baroda	Weekly	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel ; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár) ; 51.	1,500
57	Bombay Samáchár	Bombay	Daily	Kaikhusru Mánekji Minocher-homji, B.A. Pársi ; 46.	4,700

* These papers are not being received in this office at present.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	GUJARA'TI—*continued*				
58	Broach Mitră	Broach	Weekly	Trikamlál Harináth Thákor; Hindu (Brahmă Kshatri); 39.	500
59	Broach Samáchár	Do.	Do.	Jehángirji Ardeshir Gandhi; Pársi; 42	800
60	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 45.	2,000
61	Deshi Mitră	Surat	Weekly	Harilál Maganlál; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 26.	2,100
62	Deshodaya	Do.	Do.	Prabhushankar Narbhárám Vyas; Hindu (Nagar Bráhman); 29.	1,450
63	Gramya Swarjya	Viramgaon	Do.	Ramrai Mohanrai; Hindu (Kshatriya); 30.	1,000
64	Gujarát Vartamán	Ahmedabad	Do.	Harilal Kevalram Bhatt; Hindu (Audich Brahman); 50.	700
65	Hind Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Dáyábhái Kasandás; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 55.	1,000
66	Hitechhu	Karáchi	Do.	Harilál Válji Thákur, Hindu (Audich Bráhman); 33.	450
67	Insáf	Bombay	Do.	Munshi Fattekhan Ahmedkhan; Sunni Muhammadan; 36.	850
68	Kaira Vartamán	Kaira	Do.	Somachand Panachand; Hindu (Jain Bania); 45.	550
69	Loka Mitră	Bombay	Bi-weekly	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi; 46.	1,000
70	Navjivan	Ahmedabad	Weekly	Mohandás Karamchand Gandhi; Hindu (Bania); 53.	20,000
71	Navsári Patrika	Navsári	Do.	Rangildás Pránjivandás Párekh; Hindu (Bania); 31.	430
72	Political Bhomiyo	Ahmedabad	Do.	Nurkhan Amirkhan Pathan; Muhammadan; 64.	2,400
73	Praja Pokár	Surat	Do.	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála; Dásálád Bania; 44.	660
*74	Shreyassádhaka	Baroda	Weekly	Jagannath Prabhashankar Pandit; Hindu (Audich Bráhmin); 43.	500
75	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Do.	Do.	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania); 43.	4,500
76	Surya Prakash	Surat	Do.	Nagindas Dahyabhai; Hindu (Nágar Bráhman); 75.	600
77	Surat Akhbár	Do.	Do.	Pirozshâh Edalji Patel; Pársi; 46	600
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
78	Jain	Bhávnagar	Weekly	Vallabhdas Tribhowandas Bania; Hindu (Desa Shrimali); 36.	1,800
	HINDI.				
79	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 45.	1,200
80	Jain Mitra	Surat	Weekly	Brahmachari Sitalprasadji; 42	1,200
81	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchàr.	Bombay	Do.	Pandit Chandulal Mehta (Punjábi Saraswat Brahmin); 41.	10,000
	KANARESE.				
82	Karma Veer	Dhárwár	Weekly	Madhav Bhimrao Kabbur; Hindu (Deshastha Brahmin); 29.	800
83	Karnátak Vaibhav	Bijápur	Do.	G. R. Mannurkar; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 54.	500
84	Karnátak Vritt and Dhananjayă.	Dhárwár	Do.	Venkatesh Rajerao Mudvedkar; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman); 37.	400
85	Loka Bandhu	Do.	Do.	Laxman Ramchandra Airani; Hindu (Deshastha Brahman); 40.	450

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* These papers are not being received in this office at present.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	KANARESE—*continued.*				
86	Raj Hansa	Dharwar	Daily	M. N. Tembe ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 40.	500
87	Raj Hansa	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	1,000
88	Shubhodaya	Do.	Do.	Vasudevacharya Shrinivasacharya Kerur, Pleader ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman); 53.	1,200
89	Vijaya	Do.	Do.	Annacharya Balacharya Hoskeri ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhmin) ; 48.	600
90	Vijaya	Do.	Daily	Do. do.	200
	MARA'THI.				
91	Arya Vaibhav	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly	Tulsidas Govind Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin) ; 31.	250
92	A'ryávart	Do.	Do.	Shankar Hari Joshi; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 33.	200
93	Arya Vaidyak-bodh	Kalyán (Thána)	Do.	Kashinath Bhaskar Oke ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 38.	*Nil.*
94	Bakul	Ratnágiri	Do.	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi ; Hindu (Bania) ; 44.	400
95	Bárámati Samáchár	Bárámati	Do.	Hari Anant Joshi ; Hindu (Chitpávan Bráhmin) ; 32.	300
96	Belgaum Samáchár	Belgaum	Do	Hari Bhikáji Sámant ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 59.	300
97	Bhárat Mátá	Islámpur (Sátára)	Fortnightly	Vishnu Sitárám Athalye ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 35.	400
98	Chaitanya	Belgaum	Weekly	Moro Balwant Marathe ; Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhman) ; 45.	300
99	Chikitsak	Do.	Do.	Rao Saheb Abáji Rámchandră Sávant ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 58.	600
100	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 45.	12,000
101	Daily Report	Chopda (East Khándesh).	Weekly	Motilál Fattulál ; Hindu ; Gaud Brahman (Marwadi); 38.	0 to 80
102	Daivadnyaprabodhini	Bombay	Bi-monthly	Vishnu Náráyan Karekar ; Hindu (Daivadnya) ; 60.	800
103	Dharma Vichár va Modă Vritta.	Wái (Sátára)	Weekly	Damodar Laxman Lele ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 43.	50
104	Din Mitră ...	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Do.	Mukund Ganpat Pátil ; Hindu (Máli) ; 34 .	1,200
105	Dnyán Ságar	Kolhápur	Do.	Vishnu Vithal Mantri ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 56.	600
106	Gogras	Bombay	Do.	Bapu Khanderao Joshi ; Hindu (Bráhman); 37.	2,000
107	Gorakshana	Thána	Do.	Anantdas Ramdasi *alias* Dattatraya Moreshvar Lohkre ; Hindu (Brahmin) ; 36.	1,000
108	Grahadhikar	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Bhaskar Ramchandra Joshi.	...
109	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit.	Sholápur	Weekly	Anant Hari Wagh ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 37.	450
110	Kámgár Mitra	Bombay	Do.	......	...
111	Kesari	Poona	Do.	Narsinha Chintaman Kelkar ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 48.	30,000
112	Khándesh Vaibhav	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do.	Yádav Bálkrishnă Bahálkar ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 55.	500
113	Kolába Samáchár	Pen (Kolába)	Weekly	Vishnu Naráyan Mándlik : Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhman) ; 31.	500
114	Kolába Vritta	Do.	Fortnightly	Vinayak Narayan Manohar ; Hindu (Chitpavan Brahmin) ; 45.	250-300
115	Lokamánya	Bombay	Daily	......	...

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation
	MARATHI—*continued*.				
116	Lokasangraha	Poona	Weekly	Laxman Balwant Bhopatkar; Hindu (Karháda Bráhmin) ; 43.	2,500
117	Lokasatta	Násik	Weekly	Vishnu Ganesh Kelkar; Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhman) ; 35.	1,000
118	Lokasevak	Bombay	Do.	Sitaram Vishnu Lalit; Hindu (Karada Bráhmin) ; 38.	2,000
119	Lokasháhi	Do.	Do.	Vithal Waman Hap ; Karádha Bráhmin ; 22.	3,000
*120	Maháráshtra Vritta	Sátára	Do.	Rámachandra Balvant Bhonsle ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 36.	200
121	Mookanayak	Bombay	Fortnightly	Dnyandeo Dhruvanath Gholap ; Hindu ; 24.	1,000
122	Mumukshu	Poona	Monthly	Laxman Ramchandra Pangarkar, B.A. ; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin) ; 49.	1,200
*123	Násik Vritt	Násik	Weekly	Rangnáth Vishnu Kále ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 41.	200
*124	Pandhari Mitra	Sholápur	Do.	G. S. Bhidkar ; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin) ; 57.	100
125	Prabodh	Dhulia (West Khandesh.)	Do.	K. L. Ogale ; Hindu (Kokanastha Brahmin) ; 38.	600
126	Prabodh Chandrika	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do.	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 58.	300
127	Prafullata	Bombay	Do.	......	...
128	Pragati and Jinvijaya	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Anna Babaji Lathe ; Jain ; 35	400
129	Pragatik	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Weekly	D. V. Joshi ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 34.	350
130	Prakásh	Sátára	Do.	Rámchandră Ganesh Soman ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 45.	350
131	Rájakáran	Poona	Do.	Sitaram Keshav Damle, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 47.	3,500
132	Ráshtra Dharma	Belgaum	Monthly	Shriniwas Krishna *alias* Annabuwa Arjunwadkar ; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhman) ; 40.	300
133	Ráshtra Veer	Do.	Weekly	......	...
134	Sahakari Namdeo	Poona	Fortnightly	Pandharinath Narayan Pataskar ; Hindu (Shimpi) ; 36.	[illegible]00
135	Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 41.	7,000
136	Satyă Prakásh	Tasagaon (Sátára)	Weekly	Narayan Ramchandra Vibhute ; Hindu (Wani) ; 46.	225
137	Satyă Shodhak	Ratnágiri	Do.	Dattatraya Hari Limaye ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 28.	825
138	Shivaji	Poona	Fortnightly	Shankar Trimbak Awate ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 22.	1,000
139	Sholápur Samáchár	Sholápur	Weekly	Vithal Narsáppa Jakkal ; Hindu (Telgu Máli) ; 40.	500
*140	Shri Namdeo Vritta	Bombay	Monthly	Balaram Anant Vaidya ; Hindu (Namdeo Shimpi) ; 36.	750
141	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Do.	Weekly	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 59.	3,000
142	Shri Sháhu	Sátára	Do.	Vishnu Ramkrishna Dhavle ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 24.	325
143	Shubh Suchak	Do.	Do.	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Chitale ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 53.	250 to 300
144	Suvarnakar Udaya	Bombay	Fortnightly	......	...
145	Swarájya	Poona	Weekly	Shivram Mahadeo Paranjapye ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 56.	5,000
146	Udyam Prakásh	Wái (Sátára)	Do.	Vishwanath Dhondi Teli ; Hindu (Teli) ; 33.	50

* These papers are not being received in this office at present.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*concluded.*				
147	Vichári	Kárwár (Kánara)	Tri-monthly	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim; Muhammadan (Sunni); 47.	450
148	Vidyarthi	Poona	Weekly	Narayan Chidambar Gadgil; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 19.	500
149	Vijayi Marátha	Do.	Do.	Shripat Laxman Shinde; Marátha; 37	3,500
150	Vita Vritta	Sátára	Do.	Narayan Laxman Jog; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 34.	60
151	Vrittasár	Wái (Sátára)	Do.	Govind Ganesh Vaidyă; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 25.	250
152	Vyápári	Poona	Do.	Shankar Shridhar Puranik; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 45.	650
	MARATHI AND KANARESE.				
153	Gosevak	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Hanmant Sadashiv Paranjpe; Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhmin); 22.	600
	SINDHI.				
154	Al-Haq	Sukkur	Weekly	Abdul Baki Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 22.	200
155	Bháratwasi	Hyderabad	Do.	Jeramdas Dowlatram; Hindu (Amil); 28	9 0
156	Dharma Vir	Sukkur	Do.	......	...
157	Frontier Gazette	Jacobabad	Do.	Vishindás Pránjainmal; Hindu (Bhátia); 36.	500
158	Hindu	Hyderabad	Do.	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; 26	1,000
159	Khairkháh-i-Sind	Lárkána	Do.	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Khatri); 47.	250
160	Lárkána Gazette	Do.	Do.	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni; Hindu (Amil); 32.	500
161	Mirpurkhás Gazette	Mirpurkhás	Do.	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Amil); 40.	600
162	Musáfir	Hyderabad (Sind)	Do.	Abdul Waháb Khán; Pathan; 56	250
163	Sada Bahar	Larkana	Do.	......	...
164	Satya Nadi	Shikàrpur	Do.	......	...
165	Sindhi	Sukkur	Bi-weekly	Virumal Begraj; Hindu (Bhuráni); 48	800
166	Sind Sudhár	Karáchi	Weekly	Khánchand Rahumal; Hindu (Amil); 55	850
167	Sind Vasi	Hyderabad	Daily	Sujansing Fatehsing; Hindu (Amil); 42	850
168	Vande Mataram	Do.	Weekly	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; Hindu; 26	800
	URDU.				
169	Moulana Punch	Bombay	Weekly	......	...
170	Mufid-e-Rozgár	Do.	Do.	Haji Munshi Mahamad Husein; Muhammadan; 50.	2,200
171	Muslim Herald	Do.	Do.	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf; Muhammadan (Sunni); 42.	2,600

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *á*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by th proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 3rd July, Eng. cols.

*1. Referring to the report about the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—" There were several causes which led people to surmise that the visit would most probably be postponed.......... No wonder many people are surprised and ask themselves whether the Home Government have not been ill advised in their decision. Most probably the Viceroy was consulted before the final decision was made, and Lord Reading has no doubt excellent reasons to believe that the visit is advisable and will bring about good results. That His Excellency should have advised that the tour should not be postponed shows he is confident that by the time His Royal Highness arrives the general situation in this country will have so far improved as to leave no doubt of the success of the Royal visit."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 3rd July.

*2. " The relinquishment of the visit of the Prince of Wales this year, after the assurances publicly given last year by His Majesty himself, would have embarrassed Lord Reading in the work before him. His Excellency requires all the support he can get from England politically and socially, to carry through the kind of measures which alone can ensure success to his Viceroyalty. Nevertheless, we are sure that Lord Reading would not have urged the prosecution of His Royal Highness' visit, had His Excellency not in view some turn of policy that might be reasonably expected to rouse enthusiasm which is noticeably lacking at present in the country. It is possible that Mr. Gandhi's interview with His Excellency has removed any doubts that there may have been in this respect.......... The way in which the public have responded to the Government of India's loan notification and to the Mahatma's appeal for the Tilak Swarájya Fund shows that they feel that both are necessary to keep each other within the limits of public safety. Government without Gandhi will lapse back into O'Dwyerism and Gandhi without Government will run the car of the State down the precipitous places of non-co-operation. The public have no faith in the capacity of the Legislative Councils and Ministers to protect their rights and liberties."

Kesari (111), 28th June; *Swarájya* (145), 30th June; *Rájakáran* (131), 26th June; *Lokasangraha* (116), 27th June.

3. Barring a few exceptions people are generally opposed to the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. We would certainly have extended a hearty welcome to the Prince if he had aspired to achieve what his grandfather could not. But the grandfather was only a parrot in the cage of the bureaucracy and it is not likely that that body will allow more liberty to the Prince. Evidently a welcome to the Prince means an acquiescence in the present policy of repression, and, therefore, people will take no part in it. The bureaucracy will now begin to give sweet promises with a view not to mar the effect of their show. Indeed, a beginning has already been made in this direction. The reports that dyarchy would soon be introduced in the Central Government and that Pandit Malaviya would be appointed Home Member are significant. But people are no longer simple enough to believe in such promises. Nor will they be over-joyed even if the rumours come to be true. Indians will not be satisfied by the transfer of a few minor Departments of the Government of India to their control. How can a nation which demands full *swarájya* be satisfied with only an extension of dyarchy? [The *Swarájya* writes :—In the beginning of the year the authorities spent lakhs of rupees and brought the Duke of Connaught here to open the new worthless Councils. We never expected these *tamashas* to serve any useful purpose ; and it turned out to be so. But we never thought that the authorities would repeat the performance merely because the people put up with it once. It is most unfortunate that a fresh inroad should be made into the Indian treasury before the old one is made good. It may be said in favour of the Duke's visit that he had to open

the new Councils. But what is the object of the Prince's visit? There may still be many men in the Royal House of England. If they were all to visit this country one after another without any cause, how can this poor country defray the expenses of their peaceful invasion? It is not right that these Royal guests should visit India with such frequency in order to partake of its hospitality. A tax or a law may be imposed on an unwilling people; but what justification is there for similarly imposing the duty of hospitality on them? If it is forcibly imposed, then instead of festivities there will be strikes and *hartals* everywhere. But there are grounds for supposing that the authorities are bringing the Prince here with a view to conferring some fresh rights upon the people through him. If the boons do satisfy the people then the Prince will be accorded a fitting welcome. The *Rajakáran* writes:—People have no voice in the question of the Prince's visit. Everything is settled by the bureaucracy. India's money is in the hands of the bureaucracy and they have the power to spend it as they like. The Chiefs are subservient to the bureaucracy and the rich men are their bond slaves. They will all of course give the Prince a grand welcome. The people's share in the whole business consists of reading in the papers that the Prince is coming, has come, and is gone; and that they will do. The *Lokasangraha* writes:—The Duke of Connaught was greeted with closed windows and *hartals*. No one expected that with this experience fresh in their minds the bureaucracy would think of inviting the Prince to visit the country so soon.]

Gujarát Mitra (16), 26th June; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (23), 26th June.

4. Commenting upon the report about the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales, the *Gujarát Mitra* writes:—There is much disaffection against Government at present in the country. All came to know about the state of feeling in the country at the time of the visit of the Duke of Connaught. Government know full well that the Duke did not receive a proper welcome. We specially request Government to act in such a way that the Prince of Wales may not have to meet with the same fate that the Duke of Connaught did. The Prince of Wales will visit this country in November, but no one knows how long he will stay in this country. The Indian National Congress will be held in the last week of December. It is useless to conjecture whether the visit of the Prince of Wales will conduce to the benefit of India or not. But we hope that his visit will bring about magical changes in the ideas, speeches and resolutions of the Ahmedabad Congress and that these changes will benefit both Britain and India. If that does happen there will be on the contrary a sharper difference of opinion. Will this visit place India on a level with the self-governing Colonies? If it does, one of the demands of the Congress at Ahmedabad will be said to have been granted. Will the Muhammadans get justice in connection with the Khilafat question? We doubt this very much. If our doubts prove to be true, the visit of the Prince of Wales will not prove to be beneficial. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—The fact that His Majesty's advisers have decided to send the Prince of Wales to India shows that they as well as Lord Reading must be hoping that the causes of the present unrest will be removed within a few months. If the monsoon turns out to be good this year, if the trade of the country is restored to its former prosperity, and if the Government of India were to remove the causes of the unrest, there is no doubt that the visit of the Prince of Wales next winter will be very successful. We hope that the unrest will disappear before the Prince of Wales visits this country.]

Sind Observer (10), 28th June.

5. "The question is asked if His Royal Highness is not coming as the Imperial Smoother why should the visit be undertaken this year of all years? Believing that the Prince has an important message for the people of India let us see what it will be. It was said when the Duke visited India at the beginning of the year that the days of 'boons' were gone because 'boons' are always associated with an autocratic system of Government, and that under the new constitution progress would take place through the Councils step by step, from precedent to precedent and from convention to convention. But those who argue this way forget that Parliament has reserved to itself the

sole power of granting further instalments of reforms and that these reforms are to come from Parliament only as a 'boon' in future whether some people like the word 'boon' or not; therefore there can be no objection to announce certain concessions on behalf of Parliament through the mouth of Royalty provided Parliament would be prepared to grant them. Either Parliament must be moved to grant these concessions before the Prince lands in India which will be a very straightforward course; or the Cabinet depending upon Parliamentary support would take the responsibility of announcing them before obtaining Parliament's sanction. In the latter case Mr. Montagu's critics in Parliament would assail him for doing things behind the back of Paliament and facing it with a *fait accompli* which it would be difficult to upest on account of Royalty being also involved in the matter. Or the concessions may be such as could be granted by the Sovereign by exercising his own prerogatives without reference to Parliament; or they may be such as lie within the powers of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State supported by the Government of India without Parliament's interference. But the probabilities are that Parliament's previous sanction will not be sought to avoid adverse comments.......... Some think that the Viceroy would not have invited the Prince this year if he depended upon making further progress through the Delhi Councils and constitutional channels. He has something to announce that will strike the imagination of people, which will come with great grace through the lips of Royalty.......... The release of the prisoners, the transfer of pensions, the settlement of the Khilafat question, and the removal of certain repressive laws from the Statute Book which will be done in September when the Assemblies meet at Simla, will put an end to a great deal of unrest; and the country will be in a fine mood to accord a hearty reception to His Royal Highness."

Comments on His Excellency Lord Reading's speech in reply to the Ahmadiyya Deputation.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th June.

6. The *Bombay Chronicle* gives a quotation from Lord Reading's speech in reply to the Ahmadiyya Deputation in the course of which His Excellency expressed the hope that a just and reasonable peace might result between Greece and Turkey, and says:—"Thus spake Lord Reading in the course of his reply to the Ahmediyah Delegation. Indian Muslims, who have heard similar pious hopes and fervent wishes expressed so many times without the least result, are not unnaturally disappointed by this first official pronouncement of the new Viceroy on the Turkish question, for they are sick to death of empty words. We, for our part, take a less despondent view, believing that Lord Reading's political influence is so much greater than that of his predecessor that he is able to accomplish easily things which it was never in Lord Chelmsford's power to do. He has only to hope earnestly enough, and trust fervently enough, in order to impose his view upon the Government of England; and it is a relief to us to know that he does realise the vast importance of the Turkish question to the peace and welfare of this country and this continent. His mention of a just and reasonable peace with Turkey is tantamount to an admission that the Treaty of Sevres was both unreasonable and unjust; and coming from such a man the worth of that admission to the Muslim cause is very great. By dint of harsh experience we have been taught never to pin our faith to an official utterance; but unofficial tidings also seem to indicate that the Government of England has begun to realise the huge mistake it made in ever letting Greek troops enter Turkish territory.......... Before he came to India, Lord Reading asked the Indian people to give him a fair chance. We feel quite sure that Indians wish to do so; and to that end it is necessary to refrain from judgment of his policy until at least its general aim and tendency become apparent. The incident of the Ali Brothers has, of course, offended non-co-operators and his definition of the behaviour of a clique of British officials towards their Indian fellow-subjects as 'mistakes of judgment' seems over-diplomatic to the sufferers from that behaviour. But if he succeeds in having the Turkish question settled in the way that Indians wish, and in transforming the Government of India into a Government for India, Indians will soon forget these little details and acclaim him the best friend that India ever had."

Young India (12), 29th June.

7. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The Viceroy's reply to the Ahmadiyya community shows that he has passed into the hands of a bureaucracy that is clever, united and utterly unscrupulous. His defence of officers and officials supplies the meaning of racial equality. The Viceroy sees no inequality in the impunity with which Europeans may commit crimes against Indian humanity.......... His Excellency does not care to study the daily press, which is replete with instances of insults hurled against Indians by Europeans. He seems to be unaware of the fact that British Officers will not tolerate the presence of Indian judges in their railway compartment. The Viceroy says 'there is no foundation, I verily believe, for any suggestion that the British official is anxious to assert racial superiority over the Indian with whom he comes in contact.' I assure Lord Reading that his observation is so contrary to the every-day experience of the average Indian that it must prejudice the people against the soundness of his judgment or even the honesty of his purpose. They will see in his certificates of character to officials and officers a studied refusal to see the truth and do justice.......... The fact is that it is impossible for any Viceroy to see the truth, living as he does on the mountain tops seven months in the year and in complete isolation even when he lives on the plains....... So long as he (the Viceroy) lives both physically and mentally in Simla, so long will he be kept in ignorance of the truth, even as Siddhartha was. But there is an accident in store for him, as there was for the renowned young prince, whom the world worships as Buddha the Enlightened. Non-co-operation is the accident. And if Lord Reading has open eyes and open ears, it will not be long before he sees and hears the truth."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 28th June; *Hindusthán* (21), 28th June; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 26th June; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 27th June; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 27th June.

8. The reply given by His Excellency Lord Reading to the address of the Ahmadiyya deputation leads us to think that Great Britain has now recognised the necessity of concluding an honourable peace with Turkey. Such a change of attitude on the part of Britain is to be welcomed, and peace in Asia and contentment among Indian Moslems will be assured if the hopes raised by Lord Reading are realised. There is no doubt that great Britain is solely responsible for the Turkish tangle. Lord Reading assures us about the neutrality of Britain with regard to Angora; but we must say that mere neutrality will not satisfy the Indian Moslems. If Britain wants to win over the hearts of Indian Moslems, she should, in communication with France and Italy, use her influence to induce Greece to give up the Turkish territory recently acquired by it. England should, moreover, get rid of the impression she has formed that Angora is a rebellious power. The Government of Angora represents the real Turkey. We are gratified with the assurances given by Lord Reading to the Indian Moslems, but they will not be satisfied as long as Greece does not part with her recently acquired Turkish territory and as long as the Jazerat-ul-Arab is not constituted into an independent province. The Indian Moslems have no objection to Mesopotamia being converted into an Arab State, but they would like that State to be placed under Turkey and not Britain. [The *Hindusthán* writes:—Certain statements made by Lord Reading before the Ahmadiyya deputation appear to be very strange. At a time when the French and Italian newspapers declare, with one voice, that England has sent an ultimatum to Angora, Lord Reading pleads ignorance about it! Let us, however, hope Lord Reading may succeed in using his influence to modify the Turkish treaty in a manner satisfactory to the Indian Moslems. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—Lord Reading's reply convinces us that in him the Indian Moslems have secured a champion of their cause and that he will be do all in his power to set matters right. Let us hope Lord Reading will succeed in his efforts to convince the Brititish Cabinet of the necessity of modifying the Turkish treaty and thus putting the hearts of Indian Moslems at ease. *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Lord Reading has made a good beginning in pacifying the hearts of the Indian Moslems, and we have every hope that he will succeed in his efforts at bridging the gulf between the rulers and the ruled. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses confidence that Lord Reading's sympathetic reply will not fail to give satisfaction to Indian Moslems.]

The proposed Parliamentary deputation to the Indian Legislatures.
Mahrátta (7), 3rd July.

***9.** "It seems that those who are running this show of new Reforms are anxious to advertise their handiwork and create a sort of halo around it in order to induce a belief that they have discharged their duty most creditably. But how long will they continue this game of blind man's bluff? How long will they succeed in keeping this fog of ignorance? The Parliamentary deputation, which is said to be visiting India next year, may perhaps have been intended to serve as an intellectual tail of entourage of the Prince of Wales and is sure to adorn his party. We shall welcome the visit of these Parliamentarians if India is not to be saddled with any expense regarding their visit even under the garb of 'gracious hospitality' on behalf of India. We welcome their visit because their visit will serve as an eye-opener to many among them and will convince them that 'the newest legislature in the Empire' has been tabooed by the nation and even those who take pride in it are dissatisfied with it. The Central Legislature is nothing more than a developed debating club with not even a shadow of any substantial power.......... The Parliamentary deputation, if they keep their eyes open, would realise that the country has determined to be free and would not be satisfied with these dummy councils full of time-servers and place-hunters. The study of Indian situation at first hand would be profitable to them and their Empire in the long run. Will they do it? But whatever they may do one thing is certain, that this too much of advertising of this legislature will not be of any avail to its sponsors, because the more they exhibit their glories the greater are the fears of exposing their weaknesses."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 2nd July.

10. Reuter informs us that Mr. Whyte, the President of the Legislative Assembly, will shortly come back to India, with a small deputation of members of Parliament to see the working of the Legislative Councils. We can clearly see the hand of the Viceroy and the Secretary of State in the appointment of this Parliamentry Deputation to visit India. Both the Viceroy and the Sécretary of State have been convinced of the inadequacy of the new Reforms; and they should, therefore, be congratulated upon prevailing upon Parliament to send a deputation, evidently with a view to enable that body to effect changes in the Reforms before the period of ten years. It seems that when the Prince of Wales returns to England after his visit he will request his Royal father to improve upon the new Reforms at an early date. The message that the Prince carries to England will show what Lord Reading means to do for India.

Comments on the reported intention of Government to introduce diarchy in the Viceroy's Executive Council.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 3rd July.

***11.** Referring to the report that diarchy is likely to be introduced in the Viceroy's Executive Council, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"But why Diarchy? The short experience of Diarchy has not brought it out in a particularly favourable light. The new Ministers are to all intents and purposes the old members of the Executive Council with a three instead of a five years' tenure. The graft tends to lose its character rapidly—even four months have had no inconsiderable effect upon it. The only other difference between the bureaucrat and the Minister is that the former could not invoke his 'ideals of a lifetime,' and the latter can, in defence of official ineptitude. Let us have a radical reform of the Government of India. We have no objection to a certain number of Englishmen being members of Council, but let all subjects be brought under the control of the Legislature. The veto power of the Governor-General may be strengthened if necessary."

Protest against the proposed introduction of dyarchy in Burma.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th June.

12. "His Majesty's Government seem determined to repeat in Burma the farce—which may end in a tragedy—which they enacted in India by compelling the people to swallow, against their inclinations, that latest nostrum, of Imperial statesmanship, *viz.*, dyarchy. His Majesty's Government know that the people of this country are in revolt against the dyarchical system and yet they are attempting to thrust it on the Burmese. So far as we can judge of the attitude of the Burmese people, they are in no mood to accept this 'boon'...... In these circumstances, it is the height of folly on the part of His Majesty's Government to persist in forcing this political makeshift on the Burmese. We are sure the Burmese will prefer to wait for the full instalment of Home Rule rather than put up with the discredited dyarchy. Mr. Montagu is arranging to send to Burma a committee of enquiry similar to the Southborough Committee to enable the authorities to draw up rules and regulations and define the franchise. But we have no doubt the Burmese people, profiting by the experience of India, will give the committee the widest possible berth. The committee can do no good and will prove merely a blind in the hand of the Craddockian bureaucracy, who will whittle down the 'Reforms' as far as possible. Let the Burmese join hands with the people in India, who are struggling to achieve Swaraj and they will surely hasten the dawn of real Self-Government in Burma."

Protest against the proposed grant of further increments of pay to the higher services in India.
Servant of India (9), 30th June.

13. "We are sure Mr. Montagu's intention to grant further increments to the higher services in India, which he took occasion to announce a few days ago in the House of Commons, will evoke strong protests from India. It was with great difficulty that on the eve of the introduction of the Reforms the country reconciled itself to the revision of their salaries which was more or less looked upon as a price for the new political advance promised to her. The result was that these revisions swallowed a greater portion of the growth in provincial revenues, leaving the nation-building services like education and industries half-starved. The first budgets in the new era in most of the provinces were deficit budgets, which has already given rise to widespread disappointment in India. Even without the proposed revision, the popular Ministers have an extremely difficult situation to face. The contemplated improvements in the emoluments of these services, if carried out, will indefinitely add to the difficulties of their position; and might even endanger the success of the constitutional experiment, upon which the future of India so much depends. Moreover it is unjust to overfeed the higher services at the cost of the lower ones which are greatly in need of relief. We feel we cannot too strongly plead for the abandonment of a scheme which will have such far-reaching consequences."

Kesari, (111), 28th June; *Lokamanya* (115), 1st July.

14. The more fuel you add to a fire the more consuming you make it; similarly the more you add to the salary of of a Civil Servant the more you help to whet his appetite. These people are not satisfied although their remuneration is larger than that of the same class of people in any other country. A large increase in their salaries was made under the recommendations of the Public Services Commission. Next they utilized the Reforms to make an addition to their salaries. Now they want an increase to be made in their salaries on the ground that the salaries of the Civil Servants in England have been increased, and it is very likely that the Secretary of State and the Government of India will accede to their request. People already complain that the Army absorbs half the revenue of the country and that the other departments are starved. In these circumstances, Indian electors should have had the power to cut down the salaries of the Civil Servants. It would be sinful on the part of the Indian representatives to assent to a budget which includes provision for pensions to Dyer, O'Dwyer, etc., and increased salaries to the Civil Servants. Would it not be more correct to non-co-operate with Government than to assent to such a budget? [The *Lokamanya* says that it is the height of shamelessness to make a still further increase in the salaries of the Civil Servants.]

Comments on the Premier's speech before the Imperial Conference.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th June.

15. "'Statesmanlike', so Reuter's correspondent tells us, is the unanimous verdict on the Premier's speech before what is described as the Imperial Cabinet, and the correspondent proceeds to inform us that the speech was regarded as very satisfactory from the Indian point of view. By whom? It will certainly not be so regarded by the Indian people. So far as words go, there is much in the Premier's speech that will, of course, be read with

satisfaction. For instance, what could be more eloquent than the words in which the Premier recalled India's part in the great war?......... The Premier spoke with his tongue in his cheek. How has his Government bridged the two civilisations? By being the author of the iniquitous Treaty of Sevres which has outraged the conscience of all Asia, and by refusing to repair the Punjáb wrong which has outraged the honour of India. As to the former, the Premier, indeed, acknowledged that until peace with Turkey was settled there could be no peace in the world, but he did not give any indication that he had sufficiently realised the conditions on which alone a lasting settlement of the Turkish question can be based. As for the Punjáb the Premier, of course, is not aware that the Indian people are sore in heart and have almost lost faith in British justice. He is still living in a fools' paradise imagining that the 'new status' which India has 'won' has satisfied her.......... The Prime Minister may seek to mislead the world as to the reality of the 'new status' accorded to India in the counsels of the Empire. But he cannot mislead India who is determined to control her own affairs now and immediately and not to be content with 'making rapid strides towards the control of her own affairs'."

Mahrátta (7) 3rd July.

***16.** Commenting on the proceedings of the Imperial Conference, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"So far as words go, Mr. Lloyd George put as much honey as he could when he spoke of the status of India in the Empire. However India, or even the Indian representatives there, are not ready to be beguiled by words which are divorced from facts.......... The preliminary speeches delivered by different representatives clearly indicate the lines of the decisions that would be arrived at. The Imperial Conference cherishes the ambition to be guarantors of the peace of the world and to obliterate the difference of races. No doubt it is a noble ambition but this ambition has been reduced by them into practice to the negation of the very principle it connotes. Firstly, in order that the British Empire should have the strength to guarantee the peace of the world, the Empire must not be seething with discontent from within. We must look to the facts squarely in the face. What is this Empire if India is eliminated from it? If India has to play its part she must be granted immediately the full status of the Dominions. If the statesmen assembled there picture the future before their eyes they can see that India is the pivot on which the future destiny of the Empire depends.......... So long as these Empire statesmen do not realise that the safety of the Empire lies in the grant of full and complete equality of status and liberty immediately, all talk of this vaunted mission of the Empire would not be of any avail.......... If the Empire is not to be built on force but on good will and common understanding and if liberty is to be the one binding force, we must say that all these elements are absolutely non-existent in India. India first desires to be free and if freedom is not granted to her by common understanding she has determined to wrest it from unwilling hands."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 3rd July.

***17.** "For our part, we fail to see any special cause for satisfaction in the address of the Premier. The cajoling flattery of the sentences relating to India has begun to jar upon us. We have had it any number of times these last five years, and not once or twice it has been but a prelude to some demand upon India in the interests, of course, of the Empire.......... Of India he merely said that 'she had proved her right to a new status in our Councils.' He carefully refrained from indicating what the 'new status' is and wherein it differs from the old status. So far as we can see, the difference only consists in two Indian gentlemen being allowed to sit at the same table as the British and Dominion Premiers. This status brings India more burdens than privileges. A Reuter telegram conveys the intelligence that contributions to the League of Nations have been calculated on a revised basis of population and revenue and that India has the costly honour of being placed in the second of seven classes of contributors, next beside Great Britain and France! Indian fiscal policy during the last three or four years shows that the 'new status' does not materially differ from the old status of milch-cow of the

Empire.......... In appraising the precise character of the 'new status,' Mr. Lloyd Geroge should not expect India to leave these facts out of account. Mr. Sastry was so overwhelmed by the privilege of sitting at a table alongside of the Dominion Ministers that he had no thought to spare, not even a curiosity to hint, regarding the mystical and mystifying phrase of the Prime Minister. Judged by any test except the narrow one which bulks so largely in the eyes of the official Liberals of India, India is far and away a greater entity than any other part of the British Empire, and she expects her spokesmen, whether nominated by Government or elected by the people, to express themselves in language, not boastful or arrogant but self-respecting and self-reliant. Mr. Sastry's imperfect familiarity with fiscal matters, so grievously betrayed in his attitude to Mr. Lalubhai Samaldas's resolution in the Council of State, may account for his failure to mark in his speech even parenthetically the fatal weakness of the 'new status' to which the Prime Minister had referred, but his flamboyant references to the Reform scheme and to 'the wise and sleepless watch of Mr. Montagu'—which costs commercial and industrial India sleepless nights and anxious days—read almost like a deliberate attempt to make party capital out of his position—an all-India one if it is anything at all—in the Imperial Cabinet. His reference to 'Non-co-operation' as one of 'the perils in which Indians had to live', confirms this impression and contrasts strangely with General Smuts inviting General Hertzog, the Nationalist Boer leader, as his colleague to the Imperial Cabinet meeting.......... We have not received the terms of the resolution which the Indian delegation was to have submitted on the question of the status of Indians in the Empire. Mr. Sastry correctly enough said that there was at present no question of unrestricted emigration from India, but he was wrong in saying that this was because of Lord Sinha's agreement to the Reciprocity resolution which has been a dead letter and has lapsed. We want to consolidate our position in India before exposing our people to the persecution of the Colonials without being able effectively to protect them. The contribution of the Maharao of Cutch so far to the transactions of the Cabinet seems to have been purely ornamental."

Kesari (111), 28th June.

18. In his opening speech at the Imperial Conference Mr. Lloyd George declared that the Colonies had acquired a position of equal partnership with the Mother Country in the Empire, while about India he said that she had established her right to a new status in its Councils by her great services in the war. By thus separately alluding to India, Mr. Lloyd George has made it clear that he does not regard India as a partner in the British Empire. Lord Reading's speech at the Chelmsford Club, too, conveyed the same idea. It is for Indians to decide whether they can quietly pocket this insult. Why should Indians take part in a Conference in which India is held in such low esteem? In an interview given to a representative of an English paper Mr. Shastri declared that he would not take part in any discussion on Imperial defence unless Indians' right to settle in any part of the Empire they like is recognized. Mr. Shastri has given expression to patriotic views and they will no doubt prove acceptable to the people. The Indian representatives at the Conference should decline to consider any question of Imperial defence unless India is assured an equality of status. These men would now have been engaged in trying to remove the root cause of the trouble if they had paused to consider why they are driven to make these protests and are subjected to this humiliation. Who would brook interference from a man who has no freedom in his own house? Mr. Shastri should have known that he courted humiliation by participating in the proceedings of the Conference before India had the full rights of *Swarajya*. But owing to the delusion caused by Mr. Montagu's reforms, the Moderates failed to demand complete internal autonomy and thus lost a great opportunity. Who is now to blame if no weight is attached to the opinions of Indian representatives? The remedy lies in attaining *swardjya* by adopting non-co-operation. We shall command respect in the Imperial Conference only when we are masters in our own house. Mr. Shastri and the Maharao of Cutch should nod-co-operate with the Dominion Premiers and tell them plainly that so long as Indians are excluded from the Colonies they will refuse to discuss the question either of Imperial defence or of Preferential tariffs. If they do not do that and allow Mr. Montagu to inveigle them into giving some undertaking, then their conduct will not be approved by the Indian nation. The non-co-operation of Indian representatives alone will convince British statesmen that the foundation of their Imperial Conference is unstable and that the edifice of Imperial defence reared on this foundation will not fail to topple down. They will then confer the full rights of *swarájya* on India, not out of any altruistic motives but to ensure the safety of their Empire.

Hindusthán (21), 29th June.

19. The references made to India in the speech delivered by Mr. Lloyd George at the meeting of the Imperial Conference will not fail to create feelings of discontent, surprise and annoyance in the heart of every self-respecting Indian. The Premier in his usual manner praised India in glowing terms, and it was but natural for the nominees of the Government of India at the Conference to be overpowered by the glamour of such praise. But Indians are not such simpletons as to be deceived by the protestations about the strengthening of the ties between the East and the West on account of the great European war. Can Indians be now deluded into such a belief when the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs are staring them in the face? It seems Mr. Lloyd George has not understood the Indian situation or that he has not been kept informed about the true state of affairs in India by the Indian bureaucrats. But if Mr. Lloyd George considers the new reforms as a great stride, in spite of his knowledge of the true state of Indian feeling, we cannot but hold him responsible for simulation and disloyalty to the Empire. Englishmen are doing a great deservice to England by ignoring the discontent in India. Had Mr. Lloyd George the statesmanship with which he is credited he would never have indulged in hyperboles and blinked at the truth.

Sind Observer (10), 29th June.

20. Discussing the speech delivered by Mr. Lloyd George while opening the Imperial Conference, the *Sind Observer* writes:—"If India is lost to the Empire one day—which God forbid—it will be due not to the Indian's desire to get out, but to the arrogant assertion of white superiority. But happily the signs are that a new conception of the Empire is dawning upon the thinkers of the Empire.......... The Premier referring to India said: 'India with her far-descended culture and her intensely varied types so different from ours is present in this room to concert a common policy with us in the world's affairs and harmonise still more completely her civilisation and ours.' That in a nutshell is the purpose of India and Britain coming together. As time goes on the necessity for equal partnership between the two nations will be more and more felt. It is why we cannot tolerate the ideas of occupying a subordinate position in the Empire. Equal partnership is the natural goal and aim. Separation is fatal. It will ruin India; it will drag down Britain. We believe in the harmony of East and West; that is the reason why Mr. Gandhi's cry of 'back to the Vedas' leaves us very cold. We cannot go backwards; it is like going back upon all the purposes of history. We can only progress forwards and that is towards the unity of man and federation of the world. It is for this higher purpose we believe the British commonwealth exists and to achieve this purpose all inequalities within the Empire between man and man, race and race must disappear and all become distinct and inseparable limbs in the body of a world federation."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 28th June, Eng cols.

21. "In his speech on the occasion of opening the Imperial Cabinet Mr. Lloyd George paid the usual tribute to India and the Dominions. As usual his appreciation of India's services was unstinted and eloquent. But the speech will be found distinctly disappointing by those who have set their heart upon India attaining her full national status at once. The Premier indeed spoke of India's 'new status,' but there is nothing very definite about the reference; and from the context it would appear that a distinction between the status of the self-governing Dominions and that of India was assumed......... The passage clearly shows that although it is conceded that India has proved her right to a 'new status' since the war, it is not conceded that that status is to

be the same as that of the Dominions......... As regards India, all he could say was a vague reference to a 'new status.' There is no indication in the speech that this new status would be on a level with that of the other parts of the Empire. Perhaps Mr. Lloyd George was right in speaking about India in this vague fashion. It would have been hypocritical and untrue in fact to have stated that India had been 'accepted fully into the comity of nations,' or that she was 'an equal partner in the dignities and responsibilities of the British Commonwealth.' India does not share the 'dignities' of the British Commonwealth. In India itself Indians are subject to serious disabilities, and abroad, in other parts of the Empire, they are subjected to indignities which must be humiliating to a free and equal partner in a federation, such as the British Commonwealth is supposed to be. Still less does India share the 'responsibilities' of the Empire. She is no doubt made to bear a burden, but that is not the same as sharing a responsibility. It would be idle to talk of India sharing the responsibilities of the Empire, when she has no voice in the high debates of Parliament, and no choice in the matter of peace or war when she has no army and no navy to defend her own shores. At the same time it would be disingenuous and untrue in fact to deny, that the status of India to-day is different from that of what it was in pre-war days. It is a new status, and since a beginning has been made, we believe it must, in course of time, lead to full partnership in the British Commonwealth. If it does not so much the worse for the Commonwealth."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Sastri's speech in the Imperial Conference.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th June.

22. Referring to the Honourable Mr. Sastri's speech in the Imperial Conference, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"The speech confirms the original doubts raised in this country as to the fitness of Mr. Sastri to understand the inwardness of the situation in his own country and to speak the mind of his countrymen. Perhaps it was too much to have expected Mr. Sastri to rise to the full height of his opportunity. The more carefully we read the speech, the more painfully does the impression take hold of our mind that it is the speech which the most Liberal of Moderates must, in a like situation, inevitably make. It is a tragic embodiment of the Moderate creed—the readiness to indulge in high-sounding platitudes and the timidity of aspirations combined with the distressing refusal or inability to realise the humiliation involved in this timidity.......... What did Mr. Sastri say? Not only did he, as if in duty bound, sing the praises of the 'reforms', but he had the impertinence to misrepresent the views of his countrymen by saying that 'Indians realised that they were planted firmly on the road to the acquisition of Dominion Status.' In order to improve the status of Indian representatives Mr. Sastri hoped 'that next year the person who represented, in the place of the Maharao of Cutch, over one-third of the British territory in India, would probably be chosen by the Chamber of Princes by election and the man who replaced himself might likewise be elected by the central Legislature.' This concession may satisfy the timid aspirations of Mr. Sastri but the Indian people cannot be expected to regard it as satisfactory. For, the Imperial Conference deals with questions of foreign, naval and military policies—questions in regard to which the Central Legislature has no control and its representative at the Imperial Conference cannot speak with the authority of one who can carry his own decisions into effect. Mr. Sastri declared that his resolution regarding the status of Indians in the Dominions would be regarded in India as a test by which the whole position would be judged and he added that 'there was no conviction more strongly held in their minds than that full enjoyment of citizenship in the British Empire applied not only to the United Kingdom but to every Self-governing Dominion in it.' Those who heard him could not surely have failed to notice the irony involved in the demand of full citizenship in the Dominions by one who is not only satisfied with, but glories in, only a petty instalment of it in his own country. No, Mr. Sastri does not represent India and has no title to speak on behalf of the Indian people who are determined to be masters in their own house and who are convinced that when they stand erect as self-respecting men and women in their own country, no people on earth dare insult and humiliate them as they are now insulted and humiliated in the Empire which they cannot, as honest people, call their own."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 30th June, Eng. cols.

23. "Mr. Sastri's speech before the Imperial Conference is a dignified and impressive address.......... It will be believed in the extremist quarters that so long as India submits to being represented at the Conference by such spiritless and self-satisfied individuals, she would never attain to her full national stature. From their stand-point, if it is necessary at all to seek a place on the Imperial Conference, the place should be held by fiery patriots able to hurl denunciation and defiance in the councils of the mighty. Mr. Sastri's ideal was obviously different. He has chosen to make no rhetorical appeals to his hearers. He is a representative Moderate among Indian publicists; and true to his political creed, he has spoken in a moderate, rational and dignified manner.......... Any other style of oratory would have been out of place.......... India can attain her proper place in the Councils of the Empire, no more by threat and denunciation than by supplication and entreaty. It can only be by proof of merit.......... If Mr. Sastri or the Maharao of Cutch, carried away by a moment's enthusiasm, had struck a false note, the effect would have been unfavourable. In a council of state, the representatives of India have to show statesmanship. If the British and Dominion magnates find that Indian statesmen can transact affairs, as well as Indian soldiers can fight, they will, as they must, automatically concede the right of Indians to equality within the Empire.......... Mr. Sastri and his colleague were there not as the elected representatives of the princes or the peoples of India, but as being nominated by the Government of India. That was an anomally, and it materially affected their position at the Conference. Mr. Sastri hoped that the anomally would be removed the next year. For, until it is so removed the more discontented elements in India would have reason to sneer as they do, at the sort of representation which India is given on the Council of the Empire. The Maharao of Cutch may be an excellent representative of Indian princes as Mr. Sastri is of the solid bulk of the people. But, until they are sent to the Conference by the free election of their peers, their position must be invidious. It must detract from their authority, it must embarrass them in the expression of their views."

Bombay Samáchár (57), 1st July.

24. The speech made by Mr. Sastri at the Imperial Conference fully justifies the expectations entertained by India of him. Even those who differ from Mr. Sastri in political views will be convinced, on a careful study of his speech, that Government were justified in nominating him as the representative of India and that a better selection could scarcely have been made. People of all shades of opinion are sure to join in bestowing their praises on Mr. Sastri for the fearless and outspoken manner in which he has advocated the cause of India. Let us hope that the Conference will accept Mr. Sastri's contention and insist upon the Indian representatives being chosen by the Indian Legislature and the Chamber of Princes. Mr. Sastri rightly dwelt upon the necessity of modifying the Turkish treaty and we trust his advocacy of the Turkish cause will help the British Ministers in modifying the Turkish treaty in a manner satisfactory to Indian Moslems. It is to be seen how the Imperial Conference decides the claim advanced by Mr. Sastri for the rights of British citizenship to Indians settled in the Colonies. We hope the Conference will accept Mr. Sastri's contention and thus prove its usefulness to the Empire.

Non-Brahmins and the present *swarajya* agitation.

Vijayi Maráthá (149), 25th June.

25. The Extremists as well as the Moderates say that in the movement for *swarajya* they have mostly to fight against the European bureaucracy. Mr. Gandhi means by his 'satanic' Government no one else but that bureaucracy. Side by side with this European bureaucracy there exists in India the Indian bureaucracy which is vastly superior in numbers to the former. There are only 5 or 10 European bureaucrats at the district headquar-

ters and they only occasionally visit the talukas while on tour and a few fowls and a few dozen eggs from the villagers suffice to keep them pleased. On the other hand the Indian bucreaucrats at the taluka towns are squeezing the people dry throughout the year and nothing satisfies them. This oppression at their hands has become so very unbearable that the people are constantly declaring that the saheb is to be preferred to the Rao saheb. They are worse than the Pindharis. The Reforms having strengthened the powers of the Indian bureaucrats and lessened that of the Europeans, matters have become worse. This explains the anti-Brahmin agitation. The Indian bureaucracy is mainly made up of Brahmins, and it is mainly the Brahmins that are shouting out for *Swarajya.* The non-Brahmins stand aside. They follow occupations like agriculture, trade and handicrafts like weaving, etc. The Brahmins are in league with the Indian bureaucrats and most of them are their kith and kin. The non-Brahmins, too, want *swarajya* and they are already putting forth efforts in that direction. But they are being opposed not by the white bureaucrats but by their Indian prototypes. The non-Brahmins will have first to remove this great obstruction in their path and they have to exert themselves strongly to achieve that object. This is a difficult task, as the opposite side has the support of men like the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye. But the task must be accompalished as the advancement of the non-Brahmins depend upon it.

Alleged outrages by Brahmins against Satya Samajists.
Jagaruk (45), 26th June.

26. Mr. Vithal Balkrishna Khatavkar writes in the *Jagaruk*:—While Brahmins have been harassing the Satya Samajists the Extremist papers have been publishing false letters charging Satya Samajists with committing outarges against Brahmins. The following are reliable facts of outrages committed by Brahmins:—(1) A Satya Shodhak Samaj having been only recently started at Mahasoli, Taluka Karad, there was no Mahratta available there to perform priestly duties for its members. They, therefore, got the ceremonies performed by an individual of the *Jangam* sect. Thereupon the Brahmins there set five to a haystack of the *Jangam* and burnt it down. (2) Brahmin money-lenders at Karla having appropriated lands belonging to the Marathas the latter refused to cultivate them. The Brahmins thereupon got enraged and maliciously spoiled the Maratha's drinking water supply by putting nightsoil and oil into the water springs. Complaints have been made in the matter to the Sanitary Committee, but the matter hes not been decided as yet. (3) One Mr. Bapurao Ramji Shinde, a Maratha school master at Kile Mahimangad, being taken for a Satya Samajist by the Brahmins there he has been stopped from taking water from the public well of the place. His house also is being pelted with stones every night. The Satya Samajists are being subjected to such innumerable harassments, but our people being ignorant the facts do not find their way into newspapers. However I hope Government will look into these matters and punish the guilty.

Alleged falsity of certain complaints made against the Satya Samajists.
Vijayi Mahrátta (149), 25th June.

27. The *Vijayi Marátha* publishes the following letter from Rao Bahadur Bhaskarav Jadhav, President of the Satya Shodhak Samaj:—Some time ago the *Kesari* stated [*vide* paragraph 35 of Weekly Report No. 19 of 1921] that on the 18th and 22nd May the Satya Samajists committed outrages at Patan (Sátára) while the Collector was present at the town. It stated that Mr. Gangadhar Anant Joshi, Vice-President of the Taluka Local Board, was beaten by certain Marathas and that the water of springs had been spoilt by pouring kerosine in it and that the Collector had been simply looking on while these things were taking place. The facts are true, but the details, as ascertained by me, are as follows:—Bhagu, the wife of a Maratha of Vadul, is rather good-looking, the Vice-President formed an intimacy with her and kept her in his own house. The husband and others having come to know of this went to Gangadharpant and demanded back the woman. As he said she was not in his house he was knocked down, severely beaten and the woman was taken away. What have the Satya Samajists to do with this incident? The Vice-President quietly bore the castigation and lodged no complaint. It is

stated that he, some days later, left for Bombay with Bhaghu and another uneducated woman, the wife of a local potter! As to the spoiling of the water of a spring, it is well known fact that it was done by one of the two Brahmin parties to a dispute in connection with a Devasthan, in order to spite the other party. The Satya Shodhaks had nothing to do with it. In this case also no complaint was lodged before the Magistrate.

28. The *Swardjya* says that the tranfer of the Excise Department to an Indian Minister has not in any way benefited the people. In its opinion picketers who are endeavouring to check the drink coil are being prosecuted by the authorities without any cause. It considers that there is no likelihood of any progress in education also under the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye. It concludes with remarking that funds are not available for free primary education as the treasury is saddled with the large salaries of Ministers, Presidents of Councils, etc.

Both the Excise and Education Ministers are failures.

Swardjya (145), 30th June.

29. The *Kesari* publishes a letter from the Inspector-General of Registration in reply to the comments the paper made (*vide* paragraph 17 of Weekly Report No. 25 of 1921) on the new system of keeping a photographic record of documents tendered for registration and says:—" The letter from the Inspector-General of Registration in reply to the objections raised by us against the new system of photographing documents tendered for registration instead of having them copied, is not convincing. Mr. Anderson says that the permission of the proper authorities was obtained before introducing the new system. But the fact is that the sanction of Government had not been received before the date on which the system was introduced. Again, according to past experience, an order even of the Government of Bombay proves valueless in a court of law if it conflicts with the provisions of the Registration Act. There is, therefore, no certainty that the courts will accept this method until the law is suitably amended. Mr. Anderson maintains that the expenditure under the new system will not be more than under the old one and possibly it may even be less. We know by bitter experience how far such estimates prove to be true. It is usual with the authorities to under-estimate the expenditure while foisting a new scheme upon the people and then to allow it to swell until it becomes unbearable. We refuse to believe that the cost of plates, chemicals, etc., will be less than that of paper, and that a photographer can be obtained on a salary less than that paid to a clerk. It is likely that the expenditure will be shown to be less until the system is firmly established. But at no distant date an increase will be shown under some pretext or other and then an increase in the fee for registration will follow. Is Mr. Anderson prepared to give an undertaking that no such increase in the fee will ever be made?

Comments on the new system of photographing documents instead of copying them in registers.

Kesari (111), 28th June.

30. Commenting upon the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay in connection with the Ashadhi Fair, the *Bombay Samdchdr* remarks:—" It is to be regretted that the Railway Company should decline to make special arrangements for meeting the extra traffic in connection with the fair and that Government should approve of its action. The hollowness of the argument advanced by the Railway about its inability to run special trains on the occasions of the fair can be proved by the readiness with which the Company runs race specials to Poona. It is the duty of Government to afford all facilities that lie in their power to pilgrims attending the Ashadhi fair, and we hope they will use their influence with the Railway Company concerned to run special trains for the convenience of the people.

Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding the Pandharpur Ashadhi fair.

Bombay Samdchdr (57), 1st July.

Moral degradation of women on some of the Assam tea estates owned by Europeans.
Servant of India (9), 30th June.

31. "Assam" writes in the *Servant of India* on the condition of the coolies on some of the Assam tea estates:—"They (*i. e.*, the coolies) are slaves of the planters, body, mind and soul. It is a low animal existence, an agency to create dividends for the Company. As regards the planters, they are out to make money. In their compulsory exile, the only amusement they indulge in is physical.......... Physical pleasure and animal gratification are indulged in without restraint. Absence of white women is more than made up by drawing upon the young womanhood in the coolie lines. It is a traditional right, which no coolie can resist on pain of severe chastisement. The degradation of the coolies is so complete that in most cases they cannot conceive of any right in them to thwart the desire of the *sahebs*. Are they not the slaves of the *sahebs*, and are not their wives, sisters and daughters the ultimate property of the *sahebs*? A kind *saheb* pays for his indulgence in the shape of a few rupees; a bad *saheb* does not pay. When the *saheb* wants a woman from the lines, she must be supplied by her father, brother or husband. A young coolie woman going off one evening to the bungalow in the company of the *saheb's* bearer or *chaukidar* is nothing strange, it involves no disgrace. It is a sort of tax which may be levied on any coolie's hut. Some *sahebs* stick to one girl; others like change. In the Khoreal shooting case in the Calcutta High Court, it came out in the course of the evidence, and as a matter of normal conditions, that the Manager of the garden, Mr. Grant, kept Nasib Ali's sister as his mistress. Nasib Ali was the assistant Manager's bearer. Mr. Grant gave evidence in the case; he did not deny the fact. There it is. What is wrong, why make a fuss about it? Mr. Grant has the reputation in Assam of being a pious Scotsman."

The Savarkar brothers.
Young India (12), 29th June.

32. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Ditcher of the *Capital* has thrown mud at these brave brothers. He has charged one of them with having, during imprisonment, abused the wireless and plotted with the enemy. He has entered into details, as if the writer had been officially prompted to write the paragraph. If the charge is true, the Government should publish the facts. As it is, it stands, and must have discredited the brothers in the eyes of the public. They are, I understand, not non-co-operators. They claim to be absolutely innocent, and have a clear cause of action against the newspaper concerned. Be that however as it may, Dr. Savarkar informs me that one of them, Mr. Ganesh, has already served, if we count the remissions, fourteen years and two months, and that therefore under the law he is entitled to discharge. [Here the paper quotes section 55 of the Indian Penal Code and proceeds.]......... It is clear under this section that Mr. Ganesh Damodar Sarvarkar should have been discharged two months ago. The brothers having been removed from the Andamans, the section I have quoted must operate in their favour, and they may not be detained for a period exceeding fourteen years. All remissions already granted must count in reduction of fourteen years."

Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th June.

33. "Aden being neither geographically nor historically connected with India the people of this country will regard as a good riddance the transfer of the administrative control of this settlement from her hands to any other legitimately entitled to possess it. Strict justice requires that the Arabs should administer it—but such justice is a stranger to modern diplomacy, which knows only the rule of Might.......... The sacrifices India has all long been called to make in the interest of the civil administration and military defence of Aden are hardly compensated by the advantages which a few Indian merchants have been deriving through India's artificial connection with the settlement......... It is they who have in the main contributed to the development and prosperity of the settlement. Aden is, indeed, a monument to the colonising enterprise of the Indians. It is natural tha

those who have built up the prosperity of Aden should feel alarmed at the prospect of the fruits of their labours being filched away from them, as a consequence of the transfer of the administration to the Colonial Office. The way our countrymen, who were the original colonists of East Africa, are being treated in Kenya and other British East African Colonies, leads the Indian residents of Aden to fear that they will not be fairly treated under the Colonial régime. The Government of India owe it to the Indian community in Aden to see that their rights and interests suffer in no way by the transfer. The Colonial Office ought to give an open and definite assurance to this effect."

Bombay Samáchár (57), 29th June.

34. The question of transferring Aden to the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies has now been raised. We hope that a decision on this matter will only be arrived at after considering whether such a transfer is really in the interests of India and the Indians. India should beware that it is not made a party to any such transfer unless the mystery as to why the transfer is to be made is solved. Again, if it is decided that India should have her own navy, Aden will be very useful to her. Hence India should consider the matter well before allowing it to be transferred. The Aden Merchants' Chamber also protested when they heard that Aden was to be placed under the charge of Egypt. It is not strange if they consider that this new change proposed is equally bad. All Indians can not help feeling to what pitiable condition Indians in Aden will be reduced if it is unconditionally transferred to the Colonial Office. If, as is being urged, Aden has really proved to be a white elephant to India, steps for its development should be taken and it should be made to bear its own burden instead of being removed from the control of the Government of India. We hope that this important question will be decided in the light of present and future benefits to India rather than from considerations of saving a little unnecessary expense.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance and India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th June.

35. "Mr. Austen Chamberlain, in the course of his lengthy reply to the debate in the House of Commons regarding the Dominions Conference, took care to traverse every issue raised during the debate, except one namely, that relating to India's demand for the deletion from the Anglo-Japanese Agreement of all reference to Japan assisting Great Britain in the event of internal commotion in India. Mr. Chamberlain's silence on the point, in spite of pointed reference to it by Sir T. Bennett, Mr. Spoor and Colonel Wedgwood, is unfortunate, if it is deliberate, as it seems to us. Are we, in India, to believe that His Majesty's Government are not prepared to do that much justice to India? The abovesaid provision in the agreement is a direct insult to India's manhood and implies a deep-rooted suspicion of India's loyalty, while lip-tributes are being paid to the same by the Emperor downwards. Confidence begets confidence and distrust distrust. If Great Britain is sincere in her professions of admiration of India's loyalty, there is no need of such a covert provision as the above in the alliance with Japan. But, more than as an indication of Britain's attitude, the provision is looked upon by Indians as an insult to their sense of self-respect. How would any of the Dominions, say South Africa, have tolerated a provision for Japanese assistance to put down an insurrection by the republicans in South Africa? That neither Mr. Chamberlain nor the Premier chose to defend the provision shows how really indefensible it is. The retention of the provision in any future treaty with Japan or any other alien Power will be deeply resented in India."

Sind Observer (10), 26th June.

36. "We want the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to be modified because we have no mind to be told by Japan that she is a protector of our country under the treaty; and also because Britain's alliance with Japan assigns to India an inferior status in the eyes of Orientals, and specially of the Japanese people, who are bound to think they too belong to the governing race in India. This Alliance is also inconsistent with India's proclaimed position as an aqual partner in the Empire and at the Imperial Conference Indians will not be allowed to rise to the position of a fully self-governing nation as long as Britain can depend upon Japan to protect India by land and sea in the event of trouble arising, thus preventing the sons of the soil from becoming the defenders of their hearths and homes.......... The defence of India henceforward is a matter solely between Indians and Englishmen. We do not want in this country an intermediary ruler in the person of Japan established under a treaty of alliance."

A victory for the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd July.

37. "The Premier's invitation to Mr. De Valera, 'the President of the Irish Republic,' and his colleagues, to a round table conference with Sir James Craig, the Ulster leader, constitutes a definite victory for the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland. After several months of repression, the British Government have seen that repression is no remedy for Ireland's ills. Ireland has refused to be cowed by brute force. In spite of all his past bluster, Mr. Lloyd George seems to have realised at this late hour that a radical change of policy is absolutely necessary if the link connecting Ireland with the Empire is to be maintained intact."

Comments on the completion of the crore of rupees for the Tilak Swarajya Fund.

Gujaráti (15), 3rd July, Eng. cols.

*38. "More than a crore of rupees, we are told, have been subscribed for the All-India Tilak Memorial Fund. It is the fruit of a great effort and even if 40 or 50 lakhs only had been collected, it would, we think, have been an unprecedented achievement. It is more a tribute to the personal influence commanded by Mahatma Gandhi and to the high and universal respect felt for him than to the memory of the late Mr. Tilak. Left to itself the Memorial Fund would not have gone beyond a few lakhs. The present collection is, however, a remarkable memorial to Mr. Gandhi's splendid personality.......... But that cannot solve the problem of *Swarájya* by the 1st of October or 31st December next. We do not think Mahatma Gandhi is morally and politically justified in holding out such hopes. Well, a huge fund has been subscribed. Will it be wisely utilised? For what purposes? Who will check its expenditure? Who will fearlessly audit its account? These are no empty questions or imaginary fears, The way in which the Khilafat fund has been administered in the United Provinces has called forth severely adverse criticism .... In Gujarat itself there are whispers of suspicion in regard to the managements of certain funds. What has become of the Jinnah Memorial Fund started in Bombay? .... We sincerely hope that our criticism prompted by the best of motives will not be misunderstood. Poor India cannot afford to waste her meagre resources in wild or questionable projects or throw them away into the sea through gross mismanagement. We have full faith in Mahatma Gandhi's integrity of character. But that alone will not secure unimpeachable administration and productive utilisation of the funds. Mr. Gandhi has undertaken an awful responsibility on his shoulders. That is vastly increased by the fact that he has to demonstrate to his countrymen, both credulous and sceptic, that the attainment of *Swarajya* by the 1st of October or by the 31st December is the legitimate or irresistible corollary to the collection of one crore of rupees, the bare enlistment of one crore of members for the Congress and the bare distribution of twenty lakhs of *Charkhas*. Well, we are ready to wait and see."

Mahrátta (7), 3rd July.

*39. "India has nobly responded to the call of Mahatma Gandhi to collect one crore of rupees for the Lokamanya Tilak Memorial Swarajya Fund before June 30th.......... India has nobly stood the test and has demonstrated to the whole world that the Nation would not shirk any sacrifice that would be demanded of it in this struggle for freedom. The talk of fitness or unfitness for liberty reduces itself to the positive will of the people to be free and to be ready for any amount of sacrifice in that cause. There can be no other sense in these much misused phrases. Viewed from whatever standpoint this collection of one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swarajya Fund is unique in the history of the political struggle in India.......... The Nation has demonstrated by the collection of one crore of rupees that they have faith in Mahatma Gandhi and that they are ready to do their best in the matter ot *Swarajya.* .... The name of late Lok. Tilak is a name to conjure with and when Mahatma Gandhi coupled with it the strength of his pledged word and his ceaseless and restless efforts, the success of the fund was a foregone conclusion. The call made by Mahatma Gandhi in the name of Swarajya touched the right cord of the Nation and the Nation responded liberally. .... The country has shown that the people are ready to pay the price for some thing they hold dearer than life. Mahatma Gandhi has shown that he could touch the right chord. India can achieve its goal if the leaders of thought are thus backed by the people. This is the lesson that one can learn from this collection of one crore of rupees and this will put new life in the Nation and will lead it to victory."

Condemnation of the action of the All-India Congress Working Committee in asking the Indian Muslims not to side with the party opposed to the Angora Government.

Bhâratwasi (155), 10th June.

40. The All-India Congress Working Committee has issued a manifesto directing that in the event of Britain waging war with Angora, no Indian, and in particular, no soldier, should help the British Government in the prosecution of such hostilities. No reasons are given, no arguments advanced for asking the people to follow this direction. It is plain they want to show their sympathy for Angora. Now every one is aware that there are three parties in Turkey, the party of Sultan Khalifa at Constantinople, and two parties in Angora. Considering the Sultan as a prisoner at Bosphorus, our Khilafat leaders supported the Angora Government. And now when a party has risen in opposition to the Angora Government, because the latter has become satisfied with the peace terms offered by the Allies in the London Peace Conference, the Khilafat leaders have again abandoned the Angora Government and are siding with the party against it. We are not going to say, whether Angora Government is right or wrong. But, in addition to the information already known to us, has the Congress Committee any other to justify them in supporting one of the two parties in Angora. That Indians should sympathise with the Turks in general is understandable. But we fail to see any ryhme or reason in supporting only one party of Turks. This would mean forcing India to follow blindly the cause of the ultra-extremists party of Turkey. We do not see why India should be dragged like that.

Hindu (158), 24th June.

41. The recent resolution of the All-India Congress Committee to the effect that 'if the British Government wages war against Angora no Indian should join the British forces', has created strange thoughts within the minds of several persons. Some have gone the length of issuing the following warning to the people: 'Pray be cautious, as a grave situation has arisen; these non-co-operators have created disturbance in the country; they have thought of moving the Army also and bloodshed will soon be caused in India, etc.' We sympathise with these friends who are thus uttering nonsense. It is not their fault, but they have got goggles over their eyes. Time was when they themselves agitated and delivered speeches against the employment of the Indian Army outside India, and argued that the object of Indians in spending so much upon their Army was that it should only be used for the defence of India! The British Government too has been expressing similar views from time to time. But we are sorry to say that the present Government does not care to fulfil its promises. It has no sense of shame and decency! It has sent out the armies of India to satisfy its greed and lust of enslaving others! England alone is to derive benefit from subduing the Muslim kingdoms in Central Asia; but Indian armies are made to do the mean work of subjugation! Who would consent to do such a mean act? What respectable Indian would like to bring such a disgrace upon himself? We ask these gentlemen, what business have Indians to go and enslave others on behalf of England? We shall certainly ask our brothers to refuse to obey the Government if it orders them to do such a mean act! The Army is not at all bound to fight outside India. The country is against it! There is one other thing which has also to be considered. When the last great war broke out, and the Muhammadans of India were considering as to whether they could join the war against Turkey, in conformity with their religion, the British Government promptly assured them that they should not have any anxiety on that score, as the war was waged not to annihilate Turkey, but to uphold the principles of liberty. The Indians blindly assented to this, in order to put an end to this great war. But the result has been that the Khilafat of the Muhammadans has been interfered with, and the Kingdom of Turkey is about to be destroyed. Now; how can the Muhammadans, who were instrumental in destroying the Turkish Government of their brothers and in creating disturbance in the Khilafat, help the Government against the Moslem Kingdom of Angora? The Indians have not yet sufficiently repented for helping in destroying their own liberty and that of others in the last great war. How can they now join this new war to put an end to their existence and that of others? If we, Indians, want to be free, we should not do any act which might hurt the cause of the liberty of others! If being slaves ourselves, we interfere with the liberty of others, we, as it were, tighten the chains of slavery on us. Who would do such a mean action?

Reflections on the anti-drink movement in India.
Gujaráti (15), 26th June.

42. No other religion except the Hindu religion denounces the vice of drink in the most emphatic manner. But the vice has been on the increase in India ever since the advent of the Westerners and this country has begun to afford a remunerative market for the distillers of England and other European countries. The poor of this country are allowed to indulge in drink in the name of freedom of trade and their earnings are drained away to England by making them oblivious to their own sufferings. The Government of India are deriving a large revenue under the pretext of checking the evil of drink. They declare that they are utilising the income so derived towards education and sanitation and thus helping to reform the drunkards. This is nothing but a delusion. The people would rather like to go without education than get education the expense of which is defrayed from the Abkári revenue. Besides, Government argue that it is their duty to provide drink to the poor just as the army department has created an agency for supplying prostitutes for the British troops in India. There are many people who possess proclivities for thieving. Will Government supply them with opportunities for thieving? It seems Government have not the courage to displease the distillers of England who are reaping a reach harvest in India. The Poona Temperance Association initiated the movement of picketing liquor shops with a view to check the evil of drink in the year 1908. The Excise Department, however, succeeded in putting down the movement with a view to continuing its own existence. The movement has now been revived at Ahmedabad, Poona and other places and the Excise Department has not offered any opposition to it in view of strong public opinion in its favour. But we hear complaints of the Department having encouraged license holders to give beating to the picketers. The work of picketing has been begun in Bombay of late and it is reported to have achieved a measure of success. The movement will be effective only if it is continued for a long time. The work is mostly undertaken by the non-co-operationists; but the co-operators are also helping them. There is no doubt that public opinion is very strong against drink and Government will have to close liquor shops in course of time and thus forego a source of their income.

Young India (12), 29th June.

43. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The liquor-shop picketing has an intimate relation to Parsis. We will have to exercise great forbearance towards our Parsi countrymen. While we cannot stop picketing altogether, we must meet the liquor-dealers in conference, understand their difficulties and explain our own. At the present moment, an outbreak of violence is the most to be feared from the temperance campaign, unless the Moderate Ministers take their courage in both hands, refund all auction bids and close liquor-shops. I assure them, that the movement can only be regulated; it cannot be checked. The people are bent on ending liquor-shops, and treating as a crime all liquor-selling except as a medicine by chemists. It is a matter that brooks no delay."

The dangers of picketing liquor-shops in Bombay.
Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 28th June.

44. We draw the attention of the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, to the new menace that has arisen in the city to the life and property of the people under the guise of picketing liquor-shops. We, along with the Parsi Community, extend our sympathy to the temperance movement, but we regret to have to say the every-day petty squabbles in connection with picketing have now begun to assume a serious aspect. The manner in which the work of picketing is being done fails to evoke our approval and we are afraid it will prove dangerous to the lives and property of the people staying in the neighbourhood of liquor-shops. We would, therefore, suggest that the Commissioner of Police should call a joint Conference of the leaders of the temperance movement, the liquor-shop owners and the picketing volunteers and should draw up a set of rules according to which the picketing operations should be conducted. We would also ask the Commissioner of Police to keep additional foot and mounted police near liquor shops with a view to safeguarding the interests of people living in their vicinity.

Picketers should joyfully go to jail if prosecuted.
Lokashdhi (119), 27th June.

45. In the course of a lengthy article in which it discusses the question whether liquor-shop picketers should defend themselves if prosecuted by the police, the *Lokashdhi* declares that it is not possible under the present circumstances to obtain proper justice from the law courts as the Magistrates and Judges are subservient to Government, and says:—The present courts in British India constitute an unerring weapon in the hands of Government to destroy all the national aspirations of the people. Where is the use, therefore, of asking for justice or mercy from such courts? No appeals of a cow to the butcher can save her from his knife. Just as it has become a second nature with the butcher to slaughter cows, so it has as it were become Government's regular business to keep Indians rotting in slavery. Where then is the use of asking for justice from such a Government? Experience in the Punjáb and Khilafat matters has shown that neither the Government of India nor the British Government dispense justice but simply act in an anarchic manner. The fact that the wolves of the Jallianwala Baug instead of being hanged have been awarded pensions shows that the law courts are mere slaughter-houses and their conductors no better than butchers. The picketers should always bear this in mind that whenever the police take them to the chowkey they are taken there to be convicted and sentenced by the Magistrates. Whatever be the real object of law and that of the Government established by law, we see it thus carried out in practice. It is to bring about a change in this state of things that we are at present non-co-operating with Government. Abolition of drink is one of the means to bring about the change; and the picketers therefore are doing a meritorious work. Some of the responsible officers of Government are against liquor and we believe the Honourable Mr. Mehta, the Minister of Excise, to be one of them. It was he who ordered the closing of the Poona liquor-shops on Sundays. He can do the same with the Bombay liquor-shops if he wills, nay, he would be able to drive out liquor completely from the Presidency during the three years of his term of office. We would not request him to do so as we are non-co-operators; but we trust God would inspire him to do it. That is all right; but we have to deal with two mischievous departments—the Police and the Judicial. We know from experience that in Bombay it is becoming an increasing tendency of the Police, either with the object of gaining promotions or lining their own pockets, to bring false charges against the picketers and get them convicted. The question is what the picketers are to do under the circumstances. We would advise them to carry on their work peacefully and if placed before Magistrates to do nothing more than to make their own statements as ordered by the Congress. They should not pay any fines, but go to jail joyfully. By thus sending a picketer to jail, the satanic Government would no doubt for a time come in his way of doing public service, but that would be instrumental in securing new recruits.

Indians must face imprisonment for securing India's freedom.
Young India (12), 29th June.

46. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"There are still people even in advanced circles, who doubt the efficacy of imprisonment for securing India's freedom.......... Such sceptics forget that the Lokamanya owed his immense popularity and influence to his having suffered imprisonment. Jesus' death on Calvary was his crowning achievement.......... India cannot attain freedom, until lacs upon lacs have become fearless and are ready to seek imprisonment in their innocence. And if lacs are not ready, thousands must be actually imprisoned before India attains freedom.......... We must be prepared to defy sufferings even unto death, if we will be free. He who saves himself shall parish."

Likelihood of civil disobedience being launched if the present repression continues.
Gujaráti Panch (17), 26th June. Eng. cols.

47. "Civil disobedience is in the air. The man in the street talks of it, the omniscient journalist writes of it; active politicians and national workers, here and there, resort to it, and even Mr. Gandhi promises its early birth. Naturally, the question is on everybody's lips: Is it really coming? People have, by experience, learnt to dissociate the name of Gandhi with any kind of bluffing, and if he promises to launch the veriest of chimeras, even his political opponents are prepared to witness its early birth.......... But the question is: what has happened to change the opinion of Mr. Gandhi and to make him think of reviving his 'Himalayan mistake' of 1919 in spite of his repeated assertions that the country is unprepared for civil disobedience? And there is only one answer to that question, viz,. the repressive policy of the Government.......... The ruthless repression that Government has begun to practice has exhausted the patience, if not of the Mahatma, at least of his followers and has made Mr. Gandhi, too, pause and waver.......... Civil disobedience, thus seems to be, more or less, forced upon the people. No people, whatever the exact nature of the movement they have undertaken, can quietly pass down their throat any and every kind of repression, and the wonder only is that it has not met with any serious opposition until now even from those who have had to bear the brunt of it. However, sooner or later, it must be sought to be resisted and the Government of India may not be unaware of it. On the contrary it may be part of the game to divert the present movement into a channel where it can be more directly met with by the Government. But the question is: is it wise? The Government of India may not like the present movement and may be very anxious to see an early end of it but is provoking people to more aggressive and more direct forms of agitation the best way of doing it? Even a tyro in politics knows that the best and the only way to permanently end an inconvenient agitation is to remove its root cause.......... Is Lord Reading unaware of this common sense doctrine? And if he is not, why is he being a party to a policy that may at best kill the present manifestation of India's disease? Has His Excellency given up the post of Lord Chief Justice of England merely to walk in the footsteps of Lord Chelmsford and to be a dumb spectator of the doings of his erstwhile comrade—Sir William Vincent? His speeches deny it. Will his actions do the same? Lord Reading has to-day a special duty to perform. It is to show to the world that the British nation is not bankrupt of statesmanship. The old game of reconciliation-cum-repression is long played out. It has admittedly failed in this country as it has failed in every other. Will Lord Reading try it again or will he find out another and a better remedy? It would not be so difficult to do it as would appear at first sight. It is to try reconciliation pure and simple. Let Lord Reading acknowledge the misdeeds of his predecessor's Government and make amends for them. Let him further assure the people by initiating a policy of every day administration that will carry conviction to the people that the Government of India has really abandoned its old role. That is the only way of establishing peace in this country—and not to provoke people to more desperate methods in the hope of crushing the present movement. That alone will kill the non-co-operation movement, nothing else. Will Lord Reading do it? If he does, he will pave the way for India's peaceful evolution, save England many a page in her history which her later generations may be ashamed of, and make himself pass down in history as one of world's greatest statesmen. If, however, through deliberate intent or weakness, he fails to do it, he will at best have put off the day when the present struggle must inevitably draw to its bitter end and Lord Reading will have lost an opportunity of doing abiding good to the world and at the same time to earn a name in history—an opportunity which occurs to God's select few on this earth. And which of the two above results will Lord Reading achieve? The former or the latter? Let us wait and see."

Hindu (163), 26th June.

48. The illegal and repressive measures of the bureaucracy have compelled non-co-operators to consider the question of the adoption of Satyagraha. The Ahmedabad and Gantur (Madras) Political conferances have both declared themselves for it. Mahatma Gandhi was present in the former. The working of the Seditious Meetings Act and the bureaucratic interference with liberty of speech and person have turned the thoughts of the people of the Punjáb also to adopt Satyagraha. In short the wave of Satyagraha is again passing through the country. It is possible, therefore, that we may have some more Jallianwalla Baghs. But the bureaucracy should note that one Jallianwella Bagh alone has disgraced them so much. Hence if they want that Indians should not resort to Satyagraha, they should repent for their past sins, and desist from coming in the way of Indians getting Swaraj, which is their birthright. Bloodless non-co-operation will end in Satyagraha; and Satyagraha again will end in the overthrow of the bureaucracy.

The Ali Brothers' apology.
Young India (12), 29th June.

49. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—" Nothing has caused so much waste of time as the Simla interview and the apology. From among the many letters before me, I wish to deal with only one. A respected friend, who is jealous of my reputation for honesty and fair play, tells me that the talk in Simla is, that I have been unfair to the Viceroy, that I have almost accused him of breach of honour and that I have possibly and unconsciously swerved from the truth in saying that the apology is not made to the Government. I still hold that the apology was not tendered to the Government. If it was, I would not have hesitated to make it clear in the wording itself. It was meant not to be ambiguous. There was no occasion for concealing anything for saving the face of the Ali Brothers. I hasten to assure every one, not excluding His Excellency, that if I find that I have strayed from truth by a hair's breadth I shall apologise to him and to the world. I hold truth above my influence in my country or anywhere else. I am not conscious of having accused Lord Reading of breach of honour. A rapid conversation is a mental cinematograph. The mind takes in the word pictures as fast as they come, but it does not retain them all fully or in their exact order in memory. It is possible that we both have carried different impressions of the various interviews. I have given mine with the utmost accuracy, and as much as I could, without being guilty of a breach of confidence. But I see quite clearly, that the public is befogged. It will not be satisfied without a fairly full report of the interviews. I am anxious to satisfy its curiosity. To that end, I have already entered into correspondence with His Excellency the Viceroy, and asked that either an agreed version may be published, or I may be absolved from the promise of confidence. So far as I am concerned, I have no confidences to be respected. But I recognise, that the position of a Viceroy is totally different from that of a public worker like myself. I must ask those who are eager to know the whole story, to be a little patient. Meanwhile I wish to acknowledge one serious mistake, I see, I have made. I ought to have asked to be shown the communique that was to be issued."

Mutual relationship between England and India.

Young India (12), 29th June.

50. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" England has her choice. She can no longer hold the awakened Hindus and Mussalmans as slaves. If India is to remain equal partner with every other member of the Empire, India's voting strength must be infinitely superior to that of any other member. In a free commonwealth, every partner has as much right to retire if the rest go wrong, as it is his duty to remain so long as the rest are faithful tn certain common principles. If India votes wrong, England can retire from partnership, as every other partner can. Thus, the centre of equilibrium must shift India rather than remain in England, when India has come into her own. That is my meaning of Swaraj within the Empire......... And as with England, so with India. The latter, too, has her choice......... When it is incontestably proved that Britain seeks to destroy Turkey, India's only choice must be independence. For Mussalmans, when Turkey's existence, such as it is, is threatened, there is no looking back. They would draw the sword if they could, and perish or rise victorious with the brave Turks. But if, as is certain, thanks to the policy of the Government of India, they cannot declare war against the British Government, they can at least forswear allegiance to a government which wickedly goes to war against Turkey. The duty of the Hindus is no less clear. If we still fear and distrust the Mussalmans, we must side with the British and prolong our slavery. If we are brave and religious enough not to fear the Mussalmans, our countrymen, and if we have the wisdom to trust them, we must make common cause with the Mussalmans in every peaceful and truthful method to secure Indian independence."

Government should fulfil all their promises about doing justice.

Rast Goftar and Praja Mitra (30), 26th June.

51. *Pravasi* writes in the *Rost Goftár and Praja Mitra* :—On the one hannd, His Excellency the Viceroy has been talking of doing justice to Indians, while on the other, the provincial Governments are pouncing upon the freedom of the people by using section 124 of the Indian Penal Code and other laws. Before any justice is done in the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs, the disturbance at Malegaon and the merciless cruelty shown by the Government of Bengal towards the Assam coolies have further wounded the hearts of Indians. After questions about the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers have been disposed of in Parliament, others are forthcoming demanding the deportation of Mr. Andrews for his speeches. While a non-co-operator is fined heavily for not putting off the Gandhi cap in court, a European soldier is fined only Rs. 50 for an indecent assault on a young widow and causing grievous hurt to her. Such justice meted out by white judges wounds the grieved hearts of the Hindus more and more and the non-co-operators have begun to resort to more and more desperate methods. Not only has the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress decided that no Indian should help the British Government if they invade Angora, but the Indian soldiers are also told that they should do their duty by refusing to join England in the said invasion. This shows which way the wind blows. Mr. Gandhi has protested against the prohibition orders passed by District Magistrates and said that till now the non-co-operators willingly obeyed the orders of Government, but that as in spite of this Government compelled them to disobey their orders, they would be quite justified in disobeying them. Government should take a warning from all these incidents and should see that all their professions about " doing justice " prove to be true.

Appreciation of the principles and programme of the Sind Swaraj Society started in Hyderabad (Sind).

Bháratvási (155), 21st June.

52. Adverting to the formation of the new political association, 'the Sind Swaraj Society', started by the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri and Mr. Santdas the *Bháratvási* writes :—We think a society like this was greatly needed at the present moment. The situation has become very critical. Non-co-operation leaders have been issuing strange manifestos. The Government again is busy with repression and with starting associations to work in opposition to the non-co-operation movement. A movement which should take a middle course was therefore a great desideratum; and the society started just now is an index of such a movement in Sind. The goal of this society is the same as that of the Indian National Congress with regard to the attainment of *Swaraj*. By using the word *Swaraj* in his Royal proclamation His Majesty King George has also accepted *Swaraj* as India's goal. This society however differs from the Congress in this respect, that it wants the goal to be reached by constitutional means, and as a corollary therefrom, it retains the words 'within the British Empire' which have been abandoned by the Congress. Government have not defined when India is to reach her goal of *Swaraj*. But this society wants to attain it as early as possible. The work proposed to be undertaken by this society is also the same as that of the Congress. But it is to be carried on in a different way. The society will work for arbitration courts, village panchayats, stopping of drink, national education and Labour unions. And it will have legislation passed for all these matters. For distance, if the manufacture of liquor could be stopped by law, it would be a thousand times more beneficial than the present manner of stopping its consumption. If any settlement about *Swaraj* is to be arrived at between Lord Reading and Mahatma Gandhi, it will surely never mean the entire withdrawal of the British from the country. The provincial Governments may be entirely handed over to popular control. But as regards the central Government the people may get only a few departments under their control for the present. After some years however the central Government may also be handed over wholly to popular control. But even then India's connection with England will continue in several matters. Because we can neither drive the English out, nor protect ourselves without their military and naval forces, and they will never leave the country of their own accord. The interests of both the countries and the peace of the world therefore require that India and England should remain together. That is the creed of this society. It will work against the dangerous items of non-co-operation, *i. e.*, giving up of military, police and other service under Government, refusal to pay taxes, etc., because it considers, these items will ruin India. At the same time it will oppose the repressive policy of the Government, and secure from it the rights which belong to the people. In the matters of *Swaràj*, it will co-operate with other parties and will never obstruct them in any useful work such as Swadeshi, etc., which they may be doing. On the contrary it will assist them whole-heartedly in such matters.

Deccan Extremists and the All-India Congress Working Committee's resolution on boycott of law courts.

Servant of India (9), 30th June.

53. "The All-India Congress Working Committee's resolution regarding the use of law courts was a direct condemnation of Mr. N. C. Kelkar's conduct in a recent case here. .... He thinks that the Working Committee in this resolution carries the boycott of law courts to grotesquely impracticable lengths, and Congressmen need not profess to carry it out; they might construe the original Congress resolution in the way they think proper and act accordingly, never minding what construction the Working Committee puts upon it. This revolt from the authority of the All-India Committee on the part of one who is charged to direct the non-co-operation movement into right channels throughout the Deccan is significant. And it is particularly significant, when one remembers that Mr. Kelkar and his associates joined non-co-operation merely because the Congress supported it, altough they themselves were against it. Mr. Kelkar evidently feels that the suppression of conscience has gone too far."

Squandering of public funds by the National Workers.

Sindvási (167), 19th June.

54. We Indians usually blame the English officers for spending a lot on their food, and drawing large salaries on that account. But the amounts expended at Amritsar on the food of Maulanas Abu-ul-Kalam and Mahomed Ali are simply appalling, being Rs. 40 for the former and Rs. 93 for the latter per day. Of course, two or three or even four other persons may also have shared the food with each Maulana. But even then the expense is killing and the Maulanas lay themselves open to the charge of extravagance on that account. At the same place Mahatma Gandhi's expense was Rs. 9 per day. In his case also the amount is not small, though we are sure he could never

have permitted waste of public money. We know that when Mr. Mahomed Ali went to England with the Khilafat deputation, the Muhammadan subscribers to the Khilafat fund complained of his extravagance. But no one paid any heed to it then. It is easy enough to damn the English officers. But it is simply absurd for persons boasting of sacrificing their all for their country to squander public money like this. We may inform our readers that the figures given above are for food alone, and do not include railway, motor and other miscellaneous expenses.

Agitation should be started for securing *Swarájya* originally demanded by the Congress.

Bháratvási (155), 18th June.

55. One Santdas Mangharam writes to the *Bháratvási*:—I am firmly of opinion that India can never attain independence under the present conditions. But even if she attains it, it will be of very short duration. The reason is that Hindu-Muslim unity rests on a very slippery ground. Some persons may not accept this statement of mine, but I feel this unity is based on give and take principle and not on love. Mahatma Gandhi has openly said that he has taken up the Khilafat question in order to secure Muhammadan friendship. But until Hindus and Muhammadans give up their bigoted ideas, they can never be permanently united. Taking things in this light, I repeat, India can never attain freedom under the present conditions without British connection. Some people might consider this idea slavish and not worthy of acceptance. But Congress leaders including Lokamanya Tilak had accepted it up to 31st December 1921 (*sic*) and I accept it still. I feel that we shall get *Swaraj* when the nation is ready for it. Now there are two ways of preparing the nation. One is to proceed step by step till the goal is attained, and the other is to gain the end by resorting to force and violence. Non-co-operators will of course say that there is a third way too to attain the end by following Mahatma Gandhi's principle of *ahinsa*. I would, however, ask how many non-co-operators do really observe the principle of *ahinsa*. I believe so [far as *ahinsa* is concerned non-co-operators have failed to act on it. But they have been doing some useful social service. It is, however, a problem when *Swaraj* can be attained by this combined politico-social activity. But to prepare the nation for freedom is no child's play. Now to do this work the people, who still believe in the original Congress creed of self-government, should form themselves into an association. Their work will be two fold to neutralize the evil effects of non-co-operation and to fight the repressive policy of Government. Circumstances are most unfavourable for this kind of work just at present. The days of approbation and cheering are gone; now you have ridicule, jeering and several other things even worse than that to face. But that should not be minded. The goal should be clearly placed before us and work done in agreement with it. I think our agitation should be for securing self-government of the type originally demanded by the Congress. I hope this matter will be discussed through the medium of this paper and the suggested association started at an early date.

Will non-co-operators be prepared to join hands with co-operators if the latter ask them to do so?

Sindvási (167), 18th June.

56. On the occasion of Mrs. Sarla Devi's lecture, the other day, Dr. Choithram invited the co-operators to join the Congress Committee and work for the stoppage of drink and some other similar matters not strictly within the sphere of non-co-operation movement. This extension of invitation, he declared, was due to instructions received from the leaders. While we are thankful for this, we wonder if it would look well for co-operators to become members of the Congress Committee. We are of course prepared to co-operate with non-co-operators in the social work connected with Charkha and drink. But to become members of the Congress Committee would mean acceptance of the Congress creed; to which, however, no conscientious and sensible co-operator can agree. Besides that, in doing this social work the Congress people are actuated by motives allied to non-co-operation, because they mean to harm the Government and the people of England thereby. Such being their motives it is rather strange that they should ask and expect co-operators to join and make common cause with them.

Will non-co-operators, on a similar invitation from their opponents in creed, join the National Liberal League or the association recently started by Mr. Jehangir Petit, and do the work outlined by these two bodies? The Congress people are welcome to extend their invitation to us, only after they have answered the above querry. It has also to be remembered how co-operators have been ill-treated while expressing their views before non-co-operation association. They would, therefore, be wanting in self-respect if they now accepted this invitation.

Alleged reaction against Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement.

Gujaráti (15), 3rd July, Eng. cols.

***57.** "Mahatma Gandhi is dear to us all, but truth is still more dear. Mahatma Gandhi is great, but our Motherland is infinitely greater. Hence all questions relating to the country at large must be impartially decided in furtherance of its sacred and enduring interests and not with blind or slavish deference to what a particular individual, however great, might preach or do. His views and programmes must be subjected to close, rigorous and dispassionate examination.......... We are sorry to say so, but cannot help saying it, that one of the sad results of the non-co-operation movement is the enormous amount of insincerity, timidity and inconsistency that are being practised in its name and for its sake, and 'the slave mentality' it has produced. Hundreds have privately confessed that they do not believe in the efficacy of Mr. Gandhi's movement and programme; and yet they have not had the courage to regulate their conduct according to their inner and genuine convictions. Maharashtra, for instance, is not for the non-co-operation programme as it stands but it has not the courage to go against the rising current of political feeling. However, the reaction has already begun. There have been open revolts in some instances against the programme and the recent resolutions of the Working Committee. Some Tilakite papers have openly ridiculed the outcome of the movement and Mr. Gandhi's prophesies about *Swarájya.* Well, similar remarks apply more or less to the other provinces and most of the items are being daily violated by non-co-operators and their sympathisers to a more or less extent. That is surely not self-purification but moral deterioration."

Comments on the decisions in the Private Mulligan case and the Khoreal shooting case.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 1st July; *Model* (26), 26th June; *Political Bhomiyo* (72), 1st July.

58. Commenting upon the decisions in the Private Mulligan case and the Khoreal shooting case, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* stigmatises the decisions as perversions of justice and adds:—In both these cases serious injustice has been done to Indians and no Anglo-Indian paper has come forward to denounce the farces that were enacted in the name of justice. When such farces are being enacted in Indian courts of law under their very noses, why do the Anglo-Indian papers denounce the farcical decisions of the German courts? Will His Excellency Lord Reading call for the papers in both these cases and examine them? Only recently Lord Reading declared that there would be no dishonour done to Indians; but in the two cases referred to above dishonour has been done to Indian women. Lord Reading should do justice to these unfortunate women. There ought to be no room for Private Mulligan and Planter Reed in India and a lesson should be taught to the whites in this country by deporting them. Only such a drastic measure will assure the Indians that Government consider it their primary duty to safeguard the honour of Indian women. [Commenting upon the Private Mulligan case the *Model* writes:—This is a specimen of British justice! It is a matter for consideration as to what decision the Magistrate would have given if an Indian had assaulted a European woman. It is not possible for Indians to receive justice as long as they continue to be under the present autocratic form of government. The *Political Bhomiyo* writes:—The decision in the Private Mulligan case is likely to shake one's confidence in British justice. It is such cases that do harm to the British administration in India and tend to spread disaffection in the country. Steps should, therefore, be taken to prevent British justice from falling in the estimation of the Indian people. Commenting upon the Khoreal shooting case the *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* writes:—It is to be regretted that Government do not realise the evil effects produced on the minds of the Indian people by a decision like this. Let us hope Government will take a warning from it.]

Mahrátta (7), 3rd July.

***59.** Commenting on the Khorial Shooting case the *Mahrátta* remarks:—" The acquittal of Reed, the accused, is not only the gravest miscarriage of justice but is likely to lead to consequences which are sure to prove disastrous in the end. The judiciary look upon such cases with a quite different eye and they look more to the technics of the law and evidence than to the moral forces of justice and equity. The statements of Hira, the girl, under the fire of severe cross-examination, established beyond doubt that Reed had his eye of lust upon her. It is established beyond doubt that her father Gangadhar was seriously hurt. Reed's defence that he had been out to shoot a deer at a late hour in the night with a revolver and his missing of the way and his crying when it was found out 'Here road hai' is ludicrous and shameful in the extreme. But we are concerned more with the moral effect of the case. What must have been the effect of this acquittal on the minds of the coolies in the tea-estate? That one of the planters accused with a serious offence gets off with no punishment is sure to strike terror in the minds of the poor coolies and their daughters and wives and at the same time it would instil a sense of security and immunity among the planters. It is sure to play moral havoc in the minds of all. Is this the boasted justice of Lord Reading?"

Karnatak Mitra (35), 30th June.

60. Referring to the shooting case at Sholápur, in which a European was charged with rashness and negligence resulting in the death of a cultivator, the *Karnatak Mitra* says:—No doubt, in every country people have heard about hare-hunts and tiger-hunts. But we believe no one has yet heard about a man-hunt. As a matter of fact, this hunt of human beings is being carried on in this country under the Government of the British. There is a good deal of truth in the saying that an arrogant consciousness of power over a subject race turns men's heads. Countless shootings of this kind have hitherto occurred under the protecting wing of British rule. The European was taken to Poona and tried there for rashness and negligence. But the Magistrate found him not guilty and he was acquitted. So a murder has been treated as simple case of shooting. But there is nothing new in this, and we are only anxious to know how long this is going to continue. The Magistrate who found this brute not guilty and acquitted him must have done so as he was himself that brute's elder brother. Indians are punished with several years' imprisonment for such trifling offences as insulting Europeans. But even when a European murders an Indian he is declared not guilty. This is a murder not of a human being but of justice itself. But when men's heads are turned how can we expect them to care for justice? These murders will not cease unless and until we win *swarájya*. Brothers, if you are moved by the murder of the poor farmer, your fellow-countryman, then do your best to help forward the *swarájya* movement. If you fail to do this your turn of falling a prey to this kind of hunting will come sooner or later.

Rajakáran (131), 26th June.

61. Commenting upon the acquittal of Sergeant Coles who was put on his trial for causing the death of an agriculturist in the Sholápur district, the *Rajakáran* writes:—We wonder whether Lord Reading approves of this method of administering justice. Cases of a black man falling to the rifle of a soldier are of frequent occurrence. However, some slight punishment was always inflicted on the offender. The District Magistrate of Poona has surpassed all the officers who tried such cases before. The soldier who made an exhibition of his powers near Sholápur was very lucky indeed! He was placed before a Magistrate who allowed him to go scot-free!

Acquittal of Mr. Kaujalgi of the charge of contempt of court by the Sessions Judge of Bijápur.

Servant of India (9), 30th June.

62. "It will be generally agreed that the case in which Mr. Hanmantrao Kaujalgi of Bijápur was charged with contempt of court for appearing in the District Magistrate's Court with a Gandhi cap on his head to answer the charge of sedition has come to a satisfactory conclusion. He preferred an appeal to the Sessions Judge against the order of the City Magistrate, who, under the direction of the District Magistrate, tried him for contempt of court. The Government chose to offer no defence, the result being that the order of the lower court was reversed and the accused acquitted. The decision of the Government to let the case go undefended indicates that they view the District Magistrate's action in objecting to the Gandhi cap with disapproval.......... This only illustrates how the presence of Ministers in Provincial Governments helps to prevent repression. For Ministers, far from being absorbed in the Government, are everywhere leaving their impress on the administration."

Sindvasi (167), 23rd June.

63. When Government filed a prosecution against Mr. Gidwani its action gave rise to a lot of public criticism. On the withdrawal of the prosecution, however, the non-co-operators' criticism, instead of subsiding has taken a different turn. They say that Government has shown no generosity, that its conscience is biting it, that it is foolish, faithless, and so on. We wonder at this obtuseness of these men. But what concerns us more is that this crooked way of viewing things is fraught with very great danger to the future of this country. In *Young India* of 15th June Mr. Gandhi illustrates the insincerity of the Government by the example of Mr. Gidwani's prosecution. Says he: "Mr. Gidwani has not preached violence, nor has he created hatred against the King. He must only have created hatred against the present form of Government. Government have clearly declared their intention to prosecute only those who incite people to violence. I do not therefore understand how it has taken this action against Mr. Gidwani'. Mr. Gandhi forgets that while mentioning the apology of the Ali Brothers Government had stated that it would not leave anyone who created hatred against it. Moreover section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code clearly states that anyone creating hatred against that King or the established Government will be liable to punishment. We are therefore unable to understand the charge of insincerity brought against the Government by Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gidwani himself has been declaring with pride that this religion consists in disseminating sedition, in spreading disloyalty and in creating hatred against the Government. What wonder then, if Government took any action against him. Every Government has the right to protect itself. It owes a duty to itself to do that. We ourselves feel that it should have as few prosecutions as possible. But we cannot surely blame it as Mr. Gandhi has done.

Comments on the acquittal by the Calcutta High Court of William Lemon Reed of the charge of shooting a tea garden coolie.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th June.

64. "The trial of William Lemon Reed for shooting a tea garden 'coolie' of the name of Gangadhar has ended in an acquittal. [Here the paper gives a short account of the proceedings in the case and remarks:—] We leave it to the Indian public to realise the implication of repeated instances of the kind in which the accused find a refuge of strength in the verdict of not unsympathetic groups of their own countrymen. It is time to reflect on the effect of the special clauses in the law that weigh the scales in favour of incredible acquittals. We cannot allow the machinery of law to be perverted in favour of the mob-opinion of any community......... The State is constantly wasting money on the harlequinade of prosecuting European accused when it is morally certain of the result. Either a clause granting immunity of conduct should be put in place of the 'special procedure' in the Criminal Procedure Code or the law rectified honestly in favour of equal justice. This circumlocutionary method of granting immunity involves waste of money for Government when it is needful for them to economise, not to speak of higher considerations."

Comments on the sentence of five years' transportation on Sardar, Sardul Singh editor of *Akáli*.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd July.

65. "As part of the campaign of repression, the sentence of five years transportation imposed on Bhai Sardul Singh by Mr. Harris, Additional District Magistrate, does not come as a surprise, though its severity is calculated to suggest a spirit of vindictiveness. Besides being the leader of a forward policy among the Sikhs and chief promoter of non-co-operation among Sikhs, Sardar Sardul Singh was also the chief instrument in starting the *Akáli*, an organ of the Sikh League, and keeping it going, in spite of the difficulties created both by sycophants among his own community and the agents of Government.......... He himself feels happy in his lot because is it not given only to few to suffer in a great and glorious cause, and through their suffering to achieve for themselves and their country the freedom for which she is fighting? We hope Bhai Sardul Singh's example will be a beacon light to the Sikhs in their struggle for religious and political freedom and a warning to them to be on their guard against being misled into the wrong path by 'enemies in their own camp'."

Comments on the Fiji Inquiry Committee.
Mahrátta (7), 3rd July.

***66.** In the course of a contributed article on the Fiji Inquiry Committee appointed by the Government of India, the writer observes:—"As to the composition of the Committee the exclusion of Mr. Andrews is certainly deplorable. But perhaps his late 'seditious (?) movements' may account for it. But then what about Pandit Malaviya, who always took a bold stand inside the Council upon this emigration question? As far as we remember the Government, last year, had secured in open council, his assent to serve upon some such committee. How to account for his exclusion? Without these two authoritative exponents, the Committee, to say the least—without offending personalities—is inefficient. It is also remarkable that throughout such a long communique, the Government has avoided to mention why they made the selections they have. Now as to the terms of reference, first we want to know whether our Government found the moment, that it has, very opportune to enquire into the conditions of Indians now resident in Fiji and to ascertain the causes of discontent.' Will Government explain whether those many Indians that have repatriated, and are still repatriating, are to be excluded from enquiry? Does it believe that the enquiry would be complete without them? Can it afford to be deaf to the repatriated voices, who only about the 16th of June 1921 gave out that the Fiji Indians were suffering a great deal on account of the Fiji Government being a tool in the hands of the C. S. R. company? Will it be blind to the fact that the Indians in Fiji have no leader, the Government having deported all of them, thus bringing about the possibility of the Indian Deputation being led by the Fiji Government, the Indians there groaning all along in miseries, unrest and despair? Will it first bring about the cancellation of all such deportation orders? Only then is it at all possible for any committee to ascertain the causes of discontent.......... Taking all these facts into consideration there is no hope the Indians in Fiji to cherish any substantial result from the so-called enquiry of this Committee." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The selection of the members of the Committee has been done from a very narrow circle. We have no objection to the individual members of the Committee but the Committee would have secured approval all round had it included experienced men like Mr. C. F. Andrews. We cannot agree to this method of solving these international questions. India cannot get justice done to her unless she is master of her own house. Aliens in their soil, unredeemed slaves of perverse and oppressive system of foreign Government, Indians need not wonder that they are treated as such, outside. There is only one solution and that solution is the attainment of *Swarajya*."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th June.

67. While commenting on the Government of India's *communique* about the constitution of the Committee to visit Fiji, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"Why is he (Mr. Andrews) excluded from the Committee, seeing that by his previous experience as well as his proved capacity to discharge the task, he is out and out the best man who could have been selected for the investigation? Nay, Mr. Andrews himself came forward a few months ago with a request to be allowed to proceed to Fiji to make independent enquiries on the spot and to be of help to the Indians there. But the Fiji authorities, it would appear, threatened that he would not be allowed to land. The public of this country would like to know whether the exclusion of Mr. Andrews from the Committee now appointed has been carried out by the Government of India in deference to the attitude of the authorities in Fiji or on their own initiative.......... The exclusion of Mr. Andrews from the Committee seems to us to be deliberate. Mr. Andrews is not still a non-co-operator, so-called. Nay, he has been anxious to co-operate with the authorities in this matter at least. But the gods of Simla evidently do not like to co-operate with him.......... We are afraid the enquiry to be conducted by the Sastri committee will not be so complete or fruitful as one would wish it to be.......... Thanks to the high-handedness of the Fiji authorities the Indian community is left without a single leader at present and their employers, by setting one section against another, are keeping them down in virtual slavery. A genuine friend of Mr. Andrews' type would put heart in them and enable them to represent their grievances properly to the Committee. The Government of India, if they are sincere in their protestations of sympathy with the Fiji Indians, must press on Mr. Andrews' landing as a condition precedent to the enquiry."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 3rd July.

***68.** "In view of the criticism that Mr. Andrews should have been included in the deputation, it is only fair to say that Government had invited him to be on the deputation and that it is of his own choice that he has remained out of it. We believe that Mr. Andrews prefers to go on an entirely unofficial footing, and we perfectly understand his reasons. At the same time we think that the proper time for him to go, if necessary, is after the present delegation or Committee has made its report. .... Though, therefore, there is not much in the complaint that Mr. Andrews has not been included in the deputation, the composition of that body is not altogether satisfactory.......... The two provinces which send most emigrants are Madras and the United Provinces, and there is appropriateness in the choice of a member from each of these to serve on the Committee. But this consideration could have been more effectively applied if the Madras member at any rate had been a non-Brahmin. Most of the emigrants are non-Brahmins and there is no special reason why a non-Brahmin should not have been chosen for this delegation.......... This omission can still be supplied by the addition of a non-Brahmin gentleman from Madras, and it ought to be."

Extravagant Indian Army expenditure and the duty of the Military Requirements Committee to reduce it.

Rashtra Veer (133) 26th June.

69. No other nation in the world spends on its army proportionally so heavily as does poverty-stricken India. Her military expenditure now amounts to 60 to 62 crores of rupees. It was only 26 crores in 1913-14; which means that it is now more than doubled. England does not pay for the increase; it is the masses in India that have to pay the bill, and if the Esher Committee's recommendations are carried out matters would become worse. The expenditure has gone up in spite of the people's protests for many years past, and this is one of the main causes of the discontent now prevailing in the country. For the people see that education of the masses, sanitation and irrigation are being starved to keep up a costly army on lame excuses. Since the end of the great war the other nations are trying to reduce their armies. What sin has India alone committed that its army expenditure should be on the increase? Other nations are doing away with the system of standing armies: Indians alone do not possess the right to defend their own country. This is a discreditable state of things for which Government alone are responsible. We hope the Military Requirements Committee which has been recently appointed, and which fortunately contains Indian members, will go thoroughly into the question of Army expenditure and get it reduced. It should also see that higher appointments in the Army are given to Indians. The principle of equality of treatment without regard to race, religion or creed has been loudly proclaimed, but in practice it has been utterly set at nought. The Marathas have immortalised their name by fighting in France, Turkey and Egypt; and yet is it not most shameful that only one Maratha from the Maharashtra should have been granted a commission in the Army? The fighting classes in India demand higher posts in the Army as their birthright; they do not beg for them as a matter of favour. If Government do not give up their old policy and march with the times in these matters, the newly granted reforms will come to be regarded as useless.

Karnatak Mitra (35), 30th June.

70. Government are past masters in the art of spreading nets. Men are drawn into their nets one after another, just as birds and fish are caught in the nets spread for them. It might be even said that Government have created a special department for spreading nets. The net which they have spread just at this moment is the Military Requirements Committee. They have called witnesses from among non-co-operators as well as co-operators, their aim in doing so being to catch both the parties in a single net. We do not know where is the need of this new committee. For a member of years Indians have been crying themselves hoarse for an army composed exclusively of Indians, but Government paid no heed to their clamour. But now that that they want to increase their Military expenditure they are making a pretence of consulting Indians. In order to provide for their huge military expenditure, Government have been starving the whole of India. They are now plotting to increase this expenditure still further, under the pretence of making provision for meeting the Bolshevik threat and the Afghan menace. If we consider critically the military policy of Government in this country, we shall find that it is dictated by the desire of turning India into a big sheep-fold, rather than of defending it from external agression. If they lose their hold over India where else can they get people to serve as pariahs of their Empire? In the Committee which Government intend to appoint, the interests of Government themselves are involved more deeply than the interests of the people. While every other Government in the world is based on the confidence of the people, the Government of India is based on a distrust of the people. Who knows whether this distrust itself may not lead to their ruin?

Protest against the employment of Indian soldiers outside India.
Hindu (158), 26th June.

71. Quoting the number of Indian soldiers stationed in Turkey, Egypt etc., as recently given in answer to certain questions in the House of Commons, the *Hindu* remarks:—That is to say, Englishmen have been utilising the services of 69,500, Hindus and Muhammadans, to enslave other Muhammadan Kingdoms. Indians of all classes have been protesting against the employment of the Indian Army outside India, because by agreement, it is meant to be used in India only. But this protest cannot possibly be heard by a Government which recognizes no promises or undertakings, and which cares neither for decency nor public opinion. It is our duty to tell our brothers not to go out of India for the purpose of depriving any one of his liberty, to inquire why at the instance of others they have risked their lives to enslave innocent people, and to ask them to consider properly the course they have been taking.

Comments on the treatment accorded to Turkey by the British Government.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 26th June.

72. Maulvi Mohammad Din of the Madresah-i-Nizamiyah of Bombay contributes a long article to the columns of the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* in which he characterises the treatment the British Government accorded to Turkey in the Great War as unjust and unrighteous. He laments that British forces are still to be seen in Palestine, Baghdad, Karbela and Najaf, and opines that no Musalman will ever tolerate the passing of these sacred places into the hands of any non-Muslim power. He bewails that the Sultan of Turkey, the Khalifa of the Musalmans, is powerless in his own seat of Government. Referring to the recent manœuvres of the Greek ships of war in Turkish waters, the writer is at a loss to know why Mr. Lloyd George is indifferent to the protests of the Porte, and enquires as to why ten crores of Musalmans living in the British Empire do not carry as much weight as one crore of tyrannous and blood-thirsty Greeks. Explaining the recent declarations of policy made by Maulanas Abul Kalam Azad and Abdul Bari in case the British Government helps the Greeks against the Kemalists, the writer says that the Musalmans do not mean to be violent and oppressive to others: they simply want to safeguard their own rights. In conclusion, he warns the Government against launching an expedition against the Kemalists, and opines that such an action would only lead to the alienation of the Muhammadans from the British Government.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 28th June.

73. Whoever wants to give advice to others must himself be free from all impure motives. The course adopted by the British with regard to Turkey is unjust in the extreme. How can the Greeks be expected to accept British arbitration when the British themselves have swallowed up Turkish territories? In the House of Commons, the other day, Mr. Chamberlain refused to give an undertaking that the Greeks who had embarked on a war with the Turks without the consent of the Allies would receive no help from the British. The attitude of the French, though not quite so unreasonable, is on the whole similar to that taken up by the British. The Allies, we are told, are to act as arbitrators. If the Greeks refuse to abide by their decisions nothing is to be done to enforce these decisions on them. If, on the other hand, the Turks refuse to accept them, the Greeks are to be helped in their designs against Turkey. This is very strange justice indeed—perhaps unknown any other country in the world.

England and the Angora Government.

Insaf (67), 24th June.

74. The note issued by Hakim Ajmalkhan shows that there will be friction between England and the Angora Government. If this is so, it cannot but add to the misery of the Indian Muhammadans. Mustafa Saghir, an Indian Muhammadan, who is reported to have been sent to Angora by the Government of England as a spy, has been hanged by the Angora Government. No one can say that the Angora Government acted unjustly in putting this unfortunate person to death if he was really caught spying and his guilt proved. It is also impossible to believe that the Muhammadan Government of Angora would ever sentence a Muhammadan to death unless his guilt was fully proved. The Indian Muhammadans respect the Angora Government on account of some of their brave deeds. The invasion of Angora by England will be considered by the Indian Muhammadans as adding insult to injury and as a severe blow at the Khilafat. We hope that England will never take such a rash step.

Turko-Greek question and the Allies.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st July.

75. Referring to the policy proposed to be adopted by the Allies towards the Turko-Greek question, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"Even a child can see that the programme is not only incomplete but also extremely one-sided. We are told what the Allies will do if Greece accepts the Allied terms, but what they will do if Greece does not accept is left unstated. We may presume, of course that in such a case the Allies will not 'lighten the financial restrictions hitherto imposed on Greece.' But will this make matters worse in any way to Greece? In what way can such a course be looked upon as a punishment to Greece? On the other hand, let us see how the Allies will treat Turkey in case she refuses to accept the terms. The Allies, we are told, will then lighten the financial restrictions on her enemy—that is to say, they will help Greece financially in her campaign against Turkey. Is this holding the balance even between two contending parties? It would be perversion of language to call the arrangement 'fair play.' And yet it is the 'fair play' which has suggested itself to the righteous statesmen at the helm of British affairs to-day and which they are anxious to see adopted by their Allies! These statesmen evidently believe that the entire world, save themsleves, have lost all sense of honour and judgment and will be easily hood-winked in this manner."

Campaign against Mustapha Kemal Pasha deprecated.

Sind Observer (10), 26th June.

76. "We have our own country's interest at heart in deprecating any British campaign against Mustapha Kemal Pasha. Afghanistan will not be left untouched this time. The Turkish Nationalists have their agents in high positions in that country. Thinking their game is up they are sure to involve Afghanistan in a war with India. The Amir is a young man having no political wisdom. At his age war appeals to him more than peace though he may lose his crown in the bargain. We are not doubtful as to the result. India will beat Afghanistan to a frazzle. But think of its effects on the 70 million Muslims of India by whom the war will be taken as a *Jehad*. Think of the utter ruin and misery that will follow. Think of the crores of rupees that India will have to find for the prosecution of the war. Think of the heavy taxation and the after effects of the war which will throw the Indian people into a mood of utter desperation. Government will then realise its blunder of the first magnitude. The very thought of it sends a cold shiver through our frame. It is why we find ourselves in opposition to any warlike step taken by the British Cabinet against the Angora Government. We are fortunate in having in India at this juncture a statesman like Lord Reading who is capable of looking far into the future and whose warning will carry the utmost weight with the British Cabinet."

Praise of the foreign policy of the Bolsheviks.

Praja Bandhu (30), 26th June.

77. The Allies, and especially England, have circulated various rumours about the Bolshevik Government in order to lower it in the eyes of other people; but the agreements between the Bolshevik Government and Persia and Afghanistan show more authoritatively how far they are true. The terms of these agreements show at least one thing, *viz.*, that however badly the Bolsheviks may be acting in the administration of their country and however defective their system of political economy and sociology may be, still in their foreign relations they are ready to give as much independence to other countries as they themselves enjoy. On account of this, Afghanistan has made peace with Russia at once, while the British Mission to Kabul is doing nothing. The religious neutrality of the Bolsheviks is also admirable. The Bolsheviks have stipulated in the agreement with Persia for the expulsion of all missionaries from the country and have given the Persian Government permission to take over all their property. Thus it will be seen that the standard of justice of the Bolsheviks appears to be higher than that of the Allies. In these circumstances, there is no wonder if Persia were to refuse to abide by the Anglo-Persian agreement and if Afghanistan were not to fall a victim to the glamour of England.

LEGISLATION.

Adverse comments on Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill.

Sind Vási (167), 17th June.

78. A correspondent writes to the *Sindvási* :—Ah! liberty, so many persons are sacrificing themselves over your name. Liberty is of course wanted, but it should not be liberty leading us to hell. We Hindus do not want that kind of liberty; and if Dr. Gour's Bill will only bring us that, he had better keep the Bill to himself. Pandit Babu Bhagwandas says that the Hindu Shastras permit such marriages amongst low castes, and that marriages between persons of different religions are also permissible. If that is so, where is the necessity of Dr. Gour's Bill? Hindu religion and Hindu susceptibilities can never be separated. Such a Bill will shock the Hindu susceptibilities. The Bill had better be considered by the All-India Hindu Conference and the All-India Muslim League before it is discussed by the Indian Legislative Assembly. A few marriages here and there will not bring about national unity. It has never been so. Many Indians have married from Europe, with what result? To-day we seek to have liberty in contracting a civil marriage. It is possible to-morrow we (Hindus) may require liberty of divorce and separation. Does anyone know what noble lessons our present day religious marriages teach us. The bliss and happiness which they bestow can never be gained with the help of any human law.

EDUCATION.

79. We welcome the speech recently delivered at Poona by the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye, our Education Minister, giving an outline of his policy and future schemes. Mr. Paranjpye declared that he would give special sympathetic consideration to applications for Government grants to Municipalities that would desire to make primary education free and compulsory both for boys and girls. It cannot be gainsaid that free and compulsory education would prove advantageous only when it is extended to girls as well as boys. But looking to the present state of female education in India, it can be said that no good purpose will be served by insisting upon Municipalities extending free and compulsory education to both boys and girls at the same time. Let us hope Mr. Paranjpye will not refuse to extend Government help to Municipalities that want to introduce compulsion in primary education for boys in the first instance. There is no doubt that Mr. Paranjpye has echoed public opinion in the matter of the education of the backward classes. Let us hope Mr. Paranjpye will succeed in putting his schemes into practice.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's speech at Poona.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 28th June,

80. The *Jágaruk* expresses itself dissatisfied with the Honourable Mr. Paranjpe's recent speech before the Deccan Sabha, Poona. In its opinion, the single boarding which he proposes to erect for fifty students of the untouchable classes receiving secondary education will not at all suffice, and wants him to have more such boarding as the knowledge of their existence is likely to lead to an increase in the number of secondary school students of those classes. It also complains that Mr. Paranjpe merely repeated the stock arguments of the bureaucracy against the immediate introduction of compulsory primary education. He need not wait, it says, till the village *panchayats* are established but if he is at all earnest about the matter, he can begin work by appointing village committees through the local boards. The paper further remarks that the Minister has brought forward a strange ground against the immediate introduction of compulsory education to the effect that none of the many resolutions passed by meetings in favour of such education say that the people are prepared to pay for the additional expenditure involved. It points out that the very passing of such resolutions shows that the people are prepared to bear the additional burden and declares that the putting forward of this ground simply means that the Minister does not mean to do anything in the matter. The Honourable Mr. Paranjpe has, in the paper's opinion, perfectly imitated the alien bureaucracy in the matter of disregard of public opinion. [The *Tarun Marátha* also denounces Mr. Paranjpe for his speech and declares that his conduct has shown that no Brahmin should be trusted. It says:—This Honourable gentleman will not come to his senses unless he receives a severe castigation by means of innumerable resolutions of censure passed at public meetings. His ears should be twisted and he should be asked 'you rogue, don't you know to whom the sixty-five thousand rupees you consume belong'?]

Jágaruk (45), 26th June; *Tarun Marátha* ( ), 27th June.

81. Commenting upon the Bombay Educational Minister's policy, the *Rashtra Veer* says:—Unless we knock, the doors of education will not be opened to us. The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye has unfortunately or fortunately disappointed us. We now know who are our real well-wishers. Until his actions correspond with his words, we would set no value on his lip-sympathies. He has wronged the backward classes by pronouncing compulsory education to be impracticable. If he wishes to wash clean this sin let him now, at any rate, declare that primary education will be made compulsory within ten years and define the policy he is going to adopt during the three years of his tenure of office. Also let the people be ever active in denouncing his present attitude. The question of the advance of both primary and secondary

Ráshtra Veer (133), 19th June; *Mookanayak* (121), 18th June.

education has been set aside on the ground that if money is spent on the former a proportional increase in the latter would have to be made. But with regard to Industrial education he guarantees to make a good beginning. Why? Because it has become indispensable to the advanced classes, as their sons don't get posts under Government as they used to do formerly! Certainly Mr. Paranjpye is misusing the nation's money, for he is not using it for the proper objects. [The *Mookanayak* makes similar remarks about the Educational Minister and says:—Let the ears of Government and those of the Educational Minister be stunned by the noise of our protests against them. The Minister has turned out to be ungrateful to the backward classes and is trying to benefit his own caste.]

Kesari (111), 28th June.

82. The *Kesari* says that the period during which the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye has been in office was sufficient to enable him to formulate some new scheme of education and place the same before the people for their opinion. Instead of doing this, it remarks, he has made only vague speeches. It tells the Honourable Minister that people will in no way be benefitted if he moves in the old groove and himself draws a fat salary. The paper draws the inference from a speech made by him that no progress in education is likely to be made during his tenure of office.

Alleged grievances of subordinates in the Educational Department.
Gujerát Mitra (15), 26th June.

83. There are complaints to the effect that special favour is shown to Muhammadans in the Government Educational Department. The Muhammadan community is backward in education and hence certain posts are resrrved for them in this Department. In spite of this, the Muhammadans are shown special favour with regard to other appointments at the sacrifice of the interests of members of other communities. Hence other members of the Department feel dissatisfied. We cannot of course protest against the appointment of Muhammadans with the necessary qualifications to the high posts reserved for them; but to make such appointments in the absence of the necessary qualifications, at the sacrifice of the claims of others, cannot conduce to the dignity of the Educational Department. It is also said that filling up of the posts of clerks in the Educational Department is governed by favour rather than regard for the merits of the candidates. Again, till recently the Deputy Educational Inspector of a district used to make the distribution of the various charges among his Assistant Deputies. But now this is done by the Educational Inspector, and as a result of this the Assistants have to suffer a great deal. For instance, an Assistant Deputy in the Broach District is put in charge of Hansot and Jambusar and an Assistant in the Ahmedabad District is given Gogha and Pálanpur. They will have to suffer many hardships and incur much expense in connection with their tours. We hope that the officers in charge of the Department will deem it fit to make the necessary changes in such distribution.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the method of working pursued by the Hyderabad (Sind) Municipality.
Sindvási (167), 17th June.

84. The other day an esteemable correspondent wrote to us that the Hyderabad Municipality deserved to be suspended. We contradicted him; but after attending its meeting, on Wednesday last, we feel that the situation is getting from bad to worse, although under the present political situation in the country we do not think Government will go so far as to suspend the Municipality. It appears that Mr. Chatursing, the newly elected Vice-President, is not popular with the councillors with the result that there is no despatcth of work. During the last three meetings they have only disposed of the Municipal Commissioner's report with the remarks of the Vice-President thereon, and that also because the Collector had called for its early disposal. The Collector had also asked the Municipality to decide quickly the question of granting additional powers to their Chief Officer, as the Municipal Commissioner's term of office was about to expire. But this urgent matter was also postponed in Wednesday's meeting after a brief discussion. Instead, the councillors wasted their time in objecting to a remark in the Collector's letter and converted the whole meeting into a Bear Garden. Experience has shown that if many persons are concerned with making appointments, it always results in confusion and loss of efficiency. The Municipality will select its own Chief Officer. Hence we fail to see how Government can gain anything by the acceptance of the Collector's suggestion.

Government should publish the resolution under which they have stopped the grant in connection with the salary of the chief officer of the Nadiád Municipality.

Gujarát Mitra (16), 26th June.

*85. Government have stopped the grant meant to cover half the salary of the Chief Officer of the Nadiád Municipality because that body has acted unconstitutionally in educational matters. Several Municipalities have resolved to refuse Government grants for education, but they have not considered it objectionable to take Government grants in connection with the salaries of their Chief Officers, Health Officers, and others. If Government were to stop these grants also, the Municipalities would have to undergo much further loss. This is a very important question, and it is one with which other Municipalities will be faced in the future. Hence Government should issue a Press Note publishing for the information of Municipalities and the public the text of the resolution under which they have stopped the moiety of the salary of the chief officer of the Nadiád Municipality.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 8th July 1921.

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CENTRA 9 AUG 1921

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CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged callousness of the Bengal Government in not recognising acute famine conditions in Khulna 25
Comments on the Government communique on the shooting incident at Dhárwár 1
Comments on the proceedings of the Imperial Conference . . . 11
Comments on the new system of photographing documents instead of copying them in registers 27
Comments on the proposal to transfer Aden to the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies 20
Comments on the Rao of Cutch's speech before the Dominion Premiers . . . . 16 & 17
Comments on the reforms suggested by Mr. T. V. Sheshgiri Iyer . 19
Comments on the release of the murderer of Talaat Pasha . . . 28
Comments on the report of the Bengal Committee to inquire into the causes of strikes 26
Comments on the shooting incident at Dhárwár . . . . 3—7
Immediate non-official inquiry necessary in the Dhárwár shooting incident 2
Indians will now no longer be satisfied with sweet words of praise, justice and truth spoken with reference to India 18
Mr. Sastri's resolution on the status of Indians in the Dominions . 14 & 15
Protest against the purchase of stores for India in England . . . 21.
Sir Thomas Holland's visit to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau . . . . 22 & 23
The District Magistrate of Bijápur and the Gandhi-cap . . . 8—10
The Honourable Mr. Sastri's speech before the Imperial Conference . 12 & 13
The Indian Fiscal Commission 24

Development of Bombay:

The Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme 76
The Bombay Corporation and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau should withdraw their representatives from the Advisory Committee to the Development Board 77

His Excellency the Viceroy:

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the United Provinces Liberal Association's representation . . . . 29 & 30
His Excellency the Viceroy should call for the records in the recent cases of Indians *vs.* Europeans in view of his declaration about racial equality in India 31
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India . . . . 35—40
Indians in the Colonies: The Fiji Inquiry Committee 75

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Comments on the proposal to transfer Aden to the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies 20
Comments on the Rao of Cutch's speech before the Dominion Premiers . . . . 16 & 17
Comments on the reforms suggested by Mr. T. V. Sheshgiri Iyer . 19
Comments on the release of the murderer of Talaat Pasha . . . 28
Comments on the report of the Bengal Committee to inquire into the causes of strikes 26
Comments on the shooting incident at Dhárwár . . . . . . 3—7
Immediate non-official inquiry necessary in the Dhárwár shooting incident 2
Indians will now no longer be satisfied with sweet words of praise, justice and truth spoken with reference to India 18
Mr. Sastri's resolution on the status of Indians in the Dominions . 14 & 15
Protest against the purchase of stores for India in England . . . 21.
Sir Thomas Holland's visit to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau . . . . 22 & 23
The District Magistrate of Bijápur and the Gandhi-cap . . . 8—10
The Honourable Mr. Sastri's speech before the Imperial Conference . 12 & 13
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Development of Bombay:

The Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme 76
The Bombay Corporation and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau should withdraw their representatives from the Advisory Committee to the Development Board 77

His Excellency the Viceroy:

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the United Provinces Liberal Association's representation . . . . 29 & 30
His Excellency the Viceroy should call for the records in the recent cases of Indians *vs.* Europeans in view of his declaration about racial equality in India 31
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India . . . . 35—40
Indians in the Colonies: The Fiji Inquiry Committee 75

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Judicial matters :
- Comments on the acquittal of Sergeant Coles without a charge being framed against him 32
- Comments on the Khoreal shooting case and the Private Mulligan case. 33
- Reflections on the "grossly scandalous" disparity between sentences awarded to Indians and Europeans in India 34

Military matters :
- Comments on the appointment of the Military Requirements Committee. 69
- Condemnation of Mr. Gandhi's action in declining to appear before the Military Requirements Committee 71
- It would be unjust to ask Native States to contribute towards the maintenance of the Indian Army 72
- People should boycott the Military Requirements Committee . . 70

Non-co-operation:
- Advice to Government to stop their campaign of repression 67
- Boycott of foreign cloth 47
- Can *Swardj* be won by December next? 61
- Comments on Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Moderates 58
- Comments on Mr. Gandhi's speech at the Pársi Central Association meeting 60
- Comments on Mr. Gandhi's success in collecting one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swarajya Fund . . . . 41—45
- Comments on the anti-drink movement in Bombay . . . . . 53—56
- Complaint about repression in Sind 66
- How to utilise the crore of rupees collected for the Tilak Swaráj Fund. 46
- It will be to the shame of the Ministers if the present anti-drink movement fails 57
- Mr. Gandhi's appeal to cloth merchants to boycott foreign cloth . . 49—52
- Mr. Gandhi's appeal to Indian mill-owners in connection with his new campaign for boycott of foreign cloth 48
- Mr. Gandhi's justification of his appeal to the Moderates for co-operation in the anti-drink campaign 59
- Protest against the Government of the United Provinces charging non-co-operators with having a hand in the recent Kamaon forest fires . 63
- Sind Swaráj Majilis should warn the public against the evils of — . 65
- The Ali Brothers' apology 68
- The great power and influence of Mr. Gandhi and the harm done to Moslems through association with him 62
- Undesirability of Indian subordinates being entrusted with carrying out of repressive measures 64

Police : Comments on the order imposing a tax on the people of Kaira for special — in connection with thefts on the Railway 74

Public Service : Protest against the proposed further increase of pay of the Imperial Services in India 73

War : The Allies should teach a severe lesson to the Greeks 78

LEGISLATION—

Adverse comments on Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill 79

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's speech before the Deccan Sabha 80

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's policy in the matter of primary education . . . . 81 & 82

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's new concessions to Municipalities to make primary education compulsory 83

RAILWAYS—

Complaint against the present administration of Indian Railways . . 84

The G. I. P. Railway's mismanagement of the Pandharpur pilgrim traffic . 85

NATIVE STATES—

Alleged misrule of his State by the Rao of Cutch 86

The Maharajah of Kolhápur and the case against the *Vidyavilas* newspaper 87

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Government communique on the shooting incident at Dhárwár.

Mahrátta (7), 10th July.

*1. "We for one believe that the official communique, issued by Government, has in it elements which carry conviction of its being far from correct. The official communique seems to have been obviously prepared with a view to justify the firing. The official story begins by stating that the crowd which escorted the convicted volunteers to the jail, went directly to the meeting which culminated in the alleged riot. This version seems to be quite inaccurate. The crowds that escorted the volunteers dispersed immediately; secondly the meeting was not in any way connected with picketing and had nothing to do primarily with that movement. The meeting was announced early in the morning and it was in connection with the Tilak Swarajya Fund. And it is very significant that the meeting was going on and was not dissolved till after the wounded passed by the place where the meeting was held. We cannot understand how the meeting can culminate in the alleged rioting while it was actually going on when the firing took place. Secondly, the fact that the liquor-shop was being guarded by an armed police picket since early in the evening is sufficient to show that the police and the authorities were well prepared for any eventualities. We cannot understand how people can approach the liquor-shop with a view to loot it or set fire to it unless they break through the police cordon. Those who know the Indian crowds and who have experience of such affairs know that the people sometimes become unruly and uncontrollable but there are very rare or no examples of the people actually attacking or breaking through the military or armed police cordons.......... We cannot understand how this communique is wired from Dhárwár to the Associated Press. The communique is in the name of the Government of Bombay and ought to have been issued either from Poona or Bombay. People strongly suspect that the communique was wired from Dhárwár and was passed on to the Associated Press as a communique issued by the Government of Bombay. Will those responsible for this communique throw some light on the affair? The whole affair has a sinister appearance. The President of the Congress Committee in his wire to the press throws much light on the mentality of the Collector and District Magistrate of Dhárwár, Mr. Painter. It is said that only one day before this terrible tragedy he said to Mr. Kabur, M.A., LL.B., and Mr. Diwakar, B.A., L.L.B., the printer and the editor of a local paper, the *Karmavir*, that he was thirsting for their blood and that he would not be satisfied unless he saw them in jail at least for one year. If it is a fact—and we do not doubt its veracity—we feel that the Dhárwár tragedy has a strong resemblance to the famous Jallianwala Bagh. There also the Commissioner vowed vengeance on the people and their children and soon after, the innocent blood of the victims of his wrath flew freely on the Jallianwala Bagh grounds. At Dhárwár also before forty-eight hours elapsed since the threat, innocent blood was spilt and Messrs. Kabur and Diwakar have seen the inside of the jail along with many others. Mr. Painter, the Collector, owes it to himself and the public to state whether he uttered the threat or not. We are told he cannot deny it and let him not deny it if it is a fact. It is reported of him that he has made no secret of his opinions about the present Government of Bombay that it is too weak. It seems he wants unbridled authority to deal deathblows to the National movement. With such a collector at the head of affairs it is no wonder that the subordinates have been reckless in their dealings with the people. The Sub-Inspector, concerned in the present affairs, is an illiterate and unqualified officer and is known in Dhárwár to be most unscrupulous. The present instance classes him with ferocious brute of the worst type.......... It is the duty of the Government under the present circumstances to enter into the whole affair and make full and impartial enquiry in the matter. The President of the Congress Committee asks, and rightly asks, the removal of the Sub-Inspector concerned from Dhárwár along with his superiors including the District Magistrate. If justice is to be secured in the Dhárwár case, it is absolutely necessary to remove these officers who are directly interested in the affair. It is sheer perversion of justice to entrust the investigation of the Dhárwár tragedy to these very officers as it is done at present. The Sub-Inspector is directly charged for murder by the President of the District Congress Committee and it behoves the Government to take the investigation out of his hands. The President complains that this very Sub-Inspector is parading the streets, terrorising the people to be witnesses and although the investigation is ostensibly conducted in the name of some superior officer, it is the hand of Shivalinga, the Sub-Inspector, that is responsible for its actual execution. No Government which loves justice can tolerate this state of things even for a time. The Sub-Inspector is charged with wanton and unprovoked murder and it is in his interest to see that evidence is recorded in a manner to justify it. The persons arrested at present are editors of newspapers, respectable pleaders and leaders of enlightened thought and cannot be suspected even of harbouring any thought of violence. The sub-inspector is said to have stopped on the first day all traffic by the road in which the liquor-shop in question is situated and thus had full ample opportunity to create evidence of loot and arson. We do not say that he has actually done it but why should the Government give ground for suspicion in the matter. Why not take the investigation out of his hands at once and immediately? A man directly accused for murder should not have the opportunity to cover his offence. One or two points deserve more than passing attention in this respect. Dhárwár is the head-quarters of a big district. At the time of the occurrence of the tragedy the District Magistrate, the City Magistrate, and one or two other magistrates were at the station. We cannot understand how is it that no magistrate of any rank was present on the scene? .... The matters could not have come to crisis in a moment. If such is the case how is it that no magistrate was informed nor any was present there? Similarly what were the superior police officers doing? We learn that the District Superintendent of Police, the Assistant Superintendent of Police and other officers were at the station. Why did they leave the whole control in the hands of a single Sub-Inspector? The officers obviously must have known that an armed picket was there and it was their duty to see that the authority of using force was not abused. It is significant that all these officers turned out on the scene after every thing was over. Consequently, no warning was given. The necessary preliminary steps before firing were not taken. The Sub-Inspector obviously exceeded his authority in ordering the fire and his action would amount to murder unless otherwise explained. .... The duty of the present Government is obvious. They must at once suspend and remove from Dhárwár all the officers concerned, and clear the atmosphere which is at present highly surcharged with bitterest feelings. The investigation must be taken out of the hands of these officers immediately, and entrusted to independent officers and magistrates. Mr. Painter does not deserve to hold any responsible office and should be asked to retire immediately."

Immediate non-official inquiry necessary in the Dhárwár shooting incident.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th July.

2. "We publish elsewhere a copy of the telegram which the President of the District Congress Committee of Dhárwár has sent to the Viceroy and the Governor of Bombay. The telegram speaks for itself. And the tail that it unfolds, if the allegations are true, is both harrowing and one that calls for the immediate trial and punishment of the official culprits and the severest condemnation of those who made themselves responsible for the issue of 'a hurried and misleading communique'......... The communique, as it stood, contained enough evidence to induce a disbelief in the statements contained therein. According to the Government communique itself, the District Magistrate with the Superintendent and Assistant Superintendent of Police arrived after the firing. This admission is most significant. The firing took place, it is clear, without the permission of a Magistrate and under the instructions of a Sub-Inspector of Police. The President of the District Congress Committee described this firing as 'wanton, unprovoked and without warning'......... These are very grave allegations but they are made by the responsible head of the most representative public body in the district and they call for an immediate and impartial enquiry

that must command public confidence. The President of the Committee demands that, as a preliminary to this enquiry, the investigation by the local officers must immediately be suspended. That, however, is not enough! If justice is to be vindicated, it is imperative, in view of the gravity of the allegations, that the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police, as well as the other subordinate officers, must be suspended from service pending the result of the enquiry."

Comments on the shooting incident at Dhárwár.

Young India (12), 6th July.

3. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"If the Congress Committee's telegram to the *Chronicle* may be relied upon, there is little doubt that some unauthorised police officer has been panic-stricken and given the order to fire on an unarmed crowd. The persistent keeping open of liquor-shops as if it was a right of the public to have liquor served to it by the state, is an open and immoral defiance of public opinion. I can only congratulate the families of those who have died. I can deplore the slightest show of force that may have been betrayed by the crowd, but I respectfully warn the Indian ministers in charge of transferred departments, that thay will belie the traditions of the great party to which they belong, if they do not courageously face the grave crisis that is overtaking the country, and summarily close every liquor-shop and refund the money paid in advance by the poor license-holders. They may not dread the loss of revenue immorally derived from the twice-cursed traffic. It cannot stand in the face of an awakened and enraged public conscience. As it is, an education supported by a revenue derived from an immoral source is bad enough. Presently, it will stink in our nostrils when it is tainted with innocent blood. I do beseech the ministers to be warned before it is too late. Let it not be said of them, that for the sake of revenue they remained callously indifferent to the signs of the times. They dare not wait for hours, much less for weeks. It will be wrong to wait for devising methods of tapping other sources of revenue before giving up the revenue from drink. It will be very like a man refusing to vacate a plague-infected house until another is ready for him. Most people in such circumstances will first vacate, and then search for another and uninfected shelter."

Kesari (111), 5th July; *Lokámanya* (115), 7th July; *Swarájya* (145), 7th July.

4. The *Kesari* says that Painterism at Dhárwár bids fair to outdo Dyerism in the Punjáb. It refers to the press note published by Government on the subject of the disorders and remarks that Government officials talk of assault on the Police, arson and theft, with a view to covering their own misdeeds. It awaits the report of the non-official committee and declares that the time is gone when people could put implicit faith in a one-sided account published by Government. [The *Lokámanya* asks Government to suspend the local officials at Dhárwár and to make a searching inquiry into the whole affair. The *Swarájya* says that the rule that firing should not be resorted to without the order of a Magistrate seems to have been abandoned of late. It warns Government of the evil consequences that may follow from an impression among the people that the Police fire upon them without sufficient cause.]

Vijaya (90), 8th July.

5. Referring to the arrests in connection with the Dhárwár shooting case, the *Vijaya* says that some persons, with mischievous intentions or at the instigation of the local authorities, are spreading rumours every day to the effect that such and such persons are going to be arrested on that day. The paper adds that for some time, owing to such rumours, the persons concerned have been keeping themselves at home in readiness to go to jail with a view to facilitate the work of the police. Proceeding, the paper says that these rumours are increasing every day and that people can no longer afford to remain at home relying on these rumours, as they have important affairs of their own to attend to. The paper, therefore, suggests that the authorities should publish from day to day the names of their intended victims on the notice board of the Congress office or at any other place the authorities might think fit, so that the persons concerned may present themselves

before the police by night-fall. Concluding, the paper remarks that such an arrangement will save a lot of trouble to the police and will also help to put a stop to such wild rumours as those mentioned above.

Karnātak Vritta (84), 5th July.

6. In the course of an article entitled "Whatever has happened is for the best", the *Karnatak Vritta* says:—People are becoming fully convinced that this Government is a Satanic Government. Indians are now securely seated in the impregnable citadel of non-violence and have given the signal for war with the Government and there is no doubt then that in a war like this the rule of the bureaucrats must come to a speedy end. To avoid this danger to their very existence, there is but one way left open to them. They may either, if they are men, secure their own welfare, as also the welfare of future generations, by granting us *swarāj*; or they may throw off their manliness and like cowardly monsters endeavour to crush the ambition of their poor and helpless subjects with the help of their guns and bullets and by means of their devilish might. But they should not forget that the flame of national self-respect when once kindled can never be extinguished. Ye Bureaucrats, let loose upon us, at one and the same time, any number of Dyers and Painters you may have with you. Ye monsters, suck to your hearts' content the noble blood of innocent children, youth and old men. Ye, who are the meanest of men, can you not realize even now that thousands of people are ready and are vieing with each other to jump into the fire of human sacrifice which you have kindled? Ye messengers of the God of death, remember well that your pitch dark blood cannot defile the sacred blood of our patriots. The bodies of our heroes might be burnt up in the fire of human sacrifice which you are conducting, but remember that from out of this sacrifice will rise the bright flame which will not fail to destroy your whole race. Ye demons, are you trying to exterminate the race of the Yadavas? Ye cowards, can you show your bravery only by taking up arms against helpless people like ourselves? If you were brave and if your blood was boiling, you ought to have shown your bravery against the Germans. Where had your bravery and courage gone at that time? Fie upon your cowardice!

Raj Hansa (86), 4th and 8th July; *Shubhodaya* (88), 7th July; *Lokabandhu* (85), 3rd July; *Vijaya* (90), 8th July; *Karma Veer* (82), 8th July.

7. It is not yet known who gave the orders for firing on the volunteers who were picketing peacefully or what was the root cause which necessitated firing. People are at a loss to understand how General Dyer, who is now residing in England and receiving money from the Indian treasury, made his appearance here all of a sudden. Even a high official like Lord Reading thought it fit to interview Gandhi in connection with Muhammad Ali's Madras speech and ask him to secure a withdrawal of some of the statements contained in that speech. Was it is not then possible for the authorities here to follow the same course for the preservation of peace? If the authorities had felt that there was danger to public peace from the activities of the picketers, it was quite possible for them to inform the leaders to that effect and get them to maintain peace. But instead of doing so, they got the armed police to fire upon helpless and unarmed people. We want to know who is responsible for the loss of life due to this firing. We trust that the Collector and the Government of Bombay will make impartial inquiries into this matter and duly punish the real offenders. [In a subsequent issue the paper says:—It is now known for certain that the Police Sub-Inspector of this city committed the massacre in the absence of the Magistrate and of his other superiors. All the responsibity for the deaths and the injuries which were sustained by the people rests upon him. He is, therefore, quite unfit to be entrusted with the investigation of the case until all the facts underlying the massacre are brought to light. But we hear that Sub-Inspector Shevalingappa is making investigations and collecting evidence in this case and that the Collector is giving no attention to this matter. We do not believe that such a thing can happen anywhere except in our unfortunate country. Besides, the District Magistrate also is specially interested in this case. We, therefore, earnestly pray Government that the District Magistrate, the District

Superintendent and the Sub-Inspector of Police may be forthwith transferred from this place and that some other high official may be entrusted with the investigation of this case. The *Shubhodhaya*, the *Lokabandhu*, the *Vijaya* and the *Karma Veer* make similar comments.]

The District Magistrate of Bijápur and the Gandhi Cap.
Sind Observer (10), 1st July.

8. "The Magistrate of Bijápur convicted and sentenced an accused appearing before him in a case for the sin of wearing a Gandhi cap in court as the accused refused to remove it when asked to do so. There is no more foolish way than this to manufacture martyrs and to surround the Gandhi cap with the halo of sanctity. How some of these Magistrates lose their heads on occasions? A man's dress is his own concern and what has another man, though he be a magistrate clothed in brief authority, to do with it? Why should this cap be to the eye of the Magistrate as the red rag to the bull? The Magistrate of Bijápur could not have devised a better method of discrediting himself and the Government he is serving by such silly behaviour. We are glad to learn the Government has withdrawn the case in appeal against Mr. Hanumanta Rao and the sentence was set aside. Sir George Lloyd must haul over the coals men who behave in this silly way."

Kesari (111), 5th July.

9. The *Kesari* refers to the legal proceedings taken by Mr. Henderson, Collector and District Magistrate of Bijápur, against Mr. Koujalgi, a local pleader, for wearing what is known as the Gandhi cap in his court and his reported refusal to offer chairs, for the same reason, to the editor and the printer of a vernacular paper whom he called to his office for conveying the warning of Government for a certain writing which appeared in their paper, and says :—These incidents show whether in this new era there is a real improvement in the attitude of the bureaucracy or whether this body is becoming more and more arrogant. It is for the Government of Bombay to consider whether they can safely entrust the administration of a large district to an officer who has not sense enough to judge what constitutes contempt of court and who does not know how to behave towards people whom he invites to see him. Government should direct a Civil Surgeon to examine the condition of Mr. Henderson's brain and he should be sent either to the lunatic asylum at Thána or to England. Such officials with unhinged minds will only bring further distrust upon Government.

Karnátak Mitra (35), 7th July; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (83), 5th July.

10. Referring to the insult alleged to have been offered by Mr. Henderson to the Editor and the Printer of the *Karnátak Vaibhav* for wearing the Gandhi cap, the *Karnátak Mitra* says :—If Mr. Henderson looks upon the Gandhi cap as a danger signal, it will be difficult for him to remain in India where Gandhism predominates. Mr. Henderson should, therefore, either hold his tongue or resign his post and go to his own country at the earliest possible moment. If Mr. Henderson feels insulted by the sight of the Gandhi cap, why should we not feel insulted in the same way by the sight of Europeans wearing hats in our own country? There is doubt that it is the devil of the Provincial Government that has been making all the District Collectors dance in this fashion. [The *Karnátak Vaibhav* writes :—The *Kesari* deservedly calls Mr. Henderson Sultan Henderson. This gentleman's dignity excels that of Sir George Lloyd or even of Lord Reading. It will never be safe on the part of Government to entrust this official, who has no idea of gentlemanliness, with the administration of a whole district. What punishment will he receive from Sir George Lloyd for having insulted the Printer and the Editor of this paper? Will His Excellency do justice—a word which is constantly on the lips of Lord Reading?

Comments on the proceedings of the Imperial Conference.
Sind Observer (10), 8th July.

11. "In a previous issue we have pointed out that if the Hon. Mr. Sastri and the Maharrao of Cutch returned home empty without achieving anything to better the lot of Indians living in the Colonies they will be jeered and laughed at for all their trouble in undertaking a journey of 12,000 miles, coming and going.......... Mr. Sastri has now put in a strong plea for granting full rights

of citizenship to all those Indians already residing in the Colonies. This is the least that the Indian representatives could demand of their Colonial friends. If this too is not granted, the day is not far distant when India will have to consider whether it will be worth her while to stay within the Empire. This much is true, the Indian will not accept hereafter the position of hewer of wood and drawer of water in the Empire. Indians must concentrate their energies in the country on the obtaining of self-Government; and the status of Indians abroad is also bound to improve with the improvement of their position in the country."

The Honourable Mr. Sastri's speech before the Imperial Conference.
Nireekshaka (47), 4th July; *Rájakáran* (131), 3rd July.

12. The *Nireekshaka* says that the speech made by the Honourable Mr. Sastri before the Imperial Conference is not such as to raise him in the estimation of his countrymen. It calls him a sycophant and remarks that he described the English as mighty victors with a view to tickling their vanity and that he would have had no objection to shower like encomiums upon the Kaiser if he had won the war, and if Mr. Sastri had to greet him in India. It further observes that there is nothing in the whole speech to remind one that Mr. Sastri is representing India at the Conference. The paper condemns in emphatic terms Mr. Sastri's treatment of the question of the status of Indians in South Africa. [The *Rájakáran* tells Mr. Sastri that although on formal occasions in London he might be treated as the equal of Colonial statesmen, he would be treated as a coolie if he were to step into South Africa.]

Mahrátta (7), 10th July.; *Gujaráti* (15), 10th July, Eng. cols.

*13. "There has never been any doubt in Indian minds as to the real purpose for which Mr. Shastri and the Maharao of Cutch were deputed by the Government of India as its representatives to attend the Imperial Conference.......... The Reforms were to be trumpeted abroad as large and benevolent; and they are so trumpeted. The Government of India was to be advertised as best and kindest; and it is; for how else could it have deputed the best and the ablest, Mr. Sastri and the Maharao? India's peace, general happiness, loyalty and what not, were to be proclaimed; they are. Non-co-operation was to be decapitated; and they think it is. Last, but not least, India was to be made known of the difficulties and intricacies of foreign politics; and probably Mr. Sastri and the Maharao have come to know them. Their purpose is thus served, and if a reward be expected, perhaps the principle of step-by-step progress, carefully and gradually, towards the realisation of the equality of status in the Dominions may be recognised." [The *Gujaráti* remarks:—"Now coming to his speech, we may point out that he wanted the Imperial Conference to recognise that those Indians who were fully domiciled in the self-governing dominions according to the laws prevalent therein should be admitted to the full rights of citizenship without any deduction from the rights that other British subjects enjoyed.......... Why should they not be placed upon an equal footing with the rest of the citizens?"]

Mr. Sastri's resolution on the status of Indians in the Dominions.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th July.

14. "What has happened to Mr. Sastri's resolution on the status of Indians in the Dominions? Has the discussion on it been adjourned for a few days or has it been shelved in deference to the opposition of Mr. Sastri's exalted colleague? Or has Mr. Sastri consented to withdraw it as unnecessary in view of Mr. Churchill's declaration that the British Empire could only have one idea, namely, that there should be no barrier of race, colour or creed preventing any man by merit from reaching any station if he was fitted for it?........ Mr. Churchill is careful to add that 'such principle must be most carefully and gradually applied', because of the unwillingness of Mr. Churchill's compatriots in the Dominions to treat Indians as their equals. Does this not show that His Majesty's Government themselves are unprepared, if not unwilling, to secure for India the redress which they are demanding?"

Indian Social Reformer (6), 10th July.

***15.** "The only inference possible from the total silence that has settled upon the acid test resolution, is that either it never came before the Cabinet or that it was ignominiously rejected. The Joint Committee of Parliament on Indian affairs, it is reported, is about to issue a statement on the status of Indians in the Colonies, evidently as a consolation for the miscarriage of Mr. Sastri's resolution in the Imperial Cabinet. The Dominions will not be bound by the Parliamentary Committee's statement, nor for the matter of that will India, unless it does full justice to her rights as an equal partner in of the Empire, which, frankly, we do not expect it to do."

Comments on the Rao of Cutch's speech before the Dominion Premiers.
Bombay Chronicle (2), 10th July.

***16.** Referring to a speech of the Rao of Cutch before the Dominion Premiers 'Atropos' writes in the Sunday Edition of the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"By what right does he talk about the aspirations of the Indian people for self-government of which he knows nothing? This egregious exhibition of knowledge of Indian politics is utterly unwarrantable in a man who has neither the necessary mental equipment nor sufficient education to appreciate the strength of the present political forces which are imperceptibly moulding the destiny of the whole Indian people even including his own 'subject' people who have only lately been ventilating their grievances against the management of the Cutch State. The interpretation of India's national mind by this Mighty Mandarin is likely to hoodwink a section of the British public whose political blindness is notorious.......... Truth, however, cannot be indefinitely bottled whether a Cutch speaks or Uncle Toby jabbers."

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 7th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 7th July.

17. The speech will not evoke the approval of men who have been advocating the immediate grant of *swaráj* to India, but we feel sure that a large portion of reasonable men in the country will express their agreement with it. The assurance given by the Maharao about the loyalty and devotion of India is nothing but the echo of public opinion in this country. Let us hope the speech will appeal to the British public and induce them to help the Indians in their efforts to secure justice and thus strengthen the ties that bind India to the Empire. We join the Maharao in believing that the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will serve to heal sores and cement the Anglo-Indian brotherhood in a knot that will never be dissolved. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also approves of the speech and expresses confidence that it will tend to knit India closer to the Empire. It warns those who express impatience with British rule to give a careful consideration to the advantages India reaps by its connection with the British Empire and it appeals to them to learn to appreciate the benefits of the reforms and the gradual manner in which *swaráj* is to be given to India.]

Indians will now no longer be satisfied with sweet words of praise, justice and truth spoken with reference to India.
Hindu (158), 30th June.

18. The time when Indians greeted with applause the sweet words of Government is now past. Their ears have become deaf with hearing sweet words so often. They therefore do not believe in any words of praise, justice, and truth spoken with reference to India by the Premier, the Viceroy or any other British statesman. The reply which the Viceroy recently gave to the Ahmadiya Deputation or the speech delivered by the Premier in the Imperial Conference will hardly pacify the people of this country. On the contrary, Indians will feel more offended at such words, because they will find that a show (of justice and fairness) is being kept up to deceive them, when, as a matter of fact, they have had to suffer several hardships. But how long will this deception last?

Comments on the reforms suggested by Mr. T. V. Sheshgiri Iyer.
Mahrátta (7), 10th July.

***19.** "Mr. T. V. Sheshgiri Iyer, ex-Judge of the Madras High Court, has brought into high relief some very important points for the consideration of Government in an interview given by him to a press representative at Lucknow. He stated that the attention of the Government and of those who co-operated with them should immediately be directed to the abuses connected with the use of Section 144 of Criminal Procedure Code to prohibit public meetings. He has definitely laid down that it was not the intention of the framers of the Criminal Procedure Code to prevent free speaking, however unpleasant and condemnatory of the Government it might be. Surely the opinion of so eminent a lawyer must be entitled to respect; but what do we see happening under our very nose? Meetings without number are prohibited, free speech is indiscriminately shackled. Suggesting some measures to ease the Indian situation, he advised the unconditional release of all Martial Law prisoners in the Punjáb. He also pleaded for the liberty of the lesser fry sentenced for seditious speaking, having regard to the resolve not to prosecute the Ali brothers. Lastly, he put forth a strong plea for the introduction of responsible government in the Central Government. Every sane and impartial man will easily concede that these very reforms would have gone a great way in pouring oil over troubled waters of India, had not Government deliberately and in sheer stupidity and wantonness allowed the explosive situation to develop and come to such a perilous pass, when even such desired and desirable innovations, were Government to make them at all, are likely to be flung away in hauteur and contempt. But we know the Government will not stir itself to do so till it breaks its shins."

Comments on the proposal to transfer Aden to the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Praja Bandhu (28), 3rd July 1921.

20. Referring to the question of transferring Aden to the control of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the *Praja Bandhu* remarks :—Aden can no doubt be governed more efficiently by a representative of the Colonial Office than by the Government of Bombay. But the Indian merchants at Aden will be displeased with the proposed transfer. They have made Aden prosperous and they own properties there. They are not in favour of the transfer because they fear that the Whites, with the help of the Colonial Office, will pounce upon their rights just as they are doing in the African Colonies. We hope that Lord Reading's Government will safeguard the interests of the Indians residing there at the time of the transfer. The Government of India will be guilty of a terrible breach of trust towards the Indian people if, by the transfer, the Indians residing at Aden are deprived of those rights of citizenship which they are enjoying now. We have heard that only the general administration of Aden is to be handed over to the charge of the Colonial Office while India will continue to bear the military and the naval expenditure. There will be terrible discontent in India if such an arrangement is made. Aden has already proved to be a white elephant to India, and hence India considers it beneficial to her interests to separate its administration from that of India. Aden is useful to the Empire as a point of strategic importance and hence it should maintain Aden. India has to do nothing with it and, therefore, she is not prepared to bear the burden of its administration and the expenditure incurred on its development.

Protest against the purchase of stores for India in England.

Sind Observer (10), 1st July.

21. " Indians wish to know whether this country exists merely to feed the blast furnaces of England and to find careers for Britishers in the public and other services? The telegram quoted above indicates that an Australian Government contract for 10,000 tons of steel rails has gone to the Continent, the Home firms being hopelessly under quoted.......... Be it remembered that the Colonies are much richer than India; and the Colonials are related by ties of blood to the Mother country. They even, more than Indians, must feel for the unemployment prevailing in Great Britain and place orders for materials in Britain even at a higher rate, being rich enough to do so. But they do not do so. They proceed on the sound principle that there is no charity in business. Then why should India alone be 'fleeced in the interests of English manufacturers'? Because Englishmen at Home have long considered India as a property existing for them, and whatever the price they alone must supply India's needs in materials. We must confess this placing of contracts has almost amounted to a scandal... ...... Unless the Secretary of State is relieved of the control of the finances of India, this country can never hope to get her industrial and economic salvation. It is again the question of India being raised to the status of the British Dominions. This country has grown utterly sick of the financial juggleries practised by the India Office and the wire-pullings of the Secretary of State. The Reverse Councils and the management of the seven per cent. sterling loan, the purchasing of a five million worth of goods at seven millions to feed British industries at the expense of poor and famine-stricken India are transactions not creditable to the 'Trustees of India' in England. We have never known a trustee who squanders his ward's property in this ruinous way. No wonder unrest, despair, and despondency stalk the land."

Sir Thomas Holland's visit to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th July.

22. In the course of its comments on Sir Thomas Holland's recent visit to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—"On the general question of the purchase of stores Sir Thomas was much less liberal than is indicated in the published policy of the Government of India. If there is any validity in the resolutions of the Indian Government, the instructions on this matter have been issued clearly enough not to be mistaken in India, whatever may be their fate in England. Sir Thomas need not have wasted the time of the Chamber by recounting to them the points which he would not like the Chamber to assume. The Stores Purchase Committee have recommended, and the Government of India have accepted, the general principle that Indian-made material, wherever available, must be preferred to material made abroad, that, in comparing prices, given the suitability of the articles in all other respects, Indian articles must be given preference even if the figures for Indian-made goods be apparently higher, as the easy accessibility, coupled with the possibility of immediate delivery, makes the Indian goods really cheaper even when they seem to be apparently dearer.......... Sir Thomas was equally reticent and mystifying on the question of the Fiscal Commission.......... The Government of India intend to appoint no one who has committed himself to definite convictions either in favour of protection or of free trade. It is hard to find an Indian of eminence who has not realised the need for protection against the grasping tendencies of British manufacturers. It follows, in consequence, that an English nonentity, with this sole recommendation of having no views on a great social and political question, will by this reasoning be proved to be the most suitable man for the chairmanship.......... No Englishman, however complete a nonentity he may be on the general question, can be suitable for defining a comprehensive scheme of encouraging Indian industries and commerce. It is imperative for Lord Reading to realise this fundamental difference if he does not wish injustice to be done to India by this kind of negative impartiality."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 4th July; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 4th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 4th July.

23. Let us hope that the assurance given by the Honourable Sir Thomas Holland, Member for Commerce and Industry, to the Bombay Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in the matter of the purchase of stores for Indian State Railways will be carried out in practice. The Chamber rightly pointed out that the Secretary of State had no justification for saddling India with the additional enormous cost involved in favouring British industrial interests. Sir Thomas did not give any satisfactory reply when the matter was brought to his notice, but it appears from his reply that the attention of Government has been drawn to the matter and that care will be taken in future not to repeat the mistake. [The *Bombay Samáchár* endorses the protest made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau against the present practice of the Stores Committee of purchasing their requirements from British manufacturers and expresses hope that the Government of India will see their way to impress public opinion in the matter on the Stores Committee and ask it to safeguard Indian interests in the manner suggested by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also endorses the views expressed by the Indian Merchants' Chamber in the matter

of purchasing stores for India and declares that the reply given by Sir Thomas Holland gives ground to hope that there will be a substantial change in the present practice which benefitted England at the sacrifice of India and that in future tenders will be invited from continental manufacturers and purchases made solely with a view to benefit India.]

The Indian Fiscal Commission.
Sind Observer (10), 4th July.

24. "Sir Thomas Holland, the Industries Member, said in his speech at the Bombay Merchants' Chamber that half the members of the Fiscal Commission would be Indians.......... Half the personnel of the Committee to be Indian is satisfactory in so far as it is a departure from old traditions when an Indian or two were placed as a mere eye wash on a Committee preponderatingly European. But we do not think the present arrangement will satisfy present-day Indian opinion. We shall be satisfied if the personnel of the Committee is two-thirds Indian with an Indian President. After all it is a question primarily concerning India and then the Empire at large.......... We attach the greatest importance to the President who should be an Indian. Sir Thomas' dictum that the President should neither be a free trader nor a protectionist but one with an open mind is all very well to lay down in the case of India where all sorts of bureaucratic excuses are found to defeat the wishes of the people. There are plenty of practical businessmen and students with an open mind amongst Indians who can do honour to the office of President. Sir Ebrahim Rahimtullah will be an ideal selection."

Alleged callousness of the Bengal Government in not recognising acute famine conditions in Khulna.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th July.

25. "That the bureaucratic mentality in this country has undergone little change since the dawn of the so-called 'new era' is well shown in the attitude of the Government of Bengal and the district officials towards the famine conditions prevailing in the Khulna District. .... Though reports of acute distress have been appearing in the Press for the past one month neither the Government of Bengal nor the Collector of the district deemed it necessary to enlighten the public as to the exact extent of the distress or to assure them that adequate relief measures were being officially undertaken to cope with it. They have, however, just now come out with a statement, embodying a brief report from the Collector. The statement is in the familiar bureaucratic style, seeking to whitewash the 'men on the spot'.......... Even should the villagers be reduced to skeletons or die like flies through starvation, the bureaucrat, living in the pomp and luxury of his office, would go on declaring that 'all is well' and that the wretches died natural deaths. Did we not see the story repeated during the Orissa famine?......... If the people of this country pinned their faith to official reports alone it is not improbable that half a dozen famines would make short work of them, while officialdom continued to sing songs of 'peace, plenty and contentment'."

Comments on the report of the Bengal Committee to inquire into the causes of strikes.
Sánj Vartamán (31), 4th July.

26. Strikes are very common in the Bombay Presidency as well as in the country as a whole. The Committee to inquire into the causes of strikes appointed by the Bengal Government on the recommendation of the local Legislative Council have in their report given a correct reply to the question as to why strikes are so frequent at present in India. The report says that strikes are due to high prices and the wages of the labourers have, therefore, been increased. But the question is whether the wages have been increased in proportion to the actual increase in prices. The Bengal Committee clearly declare that they have not been so increased and the expert opinion in the country will agree with this opinion expressed by it. On several questions we do not agree with the opinions expressed by the Committee, but we are glad to see that the Committee has unhesitatingly declared that the disaffection among labourers is increasing owing to the

increasing financial difficulties. It has proposed that Government should appoint Joint Works Committees consisting of representatives of employers and employees and establish Conciliation Courts from among these. This method of settling disputes by the mutual consent of trusted representatives of both sides is not a new thing in this country. Such institutions have been in existence in India for ages and are known as Panchayats. But the last one hundred and fifty years of British administration have upset the old order of things prevailing in the country and every year properties worth lakhs of rupees are going to rack and ruin through resort to the law courts. Hence the step taken by the Government of Bengal of appointing Arbitration Courts made up of approved representatives of employers and employees is really a wise one. If Government want to make these Committees and Conciliation Courts successful, the Imperial and the Provincial Governments should recognize all the labour unions existing in the country and allow them to elect their own representatives on the conciliation courts. Where such unions have not yet come into existence, labourers of all classes should be allowed to elect their representatives. We do not approve of the practice adopted by the Government of Bengal in appointing the representatives of both the parties themselves. In spite of this, as this is an experiment, we shall eagerly watch to see how far it is successful in Bengal. The Government of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd also contemplates the framing of a law on this subject and is consulting associations of labourers as well as employers with this end in view. We hope that no attempt will be made to pounce upon the freedom of the labour unions and associations of labourers existing in the Bombay City and the Presidency and far-sightedness will be shown in dealing with the matter so as to safeguard the interests of labourers.

Comments on the new system of photographing documents instead of copying them in registers.
Kesari (111), 5th July.

27. The *Kesari* says that it has received a further communication from the Inspector General of Registration and Stamps in reply to its comments on the subject of keeping a photographic record of documents tendered for registration (*vide* paragraph 29 of Weekly Report No. 27 of 1921), but that it sees no reason to publish it as it is needlessly long and contains only a couple of important points. It notes with satisfaction Mr. Anderson's assurance that the new system will not entail additional expenditure on the people, but it still maintains that it will not fail to be more costly in the long run. It also objects to the new system, because, according to it, many people are apprehensive that the courts might question the validity of registration effected by means of photographs and suggests the advisability of carrying on registration by both the systems side by side and keeping separate accounts for both until the Act is amended. The paper tells Mr. Anderson that he is too sanguine in believing that the new system excludes the possibility of fraud.

Comments on the release of the murderer of Talaat Pasha.
Muslim Herald (171), 24th June.

28. Commenting on the trial and ultimate release of the late Talaat Pasha's murderer, the *Muslim Herald* enquires whether the decision would have been the same if there had been in his stead some representative of a European country. It thinks that religious bigotry is at the back of such a judgment. The paper says that it is alleged that Talaat Pasha massacred one million Armenians, and remarks that if all the different reports of the massacred Armenians be collected the total number would rise to billions. The paper wonders whence so many Armenians came into Turkey, and solves the problem by saying that either the Turkish soil produces Armenians in huge numbers or else they are dropped like hail from heaven. It, then, refers to the condition of Muslims under innocent (?) Europeans, and asserts that from Spain to Thrace, wherever their dominion has extended, all traces of the Muslim population have been removed altogether, so much so that in Spain not a single Muhammadan will be found living to-day.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the United Provinces Liberal Association's representation.

Bombay Chronicle (2), **10th July.**

***29.** 'Atropos' writes in the Sunday edition of the *Bombay Chronicle*:—"In reply to the representation of the United Provinces Liberal Association Deputation, His Excellency's speech resounds with generalities. .... The disadvantage of having no considered policy is evident. His Excellency is still taking time to formulate his; and while that is so, it is not possible to give any definite assurance on the vexed questions of the day. And so we get some general promises which, I hope, the Cromwells, Chathams and Lincolns of the Lucknow Liberal League, will not mistake for actual fulfilment of hopes on the strength of the asseveration of good faith and sincerity of purpose made by Lord Reading.......... 'Burnt bairns dread the fire', my Lord. Ever since 1837 hopes have been held out, definite promises made to Indians of better administration and of actual recognition of equal status with His Majesty's other subjects without distinction of caste, colour, or creed, but how do the Indians stand to-day, say after 84 years of British rule, in their own country and before the whole civilized world?—as slaves in their own native land and helots before the denizens of western lands; this is the sum total of the situation. The worst part of it is that they are made to feel the sting of their humiliated position every day of their life by the bureaucracy of the land. There have been mistakes or 'errors of judgment' as Your Excellency said the other day, and regrets expressed and a forgive and forget policy preached, yet they are being made daily and will be made.......... Where are the signs of prospective change in the policy of the heaven-born rulers of the land, who rule India not for Indians, but for themselves and their demi-semi kinsmen in different countries. Until that change is effected with iron hand at considerable risk there is no earthly chance of His Excellency's hopes being realised."

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 9th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 9th July.

30. The United Provinces Liberal Association has rendered a service to India by presenting an address to the Viceroy. The reply given by the Viceroy to the address is well worth careful study. Many may not agree with all the views expressed by the Viceroy, but all must admit that the Viceroy sympathises with the Indians in their efforts to secure justice and freedom and that he is anxious to take steps to fulfil all the legitimate and reasonable aspirations of the people. The Viceroy has done well in asking the people not to add to his difficulties by keeping alive the memory of the mistakes and errors of the past. We are glad to note that His Excellency has given assurance of his sympathy to the Liberals and has given an indication of his desire to reach the goal of *swaráj*. Lord Reading seems to have been taking practical steps to pacify the minds of the Indian people. The people of the Punjáb will be glad if the prisoners, who have gone to jail during the unfortunate disturbances, are released. Let us hope that the Press Act will be modified according to the wishes of the people. The Viceroy sympathises with the efforts made by Mr. Sastri at the Imperial Conference to secure for India a position of equality with the self-governing Colonies. Good progress is being made in the matter of granting King's Commissions to Indians in the army and the question of making similar provision in the air force and the navy is under contemplation. The reference made by the Viceroy to the contemplated change in the Government of India is a significant one. The only way to remove the complaint about special rights given to Europeans is to delete the clause from the Criminal Procedure Code that gives Europeans the right of being tried by a European jury. The Viceroy has given us an assurance of ruling India by respecting public opinion and it is the duty of every Indian to help him in his task. The non-co-operationists are not expected to show the wisdom of responding to the appeal made by the Viceroy, but we feel sure the Liberals will not fail to rise to the occasion. There will be peace and contentment in India if all Government officials follow in the footsteps of Lord Reading. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* takes a very hopeful view of the Viceroy's reply and asks the people not to be impatient and to give him time to study the situation and to enable him to give them justice.]

His Excellency the Viceroy should call for the records in the recent cases of Indians *vs.* Europeans in view of his declaration about racial equality in India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th July.

31. "While Lord Reading goes on assuring the world that 'beyond the possibility of doubt' it is a 'fundamental principle of British Rule' that in India 'there can be no trace and must be no trace of racial inequality,' not a week has passed, since this declaration was made, without some glaring event coming to the notice of the public, mocking as it were the high pretentions of the bureaucracy regarding the even-handedness of its justice. [Here the paper quotes recent cases and goes on :—] In the face of cases of palpable injustice of this type occurring week after week, assurances of equality before law such as Lord Reading has been giving sound hollow. If His Excellency cares to know the truth, instead of repeating pious hopes he should go through not only the records of these cases, but also through the Criminal Procedure Code of this country. In the latter he will find whole sections which are based on the denial of the very equality which Lord Reading wishes us to believe is a fundamental principle of British Rule. Let him read Chapter XXXIII of this Code, and he will see how unreal is his claim that an Indian and a European stood on an equal footing in the eye of law. No jury can try a European unless at least half of the jurymen are Europeans while an Indian may be sentenced to transportation for life even against the verdict of his own countrymen. We cannot believe that Lord Reading wishes deliberately to mislead the world by off-hand declarations of the type he lately made. But he has been sufficiently long in this country for him no longer to plead ignorance of real state of affairs. Such declarations are calculated to add insult to the injury Indians are already suffering from."

Comments on the acquittal of Sergeant Coles without a charge being framed against him.

Kesari (111), 5th July.

32. Commenting upon the acquittal of Sergeant Coles we remarked that it was the duty of Government to find out who was responsible for the death of the deceased if, according to the Magistrate, Coles was not. As we had not the whole judgment before us, and as we had to rely upon a brief telegraphic summary of the case, we naturally inferred that it must not have been proved that it was Coles' bullet that struck the deceased. The Commissioner, C. D., however, now writes to us that Coles was acquitted not because it was not proved that it was his bullet that struck the deceased, but because it was not proved that he was guilty of a negligent act even though it was proved that it was his bullet that hit the deceased. But when once it is agreed that it was Coles who hit the deceased, *primâ facie* he must be held to be guilty, and the onus of proving that he was not guilty of a negligent act must rest upon him. But here we find that the Magistrate did not see that he had had sufficient evidence even to frame a charge! We are quite unable to solve this mystery. We trust the Commissioner will publish the whole judgment and help us to solve the riddle.

Comments on the Khoreal Shooting case and the Private Mulligan case.

Hindusthân (20), 3rd July, Eng. cols.; *Hindu* (158), 30th June.

33. Commenting on the judgments in the Khoreal Shooting case and the Private Mulligan case, the *Hindusthân* remarks:—"We must say we cannot find words strong enough to condemn such a travesty or rather such a mockery of justice. Lord Reading and Mr. Lloyd George may still go on with their pious utterings about equality, justice and fair play in their futile attempts to hoodwink the Indians by words and words only; but we are sure that the majority of Indian people are no longer prepared to swallow such samples of British juctice time after time. They are not prepared, for the sake of scores of Reforms such as recently granted to the Indians for their services in the war, to be considered as cheap as dirt and to be humiliated. If we want to do away with such degrading and shameful eqisodes, there is only one way before us. As Mahatmaji has said, let us rid ourselves of 'fear'. Let us not think too much of our lives when our soul is in danger. Once that is accomplished, we need not worry about the word *Swarâj*." [The *Hindu* writes:—A *gora*, who tried to outrage the modesty of an Indian woman and who fired two bullets at an Indian (the father of the girl), was found not guilty! Bravo justice! It is useless to comment on this! Everybody understands how justice is being dealt out nowadays.]

Reflections on the "grossly scandalous" disparity between sentences awarded to Indians and Europeans in India.

Sind Observer (10), 5th July.

34. "The acquittal of Mr. Reed, a planter's assistant, for killing Gangadhar, the father of the girl named Hira, to whom he made improper overtures on a tea estate in Assam, the deceased being a cooly on the estate, is a scandal of the first magnitude. The European Jury in Assam acquitted the accused; the late Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Beatson-Bell, believed in the innocence of the accused because Mr. Reed came 'fresh from a Christian Home' and could not have made such overtures!! The High Court at Calcutta ordered a retrial; the Jury consisted of eight Europeans and one Indian, the former found the accused not guilty and the latter guilty and the accused was again let off; and Europeans in Bengal subscribed for the defence of the accused! Echo of General Dyer Fund!! There is not one case in the annals of Indian Courts in which a European accused was ever convicted for killing Indians by a Jury of his own countrymen and hanged. Some soldiers the other day went on a shooting trip in Sholápur District; they saw a deer; but one of them killed a man working in the field; and the soldier was acquitted; it was an accident doubtless but how is it that no Indian *Shikari* rarely, if ever, kills an Indian and these accidents on the part of European *Shikaris* are common? Why should shooting be allowed near village fields? These cases fall within two categories: the grossly scandalous disparity between sentences awarded to European and Indian offenders respectively and the other the arrogant and outrageous treatment accorded by Europeans to Indian Railway passengers. Both are long standing scandals of inequality of treatment. It was not quite unreasonable to hope that, whatever may have been the case in the past, now at least after the Reforms have been ushered in with a view to ultimately giving to the children of the soil the right of governing themselves, both Judicial officers passing discrepant sentences and European passengers maltreating Indian passengers would have rectified their perverted angle of vision of the past. But if the above instances are true that is a fond hope unless very drastic measures are taken by Government in making an example of the offenders by awarding exemplary and deterrent punishments. Lord Reading has been loudly proclaiming and flaunting equality and even-handed justice. In his answer to the deputation of the Ahamadiyya Muhammadans, His Lordship was red-hot indignant that any doubts should be cast upon Government's equality of treatment of the two races and that he was satisfied on enquiries that there was no inequality observed. It is a very pertinent question to ask His Lordship who he has made the enquiries from? If he has made the enquiries only from the official world does he expect them to confess to the shortcomings of their own class or subordinates'? Such a confession would imply in the first place that the officers conveying the assurances to His Excellency have known of the offences which may not be true, secondly that knowing them they have failed in their duty in not bringing the delinquents to book."

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th July.

35. "What is most distressing is that, not content with making His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught a tool, those responsible are determined to inflict a greater humiliation on the Royal House by arranging the visit of the Prince of Wales to this country without a previous reconciliation with its people. Addressing the Prince of Wales, the Maharao of Cutch said: 'I assure your Royal Highness that you will be a light to millions of hearts. I believe your visit will largely serve to heal the sores and cement the Anglo-Indian brotherhood in a knot that will never be dissolved.' We fully endorse the assurance and the belief. But we can do so only on this definite understanding that the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs are completely redressed and that the demand of Indian Swáráj is met to the satisfaction of her people before His Royal Highness lands on these shores.......... India's

people cherish the deepest sentiments of attachment to the King-Emperor and his family. But they value their honour more—and consistent with that honour they cannot take part in any official functions of welcome to the Prince of Wales that will be interpreted to the world as their acquiescence in the present order of things which deepens their wounds and their humiliations. We do not share the views of those who think that the visit of the Prince of Wales would be welcome to our countrymen if His Royal Highness comes with some 'boons'. Let it be clearly understood that the days of 'boons' are gone.......... No, India now stands erect before the world. She is determined to see Justice, nothing more and nothing less than Justice, vindicated. And she is in earnest."

Young India (12), 6th July.

36. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"It is a great pity that the talk of the Prince's visit has been revived and a provisional date fixed. India will refuse to welcome a representative of a system of which she is sick unto death. And if his visit is forced upon an unwilling India, there must be the same effective *hartal* on the day of His Royal Highness's visit that there was on the Duke's visit. I repeat once more that non-co-operators have nothing against the Prince as a man. But he cannot be divested of the office he holds. Whilst it is true that the King and his heirs do not actively meddle in the affairs of State (which is a convenience for the State), he is as effective a representative of the existing system of Government as the most meddlesome Prime Minister or Viceroy. I am disposed to think that as a supporter of the institution he is more effective by reason of his isolation. If the Prince comes he will not come to bless the non-co-operators or the cause, but to sing the song of praise for a Government which is responsible for the dishonour of the Punjáb, for breach of faith with the Mussalmans, for forcing the drink traffic on India, for impoverishing her and for so emasculating her, that she almost thinks she must remain in slavery for an unthinkable time. In my humble opinion, the projected visit will be an insult added to injury. And it will be the duty of every non-co-operator, respectfully, but firmly and in no unmistakable manner, to express his strong disapproval of all such efforts to bolster up a system which is tottering to its fall."

Hindu (158), 8th July.

37. In our opinion the Prince's visit to India should cause us both pleasure and disappointment. It should please us because it will afford one additional proof that the mangoes of the heaven of freedom are obtained by exertion and not otherwise, and also because the cowards, who have learnt to rely on hopes, may find by experience that one should only depend on himself. It should disappoint us because poor Bharat's money will be squandered on luxuries, and also because the Indian bureaucracy has on several (similar) occasions managed skilfully to make a show of popular contentment, and not yet learnt that those who are in affliction can never be pleased by pomp or show.

Sind Observer (10), 4th July.

38. Referring to the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"We are rather in favour of the landing taking place in Karáchi not on account of local patriotism but for very good reasons. On November 5th or even on November 15th it is still hot in Bombay; and the heat was trying to Their Majesties when they landed in Bombay for the Delhi Coronation and when they visited India as Prince and Princess of Wales.......... Karáchi is the only place which has a very pleasant climate in November and this city will be too glad to welcome the heir to the Throne as the 'Liverpool of the East.' And when we do not know what turn non-co-operation will take within these four months, and Bombay being the storm centre loyal Indians and Europeans will not like the idea of the Prince landing in a city where a raging and tearing propaganda of non-co-operation may be going on. The non-co-operators in Karáchi are not so powerful as to interfere with the rejoicings in connection with the visit.......... Whether what we have written will be acceptable or no 'on account of the historical precedent of ten years ago' we hope Karáchi will not under any

circumstances be excluded from the tour. Let this city have the privilege, if not of welcoming the Prince to India, at least of bidding him an affectionate farewell."

Praja Bandhu (28), 3rd July; *Gujaráti Punch* (17), 3rd July; *Hind Mitra* (13), 3rd July; *Deshodaya* (62), 5th July; *Gujarát Vartamán* (64), 6th July.

39. All the papers with the exception of a few which echo the sentiments of the bureaucracy are against the visit of the Prince of Wales. Like the Duke of Connaught, he will have to move about under the surveillance of the bureaucracy. The *swarájists* cannot take part in his reception because it would be tantamount to welcoming the high-handedness of the bureaucracy. The Indian people should not be taken in by the fact that diarchy is to be introduced in the Central Government. The Indians will not be satisfied if two or three small departments, such as education, sanitation and agriculture, are entrusted to a minister in the Central Government. India has demanded full *Swarájya* but she has not as yet been granted even full provincial autonomy. How then can she be reconciled by the extension of the principle of diarchy? Perhaps the bureaucracy wants to make much capital out of the above insignificant change by having it announced through the Prince, but Indians will not welcome the Prince heartily unless full *swarájya* is granted and justice done to them with regard to the Punjáb and the Khilafat questions at the time of his visit. Otherwise, there will be no enthusiasm at the time of his visit just as there was none at the time of the Duke of Connaught's visit. [The *Gujaráti Punch* writes :—We do not understand why English statesmen have thought it fit to send the Prince to India on an unnecessary mission and thereby add to the burden of expenditure. We are opposed to his visit only from the point of view of expense. Otherwise we consider it the duty of Indians to loyally welcome not only the Prince but also the King himself. We want to know whether English politicians intend to grant *swarájya* to India through his agency. We wish that the expenses of his tour were borne by the English Treasury and India granted substantial rights of *swarájya*. The *Hind Mitra* remarks :—We will be both glad and sorry on the occasion of the Prince's visit. We will be glad only if he brings a message for the grant of Parliamentary Home Rule to India. We will be sorry if it turns out to be as useless and expensive as that of the Duke of Connaught. We are sure that so long as India does not get full self-government and justice is not done for the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs, she will remain discontented. In such circumstances, the Prince's visit will not be popular and his position will be very awkward. Just as India wants to be loyal to the British Crown, so also does she desire the freedom of her country without any further delay. Real wisdom lies in postponing the Prince's visit so long as *swarájya* is not granted to India. The *Deshodaya* writes :—India will not be satisfied with anything less than *swarájya*. She will no longer be deceived by sweet words. We hope that the Prince's visit will prove to be really fruitful and memorable. The *Gujarát Vartamán* adds :—Mr. A. F. Whyte will return to India accompanied by the Parliamentary Deputation. The Deputation will witness the working of the Reforms Scheme and prove of great help to Mr. Montagu and the Government of India in the task of introducing further changes. It seems Lord Reading will utilise the visit of the Prince of Wales in making the Government of India completely responsible to the voice of the public.]

Raj Hansa (86), 2nd July.

40. If the Prince is going to follow the example of the Duke of Connaught in coming to India merely to attend some ceremonial functions and if he is going to play into the hands of the bureaucracy as his venerable uncle did, any welcome accorded by us to the Prince will be tantamount to an acceptance of the repressive policy followed by the bureaucracy. In such circumstances, it will be our duty to boycott the visit of the Prince, as we did the Duke's visit. As a sign that such a misfortume is in store for the bureaucracy, a comet has been making its appearance at Ceylon, which is the gate of India. We trust that the bureaucracy will open their eyes and look in that direction.

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's success in collecting one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swarájya Fund.

New Times (8), 2nd July; *Káthiáwár Times* (25), 3rd July, Eng. cols.

41. "The Tilak Swaráj Fund has excedeed one crore! The wish is father to the thought; and Anglo-Indian papers scoffed and anti-non-co-operationists were sceptical: how could a crore of rupees be raised, they asked.......... The people have by their contributions proved these ill-boding prophecies to be false; they have satisfied the 'acid test'; and while Sind has given much less than it could—it could easily give six lakhs,—it has given much more than its share. The critics have no reason now to talk of 'the impending failure of *swarájya* campaign.' .... By making this free gift of a crore, the people have registered their verdict in favour of the *swarájya* movement. It can not now be truthfully said even by hostile critics that *swarájya* is the demand of only a vociferous few. .... With a crore of rupees as the nucleus of a National Fund, with 20 lakhs of *charkhas*, and a crore of Congress members, it will be easy for the All-India Congress Committee to announce a Voluntary National Government having not the legal, but the moral authority of the people.......... A Voluntary Government will secure *swarájya* on the day its will becomes irresistible." [The *Káthiáwár Times* writes:—"No matter what the opponents of Mahatma Gandhi and anti-Congressmen may say as for the wonderful success that has been attained in spite of the money market being tight, it clearly points out in what direction the wind in India blows.......... The major portion of the Indian subjects is now in earnest to have *swaráj* within as short a period as possible, and it will be futile to depict them as unfit for self-government or unable to preserve what may be given to them. From every point of view excepting the military, India, even to-day, is fit to conduct its own affairs; and as for military power also, if given free hand it can work out its destinies satisfactorily, and can be a very valuable asset of the British Empire.......... We have great hopes in the Government of Lord Reading, and they have been strengthened by recent visits paid to him by several leading citizens of India. India is grateful to him for his kind regards, and expects that the crowning victory of the coming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will be the praiseworthy donation of *swaráj* to India. Before concluding let us congratulate those princely merchants who have liberally contributed towards the Tilak Swaráj Fund.]

Servant of India (9), 7th July.

42. "The Swaraj Fund of a crore of rupees which was resolved upon at Bezwada has been fully subscribed. This is a tribute to the profound reverence in which Mr. Gandhi is held by all classes of people in this country. It would perhaps seem very captious to say so, but one can say it with entire truthfulness, that the collection of the Fund is evidence more of the appreciation of the great personal worth of Mr. Gandhi and a desire to help forward the humanitarian work on which he is rightly laying so much stress than of the determination of the people to non-co-operate with the Government or of their support of the several items in his programme. Many of the biggest donations have been earmarked for the promotion of work which has no conceivable relation to a movement for the withdrawal of co-operation from Government, and it may even be argued that the success of the Fund is in large measure due to the fact that the really non-co-operation part of his movement has been definitely thrown into the background, if not altogether suspended."

Kesari (111), 5th July; *Lokasangraha* (116), 2nd July; *Kalpataru and A'nandvrit* (109), 3rd July; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 3rd July.

***43.** We attach great importance to the crore-fund collected by Mahatma Gandhi. The reason is that the amount is collected for a purpose which is wholly distasteful to Government. Government characterised the non-co-co-operation movement as disloyal and as tending to anarchy and, therefore, the rich naturally apprehended that they would be courting the displeasure of Government if they contributed to the crore-fund. Hence the well-to-do moderates, the ruling chiefs, the Jagirdars, the selfish and servile merchants who always curry favour with Government, and such other classes, have not contributed even a pie to this fund. The fact that Mahatma Gandhi was able to collect this sum in spite of the opposition of Government and their partisans shows that there was a sort of a struggle between him and the bureaucracy and that the latter came off second best. The movement of non-co-operation is of such vast dimensions that neither party can characterise it either as an unqualified success or as a dismal failure. There cannot, however, be two opinions about the success of one of the items in the programme of non-co-operation, *viz.*, the collection of the crore-fund. No one says that the English have never seen a sum of a crore of rupees. But they have certainly never seen that sum collected by Indians for a political purpose. It will convince them that the country is awakening. The time is come when the people should spend more and more money for the uplift of their country. There is no doubt that India is a poor country, but it cannot be said that what the few rich men in it give to it, is commensurate with their riches. Indeed, even in the case of the crore-fund it will be found that the magnitude of wealth and the desire to give have always been in an inverse ratio. [The *Lokasangraha* regrets that the item relating to the Congress membership in the Bezwada programme has not been as successful as the collection of the crore-fund and asks the people to devote their attention now to this item in the programme. The *Kalpataru* says that although it does not always see eye to eye with Mr. Gandhi it has no hesitation in expressing its satisfaction at the collection of the crore-fund, associated as it is with the constructive side of his programme. It also wishes that the scheme to get twenty lakhs of *charkhas* introduced in Indian homes would also be successful as it would encourage indigenous industry and expresses satisfaction at the news that Government having approved of the *charka* movement, have ordered the introduction of the wheel in police lines to provide work for the wives and children of the Police sepoys. The *Dnyán Prakásh* declares that the collection of the fund shows the great love which the people entertain for Mr. Gandhi and says that no one will have anything to say against the Bezwada programme if it is completely divorced from the non-co-operation movement which, in its opinion, will only delay the attainment of *swarájya*.]

Sánj Vartamán (31), 6th July; *Gujaráti* (15), 3rd July; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 5th July; *Deshi Mitra* (61), 7th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 4th July.

44. The Tilak Swaráj Fund has been oversubscribed. The success of the fund testifies to the victory of Mr. Gandhi. The sons and daughters of India have contributed their mite to the fund and have thus preserved the honour of their motherland. People have responded to Mr. Gandhi's appeal to subscribe to the Fund and we hope they will as readily carry out his instructions for boycotting foreign cloth. [The *Gujaráti* writes:—The success of the Fund means the personal victory gained by Mr. Gandhi. The readiness with which people have subscribed to the Fund goes to prove the faith they have in Mr. Gandhi. The *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The success of the Tilak Swaráj Fund is due to the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi, and the exertions of the selfless political leaders, as also to the usefulness of the work undertaken by them. The success of the Fund goes to prove that people have become alive to the necessity of making sacrifices for securing *swaráj*. We cannot sufficiently thank Mr. Gandhi for creating such an awakening in the country. The *Deshi Mitra* ascribes the success of the Fund to the personality of Mr. Gandhi and expresses hope that people will as readily respond to the second appeal made by him for boycotting foreign cloth. The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, on the other hand, does not consider it to be extraordinary on the part of Mr. Gandhi to have collected a crore of rupees for the Fund and wishes he had collected ten times as much for starting various industries in the country. It is of the opinion that Mr. Gandhi's political movement has made people restless and turbulent and it is afraid it will do more harm than good to the country. It however expresses approval of the method adopted by Government of giving *swaráj* to India in a gradual manner.]

Hindu (158), 2nd July.

45. An All-India report has not yet been issued showing how far the country has done its duty according to the Bezwada programme. But more than a crore of rupees has been collected and over 20 lacs of *charkhas* are being worked all over the country and the Congress has many lacs of members on its roll. But what is going to happen hereafter is the question in everyone's mouth. Well, Mahatma Gandhi recently declared in Bombay that after the Bezwada programme was over the entire strength of the country would be directed to the boycott of foreign cloth. We hope we shall soon hear of a manifesto about this matter. The English are a commercial people and until their pockets are touched they cannot possibly deal with us squarely. Hence we shall reach our goal earlier by boycotting foreign goods.

How to utilise the crore of rupees collected for the Tilak Swarâj Fund.
Young India (12), 6th July.

46. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The unexampled response given by India to the Tilak Swarâj Fund shows the trust she has in her non-co-operation leaders. Will they prove worthy of the trust? Many have given liberally, and all have asked how will the funds be administered? I have unhesitatingly replied that the officers of the Provincial Congress Committees are responsible and tried men. If we do not account properly for every pie we receive and do not make a judicious use of the funds we shall deserve to be blotted out of public life. Let us remember that the poorest people have given of their best. Many have given their all.......... How shall we retain this confidence? We must keep accurate accounts, which even a child can see and understand. The funds ought not to be used outside the purpose of non-co-operation, nor generally for any purpose outside (1) the spread of the *charkha* and *khadi*, (2) the removal of untouchability, and hence the elevation of the suppressed classes, (3) the conduct of national schools, where spinning and weaving are a part of the training, and (4) the advance of the liquor prohibition campaign. .... I would warn the different Committees against living on the interest of the funds. To invest the money at interest and to use only the interest is to betray want of faith in the nation and in ourselves. The nation's trust must be our capital, and its response from time to time must constitute our interest. If we claim to represent the nation, we must rely upon it to finance yearly institutions established and conducted for it."

Boycott of foreign cloth.
Young India (12), 6th July.

47. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* in the course of an article headed "Bombay the Beautiful":—"The subscription is but a mile-stone on the journey. The crore cannot give us *swarâj*, nor the riches of the whole world can give it. Before we can be wholly free, we must be economically independent. A man who is forced to starve cannot be expected to pray to God. A starving man will sell his soul. He has no soul to keep. Before, therefore, India can think of freedom she must feel economically independent. And this she cannot do so long as she is almost wholly dependent upon the foreign market for her cloth. One who owes his oxygen to the pump is a dying man. Is it any wonder that India is in a dying condition? If, then, we want to achieve *swarâj* during this year we cannot do so till we have brought about by self-renunciation a complete boycott of foreign cloth. We must, therefore, utilise the money we have for manufacturing as much *khadi* as possible through handlooms from hand-spun yarn. It must be the chief activity in each province. We must examine the manufactures of our mills, and persuade the millowners to regulate their manufacture and their profits in accordance with the requirements of the nation. The mill manufactures must be reserved for the poorest among the poor whom we cannot reach for the moment. The ensuing meeting of the All-India Congress Committee must concentrate on this matter, and formulate a programme that should bring about the desired boycott. But, after all, the burden of boycott has to be principally borne by Bombay, as she has borne the largest part of the financial obligation. Bombay controls the cloth market of India. Bombay imports from Lancashire and Japan. Heavy, therefore, is the responsibility of Bombay importers of yarn and piece-goods. If a successful boycott is to be brought about, they must be prepared to undergo heavy sacrifices for the sake of the country. Millowners, too, have a duty to perform. They have made enormous profits. It is the easiest for them to help the boycott movement in a most effective manner. It means a revision of their outlook upon national life. The mill-hands, too, have a duty by the country. Hitherto they interested themselves only in their own wages. They should now learn to appreciate public welfare. Lastly comes the unfortunate public, which has no say in fixing prices, and has to pay at the bidding of the millowner and the middleman. Surely, even apart from the question of boycott, this is a most unsatisfactory state of things. Famine threatens the land. It is high time that each one of us thought about the good of all, rather than individual aggrandisement irrespective of national welfare. Bombay the Beautiful has a golden opportunity. She must add to her beauty, or be prepared to lose what she has. [Elsewhere in the same issue Mr. Gandhi writes :—"It is needless to say at this time of the day that the proposed boycott of foreign cloth is not a vindictive measure, but is as necessary for national existence as breath is for life. The quicker, therefore, it can be brought about the better for the country. Without it *swaráj* cannot be established or retained after establishment. It is of the highest importance to know how it can be brought about even before the first day of August next. To arrive at the boycott quickly it is necessary (1) for the mill-owners to regulate their profits and to manufacture principally for the Indian market, (2) for importers to cease to buy foreign goods—a beginning has already been made by three principal merchants, (3) for the consumers to refuse to buy any foreign cloth and to buy *khadi* wherever possible, (4) for the consumers to wear only *khadi* cloth, mill cloth being retained for the poor who do not know the distinction between Swadeshi and Pardeshi, (5) for the consumers to use, till *swaráj* is established and *khadi* manufacture increased, *khadi* just enough for covering the body, (6) for the consumers to destroy Pardeshi cloth, as they would destroy intoxicating liquors on taking the vow of abstinence, or to sell it for use abroad, or to wear it out for all dirty work or during private hours. It is to be hoped that all the parties referred to in the foregoing clauses will respond well and simultaneously. But in the end success depends upon the persistent determination of the consumer. He has simply to decline to wear the badge of his slavery."]

Mr. Gandhi's appeal to Indian millowners in connection with his new campaign for boycott of foreign cloth.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th July.

48. In the course of an appeal addressed to millowners, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—"Perhaps you have no faith in the movement of non-co-operation.......... I would urge you to study the movement now being intensified for the boycott of foreign cloth.......... The merchants who deal in foreign cloth and with whom I am pleading that they should recognise the feeling in the country and cease to deal in foreign cloth frighten me by saying that the result of their response will simply mean that you will immediately send up the prices and fling in the face of the nation the law of supply and demand in support of the inflation of prices and thus make matters worse than they are at present. They tell me that they would gladly give up trading in foreign cloth, if only they could be assured that you will disregard the law of supply and demand and consider it your duty not to raise the prices.......... I do not say you should be philanthropic though there would be nothing wrong if you combined philanthropy with business. But I do plead for the conduct of your business on national rather than purely selfish lines. A man is not less businesslike because he thinks of the nation as well as of himself and his shareholders. I ask you therefore without prejudice to your views about non-co-operation to issue your assurance that neither the merchants nor the consumer need fear any rise in the prices of your cloth merely because of larger demand by reason of the proposed boycott of foreign goods. This is the least that the country has the right to expect of you."

Mr. Gandhi's appeal to cloth merchants to boycott foreign cloth.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th July.

49. Mr. M. K. Gandhi has addressed a letter to the foreign cloth merchants in Bombay in the course of which he says :—"Yesterday I invited the millowners to help the foreign cloth boycott movement. They may or may not help. I shall hope that they will. But you cannot possibly keep yourselves from it. Because the majority of you are even convinced non-co-operators.......... For every yard you import from England or Japan or America, you take away from the mouth of a fellow countryman at least three annas without giving him anything in return.......... I would be false to you and to India, if I did not tell you that the merchants more than the mill-owners are responsible for India's deep and distressing poverty.......... The stopping of imports means a saving of sixty crores per year. But it means operation on a much larger capital. It means that all the processes on cotton will be gone through in India. That means business for you. It means a healthy circulation of money as to-day it is a progressively exhausting drain of money from our dear country.......... You must organise hand-spinning and handweaving. Then, you will not be satisfied with coarse *khadi* as I am. You will insist on our spinners spinning the finest counts and the weavers weaving the world-famed Dacca muslin.......... You have to stop all further orders for foreign cloth or yarn. That costs nothing. You have a stock of foreign cloth to get rid of. The world's market is open to you for its disposal.......... Would that the merchants of India ceasing to be mercenary, will study the ancient art and make it their business to revive it."

Mahrátta (7), 10th July.

*50. "We draw the earnest attention of our readers to the appeals issued by Mahatma Gandhi in connection with the boycott movement and printed elsewhere in this issue. .... Mahatma Gandhi has called upon all alike to boycott foreign cloth in India and to take to wearing pure Swadeshi cloth. He has laid down definite instructions for boycotting foreign cloth and it is his resolve to effect complete boycott before this month is out. We give our whole-hearted support to the programme. In fact, we think that that is the programme which is sure to bring the British Government to its knees......... Of course, when all people take the Swadeshi vow, demand for Swadeshi cloth, will outstrip supply and profiteering will be the result......... As time goes on more mills will be reared up and the difficulty overcome. In the meanwhile the *charka* and wholesale use of khadar will supply the gap. We have full faith in the Swadeshi movement. Even at a sacrifice Swadeshi goods must be purchased and we hereby request all to resolve accordingly."

Lokamanya (115), 4th and 7th July; *Lokasangraha* (116), 6th July.

51. There is a close connection between the boycott of cloth of English manufacture and the attainment of *swarájya*. The English are a nation of traders. They will listen to reason only when their pockets are touched. If the import of English cloth is stopped, both the mill-owners and the workers of Lancashire will compel the British Government to give *swarájya* to India and to placate her. We know very well how Bengal alone could create consternation among English manufacturers when that province was partitioned. The credit for the annulment of the partition is rightly given to the boycott movement inaugurated by the Bengalis at the time. [In a subsequent issue the paper asks every man to try his level best to make the boycott complete before the month is out. The *Lokasangraha* asks people to take a vow that they would use only *swadeshi* cloth, and in the event of their not being able to get it, to use cloth manufactured in any other country in the world including Germany and Austria, except England, until the latter gives *swarájya* to India.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 8th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 8th July;

52. We would like to sound a note of warning against the proposal mooted among the non-co-operationists about instituting picketing near cloth shops with a view to preventing the consumption of foreign cloth. We are afraid the new movement for boycotting foreign cloth is fraught with mischief. A large number of men and women use foreign cloth, and it would be sheer folly to leave them to the mercy of half-educated picketers. The task of boycotting foreign cloth is by no means an easy one. If the picketers were as patient and wise as Mr. Gandhi we would not have protested against the proposed boycott of foreign cloth. The bitter experience gained in the city during the picketing of liquor shops leads us to appeal to Mr. Gandhi to give the question of picketing cloth shops careful and thoughtful consideration. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also expresses fear that the proposed picketing near cloth shops with a view to boycotting foreign cloth will end in disastrous failure.]

Comments on the anti-drink movement in Bombay.

Muslim Herald (171), 4th July.

53. The *Muslim Herald* views with delight the efforts of the Khilafat Committee and Hindu volunteers in connection with the eradication of the drink evil. It reminds that Islam made drink unlawful thirteen hundred years ago, and adds that it is good that the people have now begun to consider it as destructive of humanity. The paper hopes that the efforts of the pickets will be crowned with success. In conclusion, it asks the volunteers to do something in connection with those gentlemen also who go to hotels to drink wine or who buy it for consumption at home.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 4th July; *Model* (26), 3rd July.

54. The opponents of the non-co-operation movement must at least admit the necessity of putting a stop to the evil of drink. There is much criticism both in favour of and against picketing, but no one has yet been bold enough to assert that the evil of drink should not be stopped. Some volunteers have overstepped the limits in doing the work entrusted to them, while some of the licensees have violated the law. It is difficult to judge how far this is true. It does not follow that the whole movement is blameworthy because some volunteers act rashly. We do not approve of such rashness on the part of the volunteers, and admit that they have sometimes forgotten their duties. The volunteers should not lose their temper, even though they are harassed. They ought to be patient and courageous and should not lose their balance of mind. We do not understand why people should stone the volunteers. All the volunteers should not be blamed for the fault of some among them. We request the leaders of this movement to train the volunteers well and to remove the undesirable elements among them. In India there are many conditions favourable to the removal of the evil of drink. Drink is forbidden by the Hindu and the Muhammadan religions. There is no doubt that people can be made to give up this satanic habit if Government and the people join hands and make strenuous efforts. [The *Model* remarks:—We cannot expect our Government to stop the evil of drink at present because they unfortunately carry on the administration of this country for the sake of their own self-interest and greed and not for our prosperity and well-being. Hence we ourselves should boycott liquor. The beneficial movement of picketing is going on vigorously all round and we hope that it will bring about good results in Bombay. We would, however, request the leaders of this praiseworthy movement to engage respectable persons as volunteers, so that the poor people may be tempted to listen to their advice. They should describe to them the evils resulting from indulgence in the vice rather than keep on shouting that liquor is forbidden by religion.]

Kesari (111), 5th July.

55. The *Kesari* regrets that the anti-drink movement is not making as much progress as it ought to and exhorts the leaders to carry it on more vigorously. It asks the present license-holders to take note of the trend of popular opinion and to abstain from bidding at future auction sales. It tells the picketers to remember that the authorities seem to be gradually losing their balance of mind and to regulate their conduct in such a way as to give the latter no opportunity to interfere with their work.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 10th July.

***56.** "While adhering to our observations regarding the disadvantages of picketing as a measure of prohibition, it is fair to say that observers of widely varying types and temperaments have testified to us to the admirable manner in which the picketers in Bombay, with negligible exceptions, are going about their work. In the vast majority of cases, especially among Hindus and Muhammadans, all that is needed to stop persons from entering liquor-shops is a simple exhortation that drinking is harmful and impious. The ease with which the business done in several shops, has been brought down to almost nothing, clearly shows that but for the temptation of these shops a very large proportion of the people will not drink at all. This is an argument for carrying out a measure of prohibition which, we trust, will not be lost upon the Minister in charge of the

Excise Department. So far as Bombay City is concerned, the picketing campaign has done valuable service in providing irrefutable testimony to the fact that liquor-shops largely create the demand which they supply......... If the devoted men who are engaged in picketing at the shop doors transfer their activities to visiting the drinkers in their homes and instilling into them the knowledge of the evil of drink, the result will be less exhibitional but more enduring. As it is, it is a waste of valuable energy to prevent a man from going to a liquor-shop for twenty or thirty days, with the certainty that on the thirty-first day the craving will be intensified, by the enforced abstinence, into absolute madness. If we are right so far, it follows that picketing so far from being a corollary of State Prohibition may easily become an obstacle to it."

It will be to the shame of the Ministers if the present anti-drink movement fails.

Sind Observer (10), 30th June.

57. "Government in this country is now allowing picketing, having pocketed the license fees from the *Guttedars*. The *Guttedars* and the foreign wine merchants are themselves, in their heart of hearts, disgusted with a trade which brings them only tainted money. Perhaps next year they will not care to bid if picketing goes on at this rate unabated. Government must have a policy in this matter and must not allow things to drift.......... We expect the Ministers, to whose charge the Excise Department has been transferred, to come out with a definite policy with regard to the eventual abolition of drink. The programme can be spread over a number of years but it must be enunciated and followed. Let it not be said of our Ministers that, at a time when the whole country is determined to put an end to this abominable traffic, they, on account of budget considerations have allowed a golden opportunity to pass by. The country will not thank them for it now; and posterity will not excuse them hereafter. At the same time the Ministers must arrange to pay back the license-fees received from *Guttedars* and wine merchants, several of whom, not being rich people, depend upon the income from their trade for day-to-day existence. The country will not grudge the return of the licensing fees, and we are sure no member will be found in any Council who will oppose the repayment. It matters not if social welfare projects suffer for a year or two by the decrease in the drink revenue. The country will cheerfully face such a situation as it has faced it during the late war. As we have often pointed out, the country will also bear additional taxation if a policy of progressive elimination of drink is laid down by the Ministers. We want, above everything else, a policy and that within the next few months. The campaign against drink may or may not go on unceasingly. It is natural the workers will get weary of picketing after some time. Some officers of Government seem to be counting upon the subsidence of the present enthusiasm in order that the drink traffic may regain its normality. They may be very good psychologists but they are not the best friends of the country. The nation has expressed its opinion in unequivocal terms against the continuance of the traffic. It is not the non-co-operators alone who are the champions of the cause although they may happen to be leading the movement. Every Indian, be he loyalist, Moderate, or Extremist, is against this traffic. Having made its protest in all the ways open to it—by public meetings, by petitions, by deputations, by questions and resolutions in the Council and, lastly, by picketing in a non-violent manner, the nation has exhausted all the ways open to it. If the present attempt to purge the country of a growing evil fails it will not be the fault of the people. It will be to the shame of the Ministers. Here is a glorious opportunity for the Government to associate itself with the best elements in society and become the leader of the people. Will it grasp the opportunity with both hands?"

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Moderates.

Gujaráti (15), 10th July, Eng. cols.

***58.** In the course of its comments on Mr. Gandhi's open letter to the Moderates, the *Gujaráti* remarks:—"As to the evils of drink there can be no two opinions. 'Will you not,' asks Mr. Gandhi, 'view with favour those parts of the programme on which there cannot be two opinions?' That is a superfluous, if not an unfair, question to ask. If the Nationalists and Moderates cannot stand on the same platform for abolition of the drink traffic, Mr. Gandhi well knows the reason. As a rule, Nationalists do not attend the conferences of Moderates, and the latter those of the former. As a matter of fact, however, they do join hands where circumstances are favourable.......... Then, with regard to the merits of the question itself, we think the solution of the temperance problem is not wholly free from difficulties, as Mr. Gandhi seems to imagine. How far the principle of total prohibition can be enforced against Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Parsees, and others who resort to drink to a moderate extent will require careful consideration. We do not believe in picketing for promoting the cause of temperance. It is calculated to result in the use of violence, obstruction of traffic or some other untoward incident, and do harm to the cause all of us have at heart. Besides it cannot be a permanent remedy for making the masses sober. We agree with Mr. Gandhi that we must be prepared to sacrifice the revenue from drink. But it is doubtful if this can be done all at once or without enhancing taxation. Besides it will have to be considered how the classes addicted to drink can be induced to go in for comparatively innocent beverages and how far their home surroundings can be made more comfortable and happy, if the legislation for total prohibition is to succeed. It is not simply a question of total prohibition by statute that we have got to consider. It is a question of moral, social and material improvement in the long run.......... It is difficult to agree with Mr. Gandhi in his opinion that education can be made 'self-supporting by introducing spinning in our schools and colleges,' and to accept his 'assurance that it solves the problem of education as nothing else can.'......... The remedy that the suggests for meeting the financial difficulties is, in our opinion, no suitable remedy. Even a Tilakite organ is constrained to describe 'the spinning-wheel' as one of the freaks of Mr. Gandhi's intellect. That is the view of a non-co-operationist journal. It implies a sweeping condemnation of the movement.......... Even Mr. Vithalbhai Patel does not think that the spinning wheel will give us *Swardjya.* Is it any wonder that the Moderates and various other people who do not belong to any party differ from his *guru* on this point? That is *Difference No. 1* at the very outset. That is a very serious conflict of opinion. But that is not a difference in any ideal, as contended by Mr. Gandhi. He thinks that the deficit in revenue caused by the abolition of the drink traffic can be made good without enhancing taxation. We think that if he studied more closely the financial and administrative arrangements of the country than he has, he would find that his view, if not untenable, would have to be modified and that his proposal to *reduce* taxation side by side with the abolition of the revenue from drink is not feasible in the existing circumstances of the country. That is *Difference No. 2.* But that again is in regard to methods or financial estimates, arrangements or adjustments, and not one about ideals. Moreover, total prohibition, local option or any other coercive measure will have to be carried out in India by legislation, as in other countries. Will Mr. Gandhi and his friends enter the Councils and bring about the desired legislation in concert with the Moderates to whom he has issued his appeal? If the Moderates turn round and appeal to him for co-operation, is he prepared to join hands with them? Nothing would give us all greater pleasure than to see him and his associates go into the Councils and strenuously fight the battle of temperance and retrenchment there. If he is not prepared to respond because of his committal to the non-co-operation programme, and the progress of the cause of temperance is delayed, who is to blame? His refusal to co-operate with the Moderates in the new Councils counts as *Difference No. 3.* But that again is not a difference in ideals. It is clear that the position that he has taken in his own appeal to the Moderates is not only one-sided but altogether unsustainable. Mr. Gandhi will see that there is a radical difference in methods in certain respects between the co-operators and non-co-operators, and whilst they agree on the temperance question, full and hearty co-operation on their part with one another becomes at a certain stage almost an impossibility. Who then is responsible for this deadlock? Can one party alone be blamed with any sense of fairness?"

Mr. Gandhi's justification of his appeal to the Moderates for co-operation in the anti-drink campaign.

Young India (12), 6th July.

59. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Friends have suspected me of having committed a breach of the Congress resolution, in that I have appealed to the Moderates to co-operate with us in the liquor campaign and especially in that I have actually invited them to legislate for prohibition. A friend asks, 'Why should we seek the help of the councils which we have boycotted? Does it not mean a modification of your previous attitude?' I venture to say that it does not. There is all the difference between a challenge and a petition. If I had appealed out of our helplessness, it would have been a breach of the Congress resolution and a modification of my own attitude. But, in my opinion, I strengthen our position, when I invite the Moderates in gentle language to do their duty, and prove their claim to be popular representatives. I see nothing wrong in inviting the Moderates and the Government to co-operate with us in all we are doing. I see nothing wrong in appealing to the Moderates or even to the Government, through their authorised channels, to help us in the Khilafat and the Punjáb matters, or to shut up all the liquor-shops, or to dot every one of their schools with spinning-wheels or to recognise the force of public opinion and to prohibit by legislation the import of foreign cloth. For, if they succeed in doing these things, I would cease to think evil of the institution they adore or administer. In making my appeal, I have shown them a way to partial reinstatement in public estimation, and have furnished myself and the country with a further effective cause, in the event of the failure of the appeal, to demonstrate the wooden nature of the system. I have appealed, not as myself a part of the system, but as an outsider."

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's speech at the Parsi Central Association Meeting.

Sind Vasi (167), 28th June.

60. We have placed before our readers a summary of Mahatma Gandhi's talk with the Central Council of the Parsis. It shows that he is not absolutely bent upon destroying the Government. He says Indians will be satisfied if they get Home Rule like that of Canada and Australia. But he wants it at once and not by stages. He wants the Military and the Police to be under the control of Indians. Now, it is natural for every Indian to wish to have at once the form of Government obtaining in Australia. But when we seriously think over the matter we feel that without sufficient experience an immediate grant of Home Rule will only land us in great difficulties, and none can say what will be the consequences of that.

Can *swarâj* be won by December next.

New Times (8), 30th June.

61. "*Swaraj* in the political sense, *swaraj* interpreted as the power of the people to control the army, the civil administration, the economic and educational policies of India, is not what we for ourselves expect even in December next.......... But there is one thing we can do by the end of December. There are large spheres of activity which we can shape ourselves according to our ideal; we can, in several ways, organise our own life, leaving the government alone. The Congress meets in December; we can then or earlier announce it a National Legislature endowed not with legal but what is more than legal—moral—authority of the people. The crore of rupees can become the nucleus of a National Fund; and we can open up national schools, start swadeshi shops, introduce cottage industries, establish courts of arbitration, and organise a National Service. We will thus learn self-reliance; and if we keep strictly our pledges of self-purification and non-violence, we may soon develop a moral, economic and social strength which can render impotent all the physical power of government to govern the country except on our own terms .... The struggle, indeed, for *swaraj* is to our mind, in the last analysis, a struggle, of character between members of the bureaucracy and members of the Congress organisation. Viceroy will be with the party equipped with greater resources of character. The bureaucracy is strong partly because several of its members are men of honesty, ability, industry and devotion to the *sircar*. Can we have in the Congress Committee a much larger number of men with greater ability and industry, with a keener appreciation of the country's needs and a deeper loyalty to the Nation? We believe we can; and we say this in the face of much that we deeply deplore in the public life of today."

The great power and influence of Mr. Gandhi and the harm done to Moslems through association with him.

Muslim Herald (171), 8th July.

62. In a leading article entitled "Gandhiji's supernatural powers", the *Muslim Herald* writes:—Gandhiji's sincerity, unselfishness and true patriotism have made him so conspicuous and powerful that even the biggest man in the world has to bow his head before him. He appears to be a thin and lean man, and his appearance is not such as to impress people. His dress also is not such as to influence others. But notwithstanding all this, people are following him, not in twos or threes, but in hundreds and thousands. The leading Congressmen wanted to go against him, but could not. Similarly, many influential Musalmans desired that cow-slaughter should continue but they did not succeed. The Muhammadans raised huge funds for the Muslim University after a great deal of hardships and trouble, and then they boasted that none else would ever be able to collect so much. But Gandhiji expressed a desire to his disciples to collect a crore of rupees and it was oversubscribed within a very short time. After all what is the reason why every man bends his knees before him? The answer can be found in the fact that it is the result of Gandhi's sincerity and unselfishnes. He wants money for his country and nothing for himself. The Hindus have collected crores of rupees; but the share of the Muhammadans is proportinately very small. Yet they demand equal partnership in the *swardjya*. Ye Muslims, first become true Muslims, show self-sacrifice on the path of God and then desire. It is not honourable for Muhammadans to get *swardjya* through the efforts of the Hindus, and because they have no ability in them it naturally follows that the Hindus alone will administer *swardjya* for Musalmans. At present there are no capable men in the Muslim community and there is no hope that capable Muslims will arise in future. Owing to Gandhiji's efforts, the Islamic College has been ruined, and promising boys have given up their studies. For a period of at least ten or twenty years Muhammadan education has gone to ruin. Not a single college of the Hindus has stopped working; everywhere the Hindu students are receiving education as before. *Gandhiji ki jai.*"

Protest against the Government of the United Provinces charging non-co-operators with having a hand in the recent Kamaon Forest fires.

Hindu (158), 2nd July.

63. The Government of the United Provinces have issued a notification declaring that forests, 2½ lacs of acres in area, in the Kamaon district have been set fire to by some people and completely destroyed. At this time the blame for the worst things happening in India is laid at the door of non-co-operators. Leaving aside the officials, our own Indian brothers also are so blinded that they sound the same note as the officials. The officials say that the non-co-operators had a hand in the matter of setting these forests on fire! Right, Sir! Government admits that it is difficult to arrest persons who were really responsible for causing these fires. Yet 19 men have been arrested. How long will Government and its satellites succeed in deceiving the people by bringing false charges against non-co-operators?

Undesirability of Indian subordinates being entrusted with carrying out of repressive measures.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th July.

64. The *Bombay Chronicle* relates a story from Egypt in which a village having been the subject of enquiry, Egyptian officials terrorised the inhabitants, produced false evidence and got the innocent sentenced while the really guilty escaped and remarks:—"We tell this story, frankly, as a warning to the 'rulers' of India against the folly of repressive measures against a nation in a state of nerves, whose need is sympathy, and the cruelty of entrusting the stage management of such repressive, or it may be punitive, measures to the Indian servants of the Government whose aim is always to please their masters with results by any means; men who have become the scourge and terror of the Indian people and who are, we think, the greatest danger to the peace of India at the present time. They are zealous servants of course, but a too zeolous servant has often earned his master an ill-name for tyranny.......... Almost every day, we hear of some fresh instance of men of this sort arousing the anger of the people by abuse of the non-co-operation movement followed by some stupid act of violence. If all the people happened to be genuine followers of Gandhi there would be no response to these insane aggressors, the dead would be buried and the wounded borne away without reprisals and it is due undoubtedly to Gandhi's influence that such a shower of provocation up and down the country has not produced a very large crop of disorders.......... In India's present nervous state, the C. I. D. and the small local tyrants of the police are, in their zealous service, far more dangerous than Gandhi, Muhammad, Shaukat and the rest of us all put together, and unless their activities under local English officials are strongly checked or suspended, they are pretty certain to bring shame on British Government in India in the eyes of every European outside India, not to speak of Asiatics who, of course, are negligible."

Sind Swaráj Majilis should warn the public against the evils of non-co-operation.
Bharatvási (155), 26th June.

65. Noticing the proceedings of the first meeting of the "Sind Swaráj Majilis", Hyderabad, held on Sunday last in order to pass rules and elect a Managing Committee, the *Bharatvási* writes :—Our readers will see that most of the Committee members are old Congressites and staunch Home Rulers. Hence this Majilis will not oppose the Congress in anything which is for the good of the country. But it will certainly oppose the harmful steps of the Congress programme. . The situation is becoming more serious every day. Resolutions about refusal to pay Government taxes, leaving the army, passive resistance, etc., are being passed in public meetings. Mahatma Gandhi wants Swaráj to be established on 1st August. He is therefore sure to take some serious step before that date. Under these circumstances the Swaráj Majilis will warn the public against the evil consequences of non-co-operation. It will also be its duty to oppose the repressive policy of Government by all legitimate and constitutional means. We understand it is considering the means which it should adopt to carry on its work.

Complaint about repression in Sind.
Bharatvási (155), 26th June.

66. Mr. Pamandas, a young non-co-operator of Sukkur, has been sentenced to 12 months for failing to furnish security under section 108, Criminal Procedure Code. We do not think he gave a speech anywhere inciting people to violence, although the one which has brought him into trouble might come within the scope of the section dealing with sedition. But really speaking, a strict application of section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, would render the most moderate of papers liable for sedition. In the statement made by him to the Court, Mr. Pamandas said that he had no faith in British justice, because Government did not touch any big leaders. We think he is right in this. Government takes no steps against the heads of the non-co-operation movement. Their chief lieutenants are let off after they have indirectly apologised to Government. As regards their second lieutenants again, notices of sedition are issued against them and then withdrawn. Thus there remain only youthful non-co-operationists, on whom the Government exercises its severity. We do not know what justice is this. We would tell Lord Reading, that unless he remedies this injustice, no one will believe in his boast of justice and fair play. Of course we realise, that this is a very critical time for the Government. But in view of the Viceroy's declaration that those persons will be arrested who incite people to violence, we fail to see why young men are packed off to jail, when they do not preach violence. But if they must be sent to jail, let the leaders also go with them, otherwise Government cannot boast of doing justice. We quite understand that every thing is not done by the Viceroy. He has to depend on his Governors. And the Governor of Bombay seems to have handed over the Province of Sind entirely to the mercy of the different Collectors and Magistrates, who have created

an atmosphere of injustice all round. For a petty offence connected with the anti-liquor campaign, Mr. Nabi Bux sentenced the offender to 18 months' imprisonment. Swami Govindanand got five years. Mere boys have been sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment. This official repression in Sind does not look well. No other part of the Presidency is treated so severely as Sind, in the days of Sir George Lloyd. It is said he is a farsighted man. Here in Sind, however, we see no trace of such a quality of his.

Advice to Government to stop their campaign of repression.
Sind Observer (10), 2nd July.

67. "We have described the situation as we understand it at present. We have a word for Government. If the hands of the leaders of the non-co-operation party are not to be forced by their followers into accepting civil disobedience, Government must refrain from the campaign of repression now going on. The Viceroy, if he wants a calm atmosphere for the reception of the Prince of Wales, will do well to instruct Local Governments to abstain from further prosecution unless actual violence is either preached or committed. A great obligation now rests on the Government to allow the non-co-operation movement to run in smooth channels and to strengthen the hands of sane councillors in the non-co-operation party."

The Ali Brothers' apology.
Muslim Herald (171), 24th June.

68. Commenting on the Ali Brothers' apology the *Muslim Herald* remarks:—The apology tendered by the Ali Brothers has become the subject of heated discussion in the Indian press, and the papers are enquiring as to why the apology was given at all. The well-wishers of the Brothers declare that it was given not to Government, but to the public at large. One objection can be levelled against this explanation, and it is that it was many months ago that the speech was delivered. Their friends must have warned them in connection with the strong passages contained therein. If they really wanted to publish an apology to their friends or the Musalmans in general, they could have done so then. Now, when at the interview Mr. Gandhi learnt that Government were thinking of proceeding against that violent speech—and Mahatma Gandhi says that he spoke to the Brothers about it,—and when the apology was tendered after that event, it is quite apparent that it was given only to Government; as a result of which the latter stopped taking any further action. We however think that the whole affair should now be buried and forgotten. The speech did contain some violent passages, and it matters little whether the apology was given to the people or to Government. We are at a loss to know what the Indian papers will gain by discussing this affair any further. But it is necessary that the Ali Brothers should be very careful in what they write or utter so that they might not be required to apologise even to their friends.

Comments on the appointment of the Military Requirements Committee.
Gujaráti Punch (17), 3rd July, Eng. cols.

69. "It is clear to all that our military expenditure is so vast that it can find no parallel in the history of civilized Governments. All opinion—official or non-official—points to the necessity of curtailing it.......... But there are official scaremongers who would not countenance any such move and would move heaven and earth to defeat all efforts in that direction. Whatever the exact merits of that attitude one thing is certain, and it is that in the present state of affairs no Government can afford to easily lay aside considerations about its exact defence capacity. The question, therefore, only revolves itself round this. Is it not possible for the Government of India to maintain its present defence capacity at less cost? And the answer to that question is decidedly in the affirmative. The strength of the Indian case lies only in that. If the Indian army were Indianised, the same efficiency and the same strength can be maintained at far less cost.......... The only remedy, therefore, for the present anamolous state of affairs in this country is to Indianise the army; and the Military Requirements Committee will justify its existence only so far as it is able to effect that."

People should boycott the Military Requirements Committee.

Lokasatta (117), 2nd July.

70. Military expenditure in India has every year been increasing, and it appears as if it would soon reach 70 crores of rupees; for the Esher Committee has suggested a costly reorganisation of the Indian Army for maintaining British supremacy from Suez to Sumatra. Government of course are determined to take this long jump, but as a sort of farce have, as usual, appointed a new Committee under the presidency of the Commander-in-Chief to consider the military requirements of India. The Committee has on it some men of the worthless Moderate party, who will offer very little opposition to the increase in expenditure just as they did when voting for the heavy military budget for the present year. The Committee has invited Messrs. Gandhi, Das, Malaviya, and others to give evidence before it. But we know that their evidence would prove useless; for all this farce is being gone through simply for the sake of formality. The Indian public now fully knows these tricks of the bureaucracy. Our leaders, therefore, should not waste their time in giving evidence before the Committee, and we are glad to see that Mr. Gandhi has already declined to appear before it. They mean to sacrifice India in the interests of the European. We are against allowing the army in India to be used for the extension of British domination in Asia. British statesmen may take pride in bringing the whole of Asia under their control, but we do not take any pride in depriving other people of their liberty. Our religion strictly forbids it. That any independent country in Asia should accuse the Indian Army of being instrumental in depriving it of liberty would cast a stain on India's civilisation. If the crores of rupees which India has to spend on its Army had been utilised in helping the half-starved Indians it would have redounded to the credit of Government. But how can the British Government, beside itself with the devilish ambition of Empire, care anything for the people? What attention will it pay to the country's suggestions? What can the opposition of Indian public opinion avail when the desire to anyhow fatten itself and its white countrymen on India's money dominates everything? We would, therefore, ask our countrymen to completely boycott the Military Requirements Committee.

Condemnation of Mr. Gandhi's action in declining to appear before the Military Requirements Committee.

Sind Vási (167), 28th June.

71. Some Anglo-Indian papers have objected to Government inviting non-co-operators to give evidence before the Military Committee. Mahatma Gandhi and other non-co-operators again have declined the invitation on the ground that they have nothing to do with the Government. We think the Mahatma should not have declined the invitation. Non-co-operators and others have all criticised the Military policy of Government as very expensive. Here was an opportunity for them to lay their views for consideration before the Committee. But as they have declined to do that, the blame will be theirs if the Military policy of Government is not changed.

It would be unjust to ask Native States to contribute towards the maintenance of the Indian Army.

Servant of India (9), 7th July.

72. "Indian State Ratepayer", writing in the *Servant of India* in reply to Mr. Kunzru's suggestion that Native States should contribute towards the maintenance of the Indian Army (*vide* paragraph 66 of Weekly Report No. 24 of 1921), says:—"The subjects of the Indian States are already contributing either directly or indirectly to the Indian Army of defence and also to the revenues of the Government of India. This is a fact and it cannot be ignored. This contribution falls under three heads:—(*a*) Imperial Service Troops and Local Troops. (*b*) Cash contributions and revenues of ceded territories. (*c*) Indirect cash contributions to the revenues of the Government of India under the following heads:—(1) Import and Export duties, (2) Excise duties on the local cotton fabrics, (3) Income-tax, (4) Income from the State Railways, (5) Income from the Posts and Telegraphs, (6) Income from Salt duties, and (7) Profits of the Mint and Currency. [Here the correspondent dwells on the three

items in detail and remarks:—] It is an admitted fact that the incidence of taxation is rather higher in the Indian States. If the indirect taxes paid by the State ratepayers are taken into consideration, the said incidence would be 50 per cent. higher than that of British India. If new burdens are placed on the shoulders of the state ratepayers, their condition would not be better than that of mere labourers. There are no representatives of the Indian States in the Councils of the Indian Empire. The Princes and Chiefs are the hereditary and *de jure* representatives of their subjects, but what is wanted is true and *de facto* representation. Unless and until this representation is not given, the Durbars are not bound to contribute towards the costs of the defence beyond what they are doing according to their engagements. There can be no taxation without representation, and this maxim holds good in the case of the Indian States also."

Protest against the proposed further increase of pay of the Imperial Services in India.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 10th July.

***73.** "It is only two years ago that the salaries of the Imperial Services were increased in some cases with retrospective effect and, besides, all the European officials have been given overseas allowances.......... Now we find from a question put to Mr. Montagu and an answer by him that some conspiracy is still hatching for the last few months for further increases of salaries.......... The services have found the weak point of Mr. Montagu. That the Secretary of State is capable of granting further increases of salaries undisturbed by thoughts of the financial safety or stability of India, one can very well believe; for has he not driven India into the arms of non-co-operation by his two most egregious acts, Reverse Councils and the 7 per cent. loan? But we cannot believe that the Government of India is seriously thinking on this subject and is going to issue a communication, accepting such demands.......... But if they also yield to manifestly improper demands, there is the clearest case for Ministers and Executive Council Members to make an emphatic protest. Will they be also a party to these increases? Who knows!"

Comments on the order imposing a tax on the people of Kaira for special Police in connection with thefts on the Railway.

Hindusthán (21), 2nd July.

74. Indians are experiencing directly or indirectly the effects of the methods adopted by the bureaucracy to preserve 'peace' and do 'justice' in the interests of the people of this country. A policy of repression has long since been adopted in Sind, and now it is being adopted in the heart of Gujarát in the Bombay Presidency of whose Governor it is said that he is such a liberal statesman that he will not take any steps that will retard the progress of the people during the period of his administration and will not resort to a repressive policy. The officials of the Kaira District have made a new discovery in the field of repressions. [Here the paper reproduces an order issued by the Kaira authorities to the effect that men and women of the villages in the vicinity of the railway line in the district above the age of fourteen should pay a tax of eight annas and eleven pies while the Dharalas of the said villages should pay three rupees and eight annas, to meet the cost of special police to be maintained for the prevention of thefts on the railway. It then continues:—] If the above details are true, what are we to think of the sense of justice of the officials who issue such autocratic orders, of the Courts of justice of Government maintained at heavy expense, and of the sense of duty of the C. I. D. maintained from the money of the poor people? What more autocratic and unjust step can there be than this? Intoxicated with power, the officials of the Kaira District have done serious injustice to the people in their charge by holding all the innocent men and women of a certain community or caste responsible for the crimes of a few. We shall not be surprised if the Kaira people consider this step of the officials to be thoughtless, illegal and high-handed. We will also not be surprised that, if they think that injustice has been done to them, and that they have been insulted, they should determine to offer civil disobedience to the order issued on them and immediately declare Satyagraha against it.

The Fiji Inquiry Committee.
Gujarāti Punch (17), 3rd July, Eng. cols.

75. Commenting on the appointment of the Fiji Inquiry Committee, the *Gujarāti Punch* remarks:—"We have nothing to say against those who are appointed to serve on it. But at the same time we cannot help thinking whether the composition of the Committee would not have been improved by the inclusion of men like Mr. Andrews who have made a special study of the case under investigation. Is the omission accidental, or is there something deeper under it? If it is the former, the mistake can be easily remedied. If it is the latter, the Committee will lose much of its value in the public eye. If such Committees are to be of any real value, the Fiji Government ought to have absolutely no voice in their composition. Is that the case with the present Committee? If it is, Mr. Andrews must find a place on it. Another question with regard to it is: What steps have Government of India taken to see that the theoretical equality of Indians is enforced in practice? By far the larger portion of Indians who will go to Fiji will be poor, illiterate villagers, and it would not be difficult to keep them thoroughly innocent of enjoying their theoretical equality by depriving them of the guidance of leaders and thus preventing them from organizing themselves in a way to enforce their equality in practice. The case of the deportation of Mr. Manilal is an instance in point. The Fiji Government by resuming the same tactics can easily keep Indians in their present state of hewers of wood and drawers of water.......... 'Colonization' and all that tall talk sounds too well on paper. Experience, however, tells us that, unless there is a strong Government to back up its claims through thick and thin, no nation can gain much from it. Is the Government of India prepared to so back up the Indian cause whenever the need for it arises? If it is, then and then only, India may think of it. Otherwise we may well bid good-bye to all such chimeras."

The Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme.
Praja Mitra and Pārsi (29), 6th July; *Bombay Samāchār* (57), 8th July.

76. The work of reclamation of the Back Bay is proceeding apace But unfortunately, owing to the public not having been taken into confidence, a certain amount of opposition and distrust has gathered round the scheme. Government should make no delay in removing such distrust. It is rumoured that the area reclaimed from the Back Bay will be utilised for housing Europeans only. There is, so far as we know, no truth in this rumour; but all the same Government would do well to dispel misunderstanding in the matter by making a statement as to how the reclaimed land will be distributed among the people irrespective of any considerations of colour or creed. An impression prevails among the people that the work of developing the suburbs will be delayed with a view to pushing on the Back Bay Scheme. Government should, therefore, give some assurance to the people that the work of development of the suburbs will be carried on simultaneously with the reclamation of the Back Bay and that no more money than has been provided in the estimates will be spent on the latter. In view of popular distrust and misunderstanding in the matter, we would request Government to publish a monthly or at least a quarterly statement of the progress of the various schemes undertaken by the Development Department. [The *Bombay Samāchār* suggests that Government should take steps to remove the misunderstandings caused amongst the people and the distrust with which they have begun to view the Reclamation Scheme by taking the people into their confidence and placing the Development Department under a Minister.]

The Bombay Corporation and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau should withdraw their representatives from the Advisory Committee to the Development Board.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th July.

77. The *Bombay Chronicle* publishes certain correspondence between Dr. Sukhia and the Director of Bombay Development regarding the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and says:—"We have had no illusion as to the practical utility of the Advisory Committee which, as we have pointed out on many occasions, is intended merely to register the decisions of the Director and as such it is a body on which no self-respecting person will elect to sit. And this fact is brought out strongly by the plea of the Director that 'the Development Directorate being an executive body especially created by Government to carry out certain schemes which have received the sanction or approval of Government' and the Advisory Committee having been appointed to assist the Director in this connection, the question 'whether or not the policy adopted by Government in regard to the reclamation of Back Bay should be reversed is not, therefore, a matter which can suitably be discussed by the Advisory Committee.' The plea of the Director is quite in keeping with the farce of having a pliant and powerless body to help to throw dust in the eyes of the public. And in view of this it is a question whether the Corporation and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau should not, as self-respecting public bodies, call upon their representatives to resign their seats on an Advisory Committee that cannot do anything but carry out the decisions of the Government or rather of the Director."

The Allies should teach a severe lesson to the Greeks.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th July.

78. "The Greeks have declined the proffered intervention of the Allies; and we were told not long ago on high authority that, if and when they did that, England would wash her hands of them and leave them to their fate in Asia Minor. We ourselves hoped for even more than this. We dared to entertain the hope that British troops—still better Indian Muslim troops—would be detailed to help the Turks drive out those savages from Turkish soil. Instead of that we find the Allied Governments—of which in Constantinople at present England is indisputable head—endeavouring to hamper the advance of the Kemalist armies and secure a safe retreat to the besotted, bloodstained murderers of whole Muslim populations in that very neighbourhood of Ismid, where the Allies appoint a neutral zone in order to prevent reprisals.......... The Greeks require a lesson at the hands of the Allies. The more severe the lesson, the better in order that the prevailing impression among Muslims, that England chose these murderous fanatics for Turkish business purposely in order that the Muslim population of Anatolia might be exterminated, may be removed. We know there must be strong reluctance in the hearts of certain British 'statesmen' to say 'no' to Greece, after so many amenities—and considerations far more solid than amenities—have been accepted by them from the charming Levantine financiers. But it must be done sooner or later, and it had better be done now, if England wishes to regain in any part her Eastern influence. If any further help of any kind is given to the Greeks by England, no one who knows the feeling which exists among them would be prepared to answer for the continued non-violence of Indian Muslims."

LEGISLATION.

Adverse comments on Dr. Gour's Civil Marriage Bill.
Dharma Vir (156), 25th June.

79. Dr. Gour is introducing a Civil Marriage Bill, by which unions between the different classes inhabiting this vast country are sought to be legalized. We strongly oppose this bill, because we feel that such a law will result in the total extinction of the Hindu castes and the Hindu religion, which is more than we can bear to see. There are classes even in birds and beasts. And mankind also cannot do without them. The comparatively mild Bill of Mr. Patel raised a storm of protest from every corner of India. We, therefore, fail to understand why Hindus are quiet about Dr. Gour's Bill, the effect of which will be, that the Hindu religion will be destroyed root and branch. We appeal to them to rise with one voice against it, so that it may never become the law of this land. The present-day social reformers have already been trying their level best to bring about the extinction of Hinduism, and their efforts will surely be crowned with success, unless Hindus raise a timely and effective protest against this measure. Let them remember the saying of the Shastras—a destroyer of his religion will himself be destroyed, but a cherisher of his faith will enjoy God's protection.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's speech before the Deccan Sabha.
Gujaráti Punch (17), 3rd July, Eng. cols.

80. Commenting on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's recent speech before the Deccan Sabha at Poona, the *Gujaráti Punch* remarks:—"The Act now in force is merely permissive; and although it is fairly long since it came into force, according to Mr. Paranjpye himself, only four municipalities have, till now, chosen to avail of it. And what does it indicate? It only indicates that our municipalities will have to be

forced by some obligatory measure to undertake it.......... Clearly it must be made obligatory on municipalities to at least open sufficient schools, if it may not be expedient to introduce compulsion all at once and now that the Government of Bombay has decided to bear two-thirds of the cost of it, it will not be found to be so difficult. Mr. Paranjpye ought to know that permissive measures are not enough and that compulsion had to be resorted to in all countries that are to-day educationally in an enviable position. And if public opinion, just at present, is not what it ought to be, Mr. Paranjpye ought to take the public into his confidence and thus try to create the necessary public opinion to support him in his policy. Anyway, only a bold, and not a mere halting, policy can achieve something; and if Mr. Paranjpye can evolve it, public opinion will be found to support him. As regards rural areas, two years for bringing into existence merely an agency to undertake the starting of primary schools is an unnecessarily long period and the public cannot waste so much time. These administrative difficulties cannot be allowed to postpone the carrying out of urgent reforms and Mr. Paranjpye must find out some way out of it. If Mr. Paranjpye were a mere bureaucrat, we may not expect it from him; but being what he is—a staunch patriot yearning for the educational advancement of his country and a distinguished administrator who has sacrificed his all at the altar of a model educational institution—people certainly expect more from him. We wish he will not disappoint them."

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's policy in the matter of primary education.

Râshtra Veer (133), 3rd July; *Jâgaruk* (45), 3rd July; *Jâgriti* (46), 2nd July.; *Karnâtak Times* (36), 8th July.

81. The *Rashtra Veer* returns to its attack on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye (*vide* paragraph No. 81 of Weekly Report No. 27 of 1921) and declares that nothing except pleas regarding want of funds and vague assurances are to be found in his recent utterances. It says that even if the difficulty of finding the three crores of rupees to make primary education compulsory were admitted, why does he not enunciate a policy for bringing it about in the course of ten years and inform the people as to what plans towards that end he means to adopt during his term of office? It complains that instead of doing that he is merely calling into question the good sense of his critics and insinuating that they are a set of fools. It asks him to cease from indulging in such bluster. He should bear it in mind, it says, that it is his duty to put forward a scheme for universal compulsory education whether the future councils are likely to give effect to it or not. It also calls upon him to make use of the present local boards for introducing compulsory education instead of waiting for the establishment of village panchayats of whose utility he himself has expressed doubts. [The *Jagaruk* urges upon the public to express its condemnation of the disappointing policy of the Minister of Education and calls upon all the people—Brahmins as well as non-Brahmins, co-operators as as well as non-co-operators—to get up such a hurricane of agitation as will compel Government to take steps to make primary education free and compulsory. The *Jagriti* wants the Minister to frame a ten years' scheme for compulsory primary education and to take special steps during the coming year to bring up the untouchable classes on a level with the backward communities in the matter of secondary and higher education. The *Karnâtak Times* makes remarks similar to those of the *Rashtra Veer*.]

Vijayi Marâtha (149), 2nd July.

82. The *Vijayi Marâtha* says that it had long back asked the non-Brahmins of this Presidency to follow the lead of the non-Brahmins of Madras and have nothing to do even with the moderate Brahmins as it was the main object of the non-Brahmin movement to prevent power from passing into the hands of the Brahmanical class under the new Reform, and had also pointed out that all the talk of the moderates about the welfare of the non-Brahmins was simply an election manœuvre. It remarks that its attitude was ridiculed at the time by some of the non-Brahmins, but their eyes have now been opened by the clamish attitude taken up by the Brahmin Minister of Education. It declares it is

not surprised at this because it is convinced that a Brahmin, whether he be a Moderate or an Extremist, can never feel real sympathy for non-Brahmins. Mr. Paranjpye's example shows, according to the paper, that no sooner Brahmins get power in their hands than they begin to follow the selfish instincts of their caste, however liberal they might be in their previous professions. In its opinion the Extremist Brahmins are to be preferred to the Brahmins of the Moderate party inasmuch as nobody is misled by them as their utterances bespeak their poison-filled hearts. In the end the paper declares that if the nation is to get rid of its ills, the Brahmins must be permanently driven out of the politics of the country. [Elsewhere the paper condemns the Education Minister for putting forward the usual hollow excuses for not making primary education compulsory and declares that he should remember that he has been given the present post in order to find a way out of the difficulties. It remarks that the non-Brahmins, without waiting further, should ask Government to make education a reserved subject as they would at least out of shame adopt a progressive educational policy. The people, it says, should let Government plainly to understand that no Local Fund cess or land assessment would be paid unless compulsory education is introduced.]

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's new concessions to Municipalities to make primary education compulsory.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 7th July.

83. The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye has, by sanctioning the system of two-thirds grants and double shifts of 3½ hours each in primary schools, brought the question of compulsory primary education by Municipalities into the domain of practical politics. His critics are deliberately shutting their eyes to this progressive item of his educational policy; but it would not do for the Municipalities to disregard it, as they have now no excuse for putting off compulsory primary education within their local limits. If they do so they will lay themselves open to the charge of opposing compulsory education for some secret reasons. [The paper here goes on to explain in detail how the task of making primary education compulsory has been simplified for the Municipalities by the concessions and goes on :—] Formerly when Government were opposed to 3½ hours' shifts, the Extremists in the Poona Municipality had put forward that excuse for putting off compulsory primary education. They will now, it appears, make a demand for 2½ hours' shifts. That would mean indirectly opposing the uplift of the backward classes in the city; and we would request the Extremists not to commit the sin. If the Municipalities in the Presidency refuse to take advantage of the new concessions, we would ask members of the local Legislative Council to move a resolution to compel them to do the needful.

RAILWAYS.

Complaint against the present administration of Indian railways.

Khándesh Vaibhav (112), 4th July.

84. The *Khándesh Vaibhav* complains that there is mismanagement on the Indian Railways both as regards the conveyance of passengers as well as that of goods and that the grievances with regard to these matters are scarcely everre dressed. As regards goods traffic, it complains that not only are goods not conveyed in time, but they are tampered with while in transit. railway servants openly stealing them. It alleges that merchants are unable to secure goods waggons without payment of illegal gratification to the station masters and that some of these officials have grown rich by means of these illicit gains. It declares that thefts of goods have increased since the introduction of risk notes and, therefore, suggests the abolition of the notes and the imposition of full responsibility on the railway companies for the goods entrusted to them. It also suggests the formation of district committees of officials and non-officials to look into these matters. It also protests against the recent increase in the railway passenger fares and goods rates as unjustifiable and makes the following suggestions among others for the consideration of Government :—Government should take the railway management into their own hands and appoint passenger inspectors to look to the complaints of passengers. The number of passenger as well as mail trains should be doubled, and third

class express trains introduced where they do not now run. Lines for passenger as well as goods traffic should be doubled everywhere and water closets introduced in all third class carriages, but they should not be of the European type as they cause a lot of trouble. Tickets should be made available at the stations at all hours of the day and the increased fares should be reduced and week-end tickets again introduced. Passenger and mail train carriages should be cleaned at all the junction stations.

The G. I. P. Railway's mismanagement of the Pandharpur pilgrim traffic.

Prabodh (125), 3rd July.

85. Referring to the notice of the G. I. P. Railway that sufficient carriages are not available to carry the Pandharpur pilgrims, the *Prabodh* says:—Government and the Police are ever ready to prosecute poor hack carriage drivers for breach of rules, but the white railway companies are never brought to book for their transgressions. Lakhs of soldiers were conveyed from one end of the country to the other during the war, but were they ever obliged to travel packed like sardines in goods waggons for want of passenger carriages? The excuse is put forward only in the case of the Pandharpur pilgrims as it enables the company to deal with them at their sweet will, while the benign Government looks on in silence! Why should not the company charge a reduced railway fare for the pilgrims for being made to travel in goods waggons? At present the company is simply looting the poor people. Another method of the company for extracting money from the pilgrims is that about the time of the Pandharpur fair, booking for two or three stations on either side of the Kurduwadi junction is suspended thus, making the pilgrims buy tickets for stations beyond in order to get down at Kurduwadi. This enables the company to collect additional money from the pilgrims. We would suggest that in order to cure the Railway Company of their habit of using goods waggons for the conveyance of pilgrims, a suit for damages should be filed against it. There appears to be no other remedy.

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged misrule of his State by the Rao of Cutch.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th July.

86. Referring to His Highness the Rao of Cutch's recent utterance in England the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"Our principal objection to His Highness' reported platitudes is rather the glaring inconsistency between His Highness' words and his achievements in the plenitude of his absolutism in the desert seclusion of Cutch. His Highness' administration had never had the reputation of enlightenment or progressiveness; but quite recently it had acquired the most unenviable notoriety in its indifference to public weal in its condonation of oppression at the hands of favourites. Has His Highness improved by his stay in England so as to introduce a tithe of what he so glibly expatiates upon as the glories of British rule in his own dominions? We hope so. Meanwhile we are credibly informed that the task of his vicegerent is herculean, merely in disposing of the complaints against accumulated acts of misrule. But we trust he will not allow a great opportunity to escape without an honest effort to prove his solicitude for the welfare of the State he will be called upon to rule."

The Maharajah of Kolhápur and the case against the *Vidyavilas* newspaper.

Mahrátta (7), 10th July.

***87.** "Bringing to bay is a very useful device often used in hunting and the Maharaja of Kolhápur, being a known hunter, is well adept in that art. The *Vidyavilas* case was committed to the Sessions by the District Magistrate; but now it is given to understand that on the advice of the Sessions Court the Maharaja has transferred it back to the District Magistrate. Is the transfer and re-transfer an ordinary event happening quite in due course or is there special virtue in it? The people are rightly suspicious that there is more in it than eyes can see. Are not the judges in question simply shirking the responsibility of passing sentence on the accused, which perhaps their conscience does not bid them do, but for which the Maharaja must be forcing their hands? Meanwhile, the bail of the accused being cancelled, God knows on what ground, he is rotting and rotting. The troubles of the respectable accused are not yet over. To add to the older, a new case of defamation is got up against him. To crown all, the pleader of the accused is not permitted to practise in the State of Kolhápur. So that the accused in the *Vidyavilas* case is completely hemmed in by difficulties and we are anxious for him. People within Kolhápur and without ought to come forward with a helping hand in recognition of the unstinted honest services which the accused and the paper which he ably conducted did to the country for the length of more than a quarter of a century. Let us wait and see, in the meantime, whether justice in Kolhápur can have its own unfettered sway or is tied to the wheels of the perverted politics of a no less perverted mind. While going to press, after the above lines were written, we learn, that Mr. G. S. Gokhale, the editor of *Vidyavilas*, has been sentenced to eighteen months' rigorous imprisonment!"

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 15th July 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 16th July 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on the proposed conferment of the freedom of London on the Honourable Mr. Sastri 13
Comments on the shooting incident at Dhárwár . . . . . . 1—8
Condemnation of complaints regarding the hovering of an aeroplane over the Sikh Darbar at Amritsar 15
Dyerism still alive in the country 9
The Honourable Mr. Sastri and the Imperial Conference 12
The Irish peace negotiations 14
The Law Member of the Government of India should prevent a further misuse of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code . . . 10 & 11
Development of Bombay: Comments on the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme. 56
His Excellency the Governor: Reflections on the forthcoming visit of — to Sátára 57
His Excellency the Viceroy: Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the United Provinces Liberal Association . . 16—26

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India . . 58—60
Protest against the suggestion to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales 61

Judicial matters:

Comments on the sentence of five years' transportation passed on the leader of the Akali sect at Láhore 55
The Khoreal shooting case 54

Non-co-operation:

Alleged failure of picketing in Bombay 50
Comments on the disturbance at Aligárh 51
Clerks in Government offices and English firms should make it a point to wear Gandhi caps 40
Comments on the Ali Brothers' declaration about establishing a republic in India 42
Comments on the All-India Khilafat Conference at Karáchi . . . 44 & 45
Comments on the collection of one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swarájya Fund . . . . 36 & 37
Comments on the Poona liquor shop keepers' petition to Government for refund of their license fees 49
Comments on the threatened prosecution of the *Zamindar* of Láhore . 48

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Non-co-operation—*concluded.*

Discussion on the non-co-operation movement in the House of Lords . 52 & 53

Exhortation to Indians to keep to their goal of *swarâj* and not to be deceived by the grant of reforms here and there 39

How Hindu non-co-operationists are leading Muhammadans into dangers 47

List of contributors to the Tilak Swaraj Fund shows that *swarâj* is the goal of every Indian 38

Mr. Gandhi's propaganda to boycott foreign cloth . . . . . . 27—35

Mr. Gandhi's second appeal to Englishmen in India 41

Protest against Mr. Gandhi's statement that Moghul rule was better than British rule 46

The Congress and the proposed proclamation of India as a Republic . 43

Public Service :

Alleged grievances of Sub-Assistant Surgeons 64

Protest against any further increase in the salaries of the Indian Civil Service . . . . 62 & 63

War :

Comments on the Greek atrocities in Asia Minor 66

Reflections on the political situation in Afghanistan and the Middle East 67

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the League of Nations . . . 65

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's speech before the Deccan Sabha 68

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy . . . . . 69 & 70

MUNICIPALITIES—

The drainage and water works of Poona should be handed over to the local municipality 71

The Thána Local Board's decision to assist the anti-drink campaign with money 72

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the shooting incident at Dhárwár.

Lokasháhi (119), 11th July.

1. The cruelty of the representatives of the British Government in this country has recently been surpassing even that of beasts of prey, and their liking for flesh and blood is on the increase. The only difference between the beasts of prey and these ferocious Government officers is that while the former hunger and thirst after the flesh and blood of animals the latter are hungering and thirsting after the flesh and blood of Indians and in this they cannot be beaten in any way by the former. This fondness of theirs for the flesh and blood of Indians has been on the increase since the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy and luckily for them no *shikari* is yet forthcoming to hunt down these brutes in human form. The result has been the further sacrifice of Indians at Rai Bareli and Nagpur, and the fondness of these human brutes for Indian flesh and blood having thus aggravated, these Government wolves a few days back put even the Jallianwalla massacre into the shade by heartlessly and utterly without cause shooting down people at Dhárwár. We read in our *Purâns* that demons once revelled on the face of the earth. If our archeologists want to trace the descendants of those demons they should look into the doings of the Dyers and the O'Dwyers of Jallianwalla fame and those of Mr. Painter's under whose regime the terrible shooting at Dhárwár recently took place. We hold the British Government alone responsible for committing the sin of feeding fat these fiends, for not only has nothing been done to counteract their doings but every time their fiendish deeds have been defended by word or action. What more have Government done to wash away the black stain of the Jallianwalla Bagh on their face beyond asking the people to forget and forgive? The whole world is showing utter contempt for the British Government and spitting on its face for the deed and yet it is feeding fat the wolves in human form on India's money, and thus encouraging others of their kidney to create new Jallianwalla Baghs to either earn their pensions or for some other self-interest or just for the sake of fun. Government do not feel any shame in defending these outrages. If they suppose that these demons will be allowed to revel for long they will be disappointed. We know that the bureaucracy and their hangers-on like Mr. Chintamani are trying hard to put obstructions in the way of the non-co-operation movement on which India is at present engaged. But they should remember that God never allows Satan to succeed in his plans. Lord Reading may say that his predecessor Lord Chelmsford was responsible for Jallianwalla Bagh. But who is to be brought to book for the loss of innocent lives at Nagpur, Rai Bareli and Dhárwár? We hold Lord Reading alone responsible for these outrages! Had Lord Reading thirsted for the blood of Indians like Mr. Painter who has outdone even the wolf in his thirst for human blood, we would have drawn a bowlful of it from own body and applied the bowl to his lips. But we feel confident that he is not thirsting for our blood as he has come to India to give us justice. And yet wolfish officials like Mr. Painter thirsting for the people's blood are strutting about the country as if innocent, and Government too are defending their bloody doings. It thus appears that Lord Reading is unable to put a check to these things. If that be true His Excellency should understand that it is beyond his capacity to carry on the Viceroyalty and he should resign and quietly leave the country. He should bear it in mind that if the wolfish doings of men like Mr. Painter start a conflagation in Dhárwár, it would not be confined to that place but spread and would not fail to scorch the delicate frame of the Government of India. These outrages have so thickly tarred the face of the British Government, that the people feel doubtful if any operation will be able to free it from the tar. If His Excellency Lord Reading and his Government entertain the boastful idea that as they possess every possible weapon of destruction they can do anything they like to the Indians, made utterly effeminate by being disarmed, then we must remind them of the fact that no sooner does the thunderbolt of the people's exasperation strike against any Empire, however rich and great it might be, it is bound to be reduced to ashes in no time. The British have hitherto ruled India not by physical force

but by wheedling the people. To-day Government might be thinking that the various regiments in India are their own. But whose is the army? Does it belong to the despotic Government? Let us see. Let Government say to the army that that they are going to order it to shoot down its fellow-countrymen who are agitating for *swarájya*. If, thus ordered to be traitorous to its motherland, the army does as directed and shoot down its brethren then Government might proudly say that the army is theirs. But suppose the army lays down its arms considering it to be a sin to shoot down Indians struggling for liberty, and resort to non-co-operation, then how would Government rule India? It is the duty of every Indian to stick to non-violent non-co-operation. But if fresh editions of Jallianwala Bagh go on occurring as at Dhárwár, we cannot guarantee that Indians would hold back from violence. That would of course endanger the acquisition of *swarájya*, but it would menace a hundred times more the British rule in India. We, however, desire that even if Government turns every village in India into another Jallianwalla the people should not depart from peaceful behaviour. From this point of view we would strongly condemn even the smallest act of violence that might have occurred at Dhárwár giving an opportunity to the Government officials to turn themselves into human brutes. For even such small incidents bring into disrepute non-violent non-co-operation which its opponents are ever ready to magnify and take advantage of. [Elsewhere the paper further writes :—We saw at Jallianwalla Government's (*protégé*) Dyer hunting human beings; we saw at Dhárwár Mr. Painter, the Collector, thirsting for human blood; now we are waiting to see cannibals rise among the bureaucracy who would kill Indians and eat their flesh, raw or roasted.]

Karnátak Mitra (35), 14th July.

2. A divine force has manifested itself in the righteous war of non-violent non-co-operation that is going on at Dhárwár. For suppressing this movement which has been purified by the fire of soul-force, the Government may send to prison the whole population of Dhárwár. Nay, they may send to prison, if they choose, the whole of India. But just as a man who in his anger tries to beat down a fire is himself burnt to ashes by the sparks flying from it, even so, the opponents of this movement are sure to be destroyed by the burning flames which have risen from it. The Collector might have thought that he would be able to scotch the movement by his reckless arrests of leaders, but this idea proved to be a delusion. The Collector tried to do one thing while his actions led to quite opposite results and Dhárwár became a land of heroes. [In another place, the paper says that all the difficulties now confronting the Government such as non-co-operation, anti-drink agitation and fights between the police and the people would have been solved in a minute, if the Government had recognized the claims of the people to *swaráj*. But such a policy, says the paper, is entirely against the wishes of the British Government whose one aim is to suppress the non-co-operation movement by bringing all sorts of charges against the people. This, the paper adds, is proved by the two Press Notes published by Government, which also indicate how Government, in their attempt to hide one falsehood, have been compelled to weave the tangled web of a hundred falsehoods. The paper proceeds to observe that these Press Notes show how little confidence the Government have in the people, and asks how a Government which has lost all confidence in the people can be deemed fit to rule over them. The paper adds that Government seem to have put implicit faith in the words of the police, who, instead of being considered as the servants of the people, have, owing to the perverted manner in which the administration is carried on in India, become identical with the Government. Elsewhere the paper, referring to the arrests that are being made by the police at Dhárwár in connection with the recent disturbances, remarks :—Great uncertainty prevails at Dhárwár and it looks as if Government is asleep. British rule has given place to the rule of the Moghuls. God help the people and especially the non-co-operators.]

Karnataka Vritta (84), 17th July.

***3. The devilish work commenced by the bureaucracy who are the incarnations of Dyer does not seem to be nearing its completion as yet. Every one knows how in order to ingratiate themselves into the good graces of their superior they shed innocent blood and sent countless**

heroes to prison. But, the thirst of these vile men does not seem to have been quenched as yet and they are proceeding with their work with undiminished zeal. Oh ye bureaucrats, how many heroes should be sacrificed to you that your thirst might be quenched? Let us know it once for all. The brave sons of mother Karnátak are prepared to offer themselves as your victims. We are very much surprised to see that these reprehensible acts of Government have produced no effect on our students and pleaders. What do they mean by sitting still like cowards, when their brothers have girded up their loins and are showing their readiness to sacrifice their lives for the uplift of their mother-country? Are you men at heart? Is there any manliness in you or have you forgotten the glorious history of your forefathers? Can it be that you have sold your conscience? If you are Indians, then how is it that you put up with the humiliation of your brothers? O my brothers gird up your loins for avenging yourselves upon Government for the injustice which they have done you. Pleaders and students, be up and we shall show the bureaucracy what strength we possess. Pleaders, say "victory to the Karnatak" and come out of the law courts. Students, boycott your schools at once and let them present the appearance of a cemetery. Brothers, awake, awake; let us not lose this auspicious opportunity of raising aloft the banner of the Karnatak. [In another place the paper writes:—The Collector of our District, Mr. Painter, has even surpassed General Dyer. Several incidents which have recently occurred in the different districts of the Karnatak show that the Collectors of these districts are suffering from some kind of mental derangement. Of all the Governors in India, the Governor of Bombay is best known for his liberal views. We suggest, therefore, that His Excellency the Governor should investigate the causes of their mental derangement and send the officials one and all to the lunatic asylum which is not far from the prison where the patriots of Dhárwár are enduring their sufferings with resignation and fortitude.]

Kesari (111), 12th July; *Rájakáran* (131), 10th July; *Lokamánya* (115), 14th July; *Swarájya* (145), 14th July; *Lokasangraha* (116), 15th July.

4. Government had issued a communiqué about the firing at Dhárwár and they have now issued a revised edition of the same. But a Government communiqué is not a word of God. The present communiqués only show how Government are duped by their officials into making statements that are absolutely untrue. The people of Dhárwár who are well aware of the true facts are not likely to entertain high regard for Government after the publication of these communiqués. But in this affair Sir George Lloyd is more to blame than the other officials. Although the official and the non-official versions are so very divergent, he insists upon believing everything that the officials tell him and does not think it necessary to appoint an independent committee. We are not at all anxious about the men who have been prosecuted since they will have an opportunity to establish their innocence in a court of law. But the question whether the Sub-Inspector was or was not justified in firing upon the people will not be decided unless he is tried for murder. To allow an irresponsible official like a Sub-Inspector to shoot down people with impunity is to deprive them of all their rights of citizenship. The present Governor is said to be against firing upon the people by the police and it is to be seen whether he lives up to his reputation. [The *Rájakáran* writes:—Mr. Painter will be disappointed if he believes that he can kill the anti-drink movement by arresting the leaders. It has taken such a firm hold of the people that for every man arrested ten other men will come forward to do his work. Lord Reading has indulged in sufficient talk about giving justice to India and apparently he is now peacefully slumbering at Simla. The *Lokamánya* writes:—Diarchy has not in any way benefitted the people. It has only imposed an additional burden upon them. The Bombay Government includes five Indians, but Mr. Painter could safely ignore their presence there while enacting a tragedy similar to that of the Jallianwala Bagh. Would he have dared to do so if these men had any power to exercise a restraining influence over him? The *Swarájya* inquires whether Government have asked the Sub-Inspector of Police at Dhárwár to explain why he fired upon the people without the order of a Magistrate. It asks Government to bring him to justice and to take suitable measures to prevent a recurrence of the unhappy events. The *Lokasangraha* says that as the words 'Dyer' and 'Painter' have nearly the same meaning, so also there is very little difference between the mentality of these two men who bear these names.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th and 15th July.

5. "The flood of light shed by the report of our special representative on the tragic happenings at Dhárwár must have convinced our readers that a fresh crime against humanity, of a nature more diabolical even than that of Jallianwalla Bagh, has been committed. It is true that fewer human lives have been sacrificed and fewer injuries have been inflicted, but we are deliberately of opinion that in point of quality the crime committed by the Dhárwár police is worse than that of Dyer and his myrmidons.......... What excuse had Shivlingappa and his underlings for firing without warning and without any attempt to disperse the crowd more peacefully?......... Our representative has reproduced some extracts from the statement of an eye-witness of the whole tragedy which shatter the entire fabric of misrepresentation and self-contradiction which the official communiques have erected. The eye-witness was characterised as 'the most disinterested B.A., LL.B. in Dhárwár' by Mr. Marsden, Superintendent of Police, Dhárwár. His statement is with the police and Sir George Lloyd's Government may call for it, if they wish to probe the truth. We have it from this 'most disinterested' witness that he saw 'no attempt made by anyone in the mob to damage either person or property in the vicinity of the shops'. He did see stones thrown once or twice, but the police took it complacently and 'no attempt was made by them to disperse the crowd'......... The witness says he was standing close to the compound wall of the Police Thána and he 'saw no attempt made by the people either to hamper the police physically or any attempt to trouble them.' Then he suddenly heard the whistle blown and responded to by the other police party and actual firing commenced 'in all directions' without any warning....... And yet the official communique asks the public to believe that 'the Sub-Inspector again warned the rioters without avail and then ordered his party to fire'. It may be contended that the police fired in self-defence, because their lives were in danger. Here again the testimony of the 'most disinterested' eye-witness disproves the fact......... As to the allegations of arson, it will not be strange if this story of arson proves ultimately to be an after-thought and a diabolical concoction with a view to justify the massacre......... We shall not refer to-day to the deplorable callousness shown by Mr. Painter and the Superintendent of Police in leaving the dying and the dead unattended on the public road for two hours. The whole episode recalls the horrors of Jhallianwalla Bagh in a strange manner. As we have said, in some respects it is more horrible than even Dyer's crime......... Lord Reading appeals to the people of India to forget the Punjáb episode. How can they forget it when fresh and fresh Jhallianwalla Baghs are being created by monsters in human shape dressed up in brief authority strutting about the land at so many places? Unless those who are mainly concerned in the Dhárwár massacre are suspended from their posts, pending an enquiry, and unless that enquiry is conducted on absolutely impartial lines, which will be approved by the public, it is futile for the Viceroy and the Government of Bombay to hope that the people will easily forget the past or forgive the fresh wrong inflicted on them." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"Do Sir George Lloyd's Government and do the Government of India realise the importance of the Dhárwár affair? It is impossible to over-estimate the force of the impression created among Indians by the tidings that the Sub-Inspector of Police, Shivlingappa, who caused the tragedy, was still at large in Dhárwár, and not only that, but actually taking a leading part in 'organising' the prosecution—*i. e.*, selecting the 'accused'. We wish the Government would realise before it is too late, before England, Europe and America are once more ringing with another unfortunate occurrence under British rule, that this is an affair of the first magnitude.......... The official and the popular versions of the incident are diametrically opposed to one another; and where that happens, the call for special inquiry seems to us to be too evident to need pointing out to anyone accustomed to the Government of Eastern peoples. To leave

the incident for judgment to the ordinary officials and the ordinary course of law is simply to increase the popular distrust and sense of wrong... ...... We have already stated more than once in these columns that the reputation of the British in India is at the mercy of their Indian subordinates, whose sycophantic zeal should, therefore, be restrained more carefully than it has been of late; and that the behaviour of the said sycophantic Indians has contributed at least as much to the unpopularity of that rule as has the behaviour of the English officials, who are not all or most of them like Mr. Painter.......... Indians are not consciously unfair in judgment of officials, as the officials would have us believe. But they consider that the ordinary machinery of Government runs with a heavy bias against unofficial evidence and in favour of 'official'—*i. e.*, police—evidence. And where, as at Dhárwár, the two are in absolute opposition, the machinery should be suspended for a time and an inquiry held by some person or persons quite above suspicion of such bias, just as in the case of actual machinery, a mechanic is called in when works go wrong and there is danger of a general smash. We hope this opportunity for pacifying the Karnatik will not be missed by a Government presided over by a gentleman of such wide Oriental experience as Sir George Lloyd."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 16th July, Eng. cols.

6. In the course of an article on the Dhárwár shooting incident contributed to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, the writer observes:—"Now, before going into the merits of what happened at Dhárwár we must draw the attention of our readers to the outstanding fact that the time has gone by when a Government communique was accepted without question by the educated Indian public. Originally, this feature was introduced to give authoritative and reliable information to the public.......... But this seems to have been a matter of the long past, since during the last three years we cannot recall a single instance in which an official communique on any subject has been accepted as correct by the country, or that the public has acquiesced in it without question. If we may venture to make a discrimination, a distinction should be made between the Málegaon riots and the Dhárwár affair. At Málegaon the turbulent element of the population was out for trouble, but there is no evidence that there is such a section of the population at Dhárwár, or that it can be held responsible for what happened. The persons arrested at Dhárwár do not belong to the class of persons who are under trial at Málegaon. As we have said above, official accounts of such events are no longer accepted as reliable.......... The two official statements issued regarding the Dhárwár tragedy are practically the information supplied by the District Magistrate. In the unofficial accounts grave allegations have been made against that officer and have neither been contradicted nor denied. We do not think it can be denied that no magistrate was present when the police opened fire upon the crowd and killed and wounded a number of people. The District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police did not appear on the scene till some time afterwards. The official versions do not mention the number of casualties among the policemen before the sub-inspector of police used his revolver and the policemen under him opened fire. Was any policemen killed? Were others severely wounded, and, if so, how many policemen are in hospital? Satisfactory answers to these questions can alone justify the firing by the police if it can be justified at all without the presence and authority of a magistrate as provided by law. So far we have not seen anywhere that any policemen were killed or seriously wounded. On the other hand, it is definitely alleged that the District Magistrate was openly hostile to the non-co-operation movement even before the tragedy that occurred on the 1st of this month, that he threatened some persons, that he sent for some journalists who have now been arrested and told them that he was thirsting for their blood and would not be satisfied till they were sent to jail for at least a year. This is a statement that has been repeated and the Bombay Government should call upon the District Magistrate of Dhárwár to state explicitly whether this is true or not. There is a good deal to be cleared up in connection with the Dhárwár tragedy, but as the Local Government do not propose to make an independent inquiry they should not be surprised if the public is not satisfied with the official versions already published."

Servant of India (9), 14th July.

7. Referring to the Government and the popular versions of the shooting affair at Dhárwár, the *Servant of India* writes :—"There is a wide divergence between the two versions and the man in the street is placed at a serious disadvantage in arriving at the truth. We would, therefore, strongly recommend to Government the desirability of appointing a small committee of impartial men to go into the causes of the firing and to report as to the responsibility of both sides in the affair. It is worthy of note that even the local Congress Committee which is supposed to be a non-co-operating body has supported the demand for a committee like the one suggested above. The demand, though strange when it comes from non-co-operators, is quite just."

Gujaráti Punch (17), 10th July; *Model* (26), 10th July; *Hind Mitra* (18), 10th July.

8. All people will be sorry to hear of the sad incident which happened at Dhárwár. It cannot now be boasted that there is no repression in the Bombay Presidency. One point at least is quite clear from the reports published by Government and the public and it is this that there was no Magistrate present when the shooting took place. Have the Sub-Inspectors of the Police Department of the Government of Bombay been authorized to give orders to fire? These are serious questions and the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay does not explain them. Another important matter is that those who tried to nurse the wounded were also fired upon. Is it not cruel on the part of Government officials to do so? Government should not only appoint an impartial Committee to inquire into this matter in response to the demand of the Dhárwár District Congress Committee but should also proceed against the Sub-Inspector who ordered the firing in the absence of the Magistrate and punish him if he is proved to be guilty. We are very sorry to notice that there is apathy on the part of Government in instituting inquiries into such incidents, and extreme hastiness to make arrests. Several editors of nationalist newspapers and others have been arrested without warrant. How is it possible to know whether those arrested are innocent or guilty? We are extremely grieved to see that the officials do not observe silence in such times of excitement. Sir George Lloyd should immediately appoint a commission to inquire into this incident. [The *Model* remarks :—It appears from the telegram sent by the President of the Dhárwár District Congress Committee to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and the Viceroy that there was much excitement in Dhárwár. The explanation of the disturbance given by Government is not clear and there is no truth in some of the details stated therein. It appears that the people were not very much to blame It was most improper that there should have been no Magistrate present when the firing took place. If the whole account published by the District Congress Committee is correct, the matter is very serious and hence the officials concerned should be taken very severe notice of. Government should place a strong check on its high-handed officials who take the law in their own hands in this absurd fashion and make thoughtless use of it. The incident is really a serious one and if all possible efforts are not made to do justice in the matter, there will undoubtedly arise in future a situation similar to the Jallianwala Bagh incident. The *Hind Mitra* remarks :—Government should immediately inquire into the matter, punish severely those officials who are guilty and reprimand those who have issued a misleading Press Note. All the officials concerned should be suspended before an inquiry is instituted into the serious allegations that are made in the report of the District Congress Committee. They should not be entrusted with the work of inquiry and be prohibited from making any more arrests.]

Dyerism still alive in the country.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th July.

9. "That Dyerism is far from being dead in this country, in spite of obsequies religiously performed, has been demonstrated by nearly half a dozen episodes since the *Requiem* was sung in the Imperial Legislative Assembly. Rae Bareli, Chandpur, Giridih, Dhárwár, Aligarh—all have shown that the evil spirit which sets at naught all laws of humanity and takes no count of human suffering is still there. Dukes and Viceroys may proclaim to the world that the spirit has been slain completely and that it will never raise its head again. But every

fresh episode, in which the people and those who pretend to maintain the peace among them come into collision, betrays the existence and undiminished vitality of the evil principle which is at work. We might dismiss each episode by explaining it away in ways not fully convincing to our inmost heart, but the cumulative effect of the episodes occurring one after another is not to be so easily dispelled."

The Law Member of the Government of India should prevent a further misuse of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th July.

10. Referring to the use being made of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code to control the activities of the non-co-operators, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"The scandal of this prostitution of law for political purposes has assumed such proportions that signs are not wanting that those who were originally disposed to look on with mingled satisfaction and amusement at this abuse of the Criminal Procedure Code are getting alarmed at the orgy of lawlessness in which officialdom is indulging in its hunt for the scalps of the non-co-operators.......... In these circumstances, is it too much to expect that Dr. Sapru, the Law Member of the Government of India, will intervene and prevent the further abuse of law, if not for the sake of justice, at least for sake of the prestige of the Government with which he has the honour to co-operate? But a mere halt in the campaign of repression is not enough. Those who have been illegally imprisoned or fined under Section 144 ought to be set at liberty and the fines refunded, if strict justice is to be done."

Mahrátta (7), 17th July.

***11.** "Mr. Sheshagiri Ayer, in an interview at Lucknow, gave a piece of his mind regarding the use and abuse of Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. He gave his considered opinion that the particular section was being gravely abused in preventing free speech and issuing of prohibitory orders by District Magistrates. The section was never meant to be used like that by the framers of it. Will Dr. Sapru, the Law Member, pay heed to this clear verdict? If Dr. Sapru is not the originator of this new device, at least he has acquiesced in the abuse of the section. And if a doubt is expressed by so eminent an ex-judge as Mr. Sheshagiri Ayer, let Dr. Sapru at once proceed to quash all such orders under Section 144 and direct his subordinate enthusiasts to refrain from its abuse. Mr. Sheshagiri Ayer insisted upon the immediate release of the Martial Law prisoners in the Punjáb and the immediate dismissal of the minor officials in the Punjáb who contributed to make the civil administration a farce by playing into the hands of General Dyer. He further expressed his conviction of the necessity of the introduction of responsible Government in the Central Government. Will Lord Reading learn to read aright the thought-currents of the Nation?"

The Honourable Mr. Sastri and the Imperial Conference.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th July; *Hindu* (158), 4th July.

12. "While it is satisfactory to note that the discussion in the Imperial Conference on the position of Indians in the Dominions and Colonies of the Empire has not altogether been burked as feared, it is rather difficult to make out whether the resolution on the subject which Mr. Sastri was to move in the Conference has been withdrawn by him or he has only been allowed to make a statement of the position from the Indian point of view......... Are we to believe that either Mr. Montagu or Mr. Sastri and the Maharao have sold away the claims of Indians in this easy manner at the private sessions of the Conference? Then again, what is the meaning of the fresh statements made by the Maharao and Mr. Sastri on the same subject—statements which reopen a question that, according to the *Daily Chronicle*, must be taken as closed? And are these statements to be understood as mere statements and nothing more or will they lead to any definite decision by the Conference? We can think of no more egregious failure of Mr. Sastri's mission than that things should be left at mere pious expressions of hopes on one side and references to the complexities of the problem on the other." [The ***Hindu*** writes:—When Mr. Sastri was leaving these shores for the

London Imperial Conference, many of our friends were jubilant over the proper selection of a representative to demonstrate to the full India's wants at the Conference. Mr. Sastri himself expressed that he would justify his selection. From a perusal of Mr. Sastri's speech our readers will find that all our expectations have fallen flat. The speech is an indication of the same faintness of spirit, the same cringing servility and the same partiality. Even our Moderate friends must have been disappointed after reading the above speech. A nation claims its rights and not prays for their grant.]

Comments on the proposed conferment of the freedom of London on the Honourable Mr. Sastri.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 17th July.

*13. "A Reuter's telegram conveys the news that the London Municipality has resolved to confer the freedom of that city on Mr. Sastri and the Maharao of Cutch, the Indian delegates to the Imperial Cabinet. The Maharao, of course, is not expected to decline anything, but we think that, after the miscarriage of his resolution about the status of Indians in the Imperial Cabinet, Mr. Sastri cannot gracefully accept any personal distinction which masks the grim fact that his plea on behalf of his countrymen for civilised treatment in the British colonies has been rejected. It is clear from the language which Mr. Sastri used in his resolution that he regarded it as embodying the purport of his mission in the Imperial Cabinet, and it is hardly seemly that a public man sent on a national mission should accept a personal compliment when that mission remains unaccomplished."

The Irish peace negotiations.

Kesari (111), 12th July.

14. Commenting upon the Irish peace pourparlers, the *Kesari* writes:— We are glad the efforts of General Smuts promise to be successful. We agree with the General that the attainment of *swardjya* of her choice by Ireland will remove an ugly stain attaching to the British Empire. What was achieved in South Africa could certainly have been achieved in Ireland long ago. Why cannot India be made similarly satisfied? The answer to this simple question is equally simple. England's self-interest does not allow her to do justice to India. No one can help it if she wants to convert India into another Ireland.

Condemnation of complaints regarding the hovering of an aeroplane over the Sikh Darbar at Amritsar.

Sind Vasi (167), 5th July.

15. Some headstrong and unreasonable men have commented adversely in connection with an aeroplane being seen at Amritsar over the Sikh Darbar and thereby caused a flutter in the hearts of many. An aeroplane hovering over the Darbar and *goras* (Malechs) sitting in it! What a sacrilege! Verily they must have boots on too! They might have smoked also! What a great pity! And what a disrespect for the Darbar Sahib and the Sikh Panth that not the boots only must hang over the Darbar but that tobacco also must be smoked over it! We are sorely disappointed to read this sort of comment. Veracity has taken to its heels. Nobility of mind has departed and reason has bade good bye! Those who have commented in the above fashion are either donkeys or without faith, or have taken leave of their senses. Or, they are only too ready to adopt any means to bring the Government into disrepute. Every one knows that there are aeroplanes in all towns which go round every corner. It must not be forgotten that the aeroplanes rise to a height of 2 or 3 thousand feet. And is it possible for them to avoid passing over temples and mosques? And if they soared over such a height what harm is there? It isn't that the aeroplanes hovered particularly over Amritsar, nor was the aeroplane soaring only for the purpose of having a view of the Darbar. If the boots were worn one or two thousand feet above the Darbar level and the Darbar is desecrated thereby, then in fact no one should pass by a mandir or a mosque with shoes on. If that were done then all should have to go about barefooted because forsooth there are temples, mosques and churches all around. The same remarks apply with regard to smoking. Some critics have so far departed from truth-telling that they have invented their own tales. One Sikh paper only surmised that cigarettes might have been smoked also. This was

magnified by a non-co-operator paper into cigarettes having been actually smoked. Verily that which deviates one from the path of truth is not true patriotism!

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the United Provinces Liberal Association.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 12th July, Eng. cols.

16. "It is a speech after reading which we are more than ever convinced that the Viceroy means well but that the proverbially slow mills of the Government do not permit him to accelerate the speed of the wheels. But by expressing this opinion we do not wish it to be inferred that we whole-heartedly subscribe to all the statements of the Viceroy.......... With all the emphasis at our command we beg to point out that Indians—who have the most forgiving nature in the world—are ever ready to differentiate between purity of motives and honesty of purpose, and actions of the officials actuated, so to say, by malice prepense. It is actions which come within the latter category which, in reality, are unpardonable and which under no circumstance should be condoned or glossed over. The action of the officials implicated in the Punjáb tragedy comes within the latter heading and that is why the Indians have declined and still do decline, to excuse the crimes of the criminals who were directly or indirectly involved in the tragedy. It is an insult to Indian intelligence to infer or to make them infer that actions of your Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Dyer, Bosworth Smith, Johnson and others were actuated by motives which were 'pure and sincere'. Lord Reading perhaps does not know, but the fact that makes the crime more heinous is that the Government of India knew that a foul crime was committed and yet they did their best to shield the underlings. A little timely honesty, a little fair play and a little sympathy expressed by Lord Chelmsford, would at once have gone a long way to assuage the poignancy of the wound. Instead of that the Government was callously indifferent and the Home Member openly doubted the veracity of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya when he pointed out that on irrefutable evidence he was prepared to prove that the number of victims of the tragedy far exceeded the official record.......... It is the blackest chapter in the history of British Administration in India and if even after two years Indians clamour for real justice and punishment of the criminals, it must be remembered that never in the past did the iron penetrate India's soul so deeply as it did during the period of this tragic episode. Lord Reading further added, 'I shall only add that we must use the past to gather wisdom to guide us in the present and the future and to help us to a closer and more sympathetic understanding of each other.' Again we say that this is an unexceptional statement, but did the Government of Lord Chelmsford during the past two years avail themselves of a single opportunity 'to gather wisdom' from their past mistakes and do a single action which might be construed to have been actuated by a more sympathetic understanding of the Indians? We observe a slight petulance on his lordship's part when he took to task the members of the deputation for once again harping on the tragedy. Who is to be blamed, my lord, if the sore is still kept open and the wound not allowed to heal?........ We can forget and forgive many things but we cannot forget all this, without being untrue to the memory of the victims."

Young India (12), 13th July.

17. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the Liberal League Deputation from the United Provinces delivered an address which was more cautious than his reply to the Ahmadiyya Deputation. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remind His Excellency that in it he has asked India to do the impossible. Liberals and Nationalists, co-operators and non-co-operators, Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis, Christians, Jews and all who call themselves Indians insist, each in his own way, upon the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs being righted. His Excellency is still pressing the Khilafat claim. That is hopeful, in that he does not ask the Mussalmans of India and their Hindu and other countrymen to forget the Khilafat wrong. But he clearly asks us to forget the Punjáb wrong. The task is as impossible as it would be for a

physician to make a patient forget—except under the temporary influence of some stupefying drug—his painful disease. The Punjáb wrong is like a running sore, and even as a running sore cannot be healed unless the whole of the poison is removed, so can the Punjáb wrong not be forgotten and forgiven, unless and until the poison in the shape of pensions to and continued employment of unrepentant and faithless servants has been removed. Does Lord Reading imagine that India is reconciled to the translation of Mr. Thomson to a higher post? He asks us to give him and his Government credit for sincerity and honesty of purpose. He may have that credit, but there arises immediately upon the grant of that credit the belief, that there is a fundamental difference between the Government's and the people's outlook upon vital matters. And so long as Lord Reading and his Government continue, be it ever so sincerely, to ask India to be reconciled to the retention on the pension list or on the service list of the names of those, who have from an Indian standpoint proved unworthy of the trust imposed in them, so long there can be no meeting-ground between the Government and the people. If we have even a semblance of responsibility given to us, surely we must have the right to dismiss from service those who have atrociously wronged us. To me it is a supreme test of responsibility—the righting of the two wrongs. The injustice of the Khilafat wrong is admitted. The atrocity in the Punjáb is written in letters of blood. We admit that we did wrong in Amritsar, in Kasur, in Jallianwala and in Gujranwala. We have been made to pay for it heavily. We have been humiliated, kicked. Both the innocent and the guilty have been hanged. We have ourselves made a frank, free and open confession from many a platform. We ask for no humiliation of official wrong-doers. All we ask is, that they may not be imposed upon us as masters.......... Hundreds, if not thousands, of Englishmen and Englishwomen consider Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer as saviours of the Empire and the honour of their kind. It is highly likely, that if I were an Englishman intent upon holding India at any cost, I would feel even as they. But I hold, that so long as that attitude is retained, so long must co-operation between the Government and the people be impossible. Non-co-operation alone can open the eyes of Englishmen to the fact that co-operation with them in the government of the country involves an acceptance of their attitude. But it is inconsistent with their position as friends and associates. They may not remain in India on the strength of their bayonets. They can remain only on the strength of our goodwill. That and that alone must be the binding force between them and us. Let them not mock us by professing equality on the lips and by maintaining behind their entrenchments an unassailable superiority. As a shrewd man of the world, Lord Reading, I hope, will soon recognise the impossibility of reconciling two opposite attitudes. Had there been a middle course, non-co-operators would have adopted it long ago. It is not a question of hatred or ill-will on the part of the vast mass of people. I invite him to drive the probe deep enough, and he would find that weak as we are, we can no longer tolerate the cult of white superiority. Lip professions, well meaning and sincere though they may be, can serve no useful purpose. We are idolatrous enough to demand ocular proof of equality. Does he not see, that the existence of white soldiers may be a necessity for the safety of Englishmen, never for the safety of the Indian Border? Englishmen must be prepared to live in India precisely on the same terms as the Parsis. A mere handful of the latter have remained for the last thousand years as honoured friends and partners. They have needed no special protection, no fort to retire to in times of danger from enraged Hindus or Mussalmans. Have not the followers of Moses and Jesus the faith of those of Zoroaster? The plain fact is, that Englishmen are not prepared to remain in India on the sufferance of the millions of Hindus and Mussalmans. The latter are not prepared to give the former any advantageous position by reason of their controlling all the most destructive appliances that human ingenuity has ever invented. There is no choice before the latter but that of making a supreme effort to neutralise the effect of all those appliances by ceasing to fear them, *i. e.*, by non-resistance. This may all appear to be arrogant or visionary. I hope, however, that Lord

Reading at any rate will soon find that I have spoken the real mind of India. And the sooner this fundmental truth is realised, the sooner will there be real hearty co-operation between Englishmen and Indians. I am longing for such co-operation, and it is this very longing which deters me from accepting any apology, no matter how tempting, for co-operation."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th July.

18. "Referring to the demand, voiced by the United Provinces Liberal Association, that Indians should be allowed to participate in an adequate manner in the defence of their country, the Viceroy is reported to have stated that the rules under the Territorial Force Act are about to be published in their final form and that steps are being taken to constitute a number of Territorial infantry battalions. Lord Reading further observed, 'the response that is made to the appeal for recruits for this Territorial Force will be the measure of the genuineness of the demand to which you refer.' Taking this remark as its text, our local morning contemporary reads a homily to our 'Liberal' friends.......... But may we humbly protest to both Lord Reading and our contemporary that the conditions of the test proposed are far from fair. If the 'experiment' during the war proved a 'failure,' there was very good reason for it, and if it again proves a 'failure,' there will be very good reasons for that too; but Indians will refuse to be held responsible for all such 'failures'. Why did the last experiment fail? It failed because of the humiliating inequalities in the matter of allowances, status and so on, based on racial distinctions, that existed between the Indian and European sections of the Defence Force. If the same inequalities are to be perpetuated in the rules which are to be promulgated shortly, in connection with the Territorial Force, we promise both Lord Reading and our contemporary that the fresh 'experiment' will be not only a failure, but even a greater failure than the last one."

Mahrátta (7), 17th July.

*19. "The Liberals of the U. P. went a long way, if not out of their way, to Simla to present the Viceroy with a belated address of welcome. We cannot know the exact motives which actuated them to approach the great Olympian god living in the clouds but the motives can be well seen as they float on the surface. The U. P. Liberals desired to parade before the Viceroy their sense of co-operation as against the whole country and they did it well, and the leaders will soon get their rewards. Secondly, they expected to take the wind out of the sails of the non-co-operators by referring to the very questions which were the root cause of their present attitude. Had the Viceroy given even apparent ground for satisfaction, the Liberals would have gone from one end of the country to the other applauding to the skies the virtues of the new Reforms and the new Viceroy. But the Viceroy gave them indeed a slap against the face by refusing to give any definite reply and further by giving them a sharp rebuke and boxing their ears for referring to those questions. We pity the lot of these invertebrate Liberals who have neither the strength and courage of the non-co-operators nor the supine servility of the born slaves. They are between the two fires and sure they deserve no other fate. The U. P. Liberals laid right emphasis on the Punjáb tragedy.......... The Viceroy in his reply evaded the real issue between the bureaucracy and the people, namely, the complete satisfaction of the Punjáb wrongs and the vindication of India's self-respect. The Viceroy repeated the stale platitudes of the bureaucracy parrot-like and exhorted the Liberals and through them the whole country to forget and forgive and let bygones be bygones and he missed the real point there. A more exalted personality than even Lord Reading himself, the Duke of Connaught had said the same thing in a better vein but even the U. P. Liberals were not satisfied with it. They voiced the feelings of India when they refused to accept the appeal as righting of the wrongs or vindication of national self-respect. India demands two things in clear terms. They demand the punishment of the offenders and a guarantee of the same not having a chance of being repeated, by the immediate grant of *swarájya.* These are the points involving national honour and prestige and in spite of hundreds of such appeals the country will insist upon full satisfaction of these demands. The Viceroy may lay unction to his soul of doing justice by being engaged in the examination of the cases of persons still imprisoned, and if even the co-operative Liberals are satisfied with these vague and windy nothings, we shall at least feel that human nature in India has fallen to a lower peg and is more squalid than elsewhere…… … In order to give a sop to the Liberals the Viceroy indulged in many vague promises which could mean nothing till they are materialised………. The Liberals after the first flush of tinsel of authority are returning, it seems, to senses. In their address they referred to many other important questions which demand immediate solution, including the question of Khilafat, but the Viceroy did not commit himself to anything and covered his evasion under the specious plea of being unacquainted with them during so short a time that he is here in India."

Servant of India (9), 14th July.

20. "The Viceroy almost rebuked the deputation for referring to the events in the Punjáb in the way they did. They had said, 'the people of India have yet to receive complete satisfaction for the wrong done to them and that the self-respect of India yet remains to vindicate in full measure.' We entirely agree with this sentiment; that has always been our view. The Viceroy accuses those who demand adequate amends to be made of 'keeping alive the mistakes and errors of the past,' and of acting contrary to the royal appeal to forgive and forget by 'reviving this unhappy chapter of our history.' On the contrary, we seek help to enable the people 'to regard this chapter as closed,' by awarding condign punishment to those who are proved to have been guilty of inhuman conduct. We have no desire to belittle what the Government have already done. Expressions of regret there have been; but it is impossible not to notice the contrast between the disapproval of the excesses committed by the mob on the one hand and by Government's officers on the other—the downright condemnation of the former and the tepid and qualified censure of the latter……… The fact remains that the iron has entered into the soul of Indians, as Dr. Sapru so well put it, and it is not too much to ask that Government should punish the offending officials in a suitable manner. We fully recognise that Lord Chelmsford's Government by their culpable inaction in this matter has placed the new Viceroy in a difficult situation, but, as a mark of sympathy with the feelings of Indians, he can at least do this—he can remove those officials who have been implicated in this unholy affair from the scene of their operations; let the Punjáb at any rate have the last of them………. The Viceroy's reply in regard to the threatened increase in the emoluments of the imperial services is highly unsatisfactory, but we are glad he took occasion to refer, in a way which is hopeful, to a matter of very great importance—the abrogation of laws which discriminate between Indians and Europeans."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 17th July.

***21.** "We must say that we fail to see in Lord Reading's attitude an adequate appreciation of the sense of moral wrong which the Punjáb excesses have created in the Indian mind. The translation of one of the principal instruments of the high-handed policy which culminated in these excesses to a position in the Foreign Office, can only mean that in Lord Reading's view there was nothing in the wrong-doing which touched the roots of character. Indians, on the other hand, firmly believe the contrary. No settlement of the question will be satisfactory which does not recognise this central fact. The Punjáb excesses were deliberately inflicted with a view to humiliate Indians as a race and nation. No man who had anything to do with them has a right to a place in a Government of India which acknowledges, as it now does, that this was the case."

New Times (8), 9th July.

22. "His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Liberal League, United Provinces, covers a pretty wide ground. Its general tone is conciliatory; but in its reading of the situation it is, in several respects, disappointing. Its reference to the 'far-reaching recommendations of the Press Act' which, we are told, will be published in a day or two, is, let us hope, a hint that the Press Act is going to be abolished……… 'Even-handed justice, the

Viceroy urges, is his 'Government's earnest desire and determination'. The country will test this by actual conduct not well-phrased sentiments, of the administration. As it is, as the Viceroy himself confesses, 'incidents happen at times which are quite unjustifiable and rouse the indignation that always follows upon injustice'.......... The country does not share His Excellency's optimism that such incidents 'tend daily to disappear.' Let the reader recall the treatment, for instanee, accorded by some officials to some of the non-co-operators in this 'benighted' official-ridden Province. Lord Reading has a strong will; if he can impress it upon the Administration and really secure justice to India, he will help at once this country and England; if the system proves too strong for him, he will fail as his predecessors have done. And then? Then India may become another Ireland. For, in its last analysis, India's demand is really one for justice.......... Justice, sympathy, equality and freedom, of these four, India's demand is essentially for justice. A strong nation does not ask for 'sympathy'; and India will only weaken herself further by a longing for 'sympathy' at the hands of others. Not 'sympathy' but 'justice' is her plea. For, to do justice to her would be to secure 'equality' and 'freedom'; home-rule is her birthright; and in recognising her claim to *swaráj*, you only do justice to her.......... The Viceroy has said repeatedly that his ideal is justice; but he betrays a different attitude of mind when he says that India's 'advance must depend on the co-operation' which the Government would receive from the people 'upon whom' the Reforms 'have been conferred' and by the extent to which 'it is formed' by Government 'that the confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility'! This is as much as to say:—Indians! We have done a favour to you by giving you 'reforms'; if you want more favours, let us be satisfied that you behave better! When did a nation gain anything real by 'favours'? And when did a Government do justice when its dominant consciousness was that of 'conferring' favours upon the people? No; there is something patronising, something egoistic, something arrogant in this talk of doing 'justice' to India. To do real justice to the people is to say frankly:—We recognise your claim to *swaráj*; freedom is your birthright. Say what His Excellency will, the verdict of India is clear: not until India is free will justice have been done to her."

Swarájya (145), 14th July.

23. The Viceroy asks the people to forget the past in view of Government's repeated expressions of regret. We do not attach much value to his advice. His Excellency wants the events in the Punjáb to be remembered only in so far as they would be a guide for the future to everyone concerned. But have the officials profited by their experience? Does the frequent firing upon the unarmed and innocent people show that the authorities have become wiser after their experience in the Punjáb? They ask the people to condone their mistakes, but do they adopt that course themselves when the people are in the wrong? [The paper next tells the Viceroy that he cannot plead for long that he has not been long enough in the country to be able to devise measures calculated to give satisfaction to the people. It tells him that the people, excepting the few Moderates, have lost all patience and are trying to bring about their own salvation.]

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 12th July.

24. Lord Reading no doubt silenced the Moderates by showering upon them quite a flood of sympathetic words. We do not know whether the Moderates were satisfied; but in any case India is not the land of Moderates. They are merely a handful in a population of 33 crores and their dissatisfaction would matter just as little as their satisfaction. But what message has Lord Reading to offer to a non-co-operating India which, having despaired of getting justice at the hands of Government, has resorted to a new path. Perhaps His Excellency will say that only three months have passed since his arrival in this country and that his task is, therefore, difficult. But India cannot wait until His Excellency's task becomes easy. He ought to have thought about his fitness before taking up the responsibilities of the administration.

He cannot shirk his responsibilities on the score of ignorance. If he was ignorant of his responsibilities he might just as well have remained at home. Did Lord Reading come to India to repeat, like a parrot, all the sweet words taught to him by the bureaucracy? How can justice be expected from a judge who sides openly with the bureaucracy and merely acts as their mouthpiece? It would be far better if this Viceroy, who is powerless to do any good to India, returns to his native country. Let us see if Lord Reading will be good enough to confer this favour upon us.

Sind Observer (10), 9th July.

25. "The Viceroy's reply is not only very sympathetic but statesmanlike and it shows that he has grasped the Indian problem and is anxious to do his best to satisfy legitimate Indian aspirations. People who are crying aloud that within three months His Excellency has not wrought miracles will do well to keep their souls in patience. He is the head of a Government which has hitherto governed autocratically without being influenced by public opinion in an appreciable degree. The process of democratisation is not an easy feat and the Viceroy has not Alladin's lamp in his hand to say 'let there be *swarāj*': and there is *swarāj* in the twinkling of an eye. No Viceroy will ever succeed if he does not carry the good opinion of Englishmen in India with him and it is well-known they are a very conservative set of people. No Viceroy also will ever succeed if he does not satisfy reasonable Indian opinion and becomes a part of the huge bureaucratic machine.......... His Excellency has begun very well and there are signs he will persist in his course of making the British connection more acceptable to Indians and will also earn the thanks of moderate Europeans for broad-basing British rule on the affections of the people. His Excellency wants time and we do not think they are the friends of the country who every moment threaten him with pestilential agitation, civil disobedience, proclamations of Indian republic and so on.......... Let Lord Reading steadfastly pursue the path which he has chalked out for himself not taking much notice of the gusts of wind that blow and we are sure his reward will be magnificent.......... We want to tell the Viceroy that the difficulties though formidable are not unconquerable. Nobody wants a severance of the British connection here as in Ireland or Egypt. The country has not reached the stage of Ireland. It will not reach that stage in the hands of a statesmanlike Viceroy.......... What India is in need of to-day is the vision of statesmanship. We will credit Lord Reading with vision. That vision must prevent India from turning as bitter as Ireland. Belated reforms, half-hearted concessions and muddling through must be avoided."

Hindusthān (20), 12th July; *Bombay Samāchār* (57), 12th July; *Akhbār-e-Islām* (54), 12th July.

26. The speech made by His Excellency Lord Reading in reply to the address of the United Provinces Liberal Association affords proof positive that he has fallen completely under the influence of the bureaucracy. It is the most disappointing speech he has made since his arrival in India. The Indian people are of the opinion that mere expression of regret on the part of Government for the Punjāb atrocities does not satisfy the requirements of British justice. Could not Government stop the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer and dismiss Bosworth Smith to prove their sincerity? Lord Reading has said nothing new about the Khilafat question. Does His Excellency consider it just to pay inordinately high salaries to the members of the Indian Civil Service and to starve the poor tax-payers? The speech has given rise to disappointment in the hearts of the Indian people and they have begun to lose faith in him. Should Lord Reading fall a victim to the bureaucracy, the smouldering fire of discontent in the country will surely take a serious turn. [The *Bombay Samāchār* also considers the Viceroy's speech as disappointing on the whole and expresses fear that he will fail in his mission of giving justice to India if he is induced to attach undue importance to prestige. The *Akhbār-e-Islām*, on the other hand, considers the speech as instinct with sympathy and sincerity and commends it to the careful consideration of the Indian people.]

Mr. Gandhi's propaganda to boycott foreign cloth.

Bharatwási (155), 9th July.

27. Mahátma Gandhi has issued his boycott manifesto. Before August 1st, all foreign goods are to be boycotted. Evidently the collection of a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaráj Fund has led Mr. Gandhi to think that Indians are now ready for this sacrifice. Now, while we are very glad at this large collection having been made in so short a time, we cannot help saying that in directing the boycott of foreign goods the Mahátma is really expecting too much. A crore from the whole of India is after all not very much, considering the efforts that were made to secure it. India is not unfamiliar with public donations of lakhs of rupees from individuals like Rash Behari Ghose, Palit and Jamnadas. Nor is it that she has never before this seen large collections of public subscriptions. Pandit Madán Mohan Malaviya had collected 90 lakhs for his Hindu University. The Mahátma ought to see how his other far easier items of non-co-operation have succeeded, before putting before the people this new item, a hundred times more difficult than the others. We consider it is the duty of every Indian to popularize the use of Swadeshi articles. Boycott also is a lawful weapon. But we certainly object to the methods proposed by the Mahátma to effect a complete boycott of foreign articles. Moreover, the period prescribed for its completion is too short. Such a difficult task will require lot of time and patience. Hence some serious consequences are bound to follow if matters are unnecessarily hurried.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 10th July.

28. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* characterises the proposal of Mr. Gandhi to burn foreign cloth as unwise. The paper remarks that the boycott movement does not mean that we should cut our throats with our own hands. It, however, advises the Musalmans not to have anything to do either with *swarájya* or Tilak, but to sacrifice their lives, property and children for the cause of the Khilafat. It adds that if the Khilafat remains intact, then *swarájya* will come of itself. The paper remarks that without the Khilafat the Musalmans will not care for the soverignty even of the whole world. It exhorts the Musalmans to turn to God and place their sole trust in him. It asserts that it is a mistake to suppose that by the attainment of *swarájya* all their difficulties will be solved.

Sind Observer (10), 11th July.

29. "According to Mr. Gandhi the boycott of foreign cloth is to be completed by the 1st of August.......... Can there be an effective boycott and that within 20 days? The probabilities are there cannot be. Some hard-headed Madras businessmen, who deal in foreign cloth (and Madras has to clothe 40 millions of people), have declared there will be a temporary suspension of demand but normal conditions will be restored again. At Calcutta all boys came out of the schools and colleges and when they found there were not sufficient national schools to receive them had to go back to their old schools. Similarly people will find there is not enough *khadi* or even Bombay mill-made cloth to clothe them and perforce will be forced to go in for *videshi* cloth in spite of their enthusiasm for Swadeshi. As to picketing it is one thing to picket liquor-shops and another thing to picket foreign cloth shops. The public have sympathy with those who picket liquor-shops; they cannot have sympathy with those who picket cloth shops; and public opinion counts for everything in the matter......... The boycott of foreign cloth will only prove successful if there is an entire revolution in the tastes of men, women and children and every one takes the vow of Swadeshi. Can such a revolution be expected in 20 days? Suppose the large importers of foreign cloth, the forty and odd merchants of Bombay, and of Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Karáchi and Amritsar take the vow of Swadeshi. There will be others ready to take their place because the business is profitable.......... Let the consumer take things into his own hand and refuse to buy foreign cloth, the distributing agencies will be compelled to adopt the Swadeshi line. Preaching of Swadeshi and an abundant supply of indigenous cloth will achieve more than picketing and boycott. The big importing houses cannot be picketed because they do not sell retail, in the same way that the wholesale importers of wines are not touched by the present picketing. A negative programme is not at all wanted. It is the positive programme of more abundant and finer cloth that the country is in need of. It is not difficult to import Japanese and Manchester *khadi* cloth and palm it off as Swadeshi. It is not difficult to put Swadeshi stamps on *videshi* cloth. This sort of fraud has thriven in the past and will thrive now. It will, therefore, become necessary to start genuine Swadeshi stores to sell Swadeshi cloth. Take the case of the city of Bombay. It has to clothe about a million people. There are a few thousands of foreign cloth shops there, and the genuine Swadeshi shops may be, at the highest computation, a hundred. The thousands of foreign cloth dealers finding it is profitable, will sell foreign *khadi* and palm it off as Swadeshi. Confusion will then become worse confounded. And people will then begin to suspect even the home-spun article. Let us give up this fruitless boycott; and produce more Swadeshi cloth, therein lies the way to our economic salvation.......... His fear is boycott will fail and will cause trouble within and without the country."

Gujaráti (15), 17th July, Eng. cols.

***30.** "The merchants who deal in cloth, says Mr. Gandhi, are prepared to give up trading in foreign cloth if only they could be assured that mill-owners will disregard the law of supply and demand and consider it their duty not to raise the prices. We are not told how European and Japanese houses are to be prevented from dumping down cheap textile fabrics upon the country and thus defeating his movement. Just as Mr. Gandhi has laid down certain impossible or impracticable suggestions for the attainment of *swarájya* in September next, the clever and shrewd dealers in foreign cloth seem to have imposed an impossible or impracticable condition and thus put off Mr. Gandhi. Acting upon their suggestion he has approached the mill-owners with a view to obtain an assurance from them not to raise prices in case an embargo is laid by him upon dealings in foreign cloth. What Mr. Gandhi has throughout his agitation failed to bear in mind is that he is dealing not with a village or a town or a city or even a South Africa, but with a vast country, almost a continent, and with millions of people. He has never fully realised what that means for his movement, projects and ideals. He seems to imagine that the Indian problem with its immense diversity and Himalayan magnitude can be treated and solved with success on lines similar to those he followed in South Africa. There is a fundamental misconception here on his part which has all along prevented him from realising vividly the gravity and immensity of the task he has taken in hand. We are all for Swadeshi, not only for Swadeshi cloth, but for all other Swadeshi articles, and also for Swadeshi doctors, Swadeshi engineers, Swadeshi experts, in fact every thing Swadeshi in all the departments of national life. But the question is how this and other objects in view can be accomplished and in what period of time. It is here that there arise radical differences of opinion between him and almost all the veteran leaders of India with a wider knowledge of the requirements and conditions of the country and a sounder grasp of the problems to which they give rise.......... The non-co-operation movement, as it is being preached and conducted, is a movement born of impatience and political inexperience and haste and is calculated to lead to economic waste."

Gujaráti (15), 10th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 11th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 11th July; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 13th July; *Bharat Seva* (14), 15th July.

31. After securing success in collecting a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaráj Fund, Mr. Gandhi has turned his attention to the boycott of foreign cloth. Boycott of foreign cloth was tried by the Bengalis at the time of the partition of Bengal and the movement met with failure. Mr. Gandhi is exhorting the people to take up the movement without loss of time; but the people cannot be expected to carry out his instructions without considering the *pros* and *cons* of the question. Mr. Gandhi has induced a few merchants to take a vow about not importing foreign cloth, but it is to be seen how far they succeed in observing it. These merchants will not directly import foreign cloth; but it is open to them to import it through the companies that do not bear their names or through their relatives. It is well and good to indulge in talk about the boycott of foreign cloth; but have we arrived at a stage when we can produce sufficient *khadi* to clothe the people of this country? Are we prepared to go naked by boycotting foreign cloth? The mill-owners and cloth merchants of Bombay have not given much encouragement to Mr. Gandhi in their recent interview with him. Why should foreign cloth not be given to the needy, instead of being burnt? [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers it very arbitrary and high-handed on the part of Mr. Gandhi to issue his mandates without consulting the people and remarks:—Almost all the cloth merchants have refused to boycott foreign cloth. In our opinion it is not possible to boycott foreign cloth unless we are in a position to manufacture cloth of similar quality. Mr. Gandhi is opposed to the establishment of more mills in this country and considers the spinning-wheel as the saviour of India! We do not think that there could be any more foolish idea. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is of the opinion that the boycott movement will disturb the peace of the country and ultimately prove a failure. The *Bombay Samáchár* also disapproves of the movement and believes that it will end in a fiasco. The *Bharat Seva* also believes that the boycott movement is doomed to ignominious failure and remarks:—To introduce picketing in each and every movement is tantamount to introducing Bolshevism in the country. In such movements the popular conscience has to be smothered in obedience to the wishes of Mr. Gandhi who threatens to be a bureaucrat himself in his agitation against the present bureaucratic administration.]

Mahrátta (7), 17th July.

***32.** "The movement of boycott of foreign cloth has come at the most psychological moment. Minds of Indian people are douched by non-co-operation. They have been prepared for any and every sacrifice.......... The mental state of India is quite propitious for the boycott of other foreign things also, but for the sake of concentration of efforts only cloth has been selected and it is to be completely boycotted, so much so that not an inch of foreign cloth finds entry into India by the end of July. By collecting a crore of rupees within the fixed period the people have measured their capacity. We have not the least doubt that the proposed boycott of foreign cloth will be effected quite thoroughly, and people will vindicate their right to *swarájya*. Self-dependence is essential for *swarájya* and it must be attained in every department of human life as completely as possible. We earnestly hope that the various appeals of Mahatma Gandhi will arrest the serious attention of all people. They constitute the gospel of the boycott programme and we are sure, if people carry out these appeals in letter and in spirit, our aim will be more than achieved. Really speaking, this boycott of foreign cloth ought to supply no ground for objection to any Indian who wishes in earnest for the good of his mother-country. The very idea of spoon-feeding must be insupportable to a patriotic Indian. But the misfortune of India is that there are certain people who, from habitual dependence on others, are of the mind that total boycott of foreign cloth is impracticable; others say it is undesirable; still others proclaim it foolish and so on. Our firm belief is that it is neither of these. Why should it be impracticable? Did Indians go without cloth before the advent of the British? Can India not do what she did years back? Our answer is an emphatic 'yes.' We are conscious that there will be a big gap between the supply of cloth from Indian mills and the demand from Indian people. But the gap is to be made up by hand-looms and *charkas*. In course of time mills will be reared up and supply and demand will meet each other. Another objection is that the boycott is undesirable. The objection comes from interested quarters. But we think that there is a misconception regarding the movement in the minds of those who put forth such an objection. Is it undesirable because it diverts the stream of money from the pockets of mill-owners? On deeper consideration it will be found to be otherwise. It is also alleged that, as a result of the boycott, poor people will be the harder hit. But we think not. The twin movement of Swadeshi and boycott is in essence a plebeian movement. It is aimed not at acting unfavourably on mill-owners and merchant-kings, nor at worsening the already much too abject state of the masses in general. It has a higher and a more noble purpose to serve and when that is fully served, both classes will be basking in the sunshine of success."

Hindu (158), 7th July.

33. Apropos of the movement for the boycott of foreign cloth, the *Hindu* writes :—The nation has creditably passed its first test of the Bezwada programme. Now begins the second step, namely, the boycott of foreign cloth. Mahatma Gandhi desires that there should be a complete boycott of foreign cloth before 1st August next, the anniversary day of Lokamanya Tilak's death, which, he writes, can be most fittingly celebrated by showing that India has stopped the import of all foreign cloth. Let us see how the country is going to acquit itself this time. India's poverty is due to foreign cloth. India's industries have been killed by foreign cloth. India's attainment of *swaráj* has been delayed by foreign cloth. India's destiny took the wrong turn when the import of foreign cloth began, and India's destiny will take the right turn only after its import ceases. Moderates and Extremists, Non-co-operators and Co-operators are all agreed on this point. It was the boycott of foreign cloth which unsettled the 'settled fact' of the Partition of Bengal. It was the boycott of foreign cloth which liberated Italy. Shall not Indians do the same for *swaráj* ? Lokamanya Tilak used always to say that the English, being a commercial race, will never listen to India until their pockets are touched. We must, therefore, boycott foreign cloth. No sacrifice is involved in it. We have simply to will it, and it will be done. Let every Indian swear that he shall not buy foreign cloth any longer. This will automatically stop its import, and carry us nearer our goal of *swaráj*.

Kesari (111), 12th July.

34. Mahátma Gandhi has now turned his attention to the boycott of foreign cloth. The Maháráshtra has always been in favour of such a boycott and it is glad to find that Mahátma Gandhi himself has now become a confirmed boycotter. The Mahátma never told us that the collection of a crore of rupees would enable us to attain *swarájya* nor does he tell us now that the adoption of swadeshi is in itself capable of taking us to our goal. Several batteries will have to be brought into requisition to demolish the bureaucratic fortress and the collection of the crore-fund and the boycott of foreign cloth are two of these batteries. The boycott movement will be successful if the merchants and the mill-owners help it. The merchants should not import foreign cloth any more and the mill-owners should not unduly inflate the prices of their goods. If they give an undertaking to this effect the people also will not fail to respond whole-heartedly.

Model (26), 10th July; *Hind Mitra* (18), 10th July; *Gramya Swarájya* (63), 12th July; *Hind Vijaya* (65), 13th July; *Gujaráti Punch* (17), 10th July.

35. It is the sacred duty of every son and daughter of India to carry out the instructions issued by Mr. Gandhi in the matter of boycotting foreign cloth from the 1st of August. This second stage on the path of *swaráj* does not require any self-sacrifice on the part of the people and merely expects them to be dressed in cloth of indigenous manufacture. We pray that the Swadeshi movement may achieve success and may lead to our being freed from foreign domination and bring about the regeneration of our indigenous industries. [The *Hind Mitra* writes :—We hope all men and women in India will readily respond to the appeal made by Mr. Gandhi to boycott foreign cloth and to be dressed in *khadi* cloth from the 1st of August. The boycott movement will enable India to save sixty crores of rupees every year and eventually secure justice for India through Parliament owing to the clamours of Manchester. The *Gramya Swarájya* writes :—Many cloth merchants of the Mulji Jetha Market (Bombay) have given a promise to Mr. Gandhi not to import foreign cloth, and we hope other merchants will soon join the movement. Let us hope the cloth merchants will join the movement of their own accord and will not make Mr. Gandhi to institute picketing near their shops. The *Hind Vijaya* also appeals to the people to respond to the appeal made by Mr. Gandhi for boycotting foreign cloth. The *Gujaráti Punch* writes :—We are afraid the suggestion about burning foreign cloth and instituting picketing near cloth shops will not meet with universal approval. However, we believe that a vow not to deal in foreign cloth and not to use it on the part of the people will conduce to the success of the movement. Volunteers should be sent round to induce people to sign the pledge of Swadeshi. We do not think that the methods suggested by Mr. Gandhi to the mill-owners for the encouragement of Swadeshi can ever be construed as improper or unlawful. People are moved by a new spirit and care must be taken not to allow it run into the channels of hate or disorder. The people have shown the stuff they are made of by subscribing to the Tilak Swaráj Fund and let us hope that they will be equally successful in the movement for boycotting foreign cloth.]

Comments on the collection of one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swarájya Fund.

Hindi Punch (19), 10th July, Eng. cols.

36. "Corporator Faineant" writes in the *Hindi Punch*:—"The Tilak Swarájya Fund has gone up to one crore and eight lakhs. That's a personal triumph of Mahatma Gandhi. I wish my Anglo-Indian brethren of the Press did not try to belittle it or draw unsavoury conclusions from it. If they had faced the fact honestly it would have redounded to their credit. But the carping criticisms or dishonest deductions drawn from the fact only go to show the utter chagrin they feel at the achievement of what they and others thought at one time an impossible feat for Mr. Gandhi. He has come out triumphant, and all his honest opponents, who differ widely from his views and from some of the ways and means of non-co-operation, acknowledge the fact. That does not mean that they are at one with Mr. Gandhi in his propaganda. I hate boycott of anything and anybody. But I and many honest opponents of Mr. Gandhi like myself are certainly at one in his campaign for the removal of untouchability and for the eradication of the drink evil, and they appreciate his labours to introduce the spinning-wheel in the poorest of families as a cottage industry that will bring them a few annas every day by which they may ward off their poverty and keep the wolf away from the door."

Gujaráti Punch (17), 10th July, Eng. cols.; *Arya Prakásh* (13), 10th July.

37. "To the surprise of believers and non-believers, advocates and opponents, the demand for a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaráj Fund which formed one of the chief planks of the Bezwada programme has been more than fully met and it has put non-co-operators in high glee. Consequently they talk and write as if they had achieved something unachievable.......... However, it is the triumph of a personality rather than of a cause—the cause of non-co-operation. If non-co-operation has resulted in one tangible thing, it is the creation of an amount of insincerity in the Indian political world never witnessed before in this country. .... A critical and unbiassed student of current politics, therefore, should not jump to the most apparent conclusion, for appearances are more often than not unreal, and as in everything else, so here also he should take into account the various factors that operate to produce a certain result, and if he were to do so, what will he find?......... The whole programme is a jumble of constructive and destructive items and either the one or the other must appeal to you. And underlying all that is the hatred of a cynical Government which must drag in the most recalcitrant. In these circumstances, it would have been a matter of humiliation if the fund had not been fully or over-subscribed. And yet what do we find in actual practice? After three months of strenuous labour the fund stood at a paltry 22 lakhs and it was only when the ascetic personality of a 'Mahatma' with its traditional charms for a spiritual race, had to exert itself personally night and day that the demand was met. The moral is obvious. It is the Mahatma, not non-co-operation that has commanded the crore; for the Mahatma to most of the subscribers is not non-co-operation. *Swaráj*, whatever non-co-operators may say, is not a matter of rupees, annas and pies. If it were, *swaráj* for a crore or even for two would be the cheapest bargain in the world and India shall deserve all the obloquies and indignities that are to-day heaped upon her devoted head by her foreign mentors for not realising it earlier. However, the crore has its value and although it may not bring in *swaráj*, it will do much solid good to this country if it is utilized for such purposes as education, temperance, raising of the suppressed classes and Swadeshi. These are items on which there can be no two opinions.......... As for the rest, non-co-operation is a failure and the country must rely for the gratification of its higher political aspirations on other and more effective means." [The *Arya Prakásh* congratulates Mr. Gandhi on the success he has achieved in collecting over a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaráj Fund.]

List of contributors to the Tilak Swaráj Fund shows that *swaráj* is the goal of every Indian.

Sind Vasi (167), 8th July.

38. The wealthy people inhabiting the various towns in India have, we find, contributed the most to the Tilak Swaráj Fund. The *Tribune* considers this a very important thing. The non-co-operation movement is doubtless leading us on to a revolution. But the rich classes never like revolutions, because they suffer the most from them. It is, therefore, very significant that the wealthy classes in India should be supporting a movement which is sure to bring on a revolution. To our mind, this is due to two reasons. One is the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. Even those that are against his movement have the greatest respect for him. Another is that *swaráj* is the goal of every Indian, and has been recognised to be India's birthright by even the King-Emperor. Hence the co-operators have also subscribed to the Swaráj Fund.

Exhortation to Indians to keep to their goal of *swaráj* and not to be deceived by the grant of reforms here and there.

Hindu (158), 9th July.

39. Whenever any Government finds it impossible to arrest the wave of liberty with repression, it makes a show of friendliness, and talks of conciliation. This is done with the object of diverting the people's mind from their goal. The history of the British rule in India affords an illustration of this statement. The first time when this double game of repression and reform was played was in 1857. The people were then absolutely dissatisfied with the rule of the East India Company. But their attempt to free themselves from its yoke was severely repressed, and resulted in the Mutiny, after which, however, the government of the country was taken over by Queen Victoria. Indians imagined that they had regained their freedom by this change; but they had simply forged new chains to replace the old ones. In course of time, however, they saw their mistake and started their agitation afresh. This was, as expected, followed by repression at first, and the Morley-Minto Refoms afterwards, in 1910. For a time again all was quiet in the country. Gradually, however, India found that she had been duped. So in 1916 a fresh agitation was started. As usual, this was met by arrests and internments. But when these had failed, Government made another attempt to conciliate Indians and divert their attention from their goal. Indians accepted the Government's advances as sincere and ceased their agitation. But the Rowlatt Act opened their eyes, and set them to agitate once again. Government met it with its old game of repression and reform. We had first the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy, imprisonments and other harsh measures. But when these had failed to arrest the onward march of liberty, we got the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which, we are sorry to say, diverted India's attention from her goal a third time. Now, however, with very few exceptions, Indians have come to realise the hollowness of all reforms and promises, and consider *swaráj* as their only salvation. But even now an attempt is being made to divert India from her goal of *swaráj* by proposing to repeal certain repressive laws, like the Press Act and the Rowlatt Act. Moreover, there are some people who expect some great boons from the Prince of Wales, who is shortly to visit this country. We, however, request our countrymen to keep their goal of *swaráj* steadily in view, and not to be deceived once again by the grant of some reforms here and there. Our salvation lies in *swaráj*. No sacrifice, therefore, should be considered too great for its attainment.

Clerks in Government offices and English firms should make it a point to wear Gandhi caps.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th July.

40. Referring to the reported dismissal of an Indian employee of Messrs. Shaw Wallace and Company for wearing a Gandhi cap in office, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"For Indians incidents like this can have only one meaning. We commend Mr. Kashalkar's example to clerks in every European firm and in all Government offices. Mahatma Gandhi has often emphasised that the wearing of *khaddar* has no political meaning. But if a political interpretation is forced on it, the public ought to take up the challenge in right earnest. Mr. Kashalkar's brethren in the office of Messrs. Shaw and Wallace should make it a point to attend the office in *khaddar* caps, if they have any self-respect and any value of Mr. Kashalkar's brave conduct, and all those who do not wear *khaddar* for fear of being dismissed from their office must brave the risk and be free from the humiliation under which they labour."

Mr. Gandhi's second appeal to Englishmen in India.

Young India (12), 13th July.

41. In the course of a communication headed "To Every Englishman in India", Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I know that most of you detest non-co-operation. But I would invite you to isolate two of my activities from the rest, if you can give me credit for honesty. I cannot prove my honesty, if you do not feel it. Some of my Indian friends charge me with camouflage, when I say we need not hate Englishmen, whilst we may hate the system they have established. I am trying to show them that one may detest the wickedness of a brother without hating him.......... I have discovered that man is superior to the system he propounds. And so I feel that you as an individual are infinitely better than the system you have evolved as a corporation.......... Hence it is that an Englishman in office is different from an Englishman outside. Similarly an Englishman in India is different from an Englishman in England. Here in India you belong to a system that is vile beyond description. It is possible, therefore, for me to condemn the system in the strongest terms, without considering you to be bad and without imputing bad motives to every Englishman. You are as much slaves of the system as we are. I want you, therefore, to reciprocate, and not impute to me motives which you cannot read in the written word. I give you the whole of my motive when I tell you that I am impatient to end or mend a system which has made India subservient to a handful of you and which has made Englishmen feel secure only in the shadow of the forts and the guns that obtrude themselves on one's notice in India. It is a degrading spectacle for you and for us. Our corporate life is based on mutual distrust and fear. This, you will admit, is unmanly. A system that is responsible for such a state of things is necessarily satanic. You should be able to live in India as an integral part of its people and not always as foreign exploiters. One thousand Indian lives against one English life is a doctrine of dark despair, and yet, believe me, it was enunciated in 1919 by the highest of you in the land. I almost feel tempted to invite you to join me in destroying a system that has dragged both you and us down. But I feel I cannot as yet do so. We have not shown ourselves earnest, self-sacrificing and self-restrained enough for that consummation. But I do ask you to help us in the boycott of foreign cloth and in the anti-drink campaign. The Lancashire cloth, as English historians have shown, was forced upon India, and her own world-famed manufactures were deliberately and systematically ruined.......... A hundred and fifty years ago, we manufactured all our cloth.......... To-day our women have lost the cunning of their hands, and the enforced idleness of millions has impoverished the land. Many weavers have become sweepers. Some have taken to the profession of hired soldiers. Half the race of artistic weavers has died out, and the other half is weaving imported foreign yarn for want of finer hand spun yarn. You will perhaps now understand what boycott of foreign cloth means to India. It is not devised as a punishment. If the Government were to-day to redress the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs and consent to India attaining immediate *swarâj*, the boycott movement must still continue. *Swarâj* means at least the power to conserve Indian industries that are vital to the economic existence of the nation, and to prohibit such imports as may interfere with such existence. Agriculture and hand-spinning are the two lungs of the national body. They must be protected against consumption at any cost. This matter does not admit of any waiting. The interests of the foreign manufacturers and the Indian importers cannot be considered, when the whole nation is starving for want of a large productive occupation ancillary to agriculture. You will not mistake this for a movement of general boycott of foreign goods. India does not wish to shut herself out of international commerce. Things other than cloth which can be better made outside India, she must gratefully receive upon terms advantageous to the contracting parties. Nothing can be forced upon her. But I do not wish to peep into the future. I am certainly hoping that before long it would be possible for India to co-operate with England on equal terms. Then will be the time for examining trade relations. For the time being, I bespeak your help in bringing about a boycott of foreign cloth. Of similar and equal importance is the campaign against drink. The liquor-shops are an insufferable curse imposed upon society. There never was so much awakening among the people as now, upon this question. I admit that here it is the Indian ministers who can help more than you can. But I would like you to speak out your mind clearly on the question. Under every system of government, total prohibition, so far as I can see, will be insisted upon by the nation. You can assist the growth of the ever-rising agitation by throwing in the weight of your influence on the side of the nation."

Comments on the Ali Brothers' declaration about establishing a republic in India.

Young India (12), 13th July.

42. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes as follows in *Young India* with regard to the Ali Brothers' declaration to the effect that a republic would be established in India if a satisfactory solution is not arrived at before Christmas:—"I am sorry to have to confess that I have not seen the Maulanas' declaration, but I have no hesitation in giving the assurance, that no stone will be left unturned by me to prevent a departure even by a hair's breadth from the policy of non-violent non-co-operation that has been deliberately adopted by the country. Nor do I entertain the slightest fear of any departure from that policy on the part of the Brothers. I have, however, no difficulty about understanding the Maulanas' mind. They are quite capable of saying that if India does not get the relief she demands in the matters of the Punjáb and the Khilafat, she will at the next sessions of the Congress make a declaration of independence. *Swaráj* within the Empire is a possibility only if England washes her hands clean of the taint of the Khilafat breach and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. The Congress creed has been purposely made elastic enough to admit of a demand for independence. To go no further, the Maulanas have, after all, if they have, but reiterated the opinion pronounced by Mr. Andrews, who, unlike me, considers that there is no room in the British Empire for a self-respecting and self-governing India, and who expects that some day I shall myself be driven to that position. I am differently constituted. I never give up hope so long as there is the least chance, and I have faith enough in the British people to feel that, whilst they will test our determination and strength to the uttermost, they will not carry it to the breaking point. They are too self-conscious to part with an India awakened and strong, for the sake of shielding Dyerism and O'Dwyerism and of the questionable advantage of Greek friendship.......... Long before the Congress meets, if India proves true to herself, I look forward not to a Declaration of Independence, but to an honourable settlement, that will satisfy the just demand of India regarding the Punjáb and the Khilafat, and that will assure to her full immediate *swaráj* in accordance with the wishes of her chosen representatives. Let the reader, however, not run away with the idea that my forecast is based upon any knowledge of what is going on in Simla or Whitehall. I base it upon my profound belief in the ability of India during the next three months to assert herself, *i. e.*, in the ability of India to carry out an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth, and by still greater self-restraint to prove her ability to adopt civil disobedience of a very stern character."

The Congress and the proposed proclamation of India as a Republic.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 17th July.

***43.** Referring to the resolution passed at the Karáchi Khilafat Conference in favour of an Indian Republic being proclaimed by the next Congress in case the British Government fights the Angora Government, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"These developments seem to have been altogether unforeseen even by Congress workers. But it might be thought that Mahatma Gandhi at least would have been consulted. It would seem from his answer in the last issue of *Young India* to a correspondent who had been perturbed by the Maulana's declaration, that he too was in the dark about it. His attempt to explain away the declaration is unconvincing in the face of the resolution of the Khilafat Conference of which the Mahatma was apparently not apprised at the time when he wrote his reply. The Maulana is too loyal an adherent to think of forcing the Mahatma's hands, but his speech and the Conference resolution have already created a good deal of anxiety even among Congressmen who cannot relish being treated as clay in the hands of the Khilafat Conference. A clear duty lies on the All-India Congress Committee which is to meet shortly to reassure the public that the Karáchi resolution was passed without its authority and sanction."

Comments on the All-India Khilafat Conference at Karáchi.
New Times (8), 11th July.

44. "If large numbers, good organisation and abundant enthusiasm be the standard of success, the All-India Khilafat Conference must be pronounced a distinct success. A significant feature of the gatherings was that a large number of Hindus attended; indeed, more Hindus were pressent than Muslims. Yet another significant thing was the Muslim sympathy with the Hindu sentiment in regard to the cow-question; and it was Muslim gentleman, we understand, who offered about Rs. 1,100 for cow-protection. If, indeed, Hindus and Muslims grow in sympathy, one with the other, and strengthen the Hindu-Muslim Unity, it may be hoped the delicate question of Cow-slaughter may be solved at no distant date.......... Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in an eloquent speech, voiced the Hindu feeling in regard to the Khilafat. And more than one Muslim speaker did well to point out, what we have expressed more than once in these columns, that there is an 'intimate' connection between the Khilafat and *swarâj*. If the people develop the power to right the Khilafat wrong, they will also have the power to win *swarâj*. That power is, as we have urged again and again, of a socio-economic and moral character; it is not the power of the sword.......... We wish, therefore, to say as clearly as we can that we are not in accord with views conceived in a mood of mental violence. If we are to trust the reports which have reached us, a speaker at the Conference said Government must be destroyed! Can the British Government be destroyed without violence? And are we sure violence will not also destroy the soul of the Indian Nation?......... Another speaker is reported to have said that if the Khilafat problem was not solved, Government would 'hire Arabs to murder the Indians'! We know nothing to indicate that Government has ever had such diabolical intentions; we plead for self-restraint and respect for facts in public speeches.......... A resolution was passed at the Conference giving an ultimatum to Government that if Britain supports Greece against Angora the National Congress meeting at Ahmedabad in December should hoist the flag of an Indian Republic. In the event of the Congress adopting this Resolution, the National Movement will cease to be constitutional, and the country will cross the limit-lines of non-violence. In resisting the power of Government with physical force, in opposing to imperialism a cult of violence lies a grave danger, as we conceive it, to the national movement of to-day. Muslim *shariat* sanctions war, we know; but is war, we earnestly ask, the solution of the Indian problem? Once non-co-operation becomes a cult of violence, India becomes another Ireland. Britain must not, in the best interests of itself and India, commit the blunder of supporting Greece against Angora; and the country must not, even under extreme provocation, decide in favour of a cult of the sword. The resolution passed at the Khilafat Conference indicates the depths of the Muslim feeling stirred by the Khilafat question; but we would ask our Muslim brethren to adopt no counsel of despair."

Sind Observer (10), 12th July.

45. "From the point of view of numbers and the enthusiasm displayed by the audience the Khilafat Conference held in Karáchi may be pronounced a success. This Conference, coming as it did at a time when the Angora Government's existence is considered by Muslims to be threatened by the Greeks assisted by the British, in spite of the assurances of neutrality given by the Viceroy, was characterised by great warmth of expression which oftentimes outstepped the bounds of fair criticism. Hatred was expressed, threats were held forth, tears were shed in profusion and people's minds were more unsettled than ever. To our mind it was an occasion to discuss the whole situation calmly, and to set forth the minimum Muslim demands in respectful yet firm language. But that is too much, perhaps, to expect from a conference presided over by a gentleman who is never known to weigh his words and whose zeal for the cause he champions carries him always beyond the limits of prudence. Mr. Mahomed Ali is not a statesman but a zealot. He set a bad example in his presidential speech by hitting with his fist right and left as he developed his theme and it was faithfully copied by the other speakers. He indulged in heroics, he abused his opponents and he even showed scant courtesy to the Viceroy.......... We cannot help thinking that the President should have imposed some restraint upon himself and upon certain speakers, remembering the terms of the apology.......... It is known that even the Turkish Nationalists have not demanded the restoration of Arabia, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia to the Sultan. They want only Smyrna and Thrace. While the Turks are willing to accept the inevitable it is the Indian Khilafatists who have not budged an inch from the original position taken up by them two years ago.......... As to the Punjáb question, the Viceroy may set free, and it is advisable he should do so, all the martial law prisoners. Government is willing to make handsome reparation to the families that have suffered on account of the Jallianwala Bagh shooting. Then there is the question of the pensions of General Dyer and Sir M. O'Dwyer being removed from the Indian estimates. If the Viceroy wants to please Indian sentiment in this matter—and all Indians irrespective of party will approve of this step—the Civil and Military services of the country will consider it as an insult offered to them and will threaten a 'White Mutiny'. No Viceroy can contemplate with equanimity such a situation. With regard to these pensions the Viceroy is placed on the two horns of a dilemma and we, for our part, are not disposed to blame him if he resolves not to offend the services. As regards *swaráj* it is bound to come much sooner than we expected an year or two ago. It will not, of course, come within six months. It is mere moonshine to talk of a Republic in January. People who could not induce the lawyers to boycott their courts—lawyers who are patriots and fully conversant with their country's grievances,—who could not take all the boys who left their schools either into national schools or into national service, who have not induced even 10 per cent. of title-holders to throw away their titles, who do not carry the landed aristocracy and the capitalistic class and a goodly portion of the educated community with them, could not hope to establish a Republic in January. This talk is bound to result in thinning further the ranks of non-co-operators. But we feel there is commonsense enough amongst a majority of them not to launch their party on such a wild project."

Protest against Mr. Gandhi's statement that Moghul rule was better than British rule.
Gujaráti (15), 10th July.

46. A contributor under the pseudonym of "Mirabai" writes in the humorous columns of the *Gujaráti*:—Mr. Gandhi writes to the effect that the administration of the Moghuls was better than that of the British! Do you consider this to be a right view? No doubt Indians had the right to bear arms in Moghul times, but the Moghuls used to carry away their wives in broad daylight. In those days no respectable woman dared to move out of doors and if she happened to be seen by a Pathan while standing at a window he entered the house and tried to outrage her modesty and many daughters of India had to commit suicide to preserve their chastity. Indians are, no doubt, subjected to certain humiliations under British rule; but I cannot possibly have the hardihood to say that Moghul *Ráj* was superior to British *Ráj*. Such a bold statement can be made by Mr. Gandhi who bears the reputation of being a Mahatma, but if ordinary mortals like myself made it they would be incarcerated by the *ma-bap sirkar*. And who would cook for my husband if I were sent to jail?

How Hindu non-co-operationists are leading Muhammadans into dangers.

Political Bhomiyo (72), 15th July.

47. We have been warning the Muhammadans not to be made scape-goats of by joining disloyal Hindus in their non-co-operation movement ever since the beginning of that movement. We have full sympathy with the Khilafat question but we do not think that the non-co-operation movement can offer any solution of it. It is generally seen that the Hindus remain in the background and send out Muhammadans to face dangers. Even Mr. Gandhi is no exception to this. In many of his speeches he has made declarations to the effect that he has prevented Muhammadans from drawing the sword. The scheming non-co-operationist Hindus take advantage of the frankness and the zeal of the Muhammadans and show themselves to be quite innocent and place the Muhammadans in an awkward and dangerous situation. One instance will suffice to illustrate our remarks. The non-co-operation movement was preached in Málegaon and the Muhammadans have been made to suffer by paying a fine of Rs. 46,174-8 for the last disturbance at that place. Will not the Muhammadans still be warned?

Comments on the threatened prosecution of the *Zamindár* of Lahore.

Young India (12), 13th July.

48. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The *Zamindar* of Lahore is, I understand, threatened with prosecution. The editor has been asked to tender an untruthful apology, if he wishes to avoid a prosecution. He has been asked to withdraw certain statements made by him which he himself believes. One of them is the reported bombardment of Najef. .... He has assured the Government that if responsible independent Musalmans went to the spot and investigated the matter and denied the truth of the bombardment, he would be prepared to withdraw the statement. One would imagine that the offer was perfectly honourable. He has published a spirited poem, some of whose lines can be interpreted as incitement to violence. He has offered as a non-co-operator to apologise for those lines, not because he fears prosecution, but because he does not want to place himself in a false position regarding his creed of non-violence. The third statement objected to by the Government has reference to the report of and commentary upon a case in Bengal, wherein a European is reported to have killed a Khánsama and to have been fined Rs. 300 by the court. The comment objected to is that the British courts give license to Europeans to kill Indians for Rs. 300 as a fine. The comment is no doubt severe, but there is certainly no incitement to violence in it, and it is not unjustified by the several miscarriages of justice recently reported in the Press. The Government have no notion how deep the belief has sunk in the Indian mind that even-handed justice as between Europeans and Indians is almost an impossibility. The fourth charge against the *Zamindar* is the reproduction of Moulana Mahomed Ali's statement regarding the Afghan bogey. This idea of asking for apologies from editors and public men under threat of prosecution is a parody of the apology of the Ali Brothers. For the U. P. Government have been trying the same thing upon the editor of the *Independent* and others. I do not know what has happened in Allahabad as a result of the Government's unseemly effort to obtain apologies from self-respecting non-co-operators. The more straightforward and honourable course would be to send to jail all the non-co-operators whom the Government do not like. Let them not move from the Punjáb type of humiliation to the subtler type in the shape of abject apologies."

Comments on the Poona liquor shop keepers' petition to Government for refund of their license fees.

Kesari (111), 12th July.

49. The *Kesari* supports the petition of the liquor shop keepers of Poona to Government that in view of the virtual stoppage of their business consequent upon the anti-drink campaign, they should be paid back the balance of their license fee for the unexpired period covered by their license. It recognises that under the terms of the agreement Government are not bound to make good the loss of the license-holders, but contends that they cannot justly deny relief to the latter inasmuch as on a former occasion they had made good the loss sustained by

Messrs. Carew and Company although they were not quite bound to do so. In its opinion, Government should not put forth the plea of loss to themselves since they command vast resources and are, therefore, better able to suffer the loss than the poor license-holders, most of whom borrowed the amount of the license fee from money-lenders at heavy interest. It also reads a homily to the shop-keepers and tells them that they must not accuse the picketers of indulging in unfair tactics since their own hands are not clean in this respect. The paper tells Government that the picketer having through his activities contributed to the happiness of many a drunkard and his family, they should condone his occasional transgressions of the law.

Alleged failure of picketing in Bombay.
Akhbár-e-Islám (54), 11th July.

50. Mr. Gandhi is carrying on a strong fight against the liquor traffic and has let loose some volunteers to picket liquor shops. We are of opinion that the money spent on this campaign is wasted because there has been no decrease at all in the average daily consumption of liquor in Bombay. No doubt some liquor shop keepers have been able to dispose of less liquor than usual; but that does not prove that Mr. Gandhi's efforts have met with any success. For the consumption has been on the increase in many other shops. Mr. Gandhi knows all this but he does not like to acknowledge the failure of his efforts to check the vice of drink.

Comments on the disturbance at Aligarh.
Sind Observer (10), 8th July.

51. "The disturbance at Aligarh is another instance of non-violent non-co-operation not having penetrated the masses. There was looting of the treasury, burning of public buildings.......... The mob ran mad and attacked the Police and the Police had to defend their lives, other peoples' lives, Government property and private property. When an occurrence like this takes place the public will be treated to all sorts of wild stories and we ask our readers to take such with a good grain of salt. There will also be an exaggeration of the doings of the mob from reports coming from official sources and attempts to whitewash the severe action taken by the authorities. At any rate, we can say this much that non-violent non-co-operation is a very good thing to talk of from the platforms; and a mob can no more be non-violent than a tiger taking a vow of abstinence from meat."

Discussion on the non-co-operation movement in the House of Lords.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th July.

52. "It is to be sincerely hoped that the trouncing which the Sydenhamite scaremongers received at the hands of Lord Lytton will bring about a suspension, albeit temporary, of the campaign of mendacity that has been in progress for a long time past in Great Britain. There are no weapons which they have not stooped to use, with a view to damage the character of Indians and to blacken the prevailing atmosphere in India. They appear to be plentifully supplied with funds, which in most cases will be found to be paid to them from the public treasures of India for 'past services.'......... But we do not believe that Lord Lytton's scathing denunciation of these lies will raise any blushes on the faces of their author's, for they are part and parcel of the game of certain gentry who are determined to see that the hold they have obtained on India is not slackened through the effeminate and treasonable sentimentality of the two Jews who are at the helm of the affairs of this country."

Indu Prakásh (44), 13th July.

53. Lord Sydenham has been always trying in England to raise obstacles in the way of India's interests. Under his leadership the retired Anglo-Indians, fed fat upon India, had made a great row when the question of *swarájya* for India was first mooted. The people were, therefore, wondering as to why he had been so far silent regarding the non-co-operation movement. But they need not feel puzzled any longer, for on the 7th instant he growled in Parliament against the movement and declared that a great calamity had befallen India, a calamity of such a nature that an open rebellion would have been preferred. He endeavoured to frighten the British people and those at the helm of Indian affairs by stating that the lives of Europeans in India were

in danger, their property insecure and their honour at stake. As a matter of fact, however, India is unchanged in spite of the non-co-operation movement and the safety of the lives of Europeans is not a bit diminished. On the contrary they are so very confident of their own power that they do not hesitate at all through the police to open fire even on innocent agitators. The British *Ráj* in India is unshaken and the routine of officialdom is unchanged. We do not think His Lordship is unaware of these facts, but his present attitude can be explained by his love for repression and his view that Indians should silently suffer themselves to be governed by the British at their sweet will. India, however, must congratulate herself that Lord Lytton in refutation of all that Lord Sydenham said declared that the political atmosphere in India was unchanged in spite of the supernatural powers which people attributed to Mr. Gandhi. But he has also extolled the bureaucracy giving them credit for maintaining most skilfully peace and order in India. This, however, we cannot admit so long as injustice and instances of racial prejudice and needless firing continue to take place in the country. The only redeeming feature in all this is that the Home Government is not willing to have recourse to repression though people like Lord Sydenham are ever ready to raise false alarms.

The Khoreal shooting case.
Swarájya (145), 14th July; *Lokamánya* (115), 10th July.

54. Commenting upon the Khoreal shooting case, the *Swarájya* writes:—People have now lost all faith in justice as administered in the law courts. How would an Indian accused of the same offence have been dealt with? Or, supposing the girl's father had shot Reed through the heart, how would he have been dealt with? We are sure some sentence would have been passed upon him if not that of death. But an English jury finds that Reed has not committed any offence and the judge acquits him! Lord Reading has said that he would give evenhanded justice to all. He was a judge himself. Would he have acquitted the accused? [In the opinion of the *Lokamánya* the only means to stop such incidents is to grant the Indians full rights of *swarájya* and to make their status in the country superior to that of foreigners.]

Comments on the sentence of five years' transportation passed on the leader of the Akáli sect at Lahore.
Lokamánya (115), 11th May.

55. The sentence of five years' transportation passed on Sardar Shardulsing, the leader of the Akali sect of the Sikhs, shows not only the vindictiveness of the Punjáb bureaucracy, but the text of the judgment in the case also discloses their folly and ignorance of law. Though the principle that want of affection for Government does not constitute sedition has been established several years back and has been acknowledged on all hands, the Lahore judge seems to have never heard of it and he has shamelessly passed the sentence upon the accused. The whole of the Punjáb has become infuriated by the serious injustice done in the case, and even a moderate like Professor Ruchirám has declared it to be an open murder of justice. The Sardar being a faithful follower of Mahátma Gandhi is not likely to appeal and so there is no hope of justice being done by the Punjáb High Court. The redress of the wrong done then lies entirely in the hands of Government. If His Excellency Lord Reading is really watching the doings of the district officers as he declared in the course of his reply to the Moderates' Deputation from the United Provinces, he should at once remove the injustice done. If he fails to do so, his utterances will be looked upon as no more than vain boasts.

Comments on the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme.
Sánj Vartamán (31), 11th July; *Hindusthán* (20), 14th July; *Hind Mitra* (18), 10th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 12th July; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (23), 10th July.

56. We are afraid the reclamation of Back Bay will endanger the health of the City by preventing the fresh sea-breeze freely blowing into it. The agitation against the Bombay Development Scheme taken up by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau has been characterised as being belated in certain quarters, but we are not of that opinion. We do not think that contracts for the reclamation have yet been given. The work can, therefore, be put a stop to. The scheme for the development of the suburbs undertaken by the Municipality and the Improvement

Trust is quite adequate for the requirements of Bombay and there is no need of a costly and hazardous scheme like that of the reclamation of the Back Bay. The Development Department is akin to local self-government and should, therefore, be turned into a Transferred Department and placed under a Minister. [The *Hindusthán* endorses the protest made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau against the scheme for the reclamation of Back Bay and suggests that the citizens of Bombay should requisition the Sheriff to convene a public meeting to voice the popular opposition to the scheme. The *Hind Mitra* calls upon His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to postpone the carrying out of the Back Bay Scheme and to complete the development of the suburbs in the first instance and to take up the scheme afterwards when public opinion has been sufficiently educated in the matter. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* appeals to Government to take the people into their confidence in the matter of the utilisation of the land under the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and thus allay suspicions and misunderstandings prevailing among the public. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* expresses hope that Government will give careful consideration to the protest made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and do all in their power to take the people into their confidence in the matter of the scheme.]

Reflections on the forthcoming visit of His Excellency the Governor to Satára.
Lokamánya (115), 8th July.

57. A correspondent writes:—Arrangements were twice made in connection with the projected visit of His Excellency the Governor to Satára, but fortunately for the people His Excellency did not find it convenient to pay the visit on those occasions. It is now learnt that His Excellency will certainly visit Sátára next month. As previosly arranged, an address of welcome will be presented to him on behalf of the Sátára Municipality and the District Local Board. The only benefit from the visit will be that the ryots' money will be wasted for nothing, while redress of genuine grievances will not be possible as His Excellency during his stay here will be surrounded by Government officers and other toadies. While here, His Excellency will be a guest of the Collector. But it is necessary that he should be made acquainted with the harassment to which the people are being subjected at the hands of the Satya Shodhaks and the local officials. Then there is the campaign against picketing which has been launched to put down the anti-drink movement. All this shows that the Collector is unfit to hold his post. He has suggested the formation of a League of Peace here which means that he wants to create dissensions amongst the people while standing aside himself. If, according to the principle underlying the reforms, people's money is to be spent with their consent, why is the expenditure in connection with the presentation of an address, etc., being incurred against the wishes of the people? Why this innovation of accepting an address of welcome from the Local Board? Have not the Municipality and the Local Board any other items of greater importance to which they can devote the amount? These bodies must bear it in mind that public opinion is not in favour of spending money in connection with the projected visit of His Excellency and on the presentation of an address to him as the people have been reduced to a very miserable condition owing to famine and many other causes.

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India.
Gujaráti (15), 10th July; *Model* (26), 10th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 16th July.

58. Cordial welcome by a people enjoying independence is one thing while a formal and half-hearted reception by subject people of kings and emperors is quite another thing. There is pleasure in a reception which is given out of free will and an open heart. There is no pleasure in a reception if the officials make preparations for it by lavishing money out of the treasury of the State and if a crowd of inquisitive people collect together to see it. The preparations for receptions by the State are just like the tricks of a juggler. We are sure that members of the British Royal family are never willing to see shows at the expense of the State treasury. The question then is what should we understand from the preparations being made in England for the visit of the Prince of Wales? If he is to be sent to India to learn the real feelings of the people, he should not be kept under the surveillance of the police. The people of India inquire as to why the Prince of Wales should be invited to this country when the causes of discontent have not yet been removed. Does the Government of Lord Reading believe that the causes of political disaffection and discontent will disappear in the coming four months or do they want to capture the imagination of the people by issuing some important proclamation at the time of his visit? Does Lord Reading think that after his interview with Mr. Gandhi, the latter will not protest against the visit of the Prince of Wales? Will the Khilafat question be solved in accordance with the wishes of the Muhammadans within these four months? Will Lord Reading be able to issue a proclamation removing the causes of the injustice done to the Punjáb? Does he mean to capture the imagination of the people at the time of the Prince's visit by issuing a proclamation repealing the repressive laws? If the Royal family of England has no power, as some Anglo-Indian papers maintain, why should not steps be taken to make the people of England informed of the fires of discontent that are smouldering in the hearts of the Indian people? If the Indians are not respected as a nation, how can they as a nation welcome the Prince with joy? If he cannot prevent the bureaucracy from committing a single bad act, how can the people receive him with affection? Mr. Gandhi has declared that if nothing is done within these four months to raise the status of India, people should boycott the reception given to the Prince and express their sorrow by means of a strike just as they did at the time of the visit of the Duke of Connaught. [The *Model* makes similar remarks and adds:—We are of opinion that the visit of the Prince of Wales at a time when there is so much discontent is uncalled for. We, as well as a very great majority of the people of India, believe that India will not henceforward be satisfied with messages of hope, gifts and concessions. India wants pure justice. In short, India will rest content only if she gets complete self-government. We would welcome the Prince if he comes with a message granting these rights. If not, India has now absolutely no faith in mere talk and she is not prepared to welcome him if he does not bring such a message. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, writes:—The readiness of the King to send the Prince of Wales to India at such a critical time shows that he wants the Prince to perform some important act which will change the present political atmosphere of India. We heartily pray that this attempt on the part of the King proves successful. We once again declare that our real strength lies not in keeping away from the Royal Ambassador but in meeting him and making him aware of our needs.]

Bombay Chronicle (2), 17thJuly.

***59.** "Atropos" writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* (Sunday Edition):—"By voting an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales, when he lands in Bombay, the Corporation has again stultified itself. It is not the first time that this body has gone against the wishes of the people of this city. Its composition, its character, its constitution, do not permit of anything else than a permanent opposition for the will of the people...... ... The advocates of 'a welcome' harped on the Prince's personal charms, etc. I have heard of this clap-trap and I do not think that at a time when India is fighting her battle, which may mean either life or death to her, people are inclined to be led away by the *bon-hommie* of the Prince. India wants something more solid than a smile or a courtesy. Then there is the question of expense also to be considered.......... Is the country prepared at this time to welcome him when the grievances of both Hindus and Moslems have not been put right? The Prince might receive a welcome from officialdom and the professional Durbaris, but they are not India, and any one with a grain of common sense must have found that out by now. No, India cannot afford the pageantry, nor the gilded pomp of the officials."

Lokamánya (115), 13th July; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 15th July.

60. The *Lokamánya* heartily congratulates Dr. Velkar and Mr. Motiwalla on their fearlessly opposing the resolution for giving a welcome address on behalf of the Corporation to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his arrival at Bombay. It points out that taking into consideration the present constitution of the Corporation it was no wonder that only two votes against the resolution were recorded and it asks the citizens of Bombay to make an organised and strenuous effort to cure the

members of the Corporation of the long standing habit of trampling under foot public opinion. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* thinks that both Dr. Velkar and Mr. Motiwalla ought to have withdrawn their opposition when their objections were answered by Mr. Jamnadas.]

Protest against the suggestion to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 13th July.

61. Commenting upon the attitude of the non-co-operators towards the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We have before us the example of the visit of our King as Prince of Wales. In the face of this, is it proper to say that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and His Majesty the King are only like figureheads, that the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is only a show and hence it should be boycotted? He will not come here for sight-seeing only. He will come here to be acquainted with the people over whom he is to rule as King in future and with their demands and hopes and take steps to make the British people and Government informed of the measures to be adopted to make India more peaceful and to win her confidence as his Royal father did. It is also certain that he will bring a message from his Royal father which will soothe the minds of the people. We are of opinion that those who boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales will have to repent afterwards.

Protest against any further increase in the salaries of the Indian Civil Service.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 16th July.

62. Commenting upon the statement made by Mr. Montagu in Parliament to the effect that the Government of India will publish in a short time its resolution on the whole question of the salaries of the Indian Civil Service, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—This information has given rise to much criticism in India because this country is now unable to bear any additional burden. If, in spite of this, the salaries of the Indian Civil Service are increased, there will be much discontent in the country. Lord Reading said in reply to the address presented to him by the United Provinces Liberal Association, that tempting remuneration should be paid to officials in order to attract first class men. We are of opinion that we should cut our coat according to our cloth. The aim of making the administration efficient is no doubt a noble one, but it should not be attained at the sacrifice of the development of the country. Taking into consideration the financial condition of the country and the poverty of the people, Government should cut down their expenses, otherwise the country will become insolvent. When the representatives of the people ask money for purposes of public utility, Government say that there are no funds. In spite of this, if Government try to increase the salaries of highly-paid officials, the people will exercise their right of emphatically protesting against such a course. People honestly believe that the present salaries of the big officials are higher than they ought to be. We request Government to give an opportunity to competent educated Indians to prove their merit if they cannot get first class men from England on the present scale of salaries. Government will not be justified in incurring unnecessary expenditure to provide for their luxuries out of the pockets of the poor Indian people. If the greater part of the Indian revenue is swallowed up by the military expenditure and by unusually high salaries to high officials, Government will not have sufficient means at their disposal to undertake schemes for the future welfare of the people. We hope that the popular members will represent the feelings of the Indian people on this matter before the Legislative Assembly and ask Government to appoint a Special Committee to make suggestions to reduce Government expenditure.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th July.

63. "The manner in which the All-India Services, especially the Indian Civil Service, have been pampered of late as regards their pay and allowances, has become a crying scandal. Not two years have passed since the salaries of the Imperial Services were increased on a most extravagant scale, despite public opposition, and now we find another conspiracy being hatched for fresh loot of Indian money, in the shape of increased salaries and allowances.......... Our contention is that even the pre-war salaries of the All-India Services were based on an extravagant scale that was ruinous to the financial interests of the country. Therefore, not only should there be no further increase in the salaries, but the existing scale should be rigorously reduced so that the country may not be compelled to continue to pay more than it can afford and starve vital needs."

Alleged grievances of Sub-Assistant Surgeons.
Sind Vasi (167), 6th July.

64. The revision in the salaries of the Sub-Assistant Surgeons has not put an end to their grievances. In other departments competent and intelligent men have some kind of encouragement to better their prospects. The Sub-Assistant Surgeons, however, have all their life to rot as Sub-Assistant Surgeons. It is true that they, under certain limitations, can become Assistant Surgeons, but such instances are very rare. So far none in Sind has been fortunate enough to have promotion in the grade of Assistant Surgeons though some of them have actually been recommended. In the whole Presidency only one or two appointments of Assistant Surgeons are open to the Sub-Assistant Surgeons. Some of the Sub-Assistant Surgeons are surely as competent as Civil Surgeons and it is a pity that their work is not appreciated. The officials in charge of this department are too proud of their academic distinctions to sympathise with the aspirations of the Sub-Assistant Surgeons. The Association of Sub-Assistant Surgeons had better agitate with a view to securing their rights. We would suggest Government to fix a few more appointments in the grade of Assistant Surgeons to which the Sub-Assistant Surgeons may aspire and to reserve at least two or three of such appointments for the Province of Sind. If, however, Sub-Assistant Surgeons are debarred from being promoted to the grade of Assistant Surgeons because of their low standard of education, the matriculation examination might be prescribed to admit the students for the course of Sub-Assistant Surgeons.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the League of Nations.
Gujarâti (15), 17th July, Eng. cols.; *Hindu* (158), 9th July.

***65.** "Most of the Dominion Ministers think that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance will be modified in accordance with the League of Nations. We do not know exactly what that will involve. But one thing is clear that the Indian delegation must strongly insist upon the deletion of any clause or clauses which are an insult to the sense of self-respect of the people of India and inconsistent with or prejudicial to the economic interests of India. The Indian Government have consistently avoided taxing the exports of Indian cotton to Japan. What is at the bottom of this reluctance? That is a question which is being persistently asked, but Government have always fought shy of it. The whole position must be made perfectly clear and fiscal autonomy secured for India and not sacrificed in the interests of England and Japan by means of clandestine and selfish understandings behind the back of the people of India." [The *Hindu* writes:—The period of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has been extended by one year. But nothing has so far been done with regard to the demand of Indians, that the provision, enabling England to get Japan's assistance for putting down any disorder in India, should be expunged from the treaty of alliance. Indians have no knowledge of the exact terms of the treaty. Government should therefore publish them at once. Secrecy in such matters increases misunderstanding.]

Comments on the Greek atrocities in Asia Minor.
Mufid-e-Rozgâr (170), 10th July.

66. Commenting on the Greek barbarities in Asia Minor, the *Mufid-e-Rozgâr* writes:—The aim of the atrocious Greeks is to occupy the holy city of Constantinople where Hazrat Ayyub Ansari is buried. God forbid such a catastrophe! Will not the eyes of the Musalmans be opened even now, and will they not boycott them? The sacred law of Islam lays down this commandment that the Musalmans should have nothing to do with the enemies of Islam and that they should have no commercial relations whatsoever with them.

Reflections on the political situation in Afghanistan and the Middle East.

Sind Observer (10), 7th July.

67. "It is the complaint on the part of educated Indians that the foreign relations of India are not conducted in the best interests of the country...... ... India is treated as of no consequence in Asiatic foreign policy at present and that is one of the chief causes of Muslim discontent in the country.......... The present complaint is that we have not been very happy in our relations specially with Muslim countries adjoining India. Egged on by Afghanistan the frontier tribes cause us infernal trouble. Our forward policies—the occupation of Mahsud country, the threat held out to other tribes that their country, too, would be occupied, the extension of the railways to the Khyber, the construction of double roads for the use of mechanical transport, have all been construed by the border tribes as a danger to their independence and Mad Mullahs are not wanting who are in the pay of Bolsheviks and Afghans to excite the border fanatics against our Government. .... In this country we have not been told the story in what light the tribes and the Afghans take the forward policy of our militarist school. On the other hand, we are always told that the border tribes have nothing of the human being in them and that they are tigers ready for ravage, rapine and loot. But these people may have a different story of their own to tell. We want them to be our friends, if for nothing else, at least to save crores of rupees to India now wasted on mad cat military adventures—money so urgently needed for social welfare. We request Lord Reading to try a new policy with regard to the border tribes; it is worth any trouble on the part of His Excellency.......... At the same time British policy in Mid-Asia must change. Rightly or wrongly the Indian Muslims and their compatriots elsewhere feel that Britain has grand imperialistic designs in this part of Asia—a second empire from Hindukush to the Bosphorus.......... The position at present is Mr. Churchill cannot leave Mid-Asia because the Bolshevik and Pan-Islamist will soon have a joy ride in it; and the Bolshevist and Pan-Islamist will not cease from intriguing and rousing religious passions of the Muslims by speaking of the holy land of Jaziratul-Arab being in the hands of aliens. While the present position is like this the British taxpayer is being bled white to enable the Ministers to throw millions in the wastelands from Basra to Jerusalem. All the new Arab chiefs have to be paid in gold for keeping the alliance and for preserving peace. We do not know how long Great Britain can support this drain when all the money her Ministers are throwing away in the wastelands of the world is intended for social amelioration at Home."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's speech before the Deccan Sabha.

Gujarāti Punch (17), 10th July, Eng. cols.

68. "One of the arguments advanced by Mr. Paranjpye, in his Deccan Sabha speech, against making primary education compulsory was that there was no public opinion behind the Government.......... But is that, we ask, a sufficient reason for not introducing compulsion in education? This is not, by any means, a novel discovery and the exact state of affairs was not quite unknown to advocates of compulsory primary education among whom, we believe, Mr. Paranjpye was one. Why then advance it as something novel and very serious? Is it quite a new discovery as Mr. Paranjpye would like us to believe? Besides if people do not appreciate the far-reaching benefits of compulsory primary education, is there no way to make them do it? We do not see why so ardent a publicist and believer in the potency of agitation like Mr. Paranjpye should regard the absence of public opinion with pious horror. Public opinion, like many other things in this world, is created by steady and persistent endeavour. And what steps has Mr. Paranjpye taken to create it? And if he has not, what steps does he propose to take in the future? The best way to do it is to convene, as the Bengal minister has done, a conference of all newspaper editors in the Presidency, both English and Vernacular, and ask it to support him in his efforts. But the sympathy and support of such a conference

can only be won if Mr. Paranjpye is able to show that under the present circumstances nothing more than what he proposes to do is possible. And that is, we fear, the crux of the question. If Mr. Paranjpye can convince the public that he has done his best then, and then only, the public can support him in his other schemes."

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy.
Jágaruk (45), 9th July.

69. Non-Brahmins have been much agitated over the question of primary education; and they have been advised to withhold payment of the local fund cess and land assessment to Government until compulsory primary education is introduced. That shows the intensity of their feeling. Fifty years have elapsed since primary education was made compulsory in England and still our "benign" Government have not introduced it in India on the plea of financial difficulties. But they can lavishly spend money on military, civil and railway departments by crores. We are at a loss to know whether we should admire the shamelessness of Government or pity the poor people. The bureaucracy well knows that their destruction lies in universal education. They are not in the least afraid of non-co-operation by educated men, nor of boycott of foreign goods by merchants. They are afraid of educated masses. Even Mr. Paranjpye on becoming Educational Minister has been using bureaucratic language, putting forth the same old plea of financial difficulties, as he has become possessed of the bureaucratic spirit. Government ought to consider the discontent among the non-Brahmins and curtail its growing expenditure.

Lokashdhi (119), 11th July.

70. The *Lokashdhi* declares that the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye has skilfully solved the question of compulsory primary education by municipalities and that he has done the utmost a Minister can do under the circumstances. It asks* his impatient critics to take into consideration the limitations of his powers before condemning him and it specially appeals to the nationalist papers not to attack him as an examination of his educational scheme would surely convince them of the great public service he has been doing.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The drainage and water works of Poona should be handed over to the local municipality.
Kesari (111), 12th July.

71. The *Kesari* regrets that although since the inauguration of the reforms both the Provincial and the Supreme Governments have been liberalised, the scope of local self-government has not in any way been widened. It dilates at great length upon the hardships of the Poona City Municipality due to the faulty construction of the drainage and the settling tanks and repeats the standing complaint that the drainage has spoiled the health of the city and is responsible for the prevalence of malaria therein. In its opinion Government ought to transfer the drainage and the water-supply works to the control of the municipality since they expect that body to find the money for their construction and upkeep. The paper mentions that Mr. N. C. Kelkar has sent a resolution to the President of the Poona City Municipality to be submitted for the consideration of the committee to the effect that that body should refuse to repay the sums advanced by Government unless they consent to transfer the above-mentioned works to its control.

The Thána Local Board's decision to assist the anti-drink campaign with money.
Kesari (111), 12th July.

72. Commenting upon the decision of the Thána Local Board to set apart a sum of Rs. 3,000 in aid of the anti-drink campaign, the *Kesari* writes:—We congratulate the President of the Board on the courageous step he has taken. Government always say that they are against the drink evil, but have they ever spent a pie to combat it? We trust the example of the Thána Local Board will be imitated by the other local bodies.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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For the week ending 23rd July 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule :

Comments on the Dhárwár shooting incident . . . . . . 1—5
Comments on the relations between the tea planters and the coolies in Assam 14
Comments on the suggestions of Mr. Seshgiri Iyer for removing discontent in India 10
Lessons of the Irish struggle for independence 11
Mr. Gupte's Liquor Prohibition Bill 15
Sir Thomas Holland and the purchase of stores for India . . . 12
The Honourable Mr. Hayward's visit to Dhárwár in connection with the shooting affair . . . . 6—8
The Imperial Conference and Indians in the Colonies 13
The Reforms have failed entirely in doing away with bureaucracy . 9

Development of Bombay :

Protest against methods of land acquisition followed by the Bombay Development Directorate 60
The Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau 59
Hajis : Grievances of the — 67

His Excellency the Viceroy :

Comments on Lord Reading's reply to the address of the United Provinces Liberal Association 16
Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Calcutta Marwari Association . . . . 17 & 18

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales :

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales . . . 19—21
The Bombay Corporation's address to — 22

Indians in the Colonies :

Grievances of Indians in Natal 66
Indian Settlers in East Africa and the native inhabitants . . . 64
Kenya Colony and the rights of Indian and European settlers . . 65

Judicial matters :

Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Sherwani by the Aligarh Magistrate 61
Reflections on the apology tendered by Maulana Bakar Ali prosecuted for sedition in Karáchi 62

B 98—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Non-co-operation:
- All-India Khilafat Conference at Karáchi and Angora Government . 40
- Alleged strength of the Muslim feeling in India with regard to the Khilafat question 39
- Appeal to Mr. Gandhi to desist from restarting passive resistance . 37
- *Begar* on the Simla Hills 45
- Boycott of foreign cloth . . . . 23—30
- Can the liquor-shop-keepers claim a refund of their license fees . . 36
- Comments on alleged apology offered on behalf of the editor of *Zamindar* of Láhore by his son 41
- Comments on the anti-drink campaign . . . . 31—35
- Comments on the intention of the Punjáb Government to restrict the length and breadth of the *Kirpan* 44
- Lenin's policy and that of the British Government in the East contrasted 49
- Mr. Gandhi and the late Mr. Tilak 48
- Musalmans should be afforded facilities to sacrifice sheep and goats on the next Bakri Id festival 46
- Protest against alarmist rumours in England about English lives being in danger 47
- The — movement has made the bureaucracy mad 38
- There is no chance of realising Mr. Gandhi's hope of securing *swaráj* before the end of this year 42
- Utilization of the Tilak Swaraj Fund 43

Press Act: Comments on the recommendations of the — Committee . . 50—55

Public service:
- British Medicial Council's new proposals about the I.M.S. examination . 56
- Comments on the transfer of Mr. Painter as Commissioner, Northern Division 57
- Government pensioners and politics 58

Sind: Impending famine in Thar and Párkar, District Sind . . . 63

EDUCATION—
- Bombay Government's Press Note about religious instruction in schools . 73
- Comments on the Primary Education Committee appointed by the Bombay Government . . . . 68—71
- The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy 72

MUNICIPALITIES—
- Comments on the new duty proposed to be levied by Bulsár Municipality (District Surat) 75
- Poona Municipality and its drainage and water works 74

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Dhárwár shooting incident.
Gujaráti Punch (17), 17th July; *Model* (26), 17th July.

1. We are of opinion that the demand of the Dhárwár District Congress Committee for the appointment of an impartial commission to inquire into the Dhárwár disturbances is quite proper. The minds of the people of Dhárwár are excited because the local authorities are making arrests. It is a mistake to think that the ends of justice will be served and the really guilty persons will be brought to book when the state of public feeling is such. It is quite natural that the local authorities should have become too autocratic. An independent and impartial commission proves to be very useful on such occasions. People then lose all fear and their confidence in Government returns, and through this confidence, they are encouraged to give out the truth. Hence Government should appoint a commission without delay in accordance with the demand of the Dhárwár District Congress Committee. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd is a sympathetic Governor. Hence we suggest to His Excellency to personally visit Dhárwár, reassure the people and to clearly declare that Government are prepared to investigate impartially into the firing incident and that they will not hesitate to punish the officials properly if they are found to be guilty. Will His Excellency be induced to take such a step which would be befitting a really sympathetic statesman? [The *Model* remarks:—In their second Press Note Government state that as some men have been arrested and their cases are under investigation before the local authorities, it would not be proper to issue any further explanation regarding the matter at the present moment. We never expected such an attitude from the Government of such a sympathetic Governor as Sir George Lloyd. It is a cruel mockery of justice that the very officials who are openly accused by the people are to try those who are arrested. What is more deplorable is the fact that this is being done under the administration of such a kind ruler as Sir George Lloyd and that of such a Viceroy as Lord Reading who professes to be the embodiment of justice. Such an inquiry will prove to be a farce. We emphatically request Government to appoint an independent Commission to inquire minutely into the matter and suitably punish those who are guilty, be they officials or non-officials. We also hope that the five Indians in the Executive Government of the Bombay Presidency will bring pressure to bear upon their European colleagues and get the proper thing done in the matter. We also hope that the Moderates also will strain every nerve to see that full justice is done to their fellow-countrymen in connection with the Dhárwár tragedy.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 18th July.

2. We think that hasty opinion has been formed regarding the attitude of Government with regard to the Málegaon and Dhárwár disturbances in certain quarters. No doubt these incidents are very sad ones, but before the responsibility for them is attributed to any one side, we are bound to wait for the result of the investigations being made by the law courts. We have great respect for Mr. Gandhi, but we say that he has no right to express any opinion on these disturbances before a complete inquiry is made into them. We also do not consider the demands made in certain quarters for the appointment of independent committees to inquire into them, to be very farsighted. What is to be gained by such inquiries, before knowing the nature of the evidence given in the course of the trials in law courts? Besides this, the non-co-operators will not consider any committee appointed by Government to be impartial. Lastly, will the non-co-operators come out to give evidence before a committee appointed by Government? We are of opinion that Dhárwár and Málegaon cases should be brought up for inquiry before a joint bench of one Hindu and one Muhammadan Judge of the Bombay High Court. We would also urge the defence counsels to request the authorities to transfer them to the Bombay High Court. We trust that the Government of Bombay, which has such confidence in the firmness of its policy, will not oppose this demand in order that it may win for itself greater confidence on the part of the people.

Kesari (111), 19th July; *Lokamánya* (115), 21st July; *Rájakáran* (131), 17th July; *Swarájya* (145), 21st July.

3. Both the local authorities and the popular leaders at Dhárwár accuse each other of being responsible for the firing there. The latter have openly expressed their readiness to prove their accusations against the officials before an impartial commission. Still our Governor who is supposed to be just and impartial persists in maintaining that the people are in the wrong! And, as for the Viceroy, he has not the generosity even to send a reply to a telegram! Indeed, there is nothing to choose between the two. [The *Lokamánya* writes:—Even a peace-loving man like Mahatma Gandhi is driven to the conclusion that the anti-drink campaign will cause rivers of blood to flow in a month or two. This will help one to form an accurate idea of the present state of the popular mind. We request both Sir George Lloyd and Lord Reading not to take any hasty step in the matter. The Irish question is about to be successfully tackled, and if at this time they convert India into another Ireland, England will only have escaped from the frying-pan to fall into the fire. The *Rájakáran* says:—Lord Reading is peacefully slumbering at Simla. If he had the least capability, and if he had any regard for truth, justice and righteousness, he would have ordered the provincial authorities not to interfere with the anti-drink movement. The *Swarájya* writes:—It is not right that the officials whom the people accuse of being responsible for the disorders should take any part in the Dhárwár inquiry. We trust Sir George Lloyd will concede the demand of the people in this respect.]

Karnátak Vritt (84), 19th July.

4. If we look at the behaviour of the officials, from the Governor down to the policeman, none of them appears to have felt any regret for the sad occurrences at Dhárwár which resulted in the loss of three lives and severe injuries to some fifty or sixty innocent people. The only thing the high officials are concerned about, is how to gloss over the misdeeds of their subordinates. The press communiqués issued by Government show that they have no intention of investigating the case impartially. The readiness of the trying Magistrate to follow the police, wherever he is called, the refusal of the Magistrate and the Judge to release the accused on trial, the trial of these persons in the jail, and finally the alliance between the contractor and the police and the help given by the former to the latter in concocting evidence, all these evil omens show unmistakably that Government is scarcely inspired by any idea of doing justice in the investigation of this case. When a man is beset with calamities, the meaner sort of people take advantage of his fallen condition and seek to avenge their private wrongs; such things are going to happen in this case also. Our advice to the people at the present juncture is not to lose heart or allow themselves to be scared by the appearance of these evil omens. These omens are in a sense good omens, inasmuch as they will help to remove any doubts that might be lurking in the minds of the people regarding British justice and make the task of the non-co-operators easier. [Elsewhere in the course of a contributed article "S. B. J." writes:—Innocent people have been shot down in several places as in Dhárwár. Men like Mr. Divakar, known for their exemplary courage and integrity, have been arrested. If, in these circumstances, we remain quiet like people devoid of shame, how can we call ourselves a living nation? Is it not a shame on our part that a population of 33 crores should meekly submit to the domination of two or three lakhs of Englishmen? A few full-grown cows would make it quite difficult for a young cowherd to hold them. Are Indians then worse than cattle? To answer action by reaction is a sign of life. But we are forbidden by the Mahatma to use any kind of force in answer to the bullets of the bureaucracy. Such a course, moreover, would not be in the best interests of the nation. Is it not, therefore, necessary that we should respond to the high-handed actions of the officials in the only way recommended by the Mahatma? If we do not prove our ability to give this response, will not history proclaim to all the world that our nation, though seemingly alive, is in reality dead?]

Prabodh (125), 17th July; *Prágatik* (129), 18th July.

5. The faithfulness of the balance of British justice to its masters and its refusal even by accident to turn to the side of the Indians has been again proved by what has happened in connection with the Dhárwár firing incident. That big English officials should feel thirst for Indian blood, that afterwards the Police should suddenly fire upon innocent Indians, that the Police should again fire upon those who had come with lamps to remove the dead and the wounded and that Government should declare all this to have been proper by issuing a Press Note, shows the kind of British justice we are having. A comparison of the popular version of the incident with that given in the Government communiqué proves how Government blindly believes the bureaucracy. No man in his senses can bring himself to believe that unarmed people could attack the armed police with the help of kitson lamps, as the Press Communiqué alleges to have happened. Such perversion of facts is sufficient to explain the word "satanic" which Mr. Gandhi has been applying to Government. [The *Prágatik* remarks that, all other attempts to put down non-co-operation having failed, the bureaucracy has now come to resort to firing to accomplish that end. It declares that the Dhárwár incident clearly proves that the bureaucracy means to create a permanent feeling of terror among Indians by making streams of innocent blood to flow. It opines that the 'beastly' authorities are attributing violence to the people to cover up their own crimes. The paper concludes :—If the Dhárwár officials be responsible for the murders committed, why should they not be prosecuted and severely punished ?]

The Honourable Mr. Hayward's visit to Dhárwár in connection with the shooting affair.

Vijaya (90), 18th and 20th July.

6. Referring to the visit of the Honourable Mr. Hayward to Dhárwár in connection with the Dhárwár shooting case, the *Vijaya* says :—The Honourable Mr. Hayward spoke sweet words and promised to appoint a special officer to try the case, saying that it was impossible to appoint a Commission for that purpose. It is thus clear that the case will be tried by a man belonging to the very class against some members of which allegations of a grave nature have been made. Will such an officer give justice against his brother officers? An independent commission acceptable to both the parties would have been able to hear both sides impartially and the real facts would thus have come to light. [In a subsequent issue the paper says that from the information which it has received regarding the conversation which took place between Mr. Hayward and the leaders at Dhárwár, there appears no hope that justice will be done to the people. The paper expresses its belief that Mr. Hayward had gone to Dhárwár with the object of collecting information which would strengthen the hands of Government, and enable it to issue another Press Note in reply to the *Bombay Chronicle*. In support of its contention, the paper says that when a number of witnesses came forward to give evidence unfavourable to Government, Mr. Hayward abruptly brought the conversation to a close, saying that he had no time to hear what they had to say. Mr. Hayward is also reported to have said that the people would not be satisfied even if an independent commission were appointed, because it is bound to include some European or other and a European would not be acceptable to the people merely because he is a European. The paper asks who is responsible if things have come to such a pass. In another place, the paper refers to the trial which is going on before a Special Officer, and says that all those who belonged to the side of the prosecution were admitted into the jail, while people who belonged to the other side, including the pleaders of the accused, were refused admission. The paper asks how in such circumstances the public are to know if any trial was held at all and whether this is the sort of justice which Mr. Hayward promised. Concluding, the paper asks the lawyers to learn a lesson from what was happening around them and appeals to them to be self-respecting and to give up their practice.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th July.

7. "The Honourable Mr. Hayward has visited Dhárwár and the visit, as it might have been expected, ended in the usual manner. Mr. Hayward gave the usual official excuse that the police investigation was almost

complete and, therefore, could not be abandoned and he gave the usual official promise that a special magistrate would be appointed to hear the case. It is true Mr. Hayward had an interview with the President of the District Congress Committee. But the public point of view, which was urged on his attention, was completely ignored by him.......... The main reason why the local officials are anxious to proceed with the prosecutions organised and manipulated by themselves is that most of the accused in the case are the persons who, if they were free, would give the most damaging evidence against the officials themselves. What has happened is that in Dhárwár those whose own conduct requires to be investigated are the prosecutors of those whose evidence would be most valuable in the investigation, if it were undertaken, as it should be, by a Government jealous of its reputation and anxious to vindicate justice. Justice in Dhárwár has thus become a topsy-turvy affair and it is not surprising that attempts should be made to save the faces of officials who, if the allegations against them are true, deserve the severest punishment. What is, however, amazing is that the Government of Sir George Lloyd should connive at such a scandalous attempt to pervert justice."

Loka Bandhu (85), 17th July.

8. His Excellency the Governor might have sent here this ex-judge of the High Court for giving utterance to some hollow expressions of sympathy. There were rumours to the effect that His Excellency would visit this place personally. Can it be that His Excellency was ashamed to show his face, bearing as it does the stain of murder, to the people of Dhárwár? Or was he informed by the local officials that the town was in a disturbed condition? But it matters little who visits this town. So long as the Government tamely surrenders itself to the domination of the local officials, out of mistaken notions of prestige, British justice is as good as dead.

The Reforms have failed entirely in doing away with bureaucracy.

Mahrátta (7), 24th July.

***9.** In the course of a communication in the *Mahrátta*, one Mr. Jayarao Sulikeri writes :—" The Reforms were hailed by all India to produce 'New Era', 'a change in the angle of vision', if I remember aright; the Reforms have failed entirely to kill the bureaucratic life—for the sake of which they were supposed to have incarnated. That the Reforms have failed in doing away with the life, is evident from the fact that its mischievous activities are now in full swing and are keenly felt in every nook and corner of this hapless country. What is it that one is finding to-day in India under 'New Era' and 'changed angle of vision'? Shooting and firing, bleeding and groaning, gagging and arresting—to the extent unknown before—are found everywhere from Cape Camorin to Himalayas. This 'New Era' is really a change—not for the better, but for the worse—and if Indian has acquired any change by the Reforms—it is a change for the latter."

Comments on the suggestions of Mr. Seshgiri Iyer for removing discontent in India.

Sind Observer (10), 13th July.

10. Referring to the means suggested by Mr. Seshgiri Iyer for removing the discontent in India, the *Sind Observer* remarks :—" We are not sure diarchy in Central Government will give the country the relief it is in need of when the non-co-operators are talking of Republic and Civil Disobedience. A time-limit for *swarάj* may allay the present discontent. We agree with Mr. Iyer that such men as those who got eighteen months for stone-throwing at the hands of a newly appointed City Magistrate in Karáchi, who showed more zeal than discretion in awarding such a harsh punishment, should, at least, be released now. Whether Government is willing to release the rest or not, men like Swami Govindanand should be treated as first class misdemeanants, not asked to do hard work like common felons, and allowed to write and read books and papers in the jail......... It is better to treat them in jail with consideration so that they may not come out with embittered feelings against the *sirkar*. This is the only civilised country where political prisoners are so badly treated. We await with interest what answers Government will be pleased to vouchsafe to Mr. Gulam Hussain's questions in this matter."

Lessons of the Irish struggle for independence.
New Times (8), 16th July.

11. Referring to the pourparlers with regard to the settlement of the Irish question, the *New Times* remarks :—"The Irish struggle is not without its lessons. It shows the failure of the Government's policy of force......... A campaign of violence, indeed, cannot succeed against a nation with a passion for freedom. Force has not proved a remedy in the case of Ireland; no more will it, in the case of India. Powerlessness of power; weakness of strength—such is the one great lesson of the Irish struggle. You cannot govern, in the long run, by force; you can govern only by consent, by co-operation of the people; and once that co-operation is withdrawn, you must fail—you might notwithstanding. There is something which can vanquish even overwhelming forces; that is a united nation's will. In his proclamation to the Irish people asking them to observe the truce honourably, De Velera rightly says :—'Your discipline must prove that this is the struggle of an organised nation.' He adds :—'An unbending determination to endure all that may still be necessary, and fortitude such as you have shown in all your recent sufferings, may still be required and these alone will lead to the desired peace.' The words have a message also for the Indian nation struggling to-day for freedom. In our union and discipline and determination to suffer for the nation is the promise of our Future."

Sir Thomas Holland and the purchase of stores for India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st July.

12. "The Stores Purchase Committee produced a majority report signed by all the non-officials against the minority report signed by two officials, one of them being the Chief Store-keeper of the India Office. Instead of carrying out the recommendations arising out of the suggestions of the Industries Commission, Government have postponed all action on the majority report of the Stores Committee and have proceeded to adopt the principles laid down in the minority report, which practically involve the continuance of the existing thraldom for India—namely, the purchase of everything in the United Kingdom, even if it is produced in India or can be bought cheaper in other countries. Government have recently re-imposed the old Stores Rules under which no officer can purchase stores worth not more than a certain very small amount locally, but must send his indent, for all orders beyond that sum even if it can be purchased locally at a cheaper price and is of a satisfactory quality. How could it be otherwise when our industrial affairs are handled by sweet-tongued officials like Sir Thomas Holland? This gentleman, after a highly adventurous career, has by sheer force and push, come right in the centre of administration. About his capacity there may not be two opinions, but what the Indian public would sooner have is a man not perhaps as capable but more willing to carry out the promises which have been made to them from time to time.......... With a facetious show of sarcasm, Sir Thomas Holland, during his recent visit to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, pointed out that purchases were made not by the Secretary of State but by the High Commissioner, as if the distinction were sufficient to answer the grievance. All this combativeness does not touch the real question. The proceeds of the sterling loan have been earmaked for railway purchases and it is to the interest of India to get them in the cheapest market. If Sir Thomas Holland is able to satisfy himself and the Indian public that locomotives are cheaper in Great Britain than in America and the Continent, he has no occasion to indulge either in jeer or in apology, since the interest of India is served by retaining the orders in Britain. But railway materials do not consist of locomotives only. And if present quotations are trustworthy, materials in Britain are costlier than on the Continent.......... Irrespective of the advantage or the disadvantage to India the Secretary of State bound himself to spend the money in Britain, and it is useless now to talk of the High Commissioner's identity or of his discretion when Mr. Mantagu was, in advance, made by his advisers to confine the market to Britain and enable manufacturers, severally or in secret combination, to state their prices and dispense the Loan Capital into their pockets."

The Imperial Conference and Indians in the Colonies.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st July.

13. "While the Colonial Office, in its communiqué summing up the results of the Special Conference held on the 15th instant, is careful to tell us all about the discussion on air, cable and wireless communications, it refrains from shedding light on the further debate that must have taken place on the subject of the position of Indians in the Empire.......... We shall not at all be surprised to find that the whole thing has ended in smoke and that the upshot of Mr. Sastri's much-boomed 'mission' has been merely to secure for him, personally, a few compliments from his Imperial 'colleagues' and the freedom of the City of London. If Mr. Sastri has achieved anything more, we are yet to know. The spectacle, however, of Mr. Sastri receiving the 'freedom' of London, while his compatriots are being treated no better than dogs in some of the Colonies, is, indeed, sufficient to make angels weep."

Comments on the relations between the tea planters and the coolies in Assam.
Vijaya (90), 20th July.

14. Referring to the Khoreal shooting case, the *Vijaya* says that the coolies in the tea plantations are regarded by the planters as slaves and their women-folk as objects for their enjoyment. The paper adds that the conditions of illiteracy, ignorance and slavery which prevail amongst the coolies employed in the tea gardens have helped to foster the idea in the minds of some of the coolies that they are bound to offer their women to the European planters and that the Europeans are sedulously encouraging this idea and are thus helping to undermine the morals of the coolie population.

Mr. Gupte's Liquor Prohibition Bill.
Swarájya (145), 21st July.

15. Commenting upon the reply given by Government to Mr. V. R. Gupte, M.L.C., that they cannot allow him to bring forward his Liquor Prohibition Bill in the absence of sanction from the Government of India, the *Swarájya* writes:—We trust Mr. Gupte will not give up the attempt but will try again to get his measure passed. But we must also say a few words here in regard to the attitude of Government in such matters. People generally wish that the drink traffic should cease, and it is the duty of Government to defer to their will. It is not right that they should disallow a Bill like that proposed by Mr. Gupte on a flimsy pretext. Besides, such conduct on their part discourages even the Moderates. Government always tell the Moderates to side with them and to have nothing to do with the non-co-operators, and in obedience to their will these poor people also always take sides with them. But when a Bill proposed by one of them is disallowed, they are pained to find that they have influence neither with Government nor with the people. Therefore, nothing will be lost if Government will show a little magnanimity in such trifling matters, not of course to give satisfaction to the nationalists but to keep the Moderates pleased.

Comments on Lord Reading's reply to the address of the United Provinces Liberal Association.
Gujaráti (15), 17th July.

16. Lord Reading's pronouncements during the last three months forces us to the conclusion that he will not be able to lead the nationalists of this country. The reply given by Lord Reading to an address presented to him by a deputation of the United Provinces Liberal Association goes to show that he is no longer a novice in Indian politics and that he has begun to form his own opinions on certain questions. Mr. Montagu gave us reasons to hope that Lord Reading would take steps to give responsible self-government to India during his tenure of office, but the speech goes a great way in discouraging us from entertaining such hopes. Three things stand out prominently in the Indian politics of the day: Indians have lost faith in British justice, they have lost faith in British pledges and have ceased to think that India stands to gain by the British connection. Lord Reading talked a good deal about justice on landing in India; but now he asks us to forget and forgive! Lord Reading seems to forget that Indians cannot possibly forget the wrongs done to them as long as the root causes of injustice are not removed. Lord Reading should cease

talking of justice and should proceed to punish those officers who were responsible for the Punjáb atrocities and who have escaped scot-free. It is well known that Indians do not get justice in cases against Europeans. Lord Reading has promised to investigate into the matter. We, however, do not think that he will be able to do anything in the matter. The bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indians are more than a match for him.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Calcutta Marwari Association.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 18th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 18th July.

17. The reply given by His Excellency Lord Reading to the deputation of the Marwari Association of Calcutta that recently waited upon him, though not likely to give unqualified satisfaction to the Indian mercantile interests, is all the same instinct with sympathy and goes to prove the desire on the part of Lord Reading to advance the interests of Indian trade and commerce. Undue preference in the matter of railway freights have created a feeling of sourness in the hearts of Indian merchants and we hope the Committee appointed to enquire into the question will recommend the removal of the preferential rates complained of by the Marwari Association. We regret to have to say that the Viceroy's reply in the matter of exchange is not likely to throw any light on the question or to ease the situation. Exchange has now fallen below 1*s.* 4*d.* and Government should do something to afford some relief to Indian merchants. We are fully in accord with the views expressed by the Viceroy in the matter of special communal representation. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers the Viceroy's reply as full of sympathy and as proof positive of his solicitude for the industrial and commercial welfare of India.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd July.

18. "No one could have read the homily delivered by the Viceroy in reply to the address of the Marwari Association without being struck by the similarity of the vague generalisations therein contained with those in his reply to the address of welcome by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in Bombay. The intervening space of so many months has not, we are afraid, brought home to the Viceroy, the intensity of mistrust and suspicion with which Indian businessmen have come to look upon the operations of the Government in so far as they affect trade, industry and finances of the country.......... We cannot compliment Lord Reading on his reference to the Fiscal Commission. It appears the Government have not understood the issue as it strikes the public of India. The people of India do not want any costly committee of enquiry in which one or two Indians may figure, whose report will practically be a foregone conclusion, inspired by officials. If fiscal independence (the phrase which Lord Reading used) has any special meaning at all, then the fiscal system which should be fixed should be one which may be devised by thoughtful Indian businessmen who could be trusted not to suggest anything revolutionary but to take definite practical action so as to turn the tariffs of the country to the advantage of industrial enterprise as controlled and promoted by Indians.......... A Commission of which an Indian is not the Chairman and on which there is not an Indian majority will be unacceptable to Indian commercial bodies and would not command any confidence. The reference of the Viceroy to trade and exchange was delightfully vague. To say that every country must export its surplus and get in return goods which it needs is a truism, but to imply that India cannot be self-sufficient in the matter of her industrial needs is to contradict an article of faith which is entertained by every Indian who knows that the raw materials of his country could be turned into finished goods here and not only for cloth but practically for every other article of daily need. India could under a national Government become absolutely self-sufficient."

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales.

Praja Bandhu (28), 17th July, Eng. cols.; *Sind Observer* (10), 14th July.

19. "Close upon the heels of the Duke's visit is announced the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and Mahatma Gandhi reiterates his injunction, 'India will refuse to welcome a representative of a system of which she is sick unto death.' We do not know what good the authorities both here and in England find in springing costly pageants upon the people

from time to time. They have long since passed the stage when they were pleased so easily. Now they demand something tangible and substantial. Unless, therefore, the Prince's visit is made the occasion for conferring that, it too is bound to meet with the fate of the Duke's visit. Will the authorities realize this?" [The *Sind Observer* remarks:—"The Prince in spite of non-co-operators will receive a very hearty welcome. It will be a great pity if the Prince's progress is marked by *hartals* and other unhappy scenes which disgraced the country when the Duke visited it.......... The Prince is a winsome man and we hope he will make even the non-co-operators to see the folly of their ways."]

Hindi Punch (19), 17th July.; * *Kaiser-i-Hind* (23), 24th July, Eng. cols.

20. "Corporator Fainéant" writes in the *Hindi Punch*:—"His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, before starting for his Indian tour, will take complete rest for two months and will not attend any functions during August and September......... He will, I hope, be a giant refreshed by the two months' compulsory holiday, and by the end of October will be in the robustest of health to undertake his Indian journey. All India fervently prays for the continuous good health of His Royal Highness. Nothing untoward should happen to mar the joy and enthusiasm that the millions of India feel at the prospect of the Royal Visit. It will cause the deepest disappointment if the fates again become averse and cause its postponement on the score of the health of the Royal Visitor. Already the cablegrams to India about the Prince's health are interpreted by some augurs of evil as the precursors of the announcement to be made hereafter that the Royal Visit has been postponed for a year more after consulting the medical advisers of His Royal Highness. I hope they will prove false prophets and the loyal and devoted millions of India will have the opportunity four months hence to welcome the great-grandson of Victoria the Good and the grandson of Edward the Peace-maker—both good and great Rulers who have left indelible marks on the heart of Hind by their wise and sympathetic rule." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"It is no wonder that the Prince's health should have been somewhat impaired for it appears from accounts given in the Home papers that ever since his return to England from his Dominion tour he has taken a strenuous part in public activities. The Prince has a high sense of his own duties and he recently made a tour of the West of England where he was enthusiastically received by all classes of people. The Prince has endeared himself to all by his charming manners and his natural good temper and vivacity. We hope that the two months of rest which he will enjoy will so completely restore his health that he will be able to thoroughly enjoy his forthcoming visit to this country."]

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 21st July; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 20th July.

21. The non-co-operators are threatening to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales because they think that he is to come here to support the present objectionable system of administration. But he is to come here only as a representative of his Royal father and the Royal family and not as that of the British administration. The Royal family is aware of the loyalty of the Indians towards the Crown, and the King-Emperor has thought it fit to send the Prince to India at such a time of unrest in order that the old loyalty might be sustained and intensified and that the minds of the Indian people may be calmed down. The boycott of his visit by the non-co-operators will not hasten the attainment of *swaráj* by a single day. If the Indians accord welcome to the Prince that would not mean that they consider the present system of administration to be either just or desirable. It would only be an acknowledgment of his sympathy and that of the Royal family towards India. We hope that the Prince will visit this country. [With regard to the report that the Prince has been advised to take complete rest for two months, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks:—We pray that the Prince may be restored to full health after this compulsory rest. We hope that he will meet his loyal Indian subjects according to the arrangements already made and try to confirm the relations of mutual affection and mutual trust set up by the descendants of Queen Victoria with India. One party maintains that the Indian people are prepared to welcome him in the hope of receiving some gifts, while the other party

tries to get the visit cancelled by declaring that the Prince has no power under the constitution to make any gifts and hence the people cannot in any way be enthusiastic about his visit. We are afraid that both these parties do injustice to the Indian people. Whether he brings any gifts for India or not, or whether he has any power to make gifts or not, it has been proved beyond doubt through previous experiences of Royal visits that they have turned out to be blessings to India, fruitful of good results, and have made public life in India more hopeful. The Indian people consider it their duty to welcome the Prince and make him fully acquainted with their condition. But still, if his visit is postponed for reasons of health, they will not object to its being deferred to more happy and auspicious times.]

The Bombay Corporation's address to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.
Kesari (111), 19th July.

22. The *Kesari* comments with satisfaction on the opposition offered by Dr. Velkar and Mr. Motiwala to the resolution proposed by Dr. Sukhia in the Bombay Corporation for presenting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his arrival in India. It is not surprised, it says, at the adoption of the resolution by that body constituted as it is at present. It ridicules the remark made by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas at the Corporation meeting that the visit would involve self-sacrifice on the part of His Royal Highness and inquires how Mr. Jamnadas came to discover that sumptuous banquets and shooting expeditions involve any sacrifice on the part of anybody. It sarcastically remarks that the recovery of the Prince from his reported indisposition so as to be able to undertake the voyage to India largely depends upon the political atmosphere in the country in the near future.

Boycott of foreign cloth.
Bharatvási (155), 13th July.

23. We are of opinion that boycott of English goods would be our legitimate weapon of punishing England, if she refused to grant India her rights. But we feel that she has given India some substantial reforms. At the same time it is our duty to ask England to give us more power now and also to fix the date of granting us complete Home Rule. When she refuses to do that, there will be no harm in using any legitimate weapon of punishing her. But to make the punishment effective, only English cloth should be boycotted and other foreign cloth should be received freely till India is able to satisfy her own requirements from her own manufactured cloth. Further, the import of other English goods also should be stopped, as this will render the boycott even more effective. Our total foreign imports are valued at 130 crores out of which the British imports of cloth are worth about 45 crores, the rest being imported from other countries. Now, during the war, England was spending something like 210 crores per month. Hence the loss per year of 45 crores by boycott of cloth cannot immediately make any appreciable effect on England. Moreover, only recently she has received waggon-loads of gold and guineas from Germany. It is therefore foolish to expect boycott of cloth to compel her to grant us Home Rule by August or even by October. Mahatma also seems to feel like that. Otherwise we do not see why he should have restarted his talk of passive resistance or other like measures. There is one other matter to which we would draw the attention of our readers. This boycott will alienate the sympathies of the labour classes of England, through whose good-will and assistance we have a great chance of gaining our object. Under these circumstances we feel that boycott should not be resorted to, as it is a method of revenge and punishment. Swadeshi is the better way, and we can achieve our object by it as successfully as otherwise.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 18th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 19th July; *Political Bhomiyo* (72), 22nd July; *Insáf* (67), 15th July.

24. In spite of our sympathy for true Swadeshi, we regret to say that we cannot lend our support to the movement started by Mr. Gandhi for boycotting foreign cloth as it is, in our opinion, fraught with harm to the mercantile classes and the general public alike. The movement, it is believed, is to be supplemented by the picketing of foreign cloth shops, and we are afraid that such picketing will have the same harmful effects it produced in the case of the temperance movement. We are firmly of opinion that the movement for boycotting foreign cloth will never be able to achieve the success its promoters mean to secure. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also declares that the movement for boycotting foreign cloth is doomed to failure and will spell the fall of Mr. Gandhi. The *Political Bhomiyo* writes:—Mr. Gandhi first suggested that a bonfire should be made of foreign cloth on the 1st of August, but when he met with opposition for such an absurd suggestion he has now toned down and declares that his suggestion is to be carried out in the matter of wearing apparel only and not in respect of bales or pieces of cloth! We wish Mr. Gandhi had confined himself to pure Swadeshi and had not lent his countenance to the boycott movement which engenders hatred and places the merchants in an awkward position and impoverishes the people. We feel sure that the boycott movement will meet with the failure which Mr. Gandhi's other activities have met. The *Insáf*, on the other hand, expresses hope that Bombay will accord a ready response to Mr. Gandhi's appeal to boycott foreign cloth and help India to free herself from the iron grip of Manchester].

Navjivan (70), 17th July.

25. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—Many suggestions have been made to me to the effect that foreign cloth should be given to the poor or sent abroad instead of being burnt. After considering all the arguments advanced in support of these suggestions, I have come to the conclusion that foreign cloth must be burnt. If we consider it a sin to use foreign cloth, we must regard it as filth and should never transfer it to others. Hindus, Muhammadans and Pársis should consider it unlawful to use foreign cloth. In order to create such a feeling amongst the people, I consider it very necessary that we should burn foreign cloth in our possession. I shall, therefore, consider it an act of self-purification on the part of the people if they burn all their wearing apparel of foreign manufacture on the 1st of August.

Mahrátta (7), 24th July.

*26. "There is fairly a consternation in the camp of the apostles of foreign exploitation in India by the declared determination of Mahatma Gandhi to get the foreign cloth boycotted in India by the end of August next. Mahátma Gandhi has all along put Swadeshi in the forefront in his programme of non-co-operation and we for one find in it the real solution of the problem of economic bondage of India. India did produce sufficient cloth to clothe its citizens and would have continued to do so but for the vicious passion for using glossy, fine foreign cloth, which passes under the camouflage of higher standard of living. It is generally the rulers who set what is called fashion and the idea of getting dressed in the tip-top-style of the rulers engendered the use of foreign cloth throughout. For forty years the late Lokamanya Tilak fought against this mental slavery and his life-long work is coming to fruition. All Maharashtra shall give its hearty support not by simple mental acceptance of the Swadeshi creed but by actual practice in daily life. We cannot understand either the view-point or the logic of those who object to the present movement of boycott of foreign cloth which is nothing but intensified Swadeshi.......... All nations including England raised high tariff walls to support their infant industries and in absence of that effective power India has to take recourse to Swadeshi. India produces sufficient cotton to get sufficient stock of clothes out of it. India is a past master of the art of weaving. If once we give up the hankering of fine cloth and get accustomed to use rough and only minimum clothing needed in India's climate, we believe the problem is practically solved.......... The Indian mills, in their turn, will increase their production intensively and extensively and their number will also increase. Thus there is strong potential power in the movement which none can gainsay. Messrs. V. J. Patel and J. K. Mehta have indeed done a public service by their pamphlet which puts before our eyes, as if in a mirror, the present state of our piece-goods industry.......... Messrs. Patel and Mehta prove by the figures that if there are ten lakhs of spinning-wheels in operation with an adequate number of looms there can be no scarcity of goods. They prove it that Swadeshi or boycott of foreign cloth is neither 'chimerical' nor 'political lunacy'. On the contrary 'this red herring of scarcity of goods to meet the requirements of India is drawn across the trail needlessly by those who will not or cannot help the movement.' Let none be deceived by the brave show of figures put forward by interested persons nor hear their disquisition of economic laws which are twisted to suit their arguments. India has determined to win *swarájya*, from unwilling hands. It is not simply a figure of speech when it is said that India is at war. India is indeed at war with its economic and political bondage and thus in a sense with the present system of government. No nation that is at war, even in its limited sense, can afford to be dependent for its necessities upon foreign nations. There can be and there is no difference of opinion regarding the Swadeshi. Let India do its duty and prove its capacity to win *swarájya* !"

Lokasangraha (116), 18th July; *Lokamánya* (115) 17th July.

27. England exports cotton goods to this country in very large quantities. The English have not only enslaved our bodies but they have clothed them, too, with cloth manufactured by themselves as if to remind us always of our slavery. This state of things must be galling to every man and he must work incessantly to put and end to it. The task is not as easy as it appears to be at first sight. We import cloth from England annually worth about sixty crores of rupees and if we desire to stop this import we must not only burn our present foreign articles of clothing but should take other steps as well to gain our object. We should try to secure fiscal autonomy for India. After that we should devote our attention to the development of our industries. Whatever Mahatma Gandhi may say, the spinning-wheel and the handloom will never be able to oust English cloth. The factory, and not the *charka*, can stop the import of foreign cloth. [The *Lokamánya* asks its readers to believe that the boycott movement is not in any way connected with politics and that it is an economic necessity with the people of this country.]

Hindu (158), 13th July.

28. Under the headings "Remember Lokamanya Tilak," "Boycott foreign cloth by the 1st of August," "Save India from starvation by boycotting foreign cloth," "If you wish for India's liberty boycott foreign cloth," "Respond to the appeal of the Mother of the oppressed brothers and of Mahatma Gandhi, and boycott foreign cloth," and "Indians, remove the blot of slavery and disgrace from your heads" the *Hindu* writes:—The foreign cloth that we use is the cause of the slavery of India. We should be ashamed for bringing this blot of slavery upon ourselves! If we do not yet wake up and boycott foreign cloth, we ought to drown ourselves in the nearest tank or well, so that the world may not see our sullied faces! Remember the 1st of August. The anniversary day of Lokamanya Tilak. India has solemnly resolved, and Mahatma Gandhi has directed, that if Indians have any regard for Lokamanya Tilak, foreign cloth should be boycotted before the day of his anniversary! No one should henceforth buy any foreign cloth. If he buys any, he will be considered an enemy of his country and his nation. Brothers! wake up. Liberate your country soon!! Never use any foreign cloth!!!

Sanj Vartamán (31), 22nd July.

29. We feel sure that many people will assemble on the sands at Chowpati in Bombay on the 1st of August to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Mr. Tilak. People will be said to have observed the anniversary of Mr. Tilak's death only when each of them goes to Chowpati clad in *khadi* from head to foot and takes a vow not to use cloth of foreign manufacture or cloth made out of foreign yarn. Mr. Gandhi has made a suggestion that people should make a bon-fire of foreign cloth on that day, but many people do not like it as they are of the opinion that it would be much better to give away foreign cloth to the poor than to destroy it by burning. We, therefore, think that those who are in favour of burning foreign cloth may do so and those who want to give it away to the poor or send it out to Smyrna may do as they like. The question of making a bon-fire of foreign cloth is not a very important one. We are chiefly concerned with the question of boycotting foreign cloth and encouraging Swadeshi. *Swaráj* will be gained at the point of the spindle. We would, therefore, ask the people to take a vow to boycott foreign cloth before the 1st of August.

Gujaráti (15), 24th July, Eng. cols.

*30. "There are thousands of people who feel great respect for Mahatma Gandhi but disapprove of his programme. But they dare not openly criticise or oppose. The classes of people that he is now trying to influence for procuring the boycott of foreign goods in Bombay and elsewhere belong more or less to this category. They remain silent or acquiescent in his presence and have not the courage to place before him their real convictions and sentiments with absolute candour and thus convince him of the untenability of his economic dogmas and the unsoundness of his post-haste methods for the economic salvation of India......... Those who are far removed from his direct influence are much more outspoken......... Mr. Gandhi's conference with the piece-goods merchants at the Mulji Jetha Market Hall on the 8th instant does not seem to have won them over to his views. It is a noteworthy feature of his mentality that when he begins to pursue one idea, for the time being he forgets the other items embodied in his programme. When he was busy persuading the cloth merchants and others to contribute to the All-India Swarájya Memorial Fund, he went on telling them that they would get *swaráj* only if one crore of rupees were collected by the end of June. When he deals with the question of 'untouchability,' he allows himself to be carried away by his views on the subject and declares that *swarájya* can only be obtained by the removal of this dark spot upon Hinduism. His attitude is the same with reference to the enrolment of one crore of members for the Congress, distribution of 20 lakhs of *charkhas* and abandonment of the drink habit. Following his usual practice he told the piece-goods merchants that *swarájya* could only be secured when they boycotted foreign cloth. He appealed to them to take the world by surprise on the anniversary day of the late Mr. Tilak, *i.e.*, the 1st of August, by boycotting foreign cloth. At another meeting of the members of the different Commission Agents' Associations he exhorted them to forsake their agency for supplying foreign cloth to their constituents and if they did so, they would obtain *swarájya* in a month. It is a matter of profound regret that the Mahatmaji should allow himself to indulge in such exaggerated hopes and estimates and allure the people from the path of steady and patient work. Surely he knows the actual truth and it is incomprehensible to us why he should fight shy of it and run counter to his high principles even in the name of Swadeshism or *swarájya*......... We are painfully astonished to find that Mahatma Gandhi who, it is complained in many quarters, often drives in motors in the course of his peregrinations in the country and uses foreign machinery for his *Young India*, should call upon the piece-goods merchants and others to 'burn their clothes made of foreign cloth,' when hundreds and thousands of starving men, women and children find it well-nigh impossible to get cloth that is absolutely necessary just to cover their bodies. We do not think that his doctrine of economic hatred, though he disclaims any such feeling on his part, should be carried to such an extent, when sufficient Swadeshi cloth is not and will not be available for years together.......... Supply sufficient Swadeshi cloth to meet the requirements of the various classes of the population. That is the general demand on the part of the people. The feeling of the country is in favour of Swadeshi and what is wanted is an adequate supply of Swadeshi goods of every kind to take the place of imported articles. Where are they? Echo answers where? Let us all do what we possibly can to promote the cause of Swadeshism on sound lines and in a spirit of patriotism. But that cannot be accomplished by violating the elementary principles of economics or disregarding the prudential dictates of common sense and wordly experience, the hard realities of human nature or the vastness and complexity of the Indian economic problem. Too much haste is waste in the normal affairs of life and is no less so in politics or economics."

Comments on the anti-drink campaign.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 23rd July.

31. In the course of a long article in which it reviews the proceedings of the recent meeting of liquor shop-keepers in Bombay addressed by Mr. Gandhi, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Mr. Gandhi has ordered the liquor shop-keepers to give up their profession at any sacrifice. It is not so easy to practise as it is to preach. To hope to stop the liquor traffic, which had been going on

for hundreds of years, at the call of the non-co-operators would be to expect to achieve the impossible. We cannot believe that the liquor traffic can be completely stopped either by means of such intimidation or by the fear of rivers of blood. We draw the attention of all to the warning given by Mr. Gandhi, and request him to withdraw from a step which is likely to lead not only this city but the whole country towards bloodshed. Can the temperance movement not be conducted peacefully? What is the use of shedding blood or giving up one's life for it? We do not approve of the methods adopted by Mr. Gandhi, in spite of our desire to see that the consumption of liquor is reduced. We wish that they would copy the methods adopted in America in this matter. On the one hand Mr. Gandhi says that the orders of the authorities should be obeyed, and on the other hand he declares that he will refuse to move from the vicinity of the liquor shops when ordered to do so by the Police, and that he is prepared to put his life in danger of being fired upon. Does this befit a thoughtful, farsighted and cool-headed politician?

Sánj Vartmán (31), 20th July; *Hind Mitra* (18), 17th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 21st July.

32. We do not want to bring any pressure to bear upon the liquor-shop-keepers. We only request them to give up their profession. But we are sorry to say that they do not seem to behave honestly with Mr. Gandhi. The main question which they are called upon to answer is whether they want to put an end to the liquor traffic or not. If they do not want to do so willingly, they should tell so plainly to Mr. Gandhi. Then, till *swarájya* is attained there will remain only one weapon in the hands of the public to dissuade people from visiting liquor-shops, and that is picketing. If picketing is well organized in Bombay, all the liquor shops will have to be closed within six months. We earnestly appeal to the liquor-shop-keepers to ponder well upon the plain warning that has been given to them by Mr. Gandhi. The honour of the whole Pársi Community rests with the Bombay Pársi liquor-shop-keepers. We hope that they will duly safeguard it. [With regard to the alleged willingness of the liquor-shop-keepers to close their shops if their license-fees are returned to them, the *Hind Mitra* remarks:—Now the only remedy to eradicate the drink evil from the country rests with Government. They should return the license-fees which they have taken in advance from the liquor-shop-keepers, and stop the distillation of country liquor and the import of foreign spirits. The only argument that the authorities advance against this is that excise revenue to the tune of crores of rupees will cease and the poor people will have to pay some other new tax. This is only an evasive excuse. From whose pockets do Government derive the present excise revenue? Government should understand that the days when such excuses could be offered are gone. They should work side by side with Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants in order to save the people from the evil of drink. It is their duty to do so as the *ma-bap* of the people. We trust that they will consult with a deputation consisting of Mr. Gandhi and other leaders and remove the only obstacle that stands in the way of the liquor-shop-keepers giving up their profession. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, writes:—The liquor-shop-keepers have again expressed their willingness to close their shops if Government return their license-fees to them and assure them that they will not give out the licenses to others. This demand of theirs is just like a challenge that cannot be taken up. In reply to this, Mr. Gandhi has warned them and told them that if they do not agree to do what he wants, picketing would be resumed next month and rivers of blood would begin to flow. We are really shocked to hear those words from the mouth of the high priest of non-violent non-co-operation. It is still more deplorable that, in spite of the fact that this high priest of non-violence is sure that rivers of blood will flow as a result of picketing, still he is prepared to resume it. After these words uttered by him, how can his non-co-operation movement be called non-violent?]

Rastra Veer (133), 17th July.

33. Liquor is worse than poison, the latter destroys the body of the consumer only; the former destroys the whole family and the body social. When all saints and great men have been denouncing the drink-evil, is it not

a strange and regrettable thing that the parental Government should encourage it? Does not a Government allowing liquor traffic under its rule deserve greater condemnation in the present circumstances than a mother administering poison to her child? It does not become the parental Government to be ready to open and protect liquor shops for the sake of revenue just like a mean-minded person, when the people are unitedly demanding that the manufacture and sale of liquor should be made a punishable offence. Government should understand that the anti-drink movement is not a new one but of long standing and is not born of non-co-operation though now it has been placed on a more organised basis owing to the awakening among the people. Government should not, therefore, be afraid of losing their prestige if they yield to it. For yielding to a popular demand strengthens the prestige of Government instead of lessening it.

Lokasangraha (116), 21st July.

34. Commenting upon the sentence of fine inflicted on a picketer at Poona for interfering with a liquor-shop-keeper's man, the *Lokasangraha* writes:—Picketing has been prohibited at Belgaum and there are clear signs that the authorities at Poona also are going to adopt the same course. We shall welcome the advent of the day on which picketers and others interested in the anti-drink movement are punished although perfectly innocent. Signs are visible that that day is not far distant. We warn Government that the punishing of the innocent will not fail to harm them in the long run. People who have taken part in the movement have done so after duly weighing the consequences. Government should bear well in mind that if they resort to repression on flimsy grounds the weapon they wield may perchance recoil on themselves.

Bhardtvasi (155), 12th July.

35. Mahatma Gandhi's ideals of prohibition of liquor, development of the spinning-wheel and propagation of Swadeshi are certainly very good; but the same cannot be said about the methods resorted to to achieve those ideals. There are two ways of stopping the use of liquor. One is to get a law passed, prohibiting and penalizing the manufacture and import of liquor. This way is advocated by those who are called the Moderates. And we are also for it. The other is to place such moral and religious considerations before the minds of the habitual drinkers, that they give up drinking of their own accord. The non-co-operators say that they have adopted this method. When picketing liquor-shops, some of them are no doubt actuated by religious and moral considerations. But we know of several cases where people have been ill-treated and liquor shops destroyed. Those who disapprove of Mahatma Gandhi's methods say that the object of the liquor prohibition campaign is political and not religious. And there is ample proof in support of this assertion. Mr. Mahomed Ali's speech at Karáchi on Friday last contains the following passage:—"As regards Passive Resistance, Mahatma Gandhi says that we shall do picketing in front of liquor shops, and we shall obstruct the road, and prevent drinkers from entering the shops." This shows that force and not persuasion is to be used in stopping the drink habit. And the object of obstructing the road is clearly to come into conflict with the Police, as is plain from another portion of Mr. Mahomed Ali's speech, where he says "The Police will ask us to clear the road, but we shall refuse to do that...... Then they will be obliged either to arrest us or to fire on us." Road obstruction being an offence, the Police cannot be blamed if they use force in order to remove the obstruction. Here is another passage from Mr. Mahomed Ali's speech: "As soon as the Police touch us, our victory will be assured. The world will then see that Indians were sent to jail for prohibiting the use of liquor." This is taking a very wrong view. Picketing has been going on in Hyderabad on a very large scale; but we have never found the Police making any arrests or firing on any one on that account. Road obstruction, however, will be an ample justification for the Police to employ force to remove it. Mr. Mahomed Ali's speech makes it quite clear that the object of the liquor prohibition campaign is to come into conflict with the Government, so that India may again have

a taste of such sad occurrences as that of the Jallianwala Bagh. Mr. Mahomed Ali does not of course care if India goes to hell, so long as his object of fighting the Government is achieved.

Can the liquor-shop-keepers claim a refund of their license fees.

Servant of India (9), 21st July.

36. "It is very funny to see Mr. Gandhi putting up the vendors of abkari licences to approach the Government for a refund of their licence fee. On account of the picketing campaign the contractors have suffered a loss. Now, picketing, in theory at least, means nothing more than an intensified use of moral suasion. Persuasion has always been allowed by law and the contractors, when they bid, always take into account the possibility of persuasion being used on a large scale. Mr. Gandhi does not certainly mean that any other method than persuasion is being followed by the pickets. We also hear that in Poona at least those who came forward to take part in the auction were warned by the Collector of a likelihood of picketing being organised. It is difficult to understand how in these circumstances the contractors can claim a refund. Even if any part of the loss which they have sustained is of such a character that Government should make it up, we do not know yet the extent of the loss which has resulted. And, further, whatever compensation the abkari contractors may be entitled to receive, we fail to see how Mr. Gandhi can go so much against his principle as to advise them to apply to Government. They are not non-co-operators. It is open to them to take Government's money, he says. People are nowadays made co-operators or non-co-operators just as it may suit the convenience of the moment. But Mr. Gandhi at any rate is a non-co-operator. Can he consistently give them such advice, just to obtain a respite for picketing volunteers."

Appeal to Mr. Gandhi to desist from re-starting passive resistance.

Bharatvási (155), 15th and 16th July.

37. Indians have arrived at a very critical stage at the present moment. What we have been anticipating since a long time has actually come to pass. Khilafatists and non-co-operators, realizing the impracticability of the four steps of non-co-operation, have now announced their intention to start passive resistance and thereafter to declare India a republic. Professor Vaswani, one of the most enthusiastic non-co-operators and a true friend of the Khilafatists, has come to realise now what we saw so long ago. The *New Times*, the non-co-operator organ of Karáchi, describing the proceedings of the recent Khilafat Conference, writes that there is a general feeling among the Karáchi people that Muslim leaders may at any time draw the sword, and that India may then witness the same guerrilla warfare that has long been going on in Ireland. It is quite plain that Khilafatists have brought great pressure to bear upon Mahatma, which has obliged him to agree to passive resistance being started again. The step which was taken in 1919, and which was followed by such serious consequences, is being taken a second time. We would point out to Mahatma that the results of passive resistance this time will be much more dangerous than what they were in 1919, and that he will not be able to check his companions if once the movement is on, because they have openly said that they are not prepared to obey him. We therefore appeal to him to desist from re-starting passive resistance. We appeal to our countrymen also to concert measures to meet this new danger that threatens this country. [In the next issue the paper says :—The spirit of the Great War in the West has now assumed the shape of bloody revolution and made its home in India "The land of Rishis". The whole atmosphere of this country is surcharged with passion, excitement and revolutionary madness. There is a thirst for blood in both the officials and the people. We cite the occurrences of Rai Bareili, Assam, Málegaon, Aligarh, Dhárwár, Karáchi and Shikárpur in support of our statement. Now again preparations are being made to start passive resistance and *jihád*, the consequences of which will be even more dangerous than what Ireland has seen. Some great calamity is coming over this country. May God have mercy on us, and may Lord Reading and Mahatma Gandhi take a course which might avert it.

The non-co-operation movement has made the bureaucracy mad.
Lokasatta (117), 16th July.

38. Since the inauguration of the movement of non-violent non-co-operation, firing is being resorted to very frequently. The bureaucracy seem to have made up their minds to quell even an ordinary disturbance by firing upon the people. Among the places at which they slaughtered innocent men and women by a shower of bullets are Nagpur, Malegaon, Dhárwár, etc. Apparently the bureaucracy are not able to maintain peace in India except by frequently firing upon the people. They talk of justice and equality and at the same time subject the people to a shower of bullets. It is the height of ingratitude that the officials should shoot the very people at whose expense they maintain themselves. Since the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh the bureaucracy are thirsting for the blood of Indians. The non-co-operation movement has made the bureaucracy mad. If it were not so, a District Magistrate would not have fined a respectable gentleman 400 rupees for wearing the Gandhi cap, and another official would not have declared that he was thirsting for the blood of the people. This unsatisfactory state of things can be ended only by the attainment of *swarájya.* So long as India does not possess full *swarájya* the heavy downpour of bullets will not cease.

Alleged strength of the Muslim feeling in India with regard to the Khilafat question.
New Times (8), 13th July.

39. "The Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew made powerful speeches at the Khilafat Conference. They are not half-hearted politicians; they are deadly in earnest; and they feel intensely for Islam. No discriminating critic would, for a moment, doubt that they are ready to go to jail to vindicate the faith in them. They voiced the acute feeling of the Indian Muslim community in regard to the Khilafat, and Britain can commit no greater blunder than to come in conflict with the Muslim sentiment. Islam is a political religion, Islam is a League of many Nations, and to trample upon Islam is to rouse the ire not alone of Turkey, but of the East. Indian Muslims feel that the Sultan-Khalifa is almost a prisoner in other hands; their hope is in Kemal Pasha, the head of the Angora Government; and they have warned Britain against rendering any help, direct or indirect, to Greece against the Angora Government. We sympathise with the Muslim feeling; we recognise that alike fair dealing and statesmanship should dictate to Britain a policy of neutrality with regard to the Angora Government. The Indian Muslim's demand is reasonable, but their warning, as embodied in the Resolution at the Khilafat Conference, is conceived in a mood which, however natural to many Muslims, is, to say the least, unwise......... There is, doubtless, much in the idea of Indian Republic which would fascinate our young men, but not everything which fascinates is feasible. An impression seems to have been created upon some in Karáchi that Muslim leaders may, at any time, give the word for drawing the sword or indulging in a 'guerilla warfare'. We may be sure the Muslim leaders will be as good as their word and will stand for non-violence as long as they are associated with the movement......... It will be a fatal day if India's young men are led to accept a cult of violence."

All-India Khilafat Conference at Karáchi and Angora Government.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 24th July.

40. Referring to the resolution passed at the Karáchi All-India Khilafat Conference protesting against the British Government opening hostilities against the Angora Government, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"We wish to know when and how the Angora Government came to be synonymous with the Khilafat. We can understand our Mussalman brothers standing up for the Khilafat but the Angora Government is not the Khilafat, it is a secular revolt, may be from patriotic and national motives, from the Khilafat, and can in no way be regarded as partaking of the sacrosanct character of the Khilafat. We do not mean by this that the British Government will be wise in undertaking hostilities against the Angora or any other Government without adequate cause, but only that, in our opinion, no reason has been given to invest Angora in Mussalman eyes with the sacrosanct character attaching to the ancient institution of the Khilafat. Experts differ as to whether the Khilafat is or is not indicated in the Holy Koran. But there can be no difference as to the Angora Government not finding any place in it. We are sure that we are stating the opinion of many of our Muhammadan as of our non-Islamic countrymen when we say that they cannot be asked to put any institution for the time being in the place of the Khilafat which has one definite historical meaning only and can have none other. Apart from that, the question of proclaiming the independence of India as a Republic is not a matter to be decided in the off-hand fashion suggested by the Moulana's speech. Even as a warning, it lacks finish. Neither the Government nor the people of India have taken it seriously, and they are right. A leader so eminent in knowledge and so disinterestedly patriotic as the Moulana should always command for his words the confidence of all those whom they may reach. But this is rendered difficult by warnings of this kind which, while they alarm friends, give cause to detractors to scoff."

Comments on alleged apology offered in behalf of the editor of *Zamindár* of Lahore by his son.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 17th July.

41. Commenting on the rumour that Mr. Akhtar Ali Khan has tendered an apology on behalf of his father, Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the *Zamindár*, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* remarks as follows:—If Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan is tired of jail life, then he should only repeat the words uttered by his leaders. But we know that a person like Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan will not stoop to utter even those words which were used by the Ali Brothers. It is not the practice of the Musalmans to tender an apology. But if it be asked as to why the Ali Brothers apologised, we shall simply repeat what they have said at Karáchi, namely, that the apology was not meant for the Government but for the public. But our Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan would not even apologise to the public, especially when he and his son have sacrificed their property in the service of the country. Long live Zafar Ali Khan!

There is no chance of realising Mr. Gandhi's hope of securing *swaráj* before the end of this year.

Hindusthán (21), 21st July.

42. Our full sympathy goes to the great movement for boycotting foreign cloth which in our opinion will bring many advantages to this country. We feel sure every man and woman will heartily help this movement. We, however, do not think that India will be able to secure *swaráj* on being able to effect a complete boycott of foreign cloth. Mr. Gandhi has still some faith in the British public and he thinks that if India can show the necessary grit by boycotting foreign cloth, the British public will be induced to effect a compromise with us and redress the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs and give us *swaráj*. Is it the British public or the British Government who can effect a compromise with us? Certainly the latter. Now we know that the British Government is a government of capitalists and the British public have no voice in it. We, therefore, do not think it possible for the British Government to effect a compromise with us before the 1st of October next or to give us *swaráj*. People in this country will have to undergo sufferings of various kinds for securing *swaráj*. Thousands will have to go to jail for the purpose. It is only when the British public and the British Government are convinced that they cannot hold India any longer that any compromise is possible. In these circumstances it is tantamount to courting disappointment to hope for securing *swaráj* on the 1st of October or by the end of this year.

Utilization of the Tilak Swaráj Fund.

Gujaráti (15), 17th July.

43. A crore of rupees have been collected for the Tilak Swaráj Fund owing to the personal influence of Mr. Gandhi and the high esteem in which he is held by the people. Mr. Gandhi seems to think that people will contribute such an amount every year till *swaráj* is secured and so he has issued instructions for the expending of the amount within the next six months. We shall be glad if people are able to contribute a crore or so every year for the Swaráj Fund, but we do not think that they will continue to do so for a long time. If people are in a position to give away a crore every year it will not be considered as a sign of their poverty but of their wealthiness. If a crore of rupees are collected every year it will be possible to establish model industrial schools in many parts of India and to ensure the supply of cloth for clothing the nakedness of the people by establishing weaving mills in the country. But strange to say, Mr. Gandhi has issued a *farman* to the effect that the money collected for the Swaráj Fund should be expended in the manner he thinks best! Many have, therefore, begun to think that the crore of rupees have been as good as wasted. Mr. Gandhi now expects the country to boycott foreign cloth by the 31st of July. It will be considered a miracle if Mr. Gandhi is able to realise his wish. We are, however, of the opinion that many difficulties are to be surmounted in carrying out the vow of Swadeshi. No attempt has been made to erect spinning and weaving mills in the country to enable us to withstand foreign competition. Mr. Gandhi relies solely on the feelings of patriotism for boycotting foreign cloth. But the actual result has been that many cloth merchants have expressed their inability to join the Swadeshi movement or to contribute any further to the Swaráj Fund. Mr. Gandhi may, therefore, be said to have met with temporary failure in his Swadeshi movement. But the country will certainly reap the advantages of the enthusiasm that has been created among the people for using hand-spun cloth with feelings of love.

Comments on the intention of the Punjáb Government to restrict the length and breadth of the *kirpan*.

Young India (12), 21st July.

44. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The *kirpan*—the Shikh scimitar—is for the Shikh, 'what', says the Secretary of the Shikh Young Men's Association, 'the sacred thread is to the Brahman'. And now the Punjáb Government is trying to divest the Shikhs of their 'sacred thread' by restricting its length and breadth. Much as I abhor the possession or the use of arms, cannot reconcile myself to forcible prohibition. As I said three years ago, this forcible disarmament of a people will be regarded by history as one of the blackest sins committed by the British Government against India. If people want to possess arms, they ought to have them without ado. But in the case of the Shikhs who have held *kirpans* without let or hindrance all these years, the crime is worse. The Secretary has no difficulty in proving that this war against the *kirpan* has synchronised with repressive measures adopted against the brave community. The reason too is obvious. The Shikhs have attained political consciousness. They are not content merely to kill at the bidding of their officers. They want to weigh the pros and cons of a cause in which they are called upon to fight. Above all, they want to know where they 'come in'. They want to become equal partners. This is intolerable, and they must be put down. The bravest among them have, as the Government imagine, been silenced. I can only hope that, rather than surrender their sacred weapon, the Shikhs will court imprisonment. We cannot learn discipline by compulsion. We must learn not to use arms or to use them with responsibility and self-restraint, notwithstanding the right to possess them."

Begar on the Simla Hills.

Young India (12), 21st July.

45. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"If proof were wanted that the movement of non-co-operation is neither anti-British nor anti-Christian, we have the instance of Mr. Stokes, a nationalised British subject and staunch Christian, devoting his all to the eradication of the evil of *begar*. Mr. Stokes is a convinced non-co-operator and Congressman.......... No Indian is giving such battle to the Government as Mr. Stokes. He has veritably become the guide, philosopher and friend of the hillmen. The reader should know that *begar* is going on under the shadow of Simla, under the Viceroy's nose as it were. And yet Lord Reading is powerless to remedy the mischief. I have no doubt that he is willing enough. But he cannot carry the district officers and others with him. And some of the officials are so unscrupulous that if they cannot have their way in the territories directly administered, they do so through the

native states. Now, on the hills near Simla there are small native states in which the British officer is all-powerful, more so in his own jurisdiction than the Viceroy. He can make the states do as he wills, and yet profess to be unconnected with their doings. There is one such state under the Court of Wards. And it is here that, through the influence of the Deputy Commissioner of Simla, repression is going on in order to suppress the *begar* movement. The chosen way is to lop off tall poppies. The axe must be laid at the root. And so the most efficient and cultured of the poor hillmen, named Kapur Sinh, has been put under lock and key. Here is a graphic description of the way evidence was collected: 'People were subjected to a reign of terror. The Simla Police were brought, a number of them arrested, all the people scared by threats of machine-guns and Kala-pani.......... It was in such an atmosphere that the evidence for the prosecution was collected. This reminds one of the Punjáb martial law days. Naturally the hillmen feel sore about this persecution of their trusted leader. I hope that under Mr. Stokes' inspiration, they will resolutely refuse to do any *begar* at all even for full value, until their leader is discharged. They must not weaken, but must invite upon their devoted heads the wrath of the authorities, and face imprisonment even as he did. Why this persistence in exacting *begar*? For the authority, the influence and the comfort of the officials and officers depend upon the continuance of *begar*. Without it, they cannot sport and kill wild beasts in the forests of the Himalayas. The Duke could not have been taken for *shikar* to the mountain fastnesses, if *begar* had gone out of use. For the doubtful pleasure of shooting tigers and innocent game, a way had to be cut by impressing the labours of thousands of unwilling villagers. If the beasts had intelligent speech at their command, they would state a case against man that would stagger 'humanity'. I can understand the shooting of wild beasts which come to annoy us. But I have found no cogent reasons advanced for wasting treasures upon organising parties for satisfyng man's thirst for blood. And yet, if there was no *begar*, there would be no 'sport' for the officer or the globe trotter. I need not have the practice of Indian princes and precedents from the Mahabharata flung in my face. I decline to be slave to precedents or practice I cannot understand or defend on a moral basis."

Musalmans should be offered facilities to sacrifice sheep and goats on the next Bakri Id festival.
Muslim Herald (171), 22nd July.

46. Writing on the forthcoming Bakri Id festival the *Muslim Herald* remarks that this year also the cows will be saved from being slaughtered and will be paraded in procession. It feels anxious for the poor Musalmans and wants to know what has been done with a view to help them to fulfil their religious duty to God. It calls upon the Khilafat Committee to help the poor Musalmans financially to enable them to sacrifice goats and sheep in place of cows. If nothing of this sort is done, opines the paper, then it will mean that the Khilafat Committee desires that the Musalmans should give up their *shariat* (sacred law) for the sake of their Hindu brethren or the Khilafat Committee, that they should not fulfil their religious obligations and that they should avoid the duty enjoined by God and His Prophet. In conclusion, the paper warns the Khilafat Committee that if the poor Musalmans are not pacified then they will have to be sorry for their negligence and indifference.

Protest against alarmist rumours in England about English lives being in danger.
Sind Observer (10), 13th July.

47. "The alarmists in England are on the move. Lord Sydenham must find some work for his idle hands to do and he is only too ready to swallow any cock and bull story invented by paid agitators of the European Association in England if thereby he could damage Mr. Montagu and damage the Government of India......... We should think Lord Sydenham is the last person in the world to speak or write with any fair-mindedness about India, his governorship being a failure and his subsequent record in England being an inglorious one. As to preservation of law and protection of property we may assure Lord Sydenham that Indians, who have a stake in the country, are more interested in them than the European population and in any misfortune befalling this country Indians will suffer

more than Europeans.......... We do not shut our eyes to the fact that there are dangers attending the pestilential non-co-operation agitation and that some mob disorders have taken place. The Government is powerful enough to suppress disorders with a strong hand; and let us not forget that Indian co-operation and support, official and non-official, have also been forthcoming in an abundant measure to assist Government in the discharge of its duties. The way the Indian Police have defended the Aligarh treasury during the recent attack must excite the admiration of all patriotic people, which goes to prove that the country is sound at heart.......... European lives and honour are as sacred to the Indians and the Government as those of the meanest of His Majesty's subjects in India and to make any differentiation is nothing but mischievous. To our mind the periodical panics raised in England are due to the unnatural atmosphere in which even the best Britishers are made to live in this country.......... We do say the situation is not without dangers, but, at any rate, raising alarms is not the way to overcome them.......... Lord Sydenham speaks of the only places where Europeans are not insulted in India being the Native States. Mendacity cannot go any further. We have yet to hear of a European being insulted in the streets of Karáchi or Madras, Bombay or Calcutta. The District Magistrate of Aligarh bore testimony to the fact that the riotous mob did not at all move in the direction of the civil lines where the European residents are quartered.......... As Lord Lytton has pointed out, it is the rabidly worded messages of correspondents in India of the London press, which are absolutely without foundation, which are creating alarms. Certain messages of the Khilafatists and Swarájists are often withheld by the telegraphic offices in this country; but is there no way to withhold the mendacious messages telegraphed to London? Government must not be afraid of the *Morning Post* or the *Daily Telegraph* to put a stop to this sort of lying propaganda."

Mr. Gandhi and the late Mr. Tilak.
Kesari (111), 19th July.

48. In the course of a long article on the anniversary of the late Mr. Tilak, the *Kesari* says that the moderates and the white officials occasionally think well of Mr. Tilak because they are now confronted with Mr. Gandhi whose political opinions are far in advance of those held by the departed leader, and who never tires of describing the Government as 'Satanic'. It observes that Mr. Gandhi may call himself a disciple of Mr. Gokhale but that he would certainly have fallen out with the latter if he were now living, and it points to the relations between him and Mr. Sastri who has stepped into Mr. Gokhale's shoes. It recalls a conversation Mr. Gandhi had with Mr. Tilak a few days before the latter's death and mentions that Mr. Tilak doubted the efficacy of Mr. Gandhi's methods. It remarks that the followers of Mr. Tilak opposed the resolution on non-co-operation at the Calcutta Congress because they knew what his views on this subject were but that they loyally accepted it when it was passed by a majority and decided to boycott the councils. The paper expresses its conviction that although the leaders have not been able to agree as regards details, the movement of non-co-operation as a whole has served to help forward the cause of *swarájya*.

Lenin's policy and that of the British Government in the East contrasted.
Sind Observer (10), 16th July.

49. "Ever since Lenin occupied the throne of Russia he has been intriguing with all Asiatic countries to overthrow British imperialism; and we are driven to the conclusion that our own Imperial statesmen have played into the hands of Lenin. He has scored diplomatic triumphs against our statesmen.......... Our statesmen were too busy consolidating their gains in Mesopotamia Palestine and elsewhere and Lenin was busy also in turning Persia, Afghanistan and the Turkish Nationalists against us. And he has succeeded. After the withdrawal of Russians from Persia after Lenin ascended the throne, if Britain had similarly withdrawn from Persia instead of attempting to bring it entirely under British influence by an agreement which has now been denounced, Soviet Russia would not have appeared in the colours of the protector of Persia. Lord Curzon's disastrous Persian policy ended in a triumph for Lenin.......... We allowed Afghanistan to seek a friend and protector in Lenin. Britain has also created the suspicion in the Islamic world, rightly or wrongly, that she wants to take all Muslim States from Afghanistan to Turkey under her control. Lenin worked upon this fear in the Islamic world and scored his triumphs.......... We beg British statesmen to recast their policy. They must not make a present of the Islamic world to Lenin. The internal and external peace of India depends upon the good-will and kindly disposition of the followers of the Prophet. We are capable of keeping them at bay. But then we should always live under the fear of one menace or other. By cancelling all debts, by withdrawal of Russian armies from Persia and extending several concessions to Persia Lenin has won the good-will of the Persians. By restoring some old districts of Afghanistan and by promising help in several ways he has captured the Afghans. We wish every success to Sir Henry Dobb's mission. We have to establish our good faith at Kabul by giving more lands, if necessary, to the Amir. Britain must dispel all suspicions entertained in the Muslim world. On a proper solution of the question of the Khilafat depends whether the Pan-Islamic movement supported by Soviet Russia would develop into a menace, specially to the peace of India, or whether it can be so guided as to become the friend of the British Empire."

Comments on the recommendations of the Press Act Committee.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 21st July.

50. The repressive Press Act of 1910 is on its death-bed and it is likely that it will breathe its last and be buried by September next. All the newspapers in this country will heave a sigh of relief on reading the report of the Press Act Committee. We congratulate the Committee on the recommendations they have made and express the hope that the Government of India will soon proceed to repeal the Press Act and the Newspapers Incitement to Offences Act. We cannot, however, agree with the recommendation of the Committee for the retention of the power enjoyed by the local Governments in the matter of confiscating seditious literature because we know that both the Government of India and the local Governments have misused their powers. We do admit that literature published by the Gadar party is of an objectionable nature and should be prevented from finding a circulation among the people. We have no objection if Government retain the power of confiscating openly seditious literature, but the publishers of such literature must be given the right to appeal against the decision of Government so that the people may be assured that Government would not misuse their powers.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd July.

51. "The Press Act is at last to go.......... We must express our thankfulness and that of all right-minded men and women, who regard the freedom to express opinion as one of their most cherished birth-rights, that a menace to that birth-right is at last to be removed.......... Dealing with the effectiveness of the Act, the Committee proceeds to make the gratuitous allegation that 'a section of the Press is at present just as hostile to Government as ever it was and that it preaches doctrines calculated to bring the Government and also occasionally particular classes or sections of the community into hatred and contempt as freely now as before the Act was passed' and expresses its belief that 'the more direct and violent forms of sedition are disseminated more from the platform and through the agency of itinerent propagandists than by the Press, and no Press law can be effective for the repression of such activities.' The recklessness with which these allegations have been made reveals the bias which informs the whole reasoning of the Committee and emphasises the danger of a non-judicial body arrogating to itself the function of a Court of Justice.......... This small mercy, in the shape of the suggested repeal of one of the repressive laws, is, however, not an unmixed blessing. The sting still remains. While the Committee has strongly set itself against the suggestions to penalise the Press for 'protecting' the Indian States and to confiscate a press in the event of its keeper being convicted for a second time of disseminating sedition, it has yielded to the clamour for the retention of at least a few arbitrary powers for the bureaucracy. One of these is the power to confiscate newspapers, books or other documents, offending against section 124A of the Penal Code. Though the owner of the press or any other person aggrieved is given the right to protest before a court of law and challenge the seizure of

such documents and though the onus of proving the seditious character of the document is to be on the Government, we cannot imagine why the Committee should arm the executive with an arbitrary power, the exercise of which it is not possible for every person to challenge. This power is not much less obnoxious than that of demanding security from newspapers and presses and must not be retained. The recommendation of the Committee in this respect reveals how far its 'Liberal' members are from recognising the elementary principle of liberalism that freedom is the only effective safeguard against its abuse. As regards the editors, the law must be similar to that obtaining in other countries and we strongly protest against any proposal for subjecting them to the necessity of appearing before a Magistrate for making even a formal declaration."

Indian Social Reformer (6) 24th July.

*52. "But the Committee have clearly shirked their duty in recommending that the power to seize and confiscate seditious newspapers, books and other documents should be retained and with it 'the auxiliary power' to prevent the importation into British India or transmission through the post of such documents; but leaving 'the exact method by which this should be effected' to the 'expert advisers' of Government. The Committee speak of 'openly seditious' publications which they have seen, but the point is when, how and by whom is the line to be drawn between openly and covertly seditious publications. Would a special officer be appointed to read every newspaper before it is posted to see whether it contains openly seditious articles, and would he be empowered to stop its being posted, if he should think there is one? The interval between a newspaper being printed and going to post is a matter of minutes, and should this procedure be followed, it will gravely interfere with the regular issue of newspapers. We cannot, of course, imagine that the Committee contemplate the establishment of censorship before a paper goes to press. The suggestion that the name of the editor should be printed on the front page of a newspaper has been followed for many years past by this and some other newspapers, and we do not see any reasonable objection to the practice. The plea that it infringes the principle of anonymity is absurd, as all that is required is the name of the responsible editor and not of the writers of the articles in a newspaper. We are glad that the Committee have rejected the spurious plea for repressing the Indian Press for the sake of Indian States. The Indian States know very well that they have little to fear at the hands of the Indian Press among the conductors of which they have some of their best and most sincere friends, and which, even in extreme cases, is seldom disposed to apply to them the same severe standards as it habitually applies to the British Indian administration."

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 22nd July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 22nd July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 22nd July.

53. We are glad to note that the Press Act Committee have suggested the repeal of the Press Act and the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act and feel sure that the Government of India will not fail to accept their recommendations. Why we feel sure on this point is that Lord Reading has begun to put into practice his pledges about giving justice to Indians. The Committee, while suggesting the repeal of the Press Act, have allowed Government to retain the power of confiscating seditious literature subject to appeal to the High Court. No one can deny the necessity of keeping a check on the circulation of seditious literature. But who should decide that any particular literature is seditious? We are of the opinion that the chances of injustice will be greatly minimised if committees with a popular element in them are appointed to decide the question instead of leaving the matter to Government officials. We hope, therefore, Government will make some such arrangement as suggested above so that writers may not run the risk of falling victims to freakish officials. We do not think any good purpose will be served by giving needless prominence to the names of editors of newspapers. If the editor is to be held responsible for what appears in a newspaper, why should the proprietor be exempted from such responsibility? Let us hope that the Press Act will be repealed before the advent of the Prince of Wales in

India. [The *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* expresses gratification at the recommendations of the Press Act Committee and believes that the suggestion for the repeal of the Press Act is directly due to the visit of the Duke of Connaught and hopes that it will be carried out before the visit of the Prince of Wales. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also expresses gratification at the recommendations of the Committee and declares that the Committee must have been appointed at the intervention of the Duke of Connaught.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 24th July, Eng. cols.

***54.** "It is a happy augury for the future that the first step of Lord Reading's administration will be the repeal of a measure that has been condemned by almost all men of light and leading in the land.......... A new era of political advancement has been ushered in; the days of autocracy are declared to be over; and it is but in the fitness of things that with this changed spirit and broadened out-look repressive laws of this nature, likely to continually breed suspicion and distrust, should be wiped out so that all could begin work afresh with a clean slate.......... None can deny that on general principles the Committee is indisputably right in its conclusion that in the altered circumstances created by the Reforms the advantages likely to be secured by the repeal of the Act outweigh the benefits which would accrue by its retention. We hope that the repeal of the Press Act will be a prelude to the repeal of other Acts of a still more unpleasant nature and that in Lord Reading's regime India will have the good fortune of seeing the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past cleared away like the mist before the rising sun."

Gujaráti (15), 24th July, Eng. cols.

***55.** "The Press Act Committee's recommendations are unanimous and almost all of them will be welcomed by the whole country.......... The Act was despotic in principle and the procedure it provided was dangerously arbitrary. It was, in fact, a badly worded and a most high-handed piece of legislation which should never have been allowed to disgrace the Indian statute-book to the harassment and oppression of those connected with the Indian press. We specifically mention the Indian press, because the local Governments and the Government of India were so impartial that they never thought of enforcing the provisions of the Act against the Anglo-Indian press. It is this circumstance that made the Act still more odious and hateful in the eyes of the Indian public. The Committee is of opinion that the Act has not been wholly effective in securing the object which it was enacted to achieve and has proved of little practical value, because even at present a section of the press is in the opinion of the Committee as hostile to Government as ever it was and that violent forms of sedition are disseminated more from the platform and through agency of itinerary propagandists than by the press. We do not know what evidence the Committee had before it for making this grave allegation against speakers at public meetings and we are sorry it has committed itself to such an assertion. Whatever that may be, it is something that the Committee has come to the conclusion that the Act has not proved effective in achieving the object Government had in view.......... We do not think the question of its continuance has anything to do with the reformed Councils. It is merely a transparent excuse for repealing a measure that should never have been enacted. As might have been expected, most of the local governments have recommended its retention. But the Committee, we are glad, has unanimously voted for its repeal. No other alternative would have met with the approval of the Indian public.......... There is no reason whatsoever why the administration of Native States should be exempt from criticism when the actions and policies of British rulers are open to fearless and uncompromising comment in British India. Sir William Vincent's plea on behalf of the Native rulers who, he pompously stated, had stood by the British Government in the last war, was as insincere as it was untenable and we notice with satisfaction that the Committee has rejected it in view of the danger of stifling even legitimate criticism of the administration of Native States. There is only one provision of the Act which has been retained. It empowers Governments to seize and confiscate newspapers, books or other documents offending against the provisions of section 124A of the Indian Penal Code and to prevent the importation into British India or the transmission by post of such documents. It is proposed by the Committee to empower the Customs and Postal officers to seize seditious literature. We are entirely opposed to any such proposal. These officers, like the officers of the Telegraph Department and certain Collectors and District Magistrates, are apt to be very arbitrary and it will be very mischievous to endow them with such a dangerously large power, though no doubt its exercise will be subject to review at the hands of Government. A party aggrieved by the seizure and confiscation of any document or newspaper by Government will be at liberty to challenge it by an application to the High Court. We think the remedy should be an appeal and not merely an application. It is necessary to provide a further safeguard at the very outset and that is the Government and their officers should be required to state distinctly the grounds for their action, before seizure and confiscation are carried out, so as to enable the aggrieved party to know his precise position. The Newspapers Incitements to Offences Act had not been used for the last ten years. It is a sufficiently damning commentary on the meddlesomeness and unwisdom of the authors of the Act and the Committee has very properly recommended its repeal.......... On the whole the report of the Committee is satisfactory, though some of the statements and suggestions it contains are unjustifiable. It is a complete answer to the carping, ungenerous and unfair critics of the Montagu scheme of reforms and we congratulate the Committee on the courageous recommendations it has made and the implied condemnation it has pronounced upon the two principal Acts for the repeal of which the country had so long been loudly clamouring."

British Medical Council's new proposals about the I.M.S. examination.

Servant of India (9), 21st July.

56. "The latest move of the British Medical Council is quite in keeping with its traditional policy of straining every nerve to keep the I. M. S. as a close preserve for Europeans. It has now suggested that medical degrees of Indian Universities should be made non-registrable in the United Kingdom unless the maternity training obtainable in our medical colleges is brought up to the standard in British Colleges by February next. If carried into effect, the proposal will result in making competition by Indians for the I. M. S. examination a matter of great difficulty.......... The proposal of the British Medical Council, in case it materialises, will not only deprive promising Indians of the facility they have been enjoying for years past, but will place an additional obstacle in their way. It will, moreover, blast the chance graduates holding Indian medical degrees now have of starting private practice in the United Kingdom.......... We have no doubt Indian public opinion, especially the medical profession in India, will not be slow in giving expression to its strong disapproval of the Council's activities."

Comments on the transfer of Mr. Painter as Commissioner, Northern Division.

Lokasangraha (116), 22nd July.

57. The chief demand of the accused in the Dhárwár shooting affair is that those officials who dealt with the disturbance should be transferred from the place, and should not take any part in the inquiry. It is satisfactory to note that Government have apparently recognised the justice of their demand. They have deferred to popular opinion in a way by removing Mr. Painter from Dhárwár. But what about the impression that is likely to be created in the minds of the people that by promoting Mr. Painter to the Commissionership at Ahmedabad they show their approval of his conduct? Government should understand that by such thoughtless conduct on their part autocratic officials become still more autocratic.

Government pensioners and politics.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd July.

58. Referring to a Madras Government Press communiqué about a retired Muhammadan Deputy Collector having been warned and about his having given an undertaking not to preach disloyalty, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"We pity less the pensioner than the mighty Government that is reduced to such straits as to threaten to deprive its former employees of the means of livelihood to which they have become entitled by reason of the full term of service they had rendered

to it. The pensions retired Government servants are earning are not gratuities that can be withheld or granted at the sweet will of the employer. The Madras Government in threatening the retired Deputy Collector to deprive him of the pension he has earned by the sweat of his brow, have introduced a factor in the relations between employer and employed which few will admit to be quite fair. And what, after all, was the offence of the pensioner? Was he threatening to revolt and use violence against the Government? When the authorities in India are permitting retired Civil Servants, enjoying fat pensions at the cost of the people of this country, to vilify the children of the soil—nay when we have retired pensioned officials like O'Dwyer, still gloating over massacres of the innocents as at Amritsar, does it look either fair or decent that immoral pressure should be brought to bear on inoffensive Indian employees of Government because they are 'reported' to be sympathising with the non-co-operation movement."

The Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 19th July.

59. It is gratifying to note that Government have expressed their willingness to supply all the particulars required by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in the matter of the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme. It is now about two years since Government placed their scheme for the reclamation of Back Bay before the public, and so it cannot redound to any one's credit to press for the immediate suspension of the work already commenced, without getting an explanation from the Development Department. The objection to the scheme on the score of its alleged tremendous cost should be carefully investigated and the public should be taken into confidence in the matter. It is hoped to afford relief to middle class people through the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme when the Rent Act comes to be repealed. If the poor and middle-class people are to be benefitted by the scheme, the name of Sir George Lloyd will be written in letters of gold in the history of Bombay. We, therefore, await with interest the result of the forthcoming interview which His Excellency means to accord to the committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber.

Protest against methods of land acquisition followed by the Bombay Development Directorate.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th July.

60. Referring to the memorial addressed to the Governor in Council by the owners of land and houses in the villages of Devnur, Maravli, Mahul, Vadavli, Chembur, etc., situate in the island of Trombay, against the methods of land acquisition adopted by the Bombay Development Directorate, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"We stand aghast at the Bolshevik schemes for the nationalisation of land. Under Bolshevik rule, it is the rich that have to suffer for the benefit of the poor. But what do we find here? We see the poor robbed of their lands for the sake of the rich! Are not operations like those of the Development Directorate calculated to engender Bolshevism among the people? The Directorate has no clear idea of what extent of land it will require for its purposes. As illimitable powers have been vested in it by Government, it proceeds to exercise them with a high hand, regardless of consequences. Unless a halt is called in the mad career of this body and proper public control exercised over its operations, we shudder at the extent of the miseries it will entail on the poor and middle class population of this city and the suburbs and the terrible disillusionment that will overtake all those concerned before many years are past."

Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Sherwani by the Aligarh Magistrate.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd July.

61. "To all who have read the temperate and obviously conscientious statement of Mr. Sherwani, the news that the same Mr. Sherwani has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment must have come as a thunderbolt......... Upon the evidence before us we find it quite impossible to believe that Mr. Sherwani ever by word or deed contributed to any public disorder of whatever kind at Aligarh or anywhere else. Nor does the evidence upon the strength of which the present sentence on him was pronounced impress us with a sense of his delinquency. A police constable—we are informed—who admittedly did not understand the Arabic and Persian words in which the Urdu speech of highly-educated men abounds, had taken notes of a speech of his, making it appear as if he (Sherwani) had declared that British troops, in occupation of the Holy Places of Islam, committed horrible atrocities on the Muslim inhabitants. Inhabitants of Aligarh who do understand the Persian and Arabic words which form three parts of the Urdu language, and who were present at the lecture, are prepared to swear that Mr. Sherwani's speech, at least the part of it to which the ignorant constable's short-hand notes referred was not concerned with Arabia, but with Anatolia, and the atrocities related were not ascribed to British but Greek soldiers......... It is only a few days since one of our own reporters, who knows English well, in his notes of a speech which we delivered at the Márwádi Vidyálaya Hall, substituted 'Allied troops' for 'Greek troops' as the perpetrators of atrocities. Happily we saw the report in time and corrected the 'error', or we suppose we might have found ourselves in the same predicament as Mr. Sherwani at this moment, even though some hundreds of respectable persons were there to witness to the actual words we used on the occasion. If that was the case where the reporter had no animus against the speaker, what must be the chances where, as in a police case, there is a definite bias against the speaker, the hope of obtaining praise and reward by making out a charge against him, and where the reporter has only a dim idea of what the speaker says. Whose liberty is safe, we ask, among those who are opposed to the present Oriental policy of Government, when such denunciations carry weight with the Magistracy? Will not Lord Reading, with his high regard for British justice, put a stop to this state of things?"

Reflections on the apology tendered by Moulana Bakar Ali, prosecuted for sedition in Karáchi.

Hindu (15[illegible]), 14th July.

62. Moulana Bakar Ali, who gave, at a public meeting in the Khalikdina Hall at Karáchi, an account of the indignities and hardships inflicted on the Holy Najaf and other holy places of Muhammadans, during the war, was prosecuted by Government for sedition. He, however, apologized for the alleged offence, and the Government, which is terribly afraid of the spectre of sedition, which, perceiving sedition in matters of no consequence, goes on persecuting people for sedition, and which fears that the propagation of sedition here, might shake the very throne of His Majesty the King in London, at once withdrew the case against him, and set him at liberty. It is not a great thing if any one, cowed down by the cruel treatment meted out in the jail to political prisoners, under the present-day irresponsible administration, tendered an apology. But the Government thinks that it has achieved a great triumph by securing the apology of Moulana Bakar Ali, and so copies of the Government communiqué on the subject come pouring in, the last one of these we received by registered post, presumably with the object that we should publish of the whole account of the apology, and give it the same importance as the Government has given it. We had, however, published this as an item of ordinary news before the official communiqué was issued. Moreover, this news does not indicate such a great success on the part of the Government that we should republish it. What matters, if only a few out of so many Indians, fearing the cruel and inhuman treatment that is meted out in the jails, secure their release by tendering an apology? And has any communiqué ever been issued to spread the happy news of so many innocent heroes going to jail with smiling faces? Above all, has the Government stated in its communiqué, how Moulana Bakar Ali was made to write out this apology in the jail? Was his apology taken by means of entreaties similar to those that were made to Pir Mahbub Shah? If the Government insert in the communiqué an account of the way in which the Moulana was made to tender his apology, we might please it by publishing all the facts in our paper. Otherwise we do not think it at all necessary to mislead the readers by publishing an incomplete account. After Moulana Mahomed Ali had finished his recent speech at Hyderabad, the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee of Lucknow delivered his speech in which he said that the statement of Moulana Bakar Ali in his apology, denying his previous statement in the Khalikdina Hall at Karáchi about the indignities inflicted on Holy Najaf and other Holy places, was not correct. He read out from reliable Urdu papers, and himself corroborated the statement contained therein, that indignities had really been inflicted on the holy places. Let us see what the Government does to gag the mouth of the above gentleman.

Impending famine in Thar and Párkar District (Sind).
New Times (8), 15th July.

63. "Pathetic accounts have come to us concerning the impending famine in Thar and Párkar. The cattle are dying for want of fodder; men and women and children are starving. It is some consolation to learn that there has been some rain in a few villages; but the majority of the villages are still without rain. If the situation does not improve in a few days, Thar and Párkar may be in the grip of a great famine. Congress Committees in Sind can do nothing nobler than spend part of their funds for relief centres in famine-stricken areas; nor should Sind officials delay in doing the utmost they can for the people in Thar Párkar who, judged by all reports, are in a sad plight. Let us all grapple with the calamity which is coming upon Sind and pluck as many lives as we can from the jaws of death."

Indian Settlers in East Africa and its native inhabitants.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th July.

64. "The falsehood sedulously propagated in certain quarters that the native inhabitants of East Africa dislike the Indians and will resent the grant of franchise to the latter has been exposed by the 'natives' themselves. As the reader will note they have passed a resolution to the effect that not only the presence of the Indians in Kenya is not prejudicial to their advancement, but that the Indians are the best friends of the 'natives' next to the missionaries. The Indians will not grudge to the latter the pre-eminent position they hold in the esteem of the 'natives' of East Africa, though why these missionaries—at least such as were interviewed by the local 'White' press—should suggest that these resolutions were 'inspired' and by no means represent the 'native' standpoint, is more than one can make out. Even the aborigines of East Africa can forget differences of race and creed, but not so, it would appear, these 'White' missionaries, who forget that, long before any of them set foot on the soil of East Africa, Indians had already settled among the 'natives' on terms of perfect amity; and that even now it is the Indians who move among them much more freely and sympathise with them in their weal and woe much more intimately than do either the missionaries or the 'White' settlers who have followed in their wake. But, it serves the purpose of the settlers and their missionaries to misrepresent the facts to the world and make out that these 'natives' hate the Indians and are opposed to their being accorded any privileges. This misrepresentation is part and parcel of the game of *divide et impera*, at which the White man is a past master."

Kenya Colony and the rights of Indian and European settlers.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd July.

65. "As we have always maintained, the choice whether India shall or shall not remain within the Empire rests primarily with Englishmen and their compatriots in the various Colonies and Dominions. Indians will be willing to remain in the Empire on terms of honourable partnership, but as perpetual slaves to the white races—never. The Kenya whites wish to deny the Indians franchise in perpetuity. They will not tolerate the election of even one or two representatives to the Council, though their vastly smaller community enjoys the privilege of sending nearly a score of representatives. They are opposed even to the limited franchise, because they say once the principle is conceded, Indians will succeed, in course of time, in gaining all they clamour for......... It is clear as daylight that the white agitation has no legs whatever to stand upon. Their threats to resort to violence to prevent Indians securing their just rights constitute a direct challenge to His Majesty's Government to put their high professions of 'racial equality', and 'equal partnership' within the Empire, to practice. Mr. Churchill recently laid down the Empire ideal. He is at the head of the Colonial Office and is really responsible for the administration of Kenya. If he cannot protect the Indians from the insults, aggression and violence of his white compatriots, it will mean that he is incapable of keeping the Empire from falling to pieces."

Grievances of Indians in Natal.
Sind Observer (10), 13th July.

66. "The Natal Provincial Council has passed an ordinance the object of which is to prevent Asiatics from acquiring municipal vote in future.......... And this ordinance comes at a time when an Imperial Conference is taking place in London to which two Indian members have been admitted on terms of equality! And also when India is an original member of the League of Nations! It seems to us to be a mockery to admit India to the highest councils, Imperial and International, when Indians are being treated as undesirables in the Colonies under the British flag and when in their own country they occupy a position of inferiority. The Premier of South Africa is busy negotiating peace with the Irish to strengthen the bonds of Empire while in his own country the foundations of the Empire are being sapped by the short-sighted action of the white residents. 'You are not wanted here, please get out' says the Colonial white man. 'When we ate loaves, we gave you cakes; when we drank water, we offered you milk; while we lived in howels, we lodged you in mansions; we want you now to retire gracefully to your home. We want to be masters in our house as you are in yours' said an extremist orator at the Khilafat Conference. If the Natal white man is right, why is the Indian extremist wrong?"

Grievances of the Hajis.
Bombay Samáchár (57), 23rd July.

67. The difficulties of the Hajis, narrated in the annual report of the Protector of Pilgrims for the year 1920-21, proves the urgent necessity of a discussion of the question by the Colonial Office with the Arab authorities, and we are glad to learn from Reuter that a member of that office will soon proceed from London to Jeddah to discuss the question. The report records cases of the Hajis being plundered on their way to Mecca and it is, therefore, high time that the British Government took steps to protect the lives and property of the Hajis in consultation with the Arab authorities. In Bombay there is provision for the accommodation of about 1,600 Hajis at a time, but the Haj Committee were at times called upon to provide for 6,000 Hajis and had to enlist the help of philanthropic Moslems in the matter. At present only Bombay is open for Haj traffic and we believe that much of the congestion of the traffic would be relieved if Karáchi were also thrown open to it. Let us hope Government will give careful consideration to the question of the desirability of opening the port of Karáchi for Haj traffic.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Primary Education Committee appointed by the Bombay Government.
Gujaráti (15), 24th July, Eng. cols.

*68. The problem of free and compulsory education is not an easy one to solve and we are glad the Bombay Government has appointed a Committee of ten members of the Legislative Council with Sir Narayan Chandávarkar as Chairman to examine the whole question. We can say with confidence that no better choice could have been made for this office. We are sorry the selection of members was thus restricted and educationists outside the Council left out, simply because the local Council will be called upon to consider any legislative, administrative or financial measures the Committee may recommend. That is surely no ground for not utilising the experience and knowledge of outside experts. We do not know the procedure that will be followed by the Committee. But we take it that it will examine and consult outsiders before it arrives at any decision on the points submitted for its consideration."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 24th July.

*69. "The Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay appointing a Committee of the Legislative Council to consider and report on the question of introducing free and compulsory education in the Presidency, will come as a disillusionment to many who hoped for great things in the educational sphere from the introduction of 'diarchy' in the provinces. It is pointed out in the Note that only three or four Municipalities had so far availed them-

selves of the powers under the Patel Act during the last three years. We do not know if Mr. Patel expected that all the Municipalities or even a considerable minority of them would hasten to apply the Act. But of this we are sure, that many more Municipalities than three or four would have done so had the two-thirds grant rule now announced been adopted when the Act was passed. Now, of course, there are other extraneous causes militating against the extension of education in Municipalities, but these will be overcome if Government manifest greater faith in the compulsory movement. Government express satisfaction at the growing popular demand for free and compulsory education in municipal and rural areas, but they complain that sufficient stress is not laid in popular discussions on finance, machinery to enforce compulsion and the readiness of the vast majority of the people to submit to compulsion. The growing demand signifies greater readiness on the part of an increasing number of the public to submit to compulsion, and as for finance and machinery, we venture to think that it is the business of the administration, not that of the public, to indicate the sources of the former and the nature of the latter. On this ground, the terms of reference so far as they relate to the suggestion of new sources of taxation to meet the cost of any scheme of compulsory education which the Committee may devise, merely shift the responsibility which properly belongs to Government to the Committee which is not entitled to have it thrust upon it. In Sir Narayan Chandávarkar the Committee has a strong Chairman, and otherwise it is as good as any that could have been selected from the Legislative Council."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd July.

70. "It appears to us to be somewhat anomalous that Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, President of the Bombay Legislative Council, should have been chosen as president of the Primary Education Committee which has just been appointed by the local Government. The anomaly becomes all the more strange since Sir N. G. Chandavarkar had not long ago declined to preside over the Kánara Forest Committee on the plea that as President of the Council his hands should be left unfettered. On account of his refusal the latter Committee has been deprived of his intimate knowledge of conditions in Kánara."

Bombay Samáchár (59), 23rd July.

71. It is gratifying to note that the Government of Bombay have appointed a Committee to inquire into the question of making primary education compulsory in this Presidency at the instance of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye. However, we cannot approve of the manner in which Government have tried to justify their past indifference towards the question in the Press Note issued by them on the subject. It is likely that some opposition will be manifested in the villages against the introduction of compulsory primary education, but Government need not attach undue importance to it as it is sure to be replaced in due course by an appreciation of its benefits. Let us hope that the Committee will be helpful in enabling Government to arrive at the final and unalterable decision of making primary education free and compulsory in this Presidency.

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th July.

72. "To judge from the comments which have appeared in the Press in Maharashtra, the policy—or rather the want of policy—of the Minister of Education in this Presidency has raised a storm of disapproval in large sections of the population which the Minister, it appears, is seeking to meet by contemplating the appointment of 'a strong committee to go into the question of compulsory elementary education'. The contract between promise and performance exhibited by the Moderates now in power in the Provincial Governments, is too glaring to escape the attention of the people who are interested in the expansion of education. The so-called Liberals, whom the Education Minister represents in the Executive Government of the Presidency, were profuse in their promise of the great feats of educational and social progress they were going to perform on the inauguration of diarchy, but with the sweets of power securely in their grasp, their Minister at once changed his language and attitude and began to speak the jargon of the bureaucracy....... The Moderates are pledged to 'work the reforms successfully', and it will be a pity if this is interpreted to mean simply routine and keeping things going. It is some satisfaction to know that this idea of

the duty of those who are co-operating with Government in the experiment of the diarchy, is repudiated by some of the Liberals with creditable candour and courage, which, we feel sure, is appreciated by the people at large."

Bombay Government's Press Note about religious instruction in Schools.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 24th July.

***73.** "Such clumsiness as there is in this Press Note is due to the clumsiness of much departmental terminology—the Secretariats are so busy administrating that they have no time to spare for attaining simplicity and lucidity of expression. The Department makes a distinction between public institutions and publicly-managed institutions, the latter being those affected by the present statement. All the institutions which submit to Government or University inspection, and follow their curricula, are termed public institutions. These are subdivided into public institutions under public management—*i.e.*, Government or by a municipal or other local body such as a district board; and public institutions under private management—*i.e.*, by a society, a committee or an individual. Christian Missionary institutions belong mostly to the latter class—public institutions under private management—while the Press Note deals with public institutions, under public management. Private institutions, in departmental parlance, are those which have not accepted departmental or University standards and do not submit their pupils to any public test, *i.e.*, the Non-co-operation National Schools."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Poona Municipality and its drainage and water works.
Servant of India (9), 21st July.

74. "As a sure means of inviting the attention of the Government to the serious defects and drawbacks in the Poona drainage and water supply works, Mr. Kelkar has suggested the non-payment of further municipal instalments towards the liquidation of the loan advanced by Government for the purpose. His motion will shortly form a subject of discussion in the local municipality; but whatever its fate, it shows how the municipality, having despaired of securing due relief by the usual means, is forced to resort to this extreme method. It is time the Government paused to consider if their officers charged with the execution of the whole scheme have properly acquitted themselves. It is a matter of common knowledge that not long ago Poona was noted for its healthy and bracing climate, so much so that for middle-class people in the neighbouring province of Berar and C. P. it did duty more or less as a sanatorium. All that is changed and it has now become the hot-bed of malaria and similar other complaints. Its health has deteriorated and its mortality has proportionately increased.......... The Government wants to keep the actual management of the works in its own hands in the hope that it will ensure their efficient upkeep. The experience of the people, however, points quite the other way. It is to be hoped that the Government will look into the matter and restore the city to its former health."

Comments on a new duty proposed to be levied by Bulsár Municipality (District Surat).
Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 21st July.

75. The city-fathers of Bulsár have hit upon a means of meeting the deficit of Rs. 17,000 in the Bulsár Municipal treasury and this has given rise to much discontent among the people staying in the villages round about Bulsár, and it seems to us that there is much justification for the discontent. The Municipality has decided to levy a duty on building materials, foodstuffs and all other articles of daily use. If a duty which is likely to yield a revenue of rupees one lakh and a half is levied to meet a deficit of Rs. 17,000, really it can be said to be not only objectionable but also oppressive. We request Government to hear both sides carefully before sanctioning the levy of the duty.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 29th July 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 30th July 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:

Comments on the Bombay Government's reply to an interpellation regarding high prices of vernacular text-books 11
Comments on the Government's reply in the — as to their Excise policy 10
Protest against disallowance by the President of the — of a question about meetings of the Bombay Executive Council 9
Protest against the ruling out of order of Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale's resolution in the — regarding the Dhárwár disturbances . . . 1—8

British Rule:

Alleged exploitation of India by the British 13
An appeal to Indian Moslems to help the Turks 16
Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office . 18
Comments on the reply to the Dhárwár pleaders' protest to His Excellency the Governor 19
Complaint that fine levied on Málegaon falls entirely on the shoulders of Muhammadans 17
India no more a paradise for the Whites 12
Non-co-operation movement is not responsible for the strikes on tea estates 22
Protest against Mr. Painter's promotion to the Commissionership, N. D. 20
Should the British connection be maintained? . . . . . 14 & 15
The Boy Scouts organisation should be wholly under popular management 23
The Matiari (Sind) shooting case 21

His Excellency the Governor:

His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's appeal in connection with the Boy Scouts movement 28
The people of Sátára should boycott His Excellency the Governor's visit to the place 29
His Excellency the Viceroy: Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Calcutta Marwari Association . . . 24 & 25

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

The decision of the All-India Congress Committee to boycott the Prince's visit 53
The forthcoming visit of — . . . . . 26 & 27
Indians in the Colonies: The future position of — 77

B 109—6 Con

Paragraph

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Judicial matters :

Comments on the sentence passed on Swami Krishnanand of Karáchi . 66 & 67
Protest against rigorous imprisonments to educated offenders . . 70
Protest against the repressive orders against Pandit Motilal Nehru and others . . . . 68 & 69
Military matters: How the Imperial Service Troops maintained by the Native States should be reorganised 76

Non-co-operation :

Appeal to the authorities to appease the minds of Muhammadans by conceding their legitimate demands. 59
Boycott of foreign cloth . . . . 31—38
Civil disobedience will be resorted to if Government continues its repressive policy 54
Comments on alleged attempts of the U. P. authorities to extract apologies from the *Independent* 55
Comments on Mr. Gandhi's intention to carry on picketing even though it leads to bloodshed. . . . . 46 & 47
Comments on the Parsi meeting in Bombay to celebrate the anniversary of the late Mr. Tilak 65
Condemnation of the violence of the crowd at Karáchi towards Europeans on the day on which Swami Krishnanand was sent to jail . . 63
Congress and Khilafat workers are being treated worse than communists in Britain 51
District officers and the picketing of liquor-shops . . . . . . 41—43
Exhortation to the people to wear *khadi* and boycott foreign clothes . 40
How the boycott of foreign cloth will add to the misery of Mussalmans. 39
How the — movement can be killed and the Indian people satisfied . 64
Government should declare its attitude towards peaceful picketing . 48—50
Mr. Gandhi's views on non-violence 62
Satyagraha is the only weapon of the oppressed 60
Should the people resort to civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes? . . . . 52 & 53
The Gandhi cap and Europeans . . . . 56—58
The Thána District Local Board and the anti-drink movement . 44 & 45
What should be the respective attitude of Hindus and Mussalmans towards cow-slaughter on the next Bakri-Id day? 61
Why Mr. Gandhi thinks that foreign cloth should be burnt and not given to the poor 30
Press Act: Comments on the recommendations of the — Committee . 71—73
Public service: Government has done nothing to revise the salaries of its menial establishments 74
Protest against the proposed scheme allowing early retirement to the Civilians 75

LEGISLATION—

Comments on Dr. Gour's Inter-marriage Bill 80
Comments on the postponement of the Bombay Bhagdari and Narvadari Act Amendment Bill 78
The Bill to restrict the transport of cotton before the Bombay Legislative Council 79

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding religious instruction in Schools and Colleges . . . . 82 & 83
Comments on the Government Press Note regarding free and compulsory education in the Bombay Presidency 84
Protest against the rise in the prices of the vernacular readers . . . 85
The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy 81

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Protest against the ruling out of order of Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the Dhárwár disturbances.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 27th July.

1. We record our emphatic protest against the ruling of the President of the Bombay Legislative Council in the matter of the motion of Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale for adjournment of the Council to enable him to move a resolution to the effect that an independent committee be appointed to inquire into the firing by the Police on an unarmed crowd at Dhárwár. It is to be regretted that the demand for an independent inquiry into the Dhárwár affair has been diplomatically evaded by a man of judicial acumen like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Mr. Chitale was quite justified in bringing his motion before the Council; but the President was guilty of a serious error in gagging the Council. If Rao Bahadur Chitale's motion was technically defective the President should have given him an opportunity of correcting the defect. The second reason advanced by the President for disallowing the motion is not warranted by the constitution of the Council. The President has thus usurped the power vested in the Council of deciding whether a question, whose disallowance is not covered by the rules, should be discussed or not. The President has become an autocrat and the meek submission of the Council to his decision shows that it has no stuff in it. Had Rao Bahadur Chitale's motion been accepted the authorities would have been enabled to understand the complaints of the people in the matter of the Dhárwár affair. How can people have any faith in the present Council?

Servant of India (9), 28th July; **Gujaráti* (15), 31st July, Eng. cols.

2. "The firing that took place at Dhárwár on the 1st instant has undoubtedly some very ugly features about it, and requires close scrutiny by an impartial Committee. The official and popular versions of that incident are as poles asunder, and the popular version in which the police authorities are held guilty of cold-blooded murder of the people who were shot down on the occasion finds most influential support, both of local men and outsiders. This fact should have decided the Government, even if they were hesitating before, to institute an inquiry into the circumstances in which the firing occurred. But the Bombay Government was unmoved; all that they did was to send down the Home Member to the scene of the disturbance, who, instead of ascertaining by a preliminary inquiry whether there was need for a formal elaborate investigation by an outside committee, merely attempted, it would appear, to restore the public confidence by using some soft words. It was hoped that, if the Government did not appoint a committee promptly of their own motion, they would be persuaded to do so on a resolution to that effect being passed by the Legislative Council. Such an opportunity was afforded by the motion for adjournment brought forward on the opening day of the Council by Mr. Chitale; but the President, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, ruled it out of order, on the ground that the matter which it was the object of the motion to discuss was 'under adjudication in a court of law' and that the motion was thus contrary to the rules. This ruling which has the effect of choking off the discussion of a subject that has aroused the utmost interest throughout the Deccan and Karnátak is, in our opinion, as wrong as it is unfortunate. For, what is under adjudication is the conduct of several persons who are alleged to have committed certain offences; Mr. Chitale, however, moved for an adjournment of the House with a view to discussing the conduct of the police—not the same thing. What the general public is interested to know is, first, whether there was any need for firing at all, and, secondly, if so, whether there was necessity for all the firing that took place, *i. e.*, whether there was no excess of firing. Neither of these two subjects forms part of the judicial trial that has commenced. The court will find in this case whether A committed arson, B threw stones, C caused obstruction, and so forth; but it is not its business to find whether there was justification for the firing that occurred. This question will not come up before the court at all, except only indirectly; and what is required is a finding of an impartial tribunal on this one definite issue—whether, on this occasion, no more force

was used than was absolutely necessary. It is quite possible that the accused might be convicted of the offences and yet the firing might have been unnecessary or excessive; it is equally possible that the particular persons charged with offences might be innocent, and yet the firing might have been necessary. And if the magistrate draws an inference from facts which he is called upon to investigate and records a finding on a matter which does not properly lie within his sphere, such a finding will obviously be regarded as an *obiter dictum*, without any authority which attaches to a conclusion arrived at in regard to a matter directly under investigation. It is difficult to overrate the disappointment which will be felt by the people of Dhárwár, and which will be shared to the full by the whole of Maháráshtra and Karnátak, at the President's ruling. The conviction of the public is that the whole firing was unnecessary and that the police story is inherently improbable. The leaders of Dhárwár are quite prepared to produce evidence to that effect before an independent committee; to fob them off with a trial of something else is not the way to satisfy public opinion. It is yet open to the Bombay Government to appoint such a committee. We have given on another page the opinion which the senior member of that Government held as an unofficial person—and which we have no reason to suppose he has changed on his acceptance of office—that whenever any firing on an unarmed mob occurs in India, an independent committee should be charged with the duty of examining the circumstances with a view to finding out whether the firing was justifiable or not. Sir Ibrahim insists that a definite rule should be laid down requiring Government on every occasion of firing to set up an inquiry. We can assure Sir Ibrahim that he cannot better illustrate the need for such a rule than by citing this particular instance of firing. Though not in charge of the Home Department, he must be able to exert his influence in regard to a matter which, we believe, will not be decided by the Home Member on his own individual responsibility, but will form the subject of collective deliberation. The extent to which he succeeds in influencing the Government's decision on this matter will indeed be regarded as the test of the power which Indian members wield in the new Government outside their own sphere." [The *Gujaráti* remarks :—" Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's ruling has been disapproved in certain quarters, but we think it is correct from the point of constitutional procedure and from that of sound traditions of judicial administration. It need not, therefore, upset their mind and cause any feeling of disappointment."]

Mahrátta (7), 31st July.

***3.** " In disallowing the resolution of Mr. G. K. Chitale concerning the adjournment of the Council for considering the question of appointing an independent committee to inquire into the Dhárwár firing, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the President, has committed not only a crime—of course, crime against the Nation and the generally accepted principles of morality, but a great blunder. He was pleased to rule it out of order on two grounds.......... We think the grounds to be hopelessly flimsy.......... In the excess of his juristic wisdom, Mr. Chandavarkar failed to fully appreciate the feelings of people of Dhárwár and the grievous sense of colossal wrong under which they are living now. The ways in which the Dhárwár trial is conducted, are simply a bundle of scandals that have engendered a feeling of unspeakable disgust in the minds of the people of Maháráshtra and Karnátik about the Government. Nor will the disallowance of the President alleviate it. The resolution might perhaps be out of order from a rigidly legal point of view, but we sincerely believe it could have been suitably altered and sympathetically considered had the President wished it so. As to the second objection of Sir Narayan of the Eternal Verity fame, we think that it is incorrectly put forth. The matter which is *sub judice* and the matter which the proposed Committee was to investigate are entirely different from each other. To mix them up and so to confuse the ordinary people may be the height of legal knowledge: but in actual practice it is the acme of sheer folly. The inquiry extended to the circumstances connected with the recent firing at Dhárwár by the police on an unarmed crowd and whether it was proper and justifiable; and it is our conviction that a Committee, such as was suggested, would not have affected the matters pending in the Court of Law. This is, in our opinion, one more instance of the fact that the ways of Indian people are not the ways of the bureaucracy and moderates who have got mixed with the former, completely. So much for Mr. Chandavarkar. By Dhárwár-firing and the Dhárwár case Government have seriously offended the people, offended against humanity, offended against ordinary morality. They are in duty bound to appoint an independent committee and investigate the whole affair thoroughly. The people will not be satisfied otherwise and harbour a feeling of disaffection and hatred of Government which will not be of good augury to them. The silence of Government in the matter of the Dhárwár-firing is rightly considered as an eloquent testimony of fault on Government's part and unless sufficient light is shed on the affair, the feeling will persist. Firing has become a sport with Government of late; but we are afraid that it will recoil, like a boomerang, one day or another on Government themselves. Will the Government call up their wisdom or allow matters to drift as usual?"

Lokasangraha (116), 30th July; *Swardjya* (145), 28th July.

4. The *Lokasangraha* also condemns Sir N. G. Chandavarkar for disallowing Mr. Chitale's resolution and characterises the grounds put forward by him for disallowing it as most ridiculous and requests him not to make himself a laughing-stock of the public by such conduct in his old age. [The *Swardjya*, too, considers the decision of the President as highhanded and declares that the incident has proved that the powers of Government have not at all been curtailed by the new Councils.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th July.

5. "It seems incredible that Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, with all his legal and judicial training, should have offered the plea that the Special Magistrate appointed to conduct the trial at Dhárwár, 'is to find out whether the firing took place under justifiable circumstances or not.' Surely, Sir Narayan is aware that the Special Magistrate is at present conducting no Coroner's inquest.......... Sir Narayan knows very well that the Magistrate is engaged only in finding out whether the accused before him are or are not guilty of the charges of rioting, arson and so on brought against them by the police—the very police into whose conduct, in view of the allegations publicly made, Rao Bahadur Chitale demanded an enquiry! It will be strange justice which determines from the guilt or innocence of the accused, the innocence or guilt of the prosecuting party, without a trial of the latter and in spite of the fact that the charges against the latter are of quite a different nature to those brought against the accused. Yet, it is mainly on such an astounding plea as this that the President of the Council has ruled Mr. Chitale's resolution out of order!"

Kesari (111), 26th July; *Lokamánya* (115), 27th July.

6. When a man commits a fault he is driven to commit many more while attempting to hide it. We are reminded of this by the policy pursued by Government with regard to the Dhárwár firing. No Indian can help feeling resentment against Government on finding that the latter are persecuting innocent people and their leaders. The authorities have adopted such a mean and unjust attitude since the commencement of the inquiry that we cannot help calling it a mere farce. According to our correspondent the authorities resort to such base tactics as refusing admission to the pleaders for the accused, issuing only a limited number of passes, associating men who are avowedly hostile to the Brahmins with the conduct of the inquiry, etc. We no not understand why they go through all this trouble if they have made up their minds to convict all the accused. If this farce is to continue, where was the necessity for Mr. Hayward to go to Dhárwár? No enquiry is made into the people's complaint that the Sub-Inspector shot innocent people, but, on the contrary, the popular leaders are hauled up before a court of law on false charges. Does not the Governor know that blood-stained hands can be cleaned by pouring water, and not more blood, on them? The Government of Bombay seem to be determined not to hold an independent inquiry into the Dhárwár affair. As the official and the non-official versions are as wide apart as the poles the most straightforward course would have been to entrust the inquiry to a committee composed of

representatives both of Government and the people. But if they did not want the elected representatives of the people, could they not have entrusted the inquiry to independent non-official gentlemen? But they are afraid that the people will come to know the true facts. Yesterday R. B. Chitale's resolution was disallowed on the ground that the cases are *sub judice*. As a matter of fact there is no connection between these cases and the inquiry demanded by the people. But how can Government, who are blinded by power, be expected to know this? [The *Lokamánya* writes:—Government are aware that their attitude in connection with the Dhárwár shooting affair has greatly dissatisfied the people. Their refusal to take advantage of Rao Bahadur Chitale's motion to explain their position shows that they do not believe themselves to be in the right. We cannot say that it was statesmanlike on the part of His Excellency the Governor to lose an opportunity like this.]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 27th July.

7. The *Dnyán Prakásh* gives an extract from the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's speech, delivered by him eight years back as the President of the Moslem League in connection with the Cawnpore Musjid riot affair, and declares that it proves the necessity of holding an independent inquiry into the Dhárwár firing incident. It holds that such an inquiry should have been held by Government while the incident was fresh, but it regrets that instead of doing so, the motion placed by Mr. Chitale before the Bombay Legislative Council was declared to be out of order. In its opinion, what took place in the Council was most undesirable.

Hindusthán (21), 28th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 27th July; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 29th July.

8. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has acted quite arbitrarily in disallowing Mr. Chitale's motion for the adjournment of the Council to enable it to consider his resolution for the appointment of an independent committee to inquire into the recent firing at Dhárwár. The attitude of the President of the Bombay Legislative Council is an insult to public opinion and it will tend to aggravate public hostility to the moderate party. The Special Magistrate appointed by Government will not inquire into the charges that are being levelled against the Police at Dhárwár, but will deal with the charges framed against the persons accused by the Police. But Sir Narayan had the temerity to say that he was safeguarding the interests of the defence by disallowing Mr. Chitale's motion! The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, is of the opinion that the President was quite justified in disallowing Mr. Chitale's motion and remarks:—We are in a position to say that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd is very anxious to see that the Dhárwár affair is investigated in a thorough manner. Unlike other Satraps, he is prepared to shoulder the responsibility for any wrong acts done in connection with the administration of the Presidency and he does not think it any honour to shelter himself behind his Executive Council. We feel sure that His Excellency will not fail to inflict exemplary punishment on any official, be he high or low, if he is proved to be guilty in the course of the present inquiry. The *Bombay Samáchár*, on the other hand, questions the decision of the President and considers it an encroachment on the privileges of the Council. It is of the opinion that the independent committee asked for by Mr. Chitale would have served to clear many doubts from the minds of the people.]

Protest against disallowance by the President of the Bombay Legislative Council of a question about meetings of the Bombay Executive Council.

Servant of India (9), 28th July.

9. "Complaints are rife for a long time in the Bombay Presidency that Cabinet meetings are few and far between; that even important matters in which collective deliberation is obviously necessary are left to the discretion of the particular department concerned, and that, not to speak of a joint deliberation of the two wings of Government, even the meetings of the executive council alone are seldom held.......... Mr. Gupte, desirous of ascertaining the truth in regard to them, gave notice of a question in the

following terms in the Bombay Legislative Council :—[Here the paper gives the text of the question]. This question was, however, disallowed by the President, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, on two grounds :—[Here the paper gives the grounds.] But neither of these grounds is a valid one. In the first place, it is not a matter entirely 'within the discretion of His Excellency the Governor' 'to rule how business in his executive council and with his ministers shall be conducted'. For as Mr. Gupte himself said in this very question, the Joint Select Committee has enjoined upon the Governors the duty of joint deliberation............ The Joint Committee's recommendations are quite as binding as the provisions of the Act itself. The Governor is expressly required to have joint deliberation, and is not given discretion to do without it, as the president imagines. In the second place, it is not a matter of domestic arrangement between the Governor and his ministers, whether official or unofficial; but it is a matter of public concern......... Mr. Gupte and the general public are entitled to know whether in the Bombay Government there is always 'unity in deliberation', but the mistaken ruling of the President has prevented light being thrown on this important question."

Comments on the Government's reply in the Bombay Legislative Council as to their Excise policy.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 31st July.

*10. "In reply to a question in the Bombay Legislative Council Government enunciated their Excise policy as follows. It is the policy of Government in order to minimise temptation for those who do not drink and to discourage excess among those who do, to make the tax upon liquor as high as it is possible to raise it, without stimulating illicit production to a degree which would increase instead of diminishing the total consumption. Every part of this statement rests on a fallacy. Those who do not drink will not be tempted to drink by offering liquor cheap or even *gratis* to them; those who drink are not prevented from drinking to excess by the high price of liquor; illicit production is stimulated by the present policy, and what keeps it in check is the penalties attaching to it. The production of liquor, whether by or under the auspices of Government, or by a private trader, is equally illicit. Both produce liquor for the sake of profit. There is as little morality in the one as in the other. We go further and say that it is the Government policy that leads to the largest production of liquor, that this largely creates the demand that it supplies, and that it is not the high duty, but large preventive and punitive powers, that keeps private persons from entering the field as the high duty (and consequent high price) will otherwise tempt them to do. These same preventive and punitive powers will be sufficient to enforce a policy of prohibition and, in fact, if there is no 'licit' production, there will be little temptation for 'illicit' production. This aspect of the matter requires to be closely studied by the Minister responsible for the Excise policy. The present policy entirely ignores the existence of a strong religious and social sentiment in this country against drink or holds that it cannot enter into the calculation of administrators. We assert that it is the presence of the drink shop—there is at least one in almost every street judging from the statement for Bombay city laid on the table in reply to another question—and not the price of liquor, that constitutes the temptation and the abolition of the shop is the only way of abolishing temptation."

Comments on the Bombay Government's reply to an interpellation regarding high prices of Vernacular text-books.

Gujarati (15), 31st July, Eng. cols.

*11. "Complaints regarding the high prices that have to be paid for Gujaráti vernacular readers form the subject of an interpellation by Mr. C. M. Gandhi.......... Government replied that the enhanced prices were due partly to profiteering on the part of book-sellers and partly to inadequacy of stocks resulting chiefly from the very high cost of production compared with scheduled selling prices. It is true that Government had no control over the retail book-sellers. But there is no reason why the head-masters of different schools should not be supplied direct with the required number of books under some arrangement with the publishers or with the Government Central Book Depôt instead of allowing the local book-sellers to monopolise the available stock.......... The enhanced prices are a serious burden upon the purse of poor parents, and we absolutely refuse to believe that the present grievance cannot be substantially redressed by co-operation on the part of the publishers, Government and the head-masters and managers of schools. It should be further borne in mind that the publishers have enjoyed the monopoly of publishing vernacular readers for several years past, and Government ought to insist upon reduction of prices at their hands. At the same time there is no reason why steps should not be taken to publish the readers in this country as far as possible. The present system affords golden opportunities for extending generous patronage to flourishing publishing firms in England and it will take long to abolish it. But we are totally opposed to having text-books that Government or private agencies cannot publish in India with their available resources. A poor country like India cannot indulge the expensive luxury of artistic productions.......... We need not invite the attention of the Education Minister to this matter, as he is well conversant with the hardships of voiceless parents. The grievance has appeared in some form or other for years past and it would be a great pity if it were found incapable of remedy owing to insuperable difficulties."

India no more a paradise for the Whites.
Hindu (158), 22nd July.

12. The *Hiudu* writes:—"The days of enjoyment are past. The supply of cheap bungalows, free servants and abundant *shikar* is now stopped. The time when Bharat was a paradise for us is gone for ever. To-day there is a new awakening there. Indians do not want to remain our slaves." The above is the confession of a *gora* official to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose paper writes that the above confession is the main reason why *goras* are now demanding increments in their salaries. That India is no more a paradise for *goras* is not solely due to political awakening. It is also due to the fact that India has been bled white and has, therefore, nothing more to give.

Alleged exploitation of India by the British.
Loka Bandhu (85), 24th July.

13. The British people have no intention of making India their home and staying here permanently like the Pársis. They have enslaved 31 crores of Indians and reduced them to the position of coolies working for the comfort and happiness of a few crores of Britishers. It is now 150 years since British rule was established in this country. During this period of 150 years, a few of the Britishers professed to be our friends and raised false hopes in our hearts. There were others who openly showed themselves to be our enemies and gave us threats. Both these classes were all the while considering whether they should tear off the hair of Mother India or cut off her nose or her fingers, and being inspired by a common motive succeeded in bringing ruin upon India. But, unlike the Amir of Afghanistan or the Mikado of Japan, they did nothing for the real advancement of their subjects. Various inventions which were introduced into the country, such as Railways and the Telegraph, proved ultimately to be for the benefit of England and of the British officials over here. It is said that the prayers offered to all the gods ascend to the God Keshava. So every act of the Britishers in this country is intended for the benefit of England.

Should the British connection be maintained?
Sind Observer (10), 19th July.

14. "The British connection has been of enormous advantage to India in arousing a fallen nation from the deep slumber of centuries. It has been of enormous material and moral advantage to England and upon the wealth acquired from India the foundations of England's prosperity were built. The possession of India made England the greatest Empire on earth, India being the storehouse of the Empire for war as well as peace purposes. England cannot afford to lose India, for then she will sink down to the level of a third-rate-power........ How then are we to live as friends and equals and what is the cause of the suspicion entertained in the Indian mind that Indian interests are being sacrificed for those of England? The records of the Congress for 35 years furnish the evidence necessary. It is a curious coincidence, but nevertheless

an historical fact that the Congress came into existence just at the time when the British Nation, having forgotten its great mission in India, had turned to the exploitation of the resources of India. Imperialism obtained ascendancy and Lord Curzon told the planters about 20 years ago that exploitation and administration went hand in hand and that the exploiters and administrators were members of the same family engaged in similar occupations. Lord Curzon was frankness itself. And the whole of the Indian National movement, as represented by the Congress, was directed to make the position of the Indian in his country tolerable and honourable. The Congress has failed in obtaining justice from the rulers, but it has succeeded in rousing up the people. The Congress of petitions is dead; but the Congress of power is living......... But we believe exploitation is only a passing phase of imperialism. The domination of British Parliament by capitalists is the root-cause of the present trouble. But it will not last long. The war has imparted tremendous lessons. Britain is now in the throes of a struggle between capitalism and the moral laws of humanity. The British genius has not acknowledged a defeat in the governance of people. It will assert itself again over the forces of gravitation of capitalism, for capitalism has great moral limitations.......... We are in hopes the Prince of Wales will establish the fraternal bond of love between India and England."

Jám-e-Jamshed (22),
27th July.

15. Commenting upon Mr. Mahomed Ali's remarks about establishing an Indian Republic, made in a speech at Karáchi, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—We as well as the whole of India would sympathise with Mr. Gandhi if his object is to secure *swaráj* under the British rule. We do not sympathise with the methods adopted by him and the fixing of a time-limit of one to four months for achieving it. He has now gone one step further and talks of rivers of blood being made to flow for the attainment of *swaráj*. He will admit that a very insignificant proportion of the educated classes of the country are with him, while the illiterate people are under his influence owing to his personality. *Swaráj* is as distant as it ever was even now when the whole of the Bezwada programme has been put into force. Whenever the prescribed time-limit for the attainment of *swaráj* is reached, Mr. Gandhi extends that limit. Are not all these devices measures of desperation? Is there any common sense, foresight or political wisdom in the statement of Mr. Gandhi to the effect that rivers of blood will flow in September? The non-co-operators have been defeated at all points. They hope to succeed in their object by trying the dangerous experiment of picketing and thus bringing the authorities into collision with the people and causing rivers of blood to flow. We are of opinion that they will not only fail in this but also be responsible for checking the progress of the country. We do not knew what Mr. Gandhi thinks about the statement of Mr. Mahomed Ali with regard to the declaration of an Indian Republic at the Ahmedabad sessions of the Congress. It is quite possible that the Ahmedabad Congress will do something out of the way which will cast in the shade the doings of the Bezwada Congress. It seems Mr. Gandhi and his followers want immediately a *swaráj* which will be as short-lived as the tree of the magician which springs up, laden with fruit, in five minutes, and withers away in an equally short time. But the majority of the people want a lasting *swaráj* attained by gradual stages. Those loyal Indians who have been quietly co-operating with Government for the achievement of such *swaráj* will succeed in the end. We have yet to see what shape the picketing of foreign cloth shops takes.

An appeal to Indian Moslems to help the Turks.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (170),
24th July.

16. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* in an article entitled "the Ottoman Empire and the Mussalmans" remarks:—A unique religious duty devolves upon the Mussalmans at a juncture when all the brute forces are making preparation to lower the banner of unity and to injure the interests of Islam. Remember well that it is incumbent on the Muslims to help the Turks; and if any person shirks that duty, he no longer remains a Mussalman. The angels are looking from the sky as to what you do for the armies of Islam. You should humble yourselves before God and pray for them. We request the

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Non-co-operation—*concluded.*

Discussion on the non-co-operation movement in the House of Lords . 52 & 53

Exhortation to Indians to keep to their goal of *swarâj* and not to be deceived by the grant of reforms here and there 39

How Hindu non-co-operationists are leading Muhammadans into dangers 47

List of contributors to the Tilak Swaraj Fund shows that *swarâj* is the goal of every Indian 38

Mr. Gandhi's propaganda to boycott foreign cloth . . . . . . 27—35

Mr. Gandhi's second appeal to Englishmen in India 41

Protest against Mr. Gandhi's statement that Moghul rule was better than British rule 46

The Congress and the proposed proclamation of India as a Republic . 43

Public Service :

Alleged grievances of Sub-Assistant Surgeons 64

Protest against any further increase in the salaries of the Indian Civil Service . . . . 62 & 63

War :

Comments on the Greek atrocities in Asia Minor 66

Reflections on the political situation in Afghanistan and the Middle East 67

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the League of Nations . . . 65

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's speech before the Deccan Sabha 68

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy . . . . . . 69 & 70

MUNICIPALITIES—

The drainage and water works of Poona should be handed over to the local municipality 71

The Thána Local Board's decision to assist the anti-drink campaign with money 72

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the shooting incident at Dhárwár.

Lokashâhi (119), 11th July.

1. The cruelty of the representatives of the British Government in this country has recently been surpassing even that of beasts of prey, and their liking for flesh and blood is on the increase. The only difference between the beasts of prey and these ferocious Government officers is that while the former hunger and thirst after the flesh and blood of animals the latter are hungering and thirsting after the flesh and blood of Indians and in this they cannot be beaten in any way by the former. This fondness of theirs for the flesh and blood of Indians has been on the increase since the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy and luckily for them no *shikari* is yet forthcoming to hunt down these brutes in human form. The result has been the further sacrifice of Indians at Rai Bareli and Nagpur, and the fondness of these human brutes for Indian flesh and blood having thus aggravated, these Government wolves a few days back put even the Jallianwalla massacre into the shade by heartlessly and utterly without cause shooting down people at Dhárwár. We read in our *Purâns* that demons once revelled on the face of the earth. If our archeologists want to trace the descendants of those demons they should look into the doings of the Dyers and the O'Dwyers of Jallianwalla fame and those of Mr. Painter's under whose regime the terrible shooting at Dhárwár recently took place. We hold the British Government alone responsible for committing the sin of feeding fat these fiends, for not only has nothing been done to counteract their doings but every time their fiendish deeds have been defended by word or action. What more have Government done to wash away the black stain of the Jallianwalla Bagh on their face beyond asking the people to forget and forgive? The whole world is showing utter contempt for the British Government and spitting on its face for the deed and yet it is feeding fat the wolves in human form on India's money, and thus encouraging others of their kidney to create new Jallianwalla Baghs to either earn their pensions or for some other self-interest or just for the sake of fun. Government do not feel any shame in defending these outrages. If they suppose that these demons will be allowed to revel for long they will be disappointed. We know that the bureaucracy and their hangers-on like Mr. Chintamani are trying hard to put obstructions in the way of the non-co-operation movement on which India is at present engaged. But they should remember that God never allows Satan to succeed in his plans. Lord Reading may say that his predecessor Lord Chelmsford was responsible for Jallianwalla Bagh. But who is to be brought to book for the loss of innocent lives at Nagpur, Rai Bareli and Dhárwár? We hold Lord Reading alone responsible for these outrages! Had Lord Reading thirsted for the blood of Indians like Mr. Painter who has outdone even the wolf in his thirst for human blood, we would have drawn a bowlful of it from own body and applied the bowl to his lips. But we feel confident that he is not thirsting for our blood as he has come to India to give us justice. And yet wolfish officials like Mr. Painter thirsting for the people's blood are strutting about the country as if innocent, and Government too are defending their bloody doings. It thus appears that Lord Reading is unable to put a check to these things. If that be true His Excellency should understand that it is beyond his capacity to carry on the Viceroyalty and he should resign and quietly leave the country. He should bear it in mind that if the wolfish doings of men like Mr. Painter start a conflagation in Dhárwár, it would not be confined to that place but spread and would not fail to scorch the delicate frame of the Government of India. These outrages have so thickly tarred the face of the British Government, that the people feel doubtful if any operation will be able to free it from the tar. If His Excellency Lord Reading and his Government entertain the boastful idea that as they possess every possible weapon of destruction they can do anything they like to the Indians, made utterly effeminate by being disarmed, then we must remind them of the fact that no sooner does the thunderbolt of the people's exasperation strike against any Empire, however rich and great it might be, it is bound to be reduced to ashes in no time. The British have hitherto ruled India not by physical force

but by wheedling the people. To-day Government might be thinking that the various regiments in India are their own. But whose is the army? Does it belong to the despotic Government? Let us see. Let Government say to the army that that they are going to order it to shoot down its fellow-countrymen who are agitating for *swardjya*. If, thus ordered to be traitorous to its motherland, the army does as directed and shoot down its brethren then Government might proudly say that the army is theirs. But suppose the army lays down its arms considering it to be a sin to shoot down Indians struggling for liberty, and resort to non-co-operation, then how would Government rule India? It is the duty of every Indian to stick to non-violent non-co-operation. But if fresh editions of Jallianwala Bagh go on occurring as at Dhárwár, we cannot guarantee that Indians would hold back from violence. That would of course endanger the acquisition of *swardjya*, but it would menace a hundred times more the British rule in India. We, however, desire that even if Government turns every village in India into another Jallianwalla the people should not depart from peaceful behaviour. From this point of view we would strongly condemn even the smallest act of violence that might have occurred at Dhárwár giving an opportunity to the Government officials to turn themselves into human brutes. For even such small incidents bring into disrepute non-violent non-co-operation which its opponents are ever ready to magnify and take advantage of. [Elsewhere the paper further writes:—We saw at Jallianwalla Government's (*protégé*) Dyer hunting human beings; we saw at Dhárwár Mr. Painter, the Collector, thirsting for human blood; now we are waiting to see cannibals rise among the bureaucracy who would kill Indians and eat their flesh, raw or roasted.]

Karndtak Mitra (35), **14th July.**

2. A divine force has manifested itself in the righteous war of non-violent non-co-operation that is going on at Dhárwár. For suppressing this movement which has been purified by the fire of soul-force, the Government may send to prison the whole population of Dhárwár. Nay, they may send to prison, if they choose, the whole of India. But just as a man who in his anger tries to beat down a fire is himself burnt to ashes by the sparks flying from it, even so, the opponents of this movement are sure to be destroyed by the burning flames which have risen from it. The Collector might have thought that he would be able to scotch the movement by his reckless arrests of leaders, but this idea proved to be a delusion. The Collector tried to do one thing while his actions led to quite opposite results and Dhárwár became a land of heroes. [In another place, the paper says that all the difficulties now confronting the Government such as non-co-operation, anti-drink agitation and fights between the police and the people would have been solved in a minute, if the Government had recognized the claims of the people to *swardj*. But such a policy, says the paper, is entirely against the wishes of the British Government whose one aim is to suppress the non-co-operation movement by bringing all sorts of charges against the people. This, the paper adds, is proved by the two Press Notes published by Government, which also indicate how Government, in their attempt to hide one falsehood, have been compelled to weave the tangled web of a hundred falsehoods. The paper proceeds to observe that these Press Notes show how little confidence the Government have in the people, and asks how a Government which has lost all confidence in the people can be deemed fit to rule over them. The paper adds that Government seem to have put implicit faith in the words of the police, who, instead of being considered as the servants of the people, have, owing to the perverted manner in which the administration is carried on in India, become identical with the Government. Elsewhere the paper, referring to the arrests that are being made by the police at Dhárwár in connection with the recent disturbances, remarks:—Great uncertainty prevails at Dhárwár and it looks as if Government is asleep. British rule has given place to the rule of the Moghuls. God help the people and especially the non-co-operators.]

Karnataka Vritta (84), **17th July.**

***3. The devilish work commenced by the bureaucracy who are the incarnations of Dyer does not seem to be nearing its completion as yet. Every one knows how in order to ingratiate themselves into the good graces of their superior they shed innocent blood and sent countless**

heroes to prison. But, the thirst of these vile men does not seem to have been quenched as yet and they are proceeding with their work with undiminished zeal. Oh ye bureaucrats, how many heroes should be sacrificed to you that your thirst might be quenched? Let us know it once for all. The brave sons of mother Karnátak are prepared to offer themselves as your victims. We are very much surprised to see that these reprehensible acts of Government have produced no effect on our students and pleaders. What do they mean by sitting still like cowards, when their brothers have girded up their loins and are showing their readiness to sacrifice their lives for the uplift of their mother-country? Are you men at heart? Is there any manliness in you or have you forgotten the glorious history of your forefathers? Can it be that you have sold your conscience? If you are Indians, then how is it that you put up with the humiliation of your brothers? O my brothers gird up your loins for avenging yourselves upon Government for the injustice which they have done you. Pleaders and students, be up and we shall show the bureaucracy what strength we possess. Pleaders, say "victory to the Karnatak" and come out of the law courts. Students, boycott your schools at once and let them present the appearance of a cemetery. Brothers, awake, awake; let us not lose this auspicious opportunity of raising aloft the banner of the Karnatak. [In another place the paper writes:—The Collector of our District, Mr. Painter, has even surpassed General Dyer. Several incidents which have recently occurred in the different districts of the Karnatak show that the Collectors of these districts are suffering from some kind of mental derangement. Of all the Governors in India, the Governor of Bombay is best known for his liberal views. We suggest, therefore, that His Excellency the Governor should investigate the causes of their mental derangement and send the officials one and all to the lunatic asylum which is not far from the prison where the patriots of Dhárwár are enduring their sufferings with resignation and fortitude.]

Kesari (111), 12th July; *Rájakáran* (131), 10th July; *Lokamánya* (115), 14th July; *Swarájya* (145), 14th July; *Lokasangraha* (116), 15th July.

4. Government had issued a communiqué about the firing at Dhárwár and they have now issued a revised edition of the same. But a Government communiqué is not a word of God. The present communiqués only show how Government are duped by their officials into making statements that are absolutely untrue. The people of Dhárwár who are well aware of the true facts are not likely to entertain high regard for Government after the publication of these communiqués. But in this affair Sir George Lloyd is more to blame than the other officials. Although the official and the non-official versions are so very divergent, he insists upon believing everything that the officials tell him and does not think it necessary to appoint an independent committee. We are not at all anxious about the men who have been prosecuted since they will have an opportunity to establish their innocence in a court of law. But the question whether the Sub-Inspector was or was not justified in firing upon the people will not be decided unless he is tried for murder. To allow an irresponsible official like a Sub-Inspector to shoot down people with impunity is to deprive them of all their rights of citizenship. The present Governor is said to be against firing upon the people by the police and it is to be seen whether he lives up to his reputation. [The *Rájakáran* writes:—Mr. Painter will be disappointed if he believes that he can kill the anti-drink movement by arresting the leaders. It has taken such a firm hold of the people that for every man arrested ten other men will come forward to do his work. Lord Reading has indulged in sufficient talk about giving justice to India and apparently he is now peacefully slumbering at Simla. The *Lokamánya* writes:—Diarchy has not in any way benefitted the people. It has only imposed an additional burden upon them. The Bombay Government includes five Indians, but Mr. Painter could safely ignore their presence there while enacting a tragedy similar to that of the Jallianwala Bagh. Would he have dared to do so if these men had any power to exercise a restraining influence over him? The *Swarájya* inquires whether Government have asked the Sub-Inspector of Police at Dhárwár to explain why he fired upon the people without the order of a Magistrate. It asks Government to bring him to justice and to take suitable measures to prevent a recurrence of the unhappy events. The *Lokasangraha* says that as the words 'Dyer' and 'Painter' have nearly the same meaning, so also there is very little difference between the mentality of these two men who bear these names.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th and 15th July.

5. "The flood of light shed by the report of our special representative on the tragic happenings at Dhárwár must have convinced our readers that a fresh crime against humanity, of a nature more diabolical even than that of Jallianwalla Bagh, has been committed. It is true that fewer human lives have been sacrificed and fewer injuries have been inflicted, but we are deliberately of opinion that in point of quality the crime committed by the Dhárwár police is worse than that of Dyer and his myrmidons.......... What excuse had Shivlingappa and his underlings for firing without warning and without any attempt to disperse the crowd more peacefully?......... Our representative has reproduced some extracts from the statement of an eye-witness of the whole tragedy which shatter the entire fabric of misrepresentation and self-contradiction which the official communiques have erected. The eye-witness was characterised as 'the most disinterested B.A., LL.B. in Dhárwár' by Mr. Marsden, Superintendent of Police, Dhárwár. His statement is with the police and Sir George Lloyd's Government may call for it, if they wish to probe the truth. We have it from this 'most disinterested' witness that he saw 'no attempt made by anyone in the mob to damage either person or property in the vicinity of the shops'. He did see stones thrown once or twice, but the police took it complacently and 'no attempt was made by them to disperse the crowd'......... The witness says he was standing close to the compound wall of the Police Thána and he 'saw no attempt made by the people either to hamper the police physically or any attempt to trouble them.' Then he suddenly heard the whistle blown and responded to by the other police party and actual firing commenced 'in all directions' without any warning....... And yet the official communique asks the public to believe that 'the Sub-Inspector again warned the rioters without avail and then ordered his party to fire'. It may be contended that the police fired in self-defence, because their lives were in danger. Here again the testimony of the 'most disinterested' eye-witness disproves the fact......... As to the allegations of arson, it will not be strange if this story of arson proves ultimately to be an after-thought and a diabolical concoction with a view to justify the massacre......... We shall not refer to-day to the deplorable callousness shown by Mr. Painter and the Superintendent of Police in leaving the dying and the dead unattended on the public road for two hours. The whole episode recalls the horrors of Jhallianwalla Bagh in a strange manner. As we have said, in some respects it is more horrible than even Dyer's crime......... Lord Reading appeals to the people of India to forget the Punjáb episode. How can they forget it when fresh and fresh Jhallianwalla Baghs are being created by monsters in human shape dressed up in brief authority strutting about the land at so many places? Unless those who are mainly concerned in the Dhárwár massacre are suspended from their posts, pending an enquiry, and unless that enquiry is conducted on absolutely impartial lines, which will be approved by the public, it is futile for the Viceroy and the Government of Bombay to hope that the people will easily forget the past or forgive the fresh wrong inflicted on them." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"Do Sir George Lloyd's Government and do the Government of India realise the importance of the Dhárwár affair? It is impossible to over-estimate the force of the impression created among Indians by the tidings that the Sub-Inspector of Police, Shivlingappa, who caused the tragedy, was still at large in Dhárwár, and not only that, but actually taking a leading part in 'organising' the prosecution—*i. e.*, selecting the 'accused'. We wish the Government would realise before it is too late, before England, Europe and America are once more ringing with another unfortunate occurrence under British rule, that this is an affair of the first magnitude.......... The official and the popular versions of the incident are diametrically opposed to one another; and where that happens, the call for special inquiry seems to us to be too evident to need pointing out to anyone accustomed to the Government of Eastern peoples. To leave

the incident for judgment to the ordinary officials and the ordinary course of law is simply to increase the popular distrust and sense of wrong.......... We have already stated more than once in these columns that the reputation of the British in India is at the mercy of their Indian subordinates, whose sycophantic zeal should, therefore, be restrained more carefully than it has been of late; and that the behaviour of the said sycophantic Indians has contributed at least as much to the unpopularity of that rule as has the behaviour of the English officials, who are not all or most of them like Mr. Painter.......... Indians are not consciously unfair in judgment of officials, as the officials would have us believe. But they consider that the ordinary machinery of Government runs with a heavy bias against unofficial evidence and in favour of 'official'—*i. e.*, police—evidence. And where, as at Dhárwár, the two are in absolute opposition, the machinery should be suspended for a time and an inquiry held by some person or persons quite above suspicion of such bias, just as in the case of actual machinery, a mechanic is called in when works go wrong and there is danger of a general smash. We hope this opportunity for pacifying the Karnatik will not be missed by a Government presided over by a gentleman of such wide Oriental experience as Sir George Lloyd."]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 16th July, Eng. cols.

6. In the course of an article on the Dhárwár shooting incident contributed to the *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, the writer observes:—"Now, before going into the merits of what happened at Dhárwár we must draw the attention of our readers to the outstanding fact that the time has gone by when a Government communique was accepted without question by the educated Indian public. Originally, this feature was introduced to give authoritative and reliable information to the public.......... But this seems to have been a matter of the long past, since during the last three years we cannot recall a single instance in which an official communique on any subject has been accepted as correct by the country, or that the public has acquiesced in it without question. If we may venture to make a discrimination, a distinction should be made between the Málegaon riots and the Dhárwár affair. At Málegaon the turbulent element of the population was out for trouble, but there is no evidence that there is such a section of the population at Dhárwár, or that it can be held responsible for what happened. The persons arrested at Dhárwár do not belong to the class of persons who are under trial at Málegaon. As we have said above, official accounts of such events are no longer accepted as reliable.......... The two official statements issued regarding the Dhárwár tragedy are practically the information supplied by the District Magistrate. In the unofficial accounts grave allegations have been made against that officer and have neither been contradicted nor denied. We do not think it can be denied that no magistrate was present when the police opened fire upon the crowd and killed and wounded a number of people. The District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police did not appear on the scene till some time afterwards. The official versions do not mention the number of casualties among the policemen before the sub-inspector of police used his revolver and the policemen under him opened fire. Was any policemen killed? Were others severely wounded, and, if so, how many policemen are in hospital? Satisfactory answers to these questions can alone justify the firing by the police if it can be justified at all without the presence and authority of a magistrate as provided by law. So far we have not seen anywhere that any policemen were killed or seriously wounded. On the other hand, it is definitely alleged that the District Magistrate was openly hostile to the non-co-operation movement even before the tragedy that occurred on the 1st of this month, that he threatened some persons, that he sent for some journalists who have now been arrested and told them that he was thirsting for their blood and would not be satisfied till they were sent to jail for at least a year. This is a statement that has been repeated and the Bombay Government should call upon the District Magistrate of Dhárwár to state explicitly whether this is true or not. There is a good deal to be cleared up in connection with the Dhárwár tragedy, but as the Local Government do not propose to make an independent inquiry they should not be surprised if the public is not satisfied with the official versions already published."

7. Referring to the Government and the popular versions of the shooting affair at Dhárwár, the *Servant of India* writes:—"There is a wide divergence between the two versions and the man in the street is placed at a serious disadvantage in arriving at the truth. We would, therefore, strongly recommend to Government the desirability of appointing a small committee of impartial men to go into the causes of the firing and to report as to the responsibility of both sides in the affair. It is worthy of note that even the local Congress Committee which is supposed to be a non-co-operating body has supported the demand for a committee like the one suggested above. The demand, though strange when it comes from non-co-operators, is quite just."

Servant of India (9), 14th July.

8. All people will be sorry to hear of the sad incident which happened at Dhárwár. It cannot now be boasted that there is no repression in the Bombay Presidency. One point at least is quite clear from the reports published by Government and the public and it is this that there was no Magistrate present when the shooting took place. Have the Sub-Inspectors of the Police Department of the Government of Bombay been authorized to give orders to fire? These are serious questions and the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay does not explain them. Another important matter is that those who tried to nurse the wounded were also fired upon. Is it not cruel on the part of Government officials to do so? Government should not only appoint an impartial Committee to inquire into this matter in response to the demand of the Dhárwár District Congress Committee but should also proceed against the Sub-Inspector who ordered the firing in the absence of the Magistrate and punish him if he is proved to be guilty. We are very sorry to notice that there is apathy on the part of Government in instituting inquiries into such incidents, and extreme hastiness to make arrests. Several editors of nationalist newspapers and others have been arrested without warrant. How is it possible to know whether those arrested are innocent or guilty? We are extremely grieved to see that the officials do not observe silence in such times of excitement. Sir George Lloyd should immediately appoint a commission to inquire into this incident. [The *Model* remarks:—It appears from the telegram sent by the President of the Dhárwár District Congress Committee to His Excellency the Governor of Bombay and the Viceroy that there was much excitement in Dhárwár. The explanation of the disturbance given by Government is not clear and there is no truth in some of the details stated therein. It appears that the people were not very much to blame It was most improper that there should have been no Magistrate present when the firing took place. If the whole account published by the District Congress Committee is correct, the matter is very serious and hence the officials concerned should be taken very severe notice of. Government should place a strong check on its high-handed officials who take the law in their own hands in this absurd fashion and make thoughtless use of it. The incident is really a serious one and if all possible efforts are not made to do justice in the matter, there will undoubtedly arise in future a situation similar to the Jallianwala Bagh incident. The *Hind Mitra* remarks:—Government should immediately inquire into the matter, punish severely those officials who are guilty and reprimand those who have issued a misleading Press Note. All the officials concerned should be suspended before an inquiry is instituted into the serious allegations that are made in the report of the District Congress Committee. They should not be entrusted with the work of inquiry and be prohibited from making any more arrests.]

Gujaráti Punch (17), 10th July; *Model* (26), 10th July; *Hind Mitra* (18), 10th July.

9. "That Dyerism is far from being dead in this country, in spite of obsequies religiously performed, has been demonstrated by nearly half a dozen episodes since the *Requiem* was sung in the Imperial Legislative Assembly. Rae Bareli, Chandpur, Giridih, Dhárwár, Aligarh—all have shown that the evil spirit which sets at naught all laws of humanity and takes no count of human suffering is still there. Dukes and Viceroys may proclaim to the world that the spirit has been slain completely and that it will never raise its head again. But every

Dyerism still alive in the country.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th July.

fresh episode, in which the people and those who pretend to maintain the peace among them come into collision, betrays the existence and undiminished vitality of the evil principle which is at work. We might dismiss each episode by explaining it away in ways not fully convincing to our inmost heart, but the cumulative effect of the episodes occurring one after another is not to be so easily dispelled."

The Law Member of the Government of India should prevent a further misuse of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th July.

10. Referring to the use being made of Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code to control the activities of the non-co-operators, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"The scandal of this prostitution of law for political purposes has assumed such proportions that signs are not wanting that those who were originally disposed to look on with mingled satisfaction and amusement at this abuse of the Criminal Procedure Code are getting alarmed at the orgy of lawlessness in which officialdom is indulging in its hunt for the scalps of the non-co-operators.......... In these circumstances, is it too much to expect that Dr. Sapru, the Law Member of the Government of India, will intervene and prevent the further abuse of law, if not for the sake of justice, at least for sake of the prestige of the Government with which he has the honour to co-operate? But a mere halt in the campaign of repression is not enough. Those who have been illegally imprisoned or fined under Section 144 ought to be set at liberty and the fines refunded, if strict justice is to be done."

Mahrátta (7), 17th July.

***11.** "Mr. Sheshagiri Ayer, in an interview at Lucknow, gave a piece of his mind regarding the use and abuse of Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code. He gave his considered opinion that the particular section was being gravely abused in preventing free speech and issuing of prohibitory orders by District Magistrates. The section was never meant to be used like that by the framers of it. Will Dr. Sapru, the Law Member, pay heed to this clear verdict? If Dr. Sapru is not the originator of this new device, at least he has acquiesced in the abuse of the section. And if a doubt is expressed by so eminent an ex-judge as Mr. Sheshagiri Ayer, let Dr. Sapru at once proceed to quash all such orders under Section 144 and direct his subordinate enthusiasts to refrain from its abuse. Mr. Sheshagiri Ayer insisted upon the immediate release of the Martial Law prisoners in the Punjáb and the immediate dismissal of the minor officials in the Punjáb who contributed to make the civil administration a farce by playing into the hands of General Dyer. He further expressed his conviction of the necessity of the introduction of responsible Government in the Central Government. Will Lord Reading learn to read aright the thought-currents of the Nation?"

The Honourable Mr. Sastri and the Imperial Conference.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th July; *Hindu* (158), 4th July.

12. "While it is satisfactory to note that the discussion in the Imperial Conference on the position of Indians in the Dominions and Colonies of the Empire has not altogether been burked as feared, it is rather difficult to make out whether the resolution on the subject which Mr. Sastri was to move in the Conference has been withdrawn by him or he has only been allowed to make a statement of the position from the Indian point of view......... Are we to believe that either Mr. Montagu or Mr. Sastri and the Maharao have sold away the claims of Indians in this easy manner at the private sessions of the Conference? Then again, what is the meaning of the fresh statements made by the Maharao and Mr. Sastri on the same subject—statements which reopen a question that, according to the *Daily Chronicle*, must be taken as closed? And are these statements to be understood as mere statements and nothing more or will they lead to any definite decision by the Conference? We can think of no more egregious failure of Mr. Sastri's mission than that things should be left at mere pious expressions of hopes on one side and references to the complexities of the problem on the other." [The *Hindu* writes:—When Mr. Sastri was leaving these shores for the

London Imperial Conference, many of our friends were jubilant over the proper selection of a representative to demonstrate to the full India's wants at the Conference. Mr. Sastri himself expressed that he would justify his selection. From a perusal of Mr. Sastri's speech our readers will find that all our expectations have fallen flat. The speech is an indication of the same faintness of spirit, the same cringing servility and the same partiality. Even our Moderate friends must have been disappointed after reading the above speech. A nation claims its rights and not prays for their grant.]

Comments on the proposed conferment of the freedom of London on the Honourable Mr. Sastri.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 17th July.

*13. "A Reuter's telegram conveys the news that the London Municipality has resolved to confer the freedom of that city on Mr. Sastri and the Maharao of Cutch, the Indian delegates to the Imperial Cabinet. The Maharao, of course, is not expected to decline anything, but we think that, after the miscarriage of his resolution about the status of Indians in the Imperial Cabinet, Mr. Sastri cannot gracefully accept any personal distinction which masks the grim fact that his plea on behalf of his countrymen for civilised treatment in the British colonies has been rejected. It is clear from the language which Mr. Sastri used in his resolution that he regarded it as embodying the purport of his mission in the Imperial Cabinet, and it is hardly seemly that a public man sent on a national mission should accept a personal compliment when that mission remains unaccomplished."

The Irish peace negotiations.
Kesari (111), 12th July.

14. Commenting upon the Irish peace pourparlers, the *Kesari* writes:—We are glad the efforts of General Smuts promise to be successful. We agree with the General that the attainment of *swarájya* of her choice by Ireland will remove an ugly stain attaching to the British Empire. What was achieved in South Africa could certainly have been achieved in Ireland long ago. Why cannot India be made similarly satisfied? The answer to this simple question is equally simple. England's self-interest does not allow her to do justice to India. No one can help it if she wants to convert India into another Ireland.

Condemnation of complaints regarding the hovering of an aeroplane over the Sikh Darbar at Amritsar.
Sind Vasi (167), 5th July.

15. Some headstrong and unreasonable men have commented adversely in connection with an aeroplane being seen at Amritsar over the Sikh Darbar and thereby caused a flutter in the hearts of many. An aeroplane hovering over the Darbar and *goras* (Malechs) sitting in it! What a sacrilege! Verily they must have boots on too! They might have smoked also! What a great pity! And what a disrespect for the Darbar Sahib and the Sikh Panth that not the boots only must hang over the Darbar but that tobacco also must be smoked over it! We are sorely disappointed to read this sort of comment. Veracity has taken to its heels. Nobility of mind has departed and reason has bade good bye! Those who have commented in the above fashion are either donkeys or without faith, or have taken leave of their senses. Or, they are only too ready to adopt any means to bring the Government into disrepute. Every one knows that there are aeroplanes in all towns which go round every corner. It must not be forgotten that the aeroplanes rise to a height of 2 or 3 thousand feet. And is it possible for them to avoid passing over temples and mosques? And if they soared over such a height what harm is there? It isn't that the aeroplanes hovered particularly over Amritsar, nor was the aeroplane soaring only for the purpose of having a view of the Darbar. If the boots were worn one or two thousand feet above the Darbar level and the Darbar is desecrated thereby, then in fact no one should pass by a mandir or a mosque with shoes on. If that were done then all should have to go about barefooted because forsooth there are temples, mosques and churches all around. The same remarks apply with regard to smoking. Some critics have so far departed from truth-telling that they have invented their own tales. One Sikh paper only surmised that cigarettes might have been smoked also. This was

magnified by a non-co-operator paper into cigarettes having been actually smoked. Verily that which deviates one from the path of truth is not true patriotism!

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the United Provinces Liberal Association.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 12th July, Eng. cols.

16. "It is a speech after reading which we are more than ever convinced that the Viceroy means well but that the proverbially slow mills of the Government do not permit him to accelerate the speed of the wheels. But by expressing this opinion we do not wish it to be inferred that we whole-heartedly subscribe to all the statements of the Viceroy.......... With all the emphasis at our command we beg to point out that Indians—who have the most forgiving nature in the world—are ever ready to differentiate between purity of motives and honesty of purpose, and actions of the officials actuated, so to say, by malice prepense. It is actions which come within the latter category which, in reality, are unpardonable and which under no circumstance should be condoned or glossed over. The action of the officials implicated in the Punjáb tragedy comes within the latter heading and that is why the Indians have declined and still do decline, to excuse the crimes of the criminals who were directly or indirectly involved in the tragedy. It is an insult to Indian intelligence to infer or to make them infer that actions of your Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Dyer, Bosworth Smith, Johnson and others were actuated by motives which were 'pure and sincere'. Lord Reading perhaps does not know, but the fact that makes the crime more heinous is that the Government of India knew that a foul crime was committed and yet they did their best to shield the underlings. A little timely honesty, a little fair play and a little sympathy expressed by Lord Chelmsford, would at once have gone a long way to assuage the poignancy of the wound. Instead of that the Government was callously indifferent and the Home Member openly doubted the veracity of Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya when he pointed out that on irrefutable evidence he was prepared to prove that the number of victims of the tragedy far exceeded the official record.......... It is the blackest chapter in the history of British Administration in India and if even after two years Indians clamour for real justice and punishment of the criminals, it must be remembered that never in the past did the iron penetrate India's soul so deeply as it did during the period of this tragic episode. Lord Reading further added, 'I shall only add that we must use the past to gather wisdom to guide us in the present and the future and to help us to a closer and more sympathetic understanding of each other.' Again we say that this is an unexceptional statement, but did the Government of Lord Chelmsford during the past two years avail themselves of a single opportunity 'to gather wisdom' from their past mistakes and do a single action which might be construed to have been actuated by a more sympathetic understanding of the Indians? We observe a slight petulance on his lordship's part when he took to task the members of the deputation for once again harping on the tragedy. Who is to be blamed, my lord, if the sore is still kept open and the wound not allowed to heal?......... We can forget and forgive many things but we cannot forget all this, without being untrue to the memory of the victims."

Young India (12), 13th July.

17. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the Liberal League Deputation from the United Provinces delivered an address which was more cautious than his reply to the Ahmadiyya Deputation. Nevertheless, it is necessary to remind His Excellency that in it he has asked India to do the impossible. Liberals and Nationalists, co-operators and non-co-operators, Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Jains, Parsis, Christians, Jews and all who call themselves Indians insist, each in his own way, upon the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs being righted. His Excellency is still pressing the Khilafat claim. That is hopeful, in that he does not ask the Mussalmans of India and their Hindu and other countrymen to forget the Khilafat wrong. But he clearly asks us to forget the Punjáb wrong. The task is as impossible as it would be for a

physician to make a patient forget—except under the temporary influence of some stupefying drug—his painful disease. The Punjáb wrong is like a running sore, and even as a running sore cannot be healed unless the whole of the poison is removed, so can the Punjáb wrong not be forgotten and forgiven, unless and until the poison in the shape of pensions to and continued employment of unrepentant and faithless servants has been removed. Does Lord Reading imagine that India is reconciled to the translation of Mr. Thomson to a higher post? He asks us to give him and his Government credit for sincerity and honesty of purpose. He may have that credit, but there arises immediately upon the grant of that credit the belief, that there is a fundamental difference between the Government's and the people's outlook upon vital matters. And so long as Lord Reading and his Government continue, be it ever so sincerely, to ask India to be reconciled to the retention on the pension list or on the service list of the names of those, who have from an Indian standpoint proved unworthy of the trust imposed in them, so long there can be no meeting-ground between the Government and the people. If we have even a semblance of responsibility given to us, surely we must have the right to dismiss from service those who have atrociously wronged us. To me it is a supreme test of responsibility—the righting of the two wrongs. The injustice of the Khilafat wrong is admitted. The atrocity in the Punjáb is written in letters of blood. We admit that we did wrong in Amritsar, in Kasur, in Jallianwala and in Gujranwala. We have been made to pay for it heavily. We have been humiliated, kicked. Both the innocent and the guilty have been hanged. We have ourselves made a frank, free and open confession from many a platform. We ask for no humiliation of official wrong-doers. All we ask is, that they may not be imposed upon us as masters.......... Hundreds, if not thousands, of Englishmen and Englishwomen consider Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer as saviours of the Empire and the honour of their kind. It is highly likely, that if I were an Englishman intent upon holding India at any cost, I would feel even as they. But I hold, that so long as that attitude is retained, so long must co-operation between the Government and the people be impossible. Non-co-operation alone can open the eyes of Englishmen to the fact that co-operation with them in the government of the country involves an acceptance of their attitude. But it is inconsistent with their position as friends and associates. They may not remain in India on the strength of their bayonets. They can remain only on the strength of our goodwill. That and that alone must be the binding force between them and us. Let them not mock us by professing equality on the lips and by maintaining behind their entrenchments an unassailable superiority. As a shrewd man of the world, Lord Reading, I hope, will soon recognise the impossibility of reconciling two opposite attitudes. Had there been a middle course, non-co-operators would have adopted it long ago. It is not a question of hatred or ill-will on the part of the vast mass of people. I invite him to drive the probe deep enough, and he would find that weak as we are, we can no longer tolerate the cult of white superiority. Lip professions, well meaning and sincere though they may be, can serve no useful purpose. We are idolatrous enough to demand ocular proof of equality. Does he not see, that the existence of white soldiers may be a necessity for the safety of Englishmen, never for the safety of the Indian Border? Englishmen must be prepared to live in India precisely on the same terms as the Parsis. A mere handful of the latter have remained for the last thousand years as honoured friends and partners. They have needed no special protection, no fort to retire to in times of danger from enraged Hindus or Mussalmans. Have not the followers of Moses and Jesus the faith of those of Zoroaster? The plain fact is, that Englishmen are not prepared to remain in India on the sufferance of the millions of Hindus and Mussalmans. The latter are not prepared to give the former any advantageous position by reason of their controlling all the most destructive appliances that human ingenuity has ever invented. There is no choice before the latter but that of making a supreme effort to neutralise the effect of all those appliances by ceasing to fear them, *i. e.*, by non-resistance. This may all appear to be arrogant or visionary. I hope, however, that Lord

Reading at any rate will soon find that I have spoken the real mind of India. And the sooner this fundmental truth is realised, the sooner will there be real hearty co-operation between Englishmen and Indians. I am longing for such co-operation, and it is this very longing which deters me from accepting any apology, no matter how tempting, for co-operation."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th July.

18. "Referring to the demand, voiced by the United Provinces Liberal Association, that Indians should be allowed to participate in an adequate manner in the defence of their country, the Viceroy is reported to have stated that the rules under the Territorial Force Act are about to be published in their final form and that steps are being taken to constitute a number of Territorial infantry battalions. Lord Reading further observed, 'the response that is made to the appeal for recruits for this Territorial Force will be the measure of the genuineness of the demand to which you refer.' Taking this remark as its text, our local morning contemporary reads a homily to our 'Liberal' friends.......... But may we humbly protest to both Lord Reading and our contemporary that the conditions of the test proposed are far from fair. If the 'experiment' during the war proved a 'failure,' there was very good reason for it, and if it again proves a 'failure,' there will be very good reasons for that too; but Indians will refuse to be held responsible for all such 'failures'. Why did the last experiment fail? It failed because of the humiliating inequalities in the matter of allowances, status and so on, based on racial distinctions, that existed between the Indian and European sections of the Defence Force. If the same inequalities are to be perpetuated in the rules which are to be promulgated shortly, in connection with the Territorial Force, we promise both Lord Reading and our contemporary that the fresh 'experiment' will be not only a failure, but even a greater failure than the last one."

Mahrátta (7), 17th July.

***19.** "The Liberals of the U. P. went a long way, if not out of their way, to Simla to present the Viceroy with a belated address of welcome. We cannot know the exact motives which actuated them to approach the great Olympian god living in the clouds but the motives can be well seen as they float on the surface. The U. P. Liberals desired to parade before the Viceroy their sense of co-operation as against the whole country and they did it well, and the leaders will soon get their rewards. Secondly, they expected to take the wind out of the sails of the non-co-operators by referring to the very questions which were the root cause of their present attitude. Had the Viceroy given even apparent ground for satisfaction, the Liberals would have gone from one end of the country to the other applauding to the skies the virtues of the new Reforms and the new Viceroy. But the Viceroy gave them indeed a slap against the face by refusing to give any definite reply and further by giving them a sharp rebuke and boxing their ears for referring to those questions. We pity the lot of these invertebrate Liberals who have neither the strength and courage of the non-co-operators nor the supine servility of the born slaves. They are between the two fires and sure they deserve no other fate. The U. P. Liberals laid right emphasis on the Punjáb tragedy.......... The Viceroy in his reply evaded the real issue between the bureaucracy and the people, namely, the complete satisfaction of the Punjáb wrongs and the vindication of India's self-respect. The Viceroy repeated the stale platitudes of the bureaucracy parrot-like and exhorted the Liberals and through them the whole country to forget and forgive and let bygones be bygones and he missed the real point there. A more exalted personality than even Lord Reading himself, the Duke of Connaught had said the same thing in a better vein but even the U. P. Liberals were not satisfied with it. They voiced the feelings of India when they refused to accept the appeal as righting of the wrongs or vindication of national self-respect. India demands two things in clear terms. They demand the punishment of the offenders and a guarantee of the same not having a chance of being repeated, by the immediate grant of *swarájya*. These are the points involving national honour and prestige and in spite of hundreds of such appeals the country will insist upon full satisfaction of these demands. The Viceroy may lay unction to his soul of doing justice by being engaged in the examination of the cases of persons still imprisoned, and if even the co-operative Liberals are satisfied with these vague and windy nothings, we shall at least feel that human nature in India has fallen to a lower peg and is more squalid than elsewhere......... In order to give a sop to the Liberals the Viceroy indulged in many vague promises which could mean nothing till they are materialised.......... The Liberals after the first flush of tinsel of authority are returning, it seems, to senses. In their address they referred to many other important questions which demand immediate solution, including the question of Khilafat, but the Viceroy did not commit himself to anything and covered his evasion under the specious plea of being unacquainted with them during so short a time that he is here in India."

Servant of India (9), 14th July.

20. "The Viceroy almost rebuked the deputation for referring to the events in the Punjáb in the way they did. They had said, 'the people of India have yet to receive complete satisfaction for the wrong done to them and that the self-respect of India yet remains to vindicate in full measure.' We entirely agree with this sentiment; that has always been our view. The Viceroy accuses those who demand adequate amends to be made of 'keeping alive the mistakes and errors of the past,' and of acting contrary to the royal appeal to forgive and forget by 'reviving this unhappy chapter of our history.' On the contrary, we seek help to enable the people 'to regard this chapter as closed,' by awarding condign punishment to those who are proved to have been guilty of inhuman conduct. We have no desire to belittle what the Government have already done. Expressions of regret there have been; but it is impossible not to notice the contrast between the disapproval of the excesses committed by the mob on the one hand and by Government's officers on the other—the downright condemnation of the former and the tepid and qualified censure of the latter......... The fact remains that the iron has entered into the soul of Indians, as Dr. Sapru so well put it, and it is not too much to ask that Government should punish the offending officials in a suitable manner. We fully recognise that Lord Chelmsford's Government by their culpable inaction in this matter has placed the new Viceroy in a difficult situation, but, as a mark of sympathy with the feelings of Indians, he can at least do this—he can remove those officials who have been implicated in this unholy affair from the scene of their operations; let the Punjáb at any rate have the last of them.......... The Viceroy's reply in regard to the threatened increase in the emoluments of the imperial services is highly unsatisfactory, but we are glad he took occasion to refer, in a way which is hopeful, to a matter of very great importance—the abrogation of laws which discriminate between Indians and Europeans."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 17th July.

***21.** "We must say that we fail to see in Lord Reading's attitude an adequate appreciation of the sense of moral wrong which the Punjáb excesses have created in the Indian mind. The translation of one of the principal instruments of the high-handed policy which culminated in these excesses to a position in the Foreign Office, can only mean that in Lord Reading's view there was nothing in the wrong-doing which touched the roots of character. Indians, on the other hand, firmly believe the contrary. No settlement of the question will be satisfactory which does not recognise this central fact. The Punjáb excesses were deliberately inflicted with a view to humiliate Indians as a race and nation. No man who had anything to do with them has a right to a place in a Government of India which acknowledges, as it now does, that this was the case."

New Times (8), 9th July.

22. "His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Liberal League, United Provinces, covers a pretty wide ground. Its general tone is conciliatory; but in its reading of the situation it is, in several respects, disappointing. Its reference to the 'far-reaching recommendations of the Press Act' which, we are told, will be published in a day or two, is, let us hope, a hint that the Press Act is going to be abolished......... 'Even-handed justice, the

Viceroy urges, is his 'Government's earnest desire and determination'. The country will test this by actual conduct not well-phrased sentiments, of the administration. As it is, as the Viceroy himself confesses, 'incidents happen at times which are quite unjustifiable and rouse the indignation that always follows upon injustice'.......... The country does not share His Excellency's optimism that such incidents 'tend daily to disappear.' Let the reader recall the treatment, for instance, accorded by some officials to some of the non-co-operators in this 'benighted' official-ridden Province. Lord Reading has a strong will; if he can impress it upon the Administration and really secure justice to India, he will help at once this country and England; if the system proves too strong for him, he will fail as his predecessors have done. And then? Then India may become another Ireland. For, in its last analysis, India's demand is really one for justice.......... Justice, sympathy, equality and freedom, of these four, India's demand is essentially for justice. A strong nation does not ask for 'sympathy'; and India will only weaken herself further by a longing for 'sympathy' at the hands of others. Not 'sympathy' but 'justice' is her plea. For, to do justice to her would be to secure 'equality' and 'freedom'; home-rule is her birthright; and in recognising her claim to *swarâj*, you only do justice to her.......... The Viceroy has said repeatedly that his ideal is justice; but he betrays a different attitude of mind when he says that India's 'advance must depend on the co-operation' which the Government would receive from the people 'upon whom' the Reforms 'have been conferred' and by the extent to which 'it is formed' by Government 'that the confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility'! This is as much as to say:—Indians! We have done a favour to you by giving you 'reforms'; if you want more favours, let us be satisfied that you behave better! When did a nation gain anything real by 'favours'? And when did a Government do justice when its dominant consciousness was that of 'conferring' favours upon the people? No; there is something patronising, something egoistic, something arrogant in this talk of doing 'justice' to India. To do real justice to the people is to say frankly:—We recognise your claim to *swarâj*; freedom is your birthright. Say what His Excellency will, the verdict of India is clear: not until India is free will justice have been done to her."

Swarâjya (145), 14th July.

23. The Viceroy asks the people to forget the past in view of Government's repeated expressions of regret. We do not attach much value to his advice. His Excellency wants the events in the Punjáb to be remembered only in so far as they would be a guide for the future to everyone concerned. But have the officials profited by their experience? Does the frequent firing upon the unarmed and innocent people show that the authorities have become wiser after their experience in the Punjáb? They ask the people to condone their mistakes, but do they adopt that course themselves when the people are in the wrong? [The paper next tells the Viceroy that he cannot plead for long that he has not been long enough in the country to be able to devise measures calculated to give satisfaction to the people. It tells him that the people, excepting the few Moderates, have lost all patience and are trying to bring about their own salvation.]

Karnâtak Vaibhav (83), 12th July.

24. Lord Reading no doubt silenced the Moderates by showering upon them quite a flood of sympathetic words. We do not know whether the Moderates were satisfied; but in any case India is not the land of Moderates. They are merely a handful in a population of 33 crores and their dissatisfaction would matter just as little as their satisfaction. But what message has Lord Reading to offer to a non-co-operating India which, having despaired of getting justice at the hands of Government, has resorted to a new path. Perhaps His Excellency will say that only three months have passed since his arrival in this country and that his task is, therefore, difficult. But India cannot wait until His Excellency's task becomes easy. He ought to have thought about his fitness before taking up the responsibilities of the administration.

He cannot shirk his responsibilities on the score of ignorance. If he was ignorant of his responsibilities he might just as well have remained at home. Did Lord Reading come to India to repeat, like a parrot, all the sweet words taught to him by the bureaucracy? How can justice be expected from a judge who sides openly with the bureaucracy and merely acts as their mouthpiece? It would be far better if this Viceroy, who is powerless to do any good to India, returns to his native country. Let us see if Lord Reading will be good enough to confer this favour upon us.

Sind Observer (10), 9th July.

25. "The Viceroy's reply is not only very sympathetic but statesmanlike and it shows that he has grasped the Indian problem and is anxious to do his best to satisfy legitimate Indian aspirations. People who are crying aloud that within three months His Excellency has not wrought miracles will do well to keep their souls in patience. He is the head of a Government which has hitherto governed autocratically without being influenced by public opinion in an appreciable degree. The process of democratisation is not an easy feat and the Viceroy has not Alladin's lamp in his hand to say 'let there be *swardj*': and there is *swardj* in the twinkling of an eye. No Viceroy will ever succeed if he does not carry the good opinion of Englishmen in India with him and it is well-known they are a very conservative set of people. No Viceroy also will ever succeed if he does not satisfy reasonable Indian opinion and becomes a part of the huge bureaucratic machine.......... His Excellency has begun very well and there are signs he will persist in his course of making the British connection more acceptable to Indians and will also earn the thanks of moderate Europeans for broad-basing British rule on the affections of the people. His Excellency wants time and we do not think they are the friends of the country who every moment threaten him with pestilential agitation, civil disobedience, proclamations of Indian republic and so on.......... Let Lord Reading steadfastly pursue the path which he has chalked out for himself not taking much notice of the gusts of wind that blow and we are sure his reward will be magnificent.......... We want to tell the Viceroy that the difficulties though formidable are not unconquerable. Nobody wants a severance of the British connection here as in Ireland or Egypt. The country has not reached the stage of Ireland. It will not reach that stage in the hands of a statesmanlike Viceroy.......... What India is in need of to-day is the vision of statesmanship. We will credit Lord Reading with vision. That vision must prevent India from turning as bitter as Ireland. Belated reforms, half-hearted concessions and muddling through must be avoided."

Hindusthán (20), 12th July; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 12th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 12th July.

26. The speech made by His Excellency Lord Reading in reply to the address of the United Provinces Liberal Association affords proof positive that he has fallen completely under the influence of the bureaucracy. It is the most disappointing speech he has made since his arrival in India. The Indian people are of the opinion that mere expression of regret on the part of Government for the Punjáb atrocities does not satisfy the requirements of British justice. Could not Government stop the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer and dismiss Bosworth Smith to prove their sincerity? Lord Reading has said nothing new about the Khilafat question. Does His Excellency consider it just to pay inordinately high salaries to the members of the Indian Civil Service and to starve the poor tax-payers? The speech has given rise to disappointment in the hearts of the Indian people and they have begun to lose faith in him. Should Lord Reading fall a victim to the bureaucracy, the smouldering fire of discontent in the country will surely take a serious turn. [The *Bombay Samáchár* also considers the Viceroy's speech as disappointing on the whole and expresses fear that he will fail in his mission of giving justice to India if he is induced to attach undue importance to prestige. The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, on the other hand, considers the speech as instinct with sympathy and sincerity and commends it to the careful consideration of the Indian people.]

Mr. Gandhi's propaganda to boycott foreign cloth.

Bharatwási (155), 9th July.

27. Mahátma Gandhi has issued his boycott manifesto. Before August 1st, all foreign goods are to be boycotted. Evidently the collection of a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaráj Fund has led Mr. Gandhi to think that Indians are now ready for this sacrifice. Now, while we are very glad at this large collection having been made in so short a time, we cannot help saying that in directing the boycott of foreign goods the Mahátma is really expecting too much. A crore from the whole of India is after all not very much, considering the efforts that were made to secure it. India is not unfamiliar with public donations of lakhs of rupees from individuals like Rash Behari Ghose, Palit and Jamnadas. Nor is it that she has never before this seen large collections of public subscriptions. Pandit Madán Mohan Malaviya had collected 90 lakhs for his Hindu University. The Mahátma ought to see how his other far easier items of non-co-operation have succeeded, before putting before the people this new item, a hundred times more difficult than the others. We consider it is the duty of every Indian to popularize the use of Swadeshi articles. Boycott also is a lawful weapon. But we certainly object to the methods proposed by the Mahátma to effect a complete boycott of foreign articles. Moreover, the period prescribed for its completion is too short. Such a difficult task will require lot of time and patience. Hence some serious consequences are bound to follow if matters are unnecessarily hurried.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 10th July.

28. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* characterises the proposal of Mr. Gandhi to burn foreign cloth as unwise. The paper remarks that the boycott movement does not mean that we should cut our throats with our own hands. It, however, advises the Musalmans not to have anything to do either with *swarájya* or Tilak, but to sacrifice their lives, property and children for the cause of the Khilafat. It adds that if the Khilafat remains intact, then *swarájya* will come of itself. The paper remarks that without the Khilafat the Musalmans will not care for the soverignty even of the whole world. It exhorts the Musalmans to turn to God and place their sole trust in him. It asserts that it is a mistake to suppose that by the attainment of *swarájya* all their difficulties will be solved.

Sind Observer (10), 11th July.

29. "According to Mr. Gandhi the boycott of foreign cloth is to be completed by the 1st of August.......... Can there be an effective boycott and that within 20 days? The probabilities are there cannot be. Some hard-headed Madras businessmen, who deal in foreign cloth (and Madras has to clothe 40 millions of people), have declared there will be a temporary suspension of demand but normal conditions will be restored again. At Calcutta all boys came out of the schools and colleges and when they found there were not sufficient national schools to receive them had to go back to their old schools. Similarly people will find there is not enough *khadi* or even Bombay mill-made cloth to clothe them and perforce will be forced to go in for *videshi* cloth in spite of their enthusiasm for Swadeshi. As to picketing it is one thing to picket liquor-shops and another thing to picket foreign cloth shops. The public have sympathy with those who picket liquor-shops; they cannot have sympathy with those who picket cloth shops; and public opinion counts for everything in the matter......... The boycott of foreign cloth will only prove successful if there is an entire revolution in the tastes of men, women and children and every one takes the vow of Swadeshi. Can such a revolution be expected in 20 days? Suppose the large importers of foreign cloth, the forty and odd merchants of Bombay, and of Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, Karáchi and Amritsar take the vow of Swadeshi. There will be others ready to take their place because the business is profitable......... Let the consumer take things into his own hand and refuse to buy foreign cloth, the distributing agencies will be compelled to adopt the Swadeshi line. Preaching of Swadeshi and an abundant supply of indigenous cloth will achieve more than picketing and boycott. The big importing houses cannot be picketed because they do not sell retail, in the same way that the wholesale importers of wines are not touched by the present picketing. A negative programme is not at all wanted. It is the positive programme of more abundant and finer cloth that the country is in need of. It is not difficult to import Japanese and Manchester *khadi* cloth and palm it off as Swadeshi. It is not difficult to put Swadeshi stamps on *videshi* cloth. This sort of fraud has thriven in the past and will thrive now. It will, therefore, become necessary to start genuine Swadeshi stores to sell Swadeshi cloth. Take the case of the city of Bombay. It has to clothe about a million people. There are a few thousands of foreign cloth shops there, and the genuine Swadeshi shops may be, at the highest computation, a hundred. The thousands of foreign cloth dealers finding it is profitable, will sell foreign *khadi* and palm it off as Swadeshi. Confusion will then become worse confounded. And people will then begin to suspect even the home-spun article. Let us give up this fruitless boycott; and produce more Swadeshi cloth, therein lies the way to our economic salvation.......... His fear is boycott will fail and will cause trouble within and without the country."

Gujaráti (15), 17th July, Eng. cols.

***30.** "The merchants who deal in cloth, says Mr. Gandhi, are prepared to give up trading in foreign cloth if only they could be assured that mill-owners will disregard the law of supply and demand and consider it their duty not to raise the prices. We are not told how European and Japanese houses are to be prevented from dumping down cheap textile fabrics upon the country and thus defeating his movement. Just as Mr. Gandhi has laid down certain impossible or impracticable suggestions for the attainment of *swarájya* in September next, the clever and shrewd dealers in foreign cloth seem to have imposed an impossible or impracticable condition and thus put off Mr. Gandhi. Acting upon their suggestion he has approached the mill-owners with a view to obtain an assurance from them not to raise prices in case an embargo is laid by him upon dealings in foreign cloth. What Mr. Gandhi has throughout his agitation failed to bear in mind is that he is dealing not with a village or a town or a city or even a South Africa, but with a vast country, almost a continent, and with millions of people. He has never fully realised what that means for his movement, projects and ideals. He seems to imagine that the Indian problem with its immense diversity and Himalayan magnitude can be treated and solved with success on lines similar to those he followed in South Africa. There is a fundamental misconception here on his part which has all along prevented him from realising vividly the gravity and immensity of the task he has taken in hand. We are all for Swadeshi, not only for Swadeshi cloth, but for all other Swadeshi articles, and also for Swadeshi doctors, Swadeshi engineers, Swadeshi experts, in fact every thing Swadeshi in all the departments of national life. But the question is how this and other objects in view can be accomplished and in what period of time. It is here that there arise radical differences of opinion between him and almost all the veteran leaders of India with a wider knowledge of the requirements and conditions of the country and a sounder grasp of the problems to which they give rise.......... The non-co-operation movement, as it is being preached and conducted, is a movement born of impatience and political inexperience and haste and is calculated to lead to economic waste."

Gujaráti (15), 10th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 11th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 11th July; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 13th July; *Bharat Seva* (14), 15th July.

31. After securing success in collecting a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaráj Fund, Mr. Gandhi has turned his attention to the boycott of foreign cloth. Boycott of foreign cloth was tried by the Bengalis at the time of the partition of Bengal and the movement met with failure. Mr. Gandhi is exhorting the people to take up the movement without loss of time; but the people cannot be expected to carry out his instructions without considering the *pros* and *cons* of the question. Mr. Gandhi has induced a few merchants to take a vow about not importing foreign cloth, but it is to be seen how far they succeed in observing it. These merchants will not directly import foreign cloth; but it is open to them to import it through the companies that do not bear their names or through their relatives. It is well and good to indulge in talk about the boycott of foreign cloth; but have we arrived at a stage when we can produce sufficient *khadi* to clothe the people of this country? Are we prepared to go naked by boycotting foreign cloth? The mill-owners and cloth merchants of Bombay have not given much encouragement to Mr. Gandhi in their recent interview with him. Why should foreign cloth not be given to the needy, instead of being burnt? [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* considers it very arbitrary and high-handed on the part of Mr. Gandhi to issue his mandates without consulting the people and remarks:—Almost all the cloth merchants have refused to boycott foreign cloth. In our opinion it is not possible to boycott foreign cloth unless we are in a position to manufacture cloth of similar quality. Mr. Gandhi is opposed to the establishment of more mills in this country and considers the spinning-wheel as the saviour of India! We do not think that there could be any more foolish idea. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is of the opinion that the boycott movement will disturb the peace of the country and ultimately prove a failure. The *Bombay Samáchár* also disapproves of the movement and believes that it will end in a fiasco. The *Bharat Seva* also believes that the boycott movement is doomed to ignominious failure and remarks:—To introduce picketing in each and every movement is tantamount to introducing Bolshevism in the country. In such movements the popular conscience has to be smothered in obedience to the wishes of Mr. Gandhi who threatens to be a bureaucrat himself in his agitation against the present bureaucratic administration.]

***32.** "The movement of boycott of foreign cloth has come at the most psychological moment. Minds of Indian people are douched by non-co-operation. They have been prepared for any and every sacrifice.......... The mental state of India is quite propitious for the boycott of other foreign things also, but for the sake of concentration of efforts only cloth has been selected and it is to be completely boycotted, so much so that not an inch of foreign cloth finds entry into India by the end of July. By collecting a crore of rupees within the fixed period the people have measured their capacity. We have not the least doubt that the proposed boycott of foreign cloth will be effected quite thoroughly, and people will vindicate their right to *swarájya*. Self-dependence is essential for *swarájya* and it must be attained in every department of human life as completely as possible. We earnestly hope that the various appeals of Mahatma Gandhi will arrest the serious attention of all people. They constitute the gospel of the boycott programme and we are sure, if people carry out these appeals in letter and in spirit, our aim will be more than achieved. Really speaking, this boycott of foreign cloth ought to supply no ground for objection to any Indian who wishes in earnest for the good of his mother-country. The very idea of spoon-feeding must be insupportable to a patriotic Indian. But the misfortune of India is that there are certain people who, from habitual dependence on others, are of the mind that total boycott of foreign cloth is impracticable; others say it is undesirable; still others proclaim it foolish and so on. Our firm belief is that it is neither of these. Why should it be impracticable? Did Indians go without cloth before the advent of the British? Can India not do what she did years back? Our answer is an emphatic 'yes.' We are conscious that there will be a big gap between the supply of cloth from Indian mills and the demand from Indian people. But the gap is to be made up by hand-looms and *charkas*. In course of time mills will be reared up and supply and demand will meet each other. Another objection is that the boycott is undesirable. The objection comes from interested quarters. But we think that there is a misconception regarding the movement in the minds of those who put forth such an objection. Is it undesirable because it diverts the stream of money from the pockets of mill-owners? On deeper consideration it will be found to be otherwise. It is also alleged that, as a result of the boycott, poor people will be the harder hit. But we think not. The twin movement of Swadeshi and boycott is in essence a plebeian movement. It is aimed not at acting unfavourably on mill-owners and merchant-kings, nor at worsening the already much too abject state of the masses in general. It has a higher and a more noble purpose to serve and when that is fully served, both classes will be basking in the sunshine of success."

Mahrátta (7), 17th July.

Hindu (158), 7th July.

33. Apropos of the movement for the boycott of foreign cloth, the *Hindu* writes :—The nation has creditably passed its first test of the Bezwada programme. Now begins the second step, namely, the boycott of foreign cloth. Mahatma Gandhi desires that there should be a complete boycott of foreign cloth before 1st August next, the anniversary day of Lokamanya Tilak's death, which, he writes, can be most fittingly celebrated by showing that India has stopped the import of all foreign cloth. Let us see how the country is going to acquit itself this time. India's poverty is due to foreign cloth. India's industries have been killed by foreign cloth. India's attainment of *swarâj* has been delayed by foreign cloth. India's destiny took the wrong turn when the import of foreign cloth began, and India's destiny will take the right turn only after its import ceases. Moderates and Extremists, Non-co-operators and Co-operators are all agreed on this point. It was the boycott of foreign cloth which unsettled the 'settled fact' of the Partition of Bengal. It was the boycott of foreign cloth which liberated Italy. Shall not Indians do the same for *swarâj* ? Lokamanya Tilak used always to say that the English, being a commercial race, will never listen to India until their pockets are touched. We must, therefore, boycott foreign cloth. No sacrifice is involved in it. We have simply to will it, and it will be done. Let every Indian swear that he shall not buy foreign cloth any longer. This will automatically stop its import, and carry us nearer our goal of *swarâj*.

Kesari (111), 12th July.

34. Mahâtma Gandhi has now turned his attention to the boycott of foreign cloth. The Mahârâshtra has always been in favour of such a boycott and it is glad to find that Mahâtma Gandhi himself has now become a confirmed boycotter. The Mahâtma never told us that the collection of a crore of rupees would enable us to attain *swarâjya* nor does he tell us now that the adoption of swadeshi is in itself capable of taking us to our goal. Several batteries will have to be brought into requisition to demolish the bureaucratic fortress and the collection of the crore-fund and the boycott of foreign cloth are two of these batteries. The boycott movement will be successful if the merchants and the mill-owners help it. The merchants should not import foreign cloth any more and the mill-owners should not unduly inflate the prices of their goods. If they give an undertaking to this effect the people also will not fail to respond whole-heartedly.

Model (26), 10th July; *Hind Mitra* (18), 10th July; *Gramya Swarâjya* (63), 12th July; *Hind Vijaya* (65), 13th July; *Gujarâti Punch* (17), 10th July.

35. It is the sacred duty of every son and daughter of India to carry out the instructions issued by Mr. Gandhi in the matter of boycotting foreign cloth from the 1st of August. This second stage on the path of *swarâj* does not require any self-sacrifice on the part of the people and merely expects them to be dressed in cloth of indigenous manufacture. We pray that the Swadeshi movement may achieve success and may lead to our being freed from foreign domination and bring about the regeneration of our indigenous industries. [The *Hind Mitra* writes :—We hope all men and women in India will readily respond to the appeal made by Mr. Gandhi to boycott foreign cloth and to be dressed in *khadi* cloth from the 1st of August. The boycott movement will enable India to save sixty crores of rupees every year and eventually secure justice for India through Parliament owing to the clamours of Manchester. The *Gramya Swarâjya* writes :—Many cloth merchants of the Mulji Jetha Market (Bombay) have given a promise to Mr. Gandhi not to import foreign cloth, and we hope other merchants will soon join the movement. Let us hope the cloth merchants will join the movement of their own accord and will not make Mr. Gandhi to institute picketing near their shops. The *Hind Vijaya* also appeals to the people to respond to the appeal made by Mr. Gandhi for boycotting foreign cloth. The *Gujarâti Punch* writes :—We are afraid the suggestion about burning foreign cloth and instituting picketing near cloth shops will not meet with universal approval. However, we believe that a vow not to deal in foreign cloth and not to use it on the part of the people will conduce to the success of the movement. Volunteers should be sent round to induce people to sign the pledge of Swadeshi. We do not think that the methods suggested by Mr. Gandhi to the mill-owners for the encouragement of Swadeshi can ever be construed as improper or unlawful. People are moved by a new spirit and care must be taken not to allow it run into the channels of hate or disorder. The people have shown the stuff they are made of by subscribing to the Tilak Swaráj Fund and let us hope that they will be equally successful in the movement for boycotting foreign cloth.]

Comments on the collection of one crore of rupees for the Tilak Swarájya Fund.

Hindi Punch (19), 10th July, Eng. cols.

36. "Corporator Faineant" writes in the *Hindi Punch*:—"The Tilak Swarájya Fund has gone up to one crore and eight lakhs. That's a personal triumph of Mahatma Gandhi. I wish my Anglo-Indian brethren of the Press did not try to belittle it or draw unsavoury conclusions from it. If they had faced the fact honestly it would have redounded to their credit. But the carping criticisms or dishonest deductions drawn from the fact only go to show the utter chagrin they feel at the achievement of what they and others thought at one time an impossible feat for Mr. Gandhi. He has come out triumphant, and all his honest opponents, who differ widely from his views and from some of the ways and means of non-co-operation, acknowledge the fact. That does not mean that they are at one with Mr. Gandhi in his propaganda. I hate boycott of anything and anybody. But I and many honest opponents of Mr. Gandhi like myself are certainly at one in his campaign for the removal of untouchability and for the eradication of the drink evil, and they appreciate his labours to introduce the spinning-wheel in the poorest of families as a cottage industry that will bring them a few annas every day by which they may ward off their poverty and keep the wolf away from the door."

Gujaráti Punch (17), 10th July, Eng. cols.; *Arya Prakásh* (13), 10th July.

37. "To the surprise of believers and non-believers, advocates and opponents, the demand for a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaráj Fund which formed one of the chief planks of the Bezwada programme has been more than fully met and it has put non-co-operators in high glee. Consequently they talk and write as if they had achieved something unachievable.......... However, it is the triumph of a personality rather than of a cause—the cause of non-co-operation. If non-co-operation has resulted in one tangible thing, it is the creation of an amount of insincerity in the Indian political world never witnessed before in this country. .... A critical and unbiassed student of current politics, therefore, should not jump to the most apparent conclusion, for appearances are more often than not unreal, and as in everything else, so here also he should take into account the various factors that operate to produce a certain result, and if he were to do so, what will he find?......... The whole programme is a jumble of constructive and destructive items and either the one or the other must appeal to you. And underlying all that is the hatred of a cynical Government which must drag in the most recalcitrant. In these circumstances, it would have been a matter of humiliation if the fund had not been fully or over-subscribed. And yet what do we find in actual practice? After three months of strenuous labour the fund stood at a paltry 22 lakhs and it was only when the ascetic personality of a 'Mahatma' with its traditional charms for a spiritual race, had to exert itself personally night and day that the demand was met. The moral is obvious. It is the Mahatma, not non-co-operation that has commanded the crore; for the Mahatma to most of the subscribers is not non-co-operation. *Swarái*, whatever non-co-operators may say, is not a matter of rupees, annas and pies. If it were, *swaráj* for a crore or even for two would be the cheapest bargain in the world and India shall deserve all the obloquies and indignities that are to-day heaped upon her devoted head by her foreign mentors for not realising it earlier. However, the crore has its value and although it may not bring in *swaráj*, it will do much solid good to this country if it is utilized for such purposes as education, temperance, raising of the suppressed classes and Swadeshi. These are items on which there can be no two opinions.......... As for the rest, non-co-operation is a failure and the country must rely for the gratification of its higher political aspirations on other and more effective means." [The *Arya Prakásh* congratulates Mr. Gandhi on the success he has achieved in collecting over a crore of rupees for the Tilak Swaráj Fund.]

List of contributors to the Tilak Swaráj Fund shows that *swaráj* is the goal of every Indian.

Sind Vasi (167), 8th July.

38. The wealthy people inhabiting the various towns in India have, we find, contributed the most to the Tilak Swaráj Fund. The *Tribune* considers this a very important thing. The non-co-operation movement is doubtless leading us on to a revolution. But the rich classes never like revolutions, because they suffer the most from them. It is, therefore, very significant that the wealthy classes in India should be supporting a movement which is sure to bring on a revolution. To our mind, this is due to two reasons. One is the personality of Mahatma Gandhi. Even those that are against his movement have the greatest respect for him. Another is that *swaráj* is the goal of every Indian, and has been recognised to be India's birthright by even the King-Emperor. Hence the co-operators have also subscribed to the Swaráj Fund.

Exhortation to Indians to keep to their goal of *swaráj* and not to be deceived by the grant of reforms here and there.

Hindu (158), 9th July.

39. Whenever any Government finds it impossible to arrest the wave of liberty with repression, it makes a show of friendliness, and talks of conciliation. This is done with the object of diverting the people's mind from their goal. The history of the British rule in India affords an illustration of this statement. The first time when this double game of repression and reform was played was in 1857. The people were then absolutely dissatisfied with the rule of the East India Company. But their attempt to free themselves from its yoke was severely repressed, and resulted in the Mutiny, after which, however, the government of the country was taken over by Queen Victoria. Indians imagined that they had regained their freedom by this change; but they had simply forged new chains to replace the old ones. In course of time, however, they saw their mistake and started their agitation afresh. This was, as expected, followed by repression at first, and the Morley-Minto Refoms afterwards, in 1910. For a time again all was quiet in the country. Gradually, however, India found that she had been duped. So in 1916 a fresh agitation was started. As usual, this was met by arrests and internments. But when these had failed, Government made another attempt to conciliate Indians and divert their attention from their goal. Indians accepted the Government's advances as sincere and ceased their agitation. But the Rowlatt Act opened their eyes, and set them to agitate once again. Government met it with its old game of repression and reform. We had first the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy, imprisonments and other harsh measures. But when these had failed to arrest the onward march of liberty, we got the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which, we are sorry to say, diverted India's attention from her goal a third time. Now, however, with very few exceptions, Indians have come to realise the hollowness of all reforms and promises, and consider *swaráj* as their only salvation. But even now an attempt is being made to divert India from her goal of *swaráj* by proposing to repeal certain repressive laws, like the Press Act and the Rowlatt Act. Moreover, there are some people who expect some great boons from the Prince of Wales, who is shortly to visit this country. We, however, request our countrymen to keep their goal of *swaráj* steadily in view, and not to be deceived once again by the grant of some reforms here and there. Our salvation lies in *swaráj*. No sacrifice, therefore, should be considered too great for its attainment.

Clerks in Government offices and English firms should make it a point to wear Gandhi caps.

***Bombay Chronicle* (1), 16th July.**

40. Referring to the reported dismissal of an Indian employee of Messrs. Shaw Wallace and Company for wearing a Gandhi cap in office, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—"For Indians incidents like this can have only one meaning. We commend Mr. Kashalkar's example to clerks in every European firm and in all Government offices. Mahatma Gandhi has often emphasised that the wearing of *khaddar* has no political

meaning. But if a political interpretation is forced on it, the public ought to take up the challenge in right earnest. Mr. Kashalkar's brethren in the office of Messrs. Shaw and Wallace should make it a point to attend the office in *khaddar* caps, if they have any self-respect and any value of Mr. Kashalkar's brave conduct, and all those who do not wear *khaddar* for fear of being dismissed from their office must brave the risk and be free from the humiliation under which they labour."

Mr. Gandhi's second appeal to Englishmen in India.

Young India (12), 13th July.

41. In the course of a communication headed "To Every Englishman in India", Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I know that most of you detest non-co-operation. But I would invite you to isolate two of my activities from the rest, if you can give me credit for honesty. I cannot prove my honesty, if you do not feel it. Some of my Indian friends charge me with camouflage, when I say we need not hate Englishmen, whilst we may hate the system they have established. I am trying to show them that one may detest the wickedness of a brother without hating him.......... I have discovered that man is superior to the system he propounds. And so I feel that you as an individual are infinitely better than the system you have evolved as a corporation.......... Hence it is that an Englishman in office is different from an Englishman outside. Similarly an Englishman in India is different from an Englishman in England. Here in India you belong to a system that is vile beyond description. It is possible, therefore, for me to condemn the system in the strongest terms, without considering you to be bad and without imputing bad motives to every Englishman. You are as much slaves of the system as we are. I want you, therefore, to reciprocate, and not impute to me motives which you cannot read in the written word. I give you the whole of my motive when I tell you that I am impatient to end or mend a system which has made India subservient to a handful of you and which has made Englishmen feel secure only in the shadow of the forts and the guns that obtrude themselves on one's notice in India. It is a degrading spectacle for you and for us. Our corporate life is based on mutual distrust and fear. This, you will admit, is unmanly. A system that is responsible for such a state of things is necessarily satanic. You should be able to live in India as an integral part of its people and not always as foreign exploiters. One thousand Indian lives against one English life is a doctrine of dark despair, and yet, believe me, it was enunciated in 1919 by the highest of you in the land. I almost feel tempted to invite you to join me in destroying a system that has dragged both you and us down. But I feel I cannot as yet do so. We have not shown ourselves earnest, self-sacrificing and self-restrained enough for that consummation. But I do ask you to help us in the boycott of foreign cloth and in the anti-drink campaign. The Lancashire cloth, as English historians have shown, was forced upon India, and her own world-famed manufactures were deliberately and systematically ruined.......... A hundred and fifty years ago, we manufactured all our cloth.......... To-day our women have lost the cunning of their hands, and the enforced idleness of millions has impoverished the land. Many weavers have become sweepers. Some have taken to the profession of hired soldiers. Half the race of artistic weavers has died out, and the other half is weaving imported foreign yarn for want of finer hand spun yarn. You will perhaps now understand what boycott of foreign cloth means to India. It is not devised as a punishment. If the Government were to-day to redress the Khilafat and the Punjáb wrongs and consent to India attaining immediate *swarâj*, the boycott movement must still continue. *Swarâj* means at least the power to conserve Indian industries that are vital to the economic existence of the nation, and to prohibit such imports as may interfere with such existence. Agriculture and hand-spinning are the two lungs of the national body. They must be protected against consumption at any cost. This matter does not admit of any waiting. The interests of the foreign manufacturers and the Indian importers cannot be considered, when the whole nation is starving for want of a large productive occupation ancillary to agriculture. You will not mistake this for a movement of general boycott of foreign goods. India does not wish to shut herself out of international commerce. Things other than cloth which can be better made outside India, she must gratefully receive upon terms advantageous to the contracting parties. Nothing can be forced upon her. But I do not wish to peep into the future. I am certainly hoping that before long it would be possible for India to co-operate with England on equal terms. Then will be the time for examining trade relations. For the time being, I bespeak your help in bringing about a boycott of foreign cloth. Of similar and equal importance is the campaign against drink. The liquor-shops are an insufferable curse imposed upon society. There never was so much awakening among the people as now, upon this question. I admit that here it is the Indian ministers who can help more than you can. But I would like you to speak out your mind clearly on the question. Under every system of government, total prohibition, so far as I can see, will be insisted upon by the nation. You can assist the growth of the ever-rising agitation by throwing in the weight of your influence on the side of the nation."

Comments on the Ali Brothers' declaration about establishing a republic in India.
Young India (12), 13th July.

42. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes as follows in *Young India* with regard to the Ali Brothers' declaration to the effect that a republic would be established in India if a satisfactory solution is not arrived at before Christmas:—"I am sorry to have to confess that I have not seen the Maulanas' declaration, but I have no hesitation in giving the assurance, that no stone will be left unturned by me to prevent a departure even by a hair's breadth from the policy of non-violent non-co-operation that has been deliberately adopted by the country. Nor do I entertain the slightest fear of any departure from that policy on the part of the Brothers. I have, however, no difficulty about understanding the Maulanas' mind. They are quite capable of saying that if India does not get the relief she demands in the matters of the Punjáb and the Khilafat, she will at the next sessions of the Congress make a declaration of independence. *Swaráj* within the Empire is a possibility only if England washes her hands clean of the taint of the Khilafat breach and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. The Congress creed has been purposely made elastic enough to admit of a demand for independence. To go no further, the Maulanas have, after all, if they have, but reiterated the opinion pronounced by Mr. Andrews, who, unlike me, considers that there is no room in the British Empire for a self-respecting and self-governing India, and who expects that some day I shall myself be driven to that position. I am differently constituted. I never give up hope so long as there is the least chance, and I have faith enough in the British people to feel that, whilst they will test our determination and strength to the uttermost, they will not carry it to the breaking point. They are too self-conscious to part with an India awakened and strong, for the sake of shielding Dyerism and O'Dwyerism and of the questionable advantage of Greek friendship.......... Long before the Congress meets, if India proves true to herself, I look forward not to a Declaration of Independence, but to an honourable settlement, that will satisfy the just demand of India regarding the Punjáb and the Khilafat, and that will assure to her full immediate *swaráj* in accordance with the wishes of her chosen representatives. Let the reader, however, not run away with the idea that my forecast is based upon any knowledge of what is going on in Simla or Whitehall. I base it upon my profound belief in the ability of India during the next three months to assert herself, *i. e.*, in the ability of India to carry out an almost complete boycott of foreign cloth, and by still greater self-restraint to prove her ability to adopt civil disobedience of a very stern character."

The Congress and the proposed proclamation of India as a Republic.
***Indian Social Reformer* (6), 17th July.**

***43.** Referring to the resolution passed at the Karáchi Khilafat Conference in favour of an Indian Republic being proclaimed by the next Congress in case the British Government fights the Angora Government, the *Indian Social Reformer* writes:—"These developments seem to have been altogether unforeseen even by Congress workers. But it might be thought that Mahatma Gandhi at least would have been consulted. It would seem from his answer in the last issue of *Young India* to a correspondent who had been perturbed by the Maulana's declaration, that he too was in the dark about it. His attempt to explain away the declaration is unconvincing in the face of the resolution of the Khilafat Conference of which the Mahatma was apparently not apprised at the time when he wrote his reply. The Maulana is too loyal an adherent to think of forcing the Mahatma's hands, but his speech and the Conference resolution have already created a good deal of anxiety even among Congressmen who cannot relish being treated as clay in the hands of the Khilafat Conference. A clear duty lies on the All-India Congress Committee which is to meet shortly to reassure the public that the Karáchi resolution was passed without its authority and sanction."

Comments on the All-India Khilafat Conference at Karáchi.

New Times (8), 11th July.

44. "If large numbers, good organisation and abundant enthusiasm be the standard of success, the All-India Khilafat Conference must be pronounced a distinct success. A significant feature of the gatherings was that a large number of Hindus attended; indeed, more Hindus were pressent than Muslims. Yet another significant thing was the Muslim sympathy with the Hindu sentiment in regard to the cow-question; and it was Muslim gentleman, we understand, who offered about Rs. 1,100 for cow-protection. If, indeed, Hindus and Muslims grow in sympathy, one with the other, and strengthen the Hindu-Muslim Unity, it may be hoped the delicate question of Cow-slaughter may be solved at no distant date.......... Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in an eloquent speech, voiced the Hindu feeling in regard to the Khilafat. And more than one Muslim speaker did well to point out, what we have expressed more than once in these columns, that there is an 'intimate' connection between the Khilafat and *swaráj*. If the people develop the power to right the Khilafat wrong, they will also have the power to win *swaráj*. That power is, as we have urged again and again, of a socio-economic and moral character; it is not the power of the sword.......... We wish, therefore, to say as clearly as we can that we are not in accord with views conceived in a mood of mental violence. If we are to trust the reports which have reached us, a speaker at the Conference said Government must be destroyed! Can the British Government be destroyed without violence? And are we sure violence will not also destroy the soul of the Indian Nation?......... Another speaker is reported to have said that if the Khilafat problem was not solved, Government would 'hire Arabs to murder the Indians'! We know nothing to indicate that Government has ever had such diabolical intentions; we plead for self-restraint and respect for facts in public speeches.......... A resolution was passed at the Conference giving an ultimatum to Government that if Britain supports Greece against Angora the National Congress meeting at Ahmedabad in December should hoist the flag of an Indian Republic. In the event of the Congress adopting this Resolution, the National Movement will cease to be constitutional, and the country will cross the limit-lines of non-violence. In resisting the power of Government with physical force, in opposing to imperialism a cult of violence lies a grave danger, as we conceive it, to the national movement of to-day. Muslim *shariat* sanctions war, we know; but is war, we earnestly ask, the solution of the Indian problem? Once non-co-operation becomes a cult of violence, India becomes another Ireland. Britain must not, in the best interests of itself and India, commit the blunder of supporting Greece against Angora; and the country must not, even under extreme provocation, decide in favour of a cult of the sword. The resolution passed at the Khilafat Conference indicates the depths of the Muslim feeling stirred by the Khilafat question; but we would ask our Muslim brethren to adopt no counsel of despair."

Sind Observer (10), 12th July.

45. "From the point of view of numbers and the enthusiasm displayed by the audience the Khilafat Conference held in Karáchi may be pronounced a success. This Conference, coming as it did at a time when the Angora Government's existence is considered by Muslims to be threatened by the Greeks assisted by the British, in spite of the assurances of neutrality given by the Viceroy, was characterised by great warmth of expression which oftentimes outstepped the bounds of fair criticism. Hatred was expressed, threats were held forth, tears were shed in profusion and people's minds were more unsettled than ever. To our mind it was an occasion to discuss the whole situation calmly, and to set forth the minimum Muslim demands in respectful yet firm language. But that is too much, perhaps, to expect from a conference presided over by a gentleman who is never known to weigh his words and whose zeal for the cause he champions carries him always beyond the limits of prudence. Mr. Mahomed Ali is not a statesman but a zealot. He set a bad example in his presidential speech by hitting with his fist right and left as he developed his theme and it was faithfully copied by the other speakers. He indulged in heroics, he abused his opponents and he even showed scant courtesy to the Viceroy.......... We cannot help thinking that the President should have imposed some restraint upon himself and upon certain speakers, remembering the terms of the apology.......... It is known that even the Turkish Nationalists have not demanded the restoration of Arabia, Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia to the Sultan. They want only Smyrna and Thrace. While the Turks are willing to accept the inevitable it is the Indian Khilafatists who have not budged an inch from the original position taken up by them two years ago.......... As to the Punjáb question, the Viceroy may set free, and it is advisable he should do so, all the martial law prisoners. Government is willing to make handsome reparation to the families that have suffered on account of the Jallianwala Bagh shooting. Then there is the question of the pensions of General Dyer and Sir M. O'Dwyer being removed from the Indian estimates. If the Viceroy wants to please Indian sentiment in this matter—and all Indians irrespective of party will approve of this step—the Civil and Military services of the country will consider it as an insult offered to them and will threaten a 'White Mutiny'. No Viceroy can contemplate with equanimity such a situation. With regard to these pensions the Viceroy is placed on the two horns of a dilemma and we, for our part, are not disposed to blame him if he resolves not to offend the services. As regards *swarâj* it is bound to come much sooner than we expected an year or two ago. It will not, of course, come within six months. It is mere moonshine to talk of a Republic in January. People who could not induce the lawyers to boycott their courts—lawyers who are patriots and fully conversant with their country's grievances,—who could not take all the boys who left their schools either into national schools or into national service, who have not induced even 10 per cent. of title-holders to throw away their titles, who do not carry the landed aristocracy and the capitalistic class and a goodly portion of the educated community with them, could not hope to establish a Republic in January. This talk is bound to result in thinning further the ranks of non-co-operators. But we feel there is commonsense enough amongst a majority of them not to launch their party on such a wild project."

Protest against Mr. Gandhi's statement that Moghul rule was better than British rule.

Gujarâti (15), 10th July.

46. A contributor under the pseudonym of "Mirabai" writes in the humorous columns of the *Gujarâti*:—Mr. Gandhi writes to the effect that the administration of the Moghuls was better than that of the British! Do you consider this to be a right view? No doubt Indians had the right to bear arms in Moghul times, but the Moghuls used to carry away their wives in broad daylight. In those days no respectable woman dared to move out of doors and if she happened to be seen by a Pathan while standing at a window he entered the house and tried to outrage her modesty and many daughters of India had to commit suicide to preserve their chastity. Indians are, no doubt, subjected to certain humiliations under British rule; but I cannot possibly have the hardihood to say that Moghul *Râj* was superior to British *Râj*. Such a bold statement can be made by Mr. Gandhi who bears the reputation of being a Mahatma, but if ordinary mortals like myself made it they would be incarcerated by the *ma-bap sirkar*. And who would cook for my husband if I were sent to jail?

How Hindu non-co-operationists are leading Muhammadans into dangers.
Political Bhomiyo (72), 15th July.

47. We have been warning the Muhammadans not to be made scape-goats of by joining disloyal Hindus in their non-co-operation movement ever since the beginning of that movement. We have full sympathy with the Khilafat question but we do not think that the non-co-operation movement can offer any solution of it. It is generally seen that the Hindus remain in the background and send out Muhammadans to face dangers. Even Mr. Gandhi is no exception to this. In many of his speeches he has made declarations to the effect that he has prevented Muhammadans from drawing the sword. The scheming non-co-operationist Hindus take advantage of the frankness and the zeal of the Muhammadans and show themselves to be quite innocent and place the Muhammadans in an awkward and dangerous situation. One instance will suffice to illustrate our remarks. The non-co-operation movement was preached in Málegaon and the Muhammadans have been made to suffer by paying a fine of Rs. 46,174-8 for the last disturbance at that place. Will not the Muhammadans still be warned?

Comments on the threatened prosecution of the *Zamindár* of Lahore.
Young India (12), 13th July.

48. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The *Zamindar* of Lahore is, I understand, threatened with prosecution. The editor has been asked to tender an untruthful apology, if he wishes to avoid a prosecution. He has been asked to withdraw certain statements made by him which he himself believes. One of them is the reported bombardment of Najef. .... He has assured the Government that if responsible independent Musalmans went to the spot and investigated the matter and denied the truth of the bombardment, he would be prepared to withdraw the statement. One would imagine that the offer was perfectly honourable. He has published a spirited poem, some of whose lines can be interpreted as incitement to violence. He has offered as a non-co-operator to apologise for those lines, not because he fears prosecution, but because he does not want to place himself in a false position regarding his creed of non-violence. The third statement objected to by the Government has reference to the report of and commentary upon a case in Bengal, wherein a European is reported to have killed a Khánsama and to have been fined Rs. 300 by the court. The comment objected to is that the British courts give license to Europeans to kill Indians for Rs. 300 as a fine. The comment is no doubt severe, but there is certainly no incitement to violence in it, and it is not unjustified by the several miscarriages of justice recently reported in the Press. The Government have no notion how deep the belief has sunk in the Indian mind that even-handed justice as between Europeans and Indians is almost an impossibility. The fourth charge against the *Zamindar* is the reproduction of Moulana Mahomed Ali's statement regarding the Afghan bogey. This idea of asking for apologies from editors and public men under threat of prosecution is a parody of the apology of the Ali Brothers. For the U. P. Government have been trying the same thing upon the editor of the *Independent* and others. I do not know what has happened in Allahabad as a result of the Government's unseemly effort to obtain apologies from self-respecting non-co-operators. The more straightforward and honourable course would be to send to jail all the non-co-operators whom the Government do not like. Let them not move from the Punjáb type of humiliation to the subtler type in the shape of abject apologies."

Comments on the Poona liquor shop keepers' petition to Government for refund of their license fees.
Kesari (111), 12th July.

49. The *Kesari* supports the petition of the liquor shop keepers of Poona to Government that in view of the virtual stoppage of their business consequent upon the anti-drink campaign, they should be paid back the balance of their license fee for the unexpired period covered by their license. It recognises that under the terms of the agreement Government are not bound to make good the loss of the license-holders, but contends that they cannot justly deny relief to the latter inasmuch as on a former occasion they had made good the loss sustained by

Messrs. Carew and Company although they were not quite bound to do so. In its opinion, Government should not put forth the plea of loss to themselves since they command vast resources and are, therefore, better able to suffer the loss than the poor license-holders, most of whom borrowed the amount of the license fee from money-lenders at heavy interest. It also reads a homily to the shop-keepers and tells them that they must not accuse the picketers of indulging in unfair tactics since their own hands are not clean in this respect. The paper tells Government that the picketer having through his activities contributed to the happiness of many a drunkard and his family, they should condone his occasional transgressions of the law.

Alleged failure of picketing in Bombay.
Akhbár-e-Islám (54), 11th July.

50. Mr. Gandhi is carrying on a strong fight against the liquor traffic and has let loose some volunteers to picket liquor shops. We are of opinion that the money spent on this campaign is wasted because there has been no decrease at all in the average daily consumption of liquor in Bombay. No doubt some liquor shop keepers have been able to dispose of less liquor than usual; but that does not prove that Mr. Gandhi's efforts have met with any success. For the consumption has been on the increase in many other shops. Mr. Gandhi knows all this but he does not like to acknowledge the failure of his efforts to check the vice of drink.

Comments on the disturbance at Aligarh.
Sind Observer (10), 8th July.

51. "The disturbance at Aligarh is another instance of non-violent non-co-operation not having penetrated the masses. There was looting of the treasury, burning of public buildings........... The mob ran mad and attacked the Police and the Police had to defend their lives, other peoples' lives, Government property and private property. When an occurrence like this takes place the public will be treated to all sorts of wild stories and we ask our readers to take such with a good grain of salt. There will also be an exaggeration of the doings of the mob from reports coming from official sources and attempts to whitewash the severe action taken by the authorities. At any rate, we can say this much that non-violent non-co-operation is a very good thing to talk of from the platforms; and a mob can no more be non-violent than a tiger taking a vow of abstinence from meat."

Discussion on the non-co-operation movement in the House of Lords.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th July.

52. "It is to be sincerely hoped that the trouncing which the Sydenhamite scaremongers received at the hands of Lord Lytton will bring about a suspension, albeit temporary, of the campaign of mendacity that has been in progress for a long time past in Great Britain. There are no weapons which they have not stooped to use, with a view to damage the character of Indians and to blacken the prevailing atmosphere in India. They appear to be plentifully supplied with funds, which in most cases will be found to be paid to them from the public treasures of India for 'past services.'......... But we do not believe that Lord Lytton's scathing denunciation of these lies will raise any blushes on the faces of their author's, for they are part and parcel of the game of certain gentry who are determined to see that the hold they have obtained on India is not slackened through the effeminate and treasonable sentimentality of the two Jews who are at the helm of the affairs of this country."

Indu Prakásh (44), 13th July.

53. Lord Sydenham has been always trying in England to raise obstacles in the way of India's interests. Under his leadership the retired Anglo-Indians, fed fat upon India, had made a great row when the question of *swarájya* for India was first mooted. The people were, therefore, wondering as to why he had been so far silent regarding the non-co-operation movement. But they need not feel puzzled any longer, for on the 7th instant he growled in Parliament against the movement and declared that a great calamity had befallen India, a calamity of such a nature that an open rebellion would have been preferred. He endeavoured to frighten the British people and those at the helm of Indian affairs by stating that the lives of Europeans in India were

in danger, their property insecure and their honour at stake. As a matter of fact, however, India is unchanged in spite of the non-co-operation movement and the safety of the lives of Europeans is not a bit diminished. On the contrary they are so very confident of their own power that they do not hesitate at all through the police to open fire even on innocent agitators. The British *Ráj* in India is unshaken and the routine of officialdom is unchanged. We do not think His Lordship is unaware of these facts, but his present attitude can be explained by his love for repression and his view that Indians should silently suffer themselves to be governed by the British at their sweet will. India, however, must congratulate herself that Lord Lytton in refutation of all that Lord Sydenham said declared that the political atmosphere in India was unchanged in spite of the supernatural powers which people attributed to Mr. Gandhi. But he has also extolled the bureaucracy giving them credit for maintaining most skilfully peace and order in India. This, however, we cannot admit so long as injustice and instances of racial prejudice and needless firing continue to take place in the country. The only redeeming feature in all this is that the Home Government is not willing to have recourse to repression though people like Lord Sydenham are ever ready to raise false alarms.

The Khoreal shooting case.

Swarájya (145), 14th July; *Lokamánya* (115), 10th July.

54. Commenting upon the Khoreal shooting case, the *Swarájya* writes:—People have now lost all faith in justice as administered in the law courts. How would an Indian accused of the same offence have been dealt with? Or, supposing the girl's father had shot Reed through the heart, how would he have been dealt with? We are sure some sentence would have been passed upon him if not that of death. But an English jury finds that Reed has not committed any offence and the judge acquits him! Lord Reading has said that he would give evenhanded justice to all. He was a judge himself. Would he have acquitted the accused? [In the opinion of the *Lokamánya* the only means to stop such incidents is to grant the Indians full rights of *swarájya* and to make their status in the country superior to that of foreigners.]

Comments on the sentence of five years' transportation passed on the leader of the Akáli sect at Lahore.

Lokamánya (115), 11th May.

55. The sentence of five years' transportation passed on Sardar Shardulsing, the leader of the Akali sect of the Sikhs, shows not only the vindictiveness of the Punjáb bureaucracy, but the text of the judgment in the case also discloses their folly and ignorance of law. Though the principle that want of affection for Government does not constitute sedition has been established several years back and has been acknowledged on all hands, the Lahore judge seems to have never heard of it and he has shamelessly passed the sentence upon the accused. The whole of the Punjáb has become infuriated by the serious injustice done in the case, and even a moderate like Professor Ruchirám has declared it to be an open murder of justice. The Sardar being a faithful follower of Mahátma Gandhi is not likely to appeal and so there is no hope of justice being done by the Punjáb High Court. The redress of the wrong done then lies entirely in the hands of Government. If His Excellency Lord Reading is really watching the doings of the district officers as he declared in the course of his reply to the Moderates' Deputation from the United Provinces, he should at once remove the injustice done. If he fails to do so, his utterances will be looked upon as no more than vain boasts.

Comments on the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 11th July; *Hindusthán* (20), 14th July; *Hind Mitra* (18), 10th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 12th July; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (23), 10th July.

56. We are afraid the reclamation of Back Bay will endanger the health of the City by preventing the fresh sea-breeze freely blowing into it. The agitation against the Bombay Development Scheme taken up by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau has been characterised as being belated in certain quarters, but we are not of that opinion. We do not think that contracts for the reclamation have yet been given. The work can, therefore, be put a stop to. The scheme for the development of the suburbs undertaken by the Municipality and the Improvement

Trust is quite adequate for the requirements of Bombay and there is no need of a costly and hazardous scheme like that of the reclamation of the Back Bay. The Development Department is akin to local self-government and should, therefore, be turned into a Transferred Department and placed under a Minister. [The *Hindusthán* endorses the protest made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau against the scheme for the reclamation of Back Bay and suggests that the citizens of Bombay should requisition the Sheriff to convene a public meeting to voice the popular opposition to the scheme. The *Hind Mitra* calls upon His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to postpone the carrying out of the Back Bay Scheme and to complete the development of the suburbs in the first instance and to take up the scheme afterwards when public opinion has been sufficiently educated in the matter. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* appeals to Government to take the people into their confidence in the matter of the utilisation of the land under the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and thus allay suspicions and misunderstandings prevailing among the public. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* expresses hope that Government will give careful consideration to the protest made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and do all in their power to take the people into their confidence in the matter of the scheme.]

Reflections on the forthcoming visit of His Excellency the Governor to Satára.

Lokamánya (115), 8th July.

57. A correspondent writes:—Arrangements were twice made in connection with the projected visit of His Excellency the Governor to Satára, but fortunately for the people His Excellency did not find it convenient to pay the visit on those occasions. It is now learnt that His Excellency will certainly visit Sátára next month. As previosly arranged, an address of welcome will be presented to him on behalf of the Sátára Municipality and the District Local Board. The only benefit from the visit will be that the ryots' money will be wasted for nothing, while redress of genuine grievances will not be possible as His Excellency during his stay here will be surrounded by Government officers and other toadies. While here, His Excellency will be a guest of the Collector. But it is necessary that he should be made acquainted with the harassment to which the people are being subjected at the hands of the Satya Shodhaks and the local officials. Then there is the campaign against picketing which has been launched to put down the anti-drink movement. All this shows that the Collector is unfit to hold his post. He has suggested the formation of a League of Peace here which means that he wants to create dissensions amongst the people while standing aside himself. If, according to the principle underlying the reforms, people's money is to be spent with their consent, why is the expenditure in connection with the presentation of an address, etc., being incurred against the wishes of the people? Why this innovation of accepting an address of welcome from the Local Board? Have not the Municipality and the Local Board any other items of greater importance to which they can devote the amount? These bodies must bear it in mind that public opinion is not in favour of spending money in connection with the projected visit of His Excellency and on the presentation of an address to him as the people have been reduced to a very miserable condition owing to famine and many other causes.

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

Gujaráti (15), 10th July; *Model* (26), 10th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 16th July.

58. Cordial welcome by a people enjoying independence is one thing while a formal and half-hearted reception by subject people of kings and emperors is quite another thing. There is pleasure in a reception which is given out of free will and an open heart. There is no pleasure in a reception if the officials make preparations for it by lavishing money out of the treasury of the State and if a crowd of inquisitive people collect together to see it. The preparations for receptions by the State are just like the tricks of a juggler. We are sure that members of the British Royal family are never willing to see shows at the expense of the State treasury. The question then is what should we understand from the preparations being made in England for the visit of the Prince of Wales? If he is to be sent to India to learn the real feelings of the people, he should not be kept under the surveillance of the police. The people of India inquire as to why the Prince of Wales should be invited to this country when the causes of discontent have not yet been removed. Does the Government of Lord Reading believe that the causes of political disaffection and discontent will disappear in the coming four months or do they want to capture the imagination of the people by issuing some important proclamation at the time of his visit? Does Lord Reading think that after his interview with Mr. Gandhi, the latter will not protest against the visit of the Prince of Wales? Will the Khilafat question be solved in accordance with the wishes of the Muhammadans within these four months? Will Lord Reading be able to issue a proclamation removing the causes of the injustice done to the Punjáb? Does he mean to capture the imagination of the people at the time of the Prince's visit by issuing a proclamation repealing the repressive laws? If the Royal family of England has no power, as some Anglo-Indian papers maintain, why should not steps be taken to make the people of England informed of the fires of discontent that are smouldering in the hearts of the Indian people? If the Indians are not respected as a nation, how can they as a nation welcome the Prince with joy? If he cannot prevent the bureaucracy from committing a single bad act, how can the people receive him with affection? Mr. Gandhi has declared that if nothing is done within these four months to raise the status of India, people should boycott the reception given to the Prince and express their sorrow by means of a strike just as they did at the time of the visit of the Duke of Connaught. [The *Model* makes similar remarks and adds:—We are of opinion that the visit of the Prince of Wales at a time when there is so much discontent is uncalled for. We, as well as a very great majority of the people of India, believe that India will not henceforward be satisfied with messages of hope, gifts and concessions. India wants pure justice. In short, India will rest content only if she gets complete self-government. We would welcome the Prince if he comes with a message granting these rights. If not, India has now absolutely no faith in mere talk and she is not prepared to welcome him if he does not bring such a message. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, writes:—The readiness of the King to send the Prince of Wales to India at such a critical time shows that he wants the Prince to perform some important act which will change the present political atmosphere of India. We heartily pray that this attempt on the part of the King proves successful. We once again declare that our real strength lies not in keeping away from the Royal Ambassador but in meeting him and making him aware of our needs.]

Bombay Chronicle (2), 17thJuly.

***59.** "Atropos" writes in the *Bombay Chronicle* (Sunday Edition):—"By voting an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales, when he lands in Bombay, the Corporation has again stultified itself. It is not the first time that this body has gone against the wishes of the people of this city. Its composition, its character, its constitution, do not permit of anything else than a permanent opposition for the will of the people...... ... The advocates of 'a welcome' harped on the Prince's personal charms, etc. I have heard of this clap-trap and I do not think that at a time when India is fighting her battle, which may mean either life or death to her, people are inclined to be led away by the *bon-hommie* of the Prince. India wants something more solid than a smile or a courtesy. Then there is the question of expense also to be considered......... Is the country prepared at this time to welcome him when the grievances of both Hindus and Moslems have not been put right? The Prince might receive a welcome from officialdom and the professional Durbaris, but they are not India, and any one with a grain of common sense must have found that out by now. No, India cannot afford the pageantry, nor the gilded pomp of the officials."

Lokamánya (115), 13th July; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 15th July.

60. The *Lokamánya* heartily congratulates Dr. Velkar and Mr. Motiwalla on their fearlessly opposing the resolution for giving a welcome address on behalf of the Corporation to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his arrival at Bombay. It points out that taking into consideration the present constitution of the Corporation it was no wonder that only two votes against the resolution were recorded and it asks the citizens of Bombay to make an organised and strenuous effort to cure the

members of the Corporation of the long standing habit of trampling under foot public opinion. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* thinks that both Dr. Velkar and Mr. Motiwalla ought to have withdrawn their opposition when their objections were answered by Mr. Jamnadas.]

Protest against the suggestion to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 13th July.

61. Commenting upon the attitude of the non-co-operators towards the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We have before us the example of the visit of our King as Prince of Wales. In the face of this, is it proper to say that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and His Majesty the King are only like figureheads, that the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is only a show and hence it should be boycotted? He will not come here for sight-seeing only. He will come here to be acquainted with the people over whom he is to rule as King in future and with their demands and hopes and take steps to make the British people and Government informed of the measures to be adopted to make India more peaceful and to win her confidence as his Royal father did. It is also certain that he will bring a message from his Royal father which will soothe the minds of the people. We are of opinion that those who boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales will have to repent afterwards.

Protest against any further increase in the salaries of the Indian Civil Service.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 16th July.

62. Commenting upon the statement made by Mr. Montagu in Parliament to the effect that the Government of India will publish in a short time its resolution on the whole question of the salaries of the Indian Civil Service, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—This information has given rise to much criticism in India because this country is now unable to bear any additional burden. If, in spite of this, the salaries of the Indian Civil Service are increased, there will be much discontent in the country. Lord Reading said in reply to the address presented to him by the United Provinces Liberal Association, that tempting remuneration should be paid to officials in order to attract first class men. We are of opinion that we should cut our coat according to our cloth. The aim of making the administration efficient is no doubt a noble one, but it should not be attained at the sacrifice of the development of the country. Taking into consideration the financial condition of the country and the poverty of the people, Government should cut down their expenses, otherwise the country will become insolvent. When the representatives of the people ask money for purposes of public utility, Government say that there are no funds. In spite of this, if Government try to increase the salaries of highly-paid officials, the people will exercise their right of emphatically protesting against such a course. People honestly believe that the present salaries of the big officials are higher than they ought to be. We request Government to give an opportunity to competent educated Indians to prove their merit if they cannot get first class men from England on the present scale of salaries. Government will not be justified in incurring unnecessary expenditure to provide for their luxuries out of the pockets of the poor Indian people. If the greater part of the Indian revenue is swallowed up by the military expenditure and by unusually high salaries to high officials, Government will not have sufficient means at their disposal to undertake schemes for the future welfare of the people. We hope that the popular members will represent the feelings of the Indian people on this matter before the Legislative Assembly and ask Government to appoint a Special Committee to make suggestions to reduce Government expenditure.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th July.

63. "The manner in which the All-India Services, especially the Indian Civil Service, have been pampered of late as regards their pay and allowances, has become a crying scandal. Not two years have passed since the salaries of the Imperial Services were increased on a most extravagant scale, despite public opposition, and now we find another conspiracy being hatched for fresh loot of Indian money, in the shape of increased salaries and

allowances......... Our contention is that even the pre-war salaries of the All-India Services were based on an extravagant scale that was ruinous to the financial interests of the country. Therefore, not only should there be no further increase in the salaries, but the existing scale should be rigorously reduced so that the country may not be compelled to continue to pay more than it can afford and starve vital needs."

Alleged grievances of Sub-Assistant Surgeons.
Sind Vasi (167), 6th July.

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Mufid-e-Rozgâr (170), 10th July.

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members of the Corporation of the long standing habit of trampling under foot public opinion. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* thinks that both Dr. Velkar and Mr. Motiwalla ought to have withdrawn their opposition when their objections were answered by Mr. Jamnadas.]

Protest against the suggestion to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 13th July.

61. Commenting upon the attitude of the non-co-operators towards the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—We have before us the example of the visit of our King as Prince of Wales. In the face of this, is it proper to say that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and His Majesty the King are only like figureheads, that the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is only a show and hence it should be boycotted? He will not come here for sight-seeing only. He will come here to be acquainted with the people over whom he is to rule as King in future and with their demands and hopes and take steps to make the British people and Government informed of the measures to be adopted to make India more peaceful and to win her confidence as his Royal father did. It is also certain that he will bring a message from his Royal father which will soothe the minds of the people. We are of opinion that those who boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales will have to repent afterwards.

Protest against any further increase in the salaries of the Indian Civil Service.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 16th July.

62. Commenting upon the statement made by Mr. Montagu in Parliament to the effect that the Government of India will publish in a short time its resolution on the whole question of the salaries of the Indian Civil Service, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—This information has given rise to much criticism in India because this country is now unable to bear any additional burden. If, in spite of this, the salaries of the Indian Civil Service are increased, there will be much discontent in the country. Lord Reading said in reply to the address presented to him by the United Provinces Liberal Association, that tempting remuneration should be paid to officials in order to attract first class men. We are of opinion that we should cut our coat according to our cloth. The aim of making the administration efficient is no doubt a noble one, but it should not be attained at the sacrifice of the development of the country. Taking into consideration the financial condition of the country and the poverty of the people, Government should cut down their expenses, otherwise the country will become insolvent. When the representatives of the people ask money for purposes of public utility, Government say that there are no funds. In spite of this, if Government try to increase the salaries of highly-paid officials, the people will exercise their right of emphatically protesting against such a course. People honestly believe that the present salaries of the big officials are higher than they ought to be. We request Government to give an opportunity to competent educated Indians to prove their merit if they cannot get first class men from England on the present scale of salaries. Government will not be justified in incurring unnecessary expenditure to provide for their luxuries out of the pockets of the poor Indian people. If the greater part of the Indian revenue is swallowed up by the military expenditure and by unusually high salaries to high officials, Government will not have sufficient means at their disposal to undertake schemes for the future welfare of the people. We hope that the popular members will represent the feelings of the Indian people on this matter before the Legislative Assembly and ask Government to appoint a Special Committee to make suggestions to reduce Government expenditure.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th July.

63. "The manner in which the All-India Services, especially the Indian Civil Service, have been pampered of late as regards their pay and allowances, has become a crying scandal. Not two years have passed since the salaries of the Imperial Services were increased on a most extravagant scale, despite public opposition, and now we find another conspiracy being hatched for fresh loot of Indian money, in the shape of increased salaries and

allowances.......... Our contention is that even the pre-war salaries of the All-India Services were based on an extravagant scale that was ruinous to the financial interests of the country. Therefore, not only should there be no further increase in the salaries, but the existing scale should be rigorously reduced so that the country may not be compelled to continue to pay more than it can afford and starve vital needs."

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Reflections on the political situation in Afghanistan and the Middle East.

Sind Observer (10), 7th July.

67. "It is the complaint on the part of educated Indians that the foreign relations of India are not conducted in the best interests of the country...... ... India is treated as of no consequence in Asiatic foreign policy at present and that is one of the chief causes of Muslim discontent in the country.......... The present complaint is that we have not been very happy in our relations specially with Muslim countries adjoining India. Egged on by Afghanistan the frontier tribes cause us infernal trouble. Our forward policies—the occupation of Mahsud country, the threat held out to other tribes that their country, too, would be occupied, the extension of the railways to the Khyber, the construction of double roads for the use of mechanical transport, have all been construed by the border tribes as a danger to their independence and Mad Mullahs are not wanting who are in the pay of Bolsheviks and Afghans to excite the border fanatics against our Government. .... In this country we have not been told the story in what light the tribes and the Afghans take the forward policy of our militarist school. On the other hand, we are always told that the border tribes have nothing of the human being in them and that they are tigers ready for ravage, rapine and loot. But these people may have a different story of their own to tell. We want them to be our friends, if for nothing else, at least to save crores of rupees to India now wasted on mad cat military adventures—money so urgently needed for social welfare. We request Lord Reading to try a new policy with regard to the border tribes; it is worth any trouble on the part of His Excellency.......... At the same time British policy in Mid-Asia must change. Rightly or wrongly the Indian Muslims and their compatriots elsewhere feel that Britain has grand imperialistic designs in this part of Asia—a second empire from Hindukush to the Bosphorus.......... The position at present is Mr. Churchill cannot leave Mid-Asia because the Bolshevik and Pan-Islamist will soon have a joy ride in it; and the Bolshevist and Pan-Islamist will not cease from intriguing and rousing religious passions of the Muslims by speaking of the holy land of Jaziratul-Arab being in the hands of aliens. While the present position is like this the British taxpayer is being bled white to enable the Ministers to throw millions in the wastelands from Basra to Jerusalem. All the new Arab chiefs have to be paid in gold for keeping the alliance and for preserving peace. We do not know how long Great Britain can support this drain when all the money her Ministers are throwing away in the wastelands of the world is intended for social amelioration at Home."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's speech before the Deccan Sabha.

Gujarâti Punch (17), 10th July, Eng. cols.

68. "One of the arguments advanced by Mr. Paranjpye, in his Deccan Sabha speech, against making primary education compulsory was that there was no public opinion behind the Government.......... But is that, we ask, a sufficient reason for not introducing compulsion in education? This is not, by any means, a novel discovery and the exact state of affairs was not quite unknown to advocates of compulsory primary education among whom, we believe, Mr. Paranjpye was one. Why then advance it as something novel and very serious? Is it quite a new discovery as Mr. Paranjpye would like us to believe? Besides if people do not appreciate the far-reaching benefits of compulsory primary education, is there no way to make them do it? We do not see why so ardent a publicist and believer in the potency of agitation like Mr. Paranjpye should regard the absence of public opinion with pious horror. Public opinion, like many other things in this world, is created by steady and persistent endeavour. And what steps has Mr. Paranjpye taken to create it? And if he has not, what steps does he propose to take in the future? The best way to do it is to convene, as the Bengal minister has done, a conference of all newspaper editors in the Presidency, both English and Vernacular, and ask it to support him in his efforts. But the sympathy and support of such a conference

can only be won if Mr. Paranjpye is able to show that under the present circumstances nothing more than what he proposes to do is possible. And that is, we fear, the crux of the question. If Mr. Paranjpye can convince the public that he has done his best then, and then only, the public can support him in his other schemes."

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy.
Jdgaruk (45), 9th July.

69. Non-Brahmins have been much agitated over the question of primary education; and they have been advised to withhold payment of the local fund cess and land assessment to Government until compulsory primary education is introduced. That shows the intensity of their feeling. Fifty years have elapsed since primary education was made compulsory in England and still our "benign" Government have not introduced it in India on the plea of financial difficulties. But they can lavishly spend money on military, civil and railway departments by crores. We are at a loss to know whether we should admire the shamelessness of Government or pity the poor people. The bureaucracy well knows that their destruction lies in universal education. They are not in the least afraid of non-co-operation by educated men, nor of boycott of foreign goods by merchants. They are afraid of educated masses. Even Mr. Paranjpye on becoming Educational Minister has been using bureaucratic language, putting forth the same old plea of financial difficulties, as he has become possessed of the bureaucratic spirit. Government ought to consider the discontent among the non-Brahmins and curtail its growing expenditure.

Lokashdhi (119), 11th July.

70. The *Lokashdhi* declares that the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye has skilfully solved the question of compulsory primary education by municipalities and that he has done the utmost a Minister can do under the circumstances. It asks* his impatient critics to take into consideration the limitations of his powers before condemning him and it specially appeals to the nationalist papers not to attack him as an examination of his educational scheme would surely convince them of the great public service he has been doing.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The drainage and water works of Poona should be handed over to the local municipality.
Kesari (111), 12th July.

71. The *Kesari* regrets that although since the inauguration of the reforms both the Provincial and the Supreme Governments have been liberalised, the scope of local self-government has not in any way been widened. It dilates at great length upon the hardships of the Poona City Municipality due to the faulty construction of the drainage and the settling tanks and repeats the standing complaint that the drainage has spoiled the health of the city and is responsible for the prevalence of malaria therein. In its opinion Government ought to transfer the drainage and the water-supply works to the control of the municipality since they expect that body to find the money for their construction and upkeep. The paper mentions that Mr. N. C. Kelkar has sent a resolution to the President of the Poona City Municipality to be submitted for the consideration of the committee to the effect that that body should refuse to repay the sums advanced by Government unless they consent to transfer the above-mentioned works to its control.

The Thána Local Board's decision to assist the anti-drink campaign with money.
Kesari (111), 12th July.

72. Commenting upon the decision of the Thána Local Board to set apart a sum of Rs. 3,000 in aid of the anti-drink campaign, the *Kesari* writes:—We congratulate the President of the Board on the courageous step he has taken. Government always say that they are against the drink evil, but have they ever spent a pie to combat it? We trust the example of the Thána Local Board will be imitated by the other local bodies.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 22nd July 1921.

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*Reported in advance.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 23rd July 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on the Dhárwár shooting incident . . . . . . 1—5
Comments on the relations between the tea planters and the coolies in Assam 14
Comments on the suggestions of Mr. Seshgiri Iyer for removing discontent in India 10
Lessons of the Irish struggle for independence 11
Mr. Gupte's Liquor Prohibition Bill 15
Sir Thomas Holland and the purchase of stores for India . . . 12
The Honourable Mr. Hayward's visit to Dhárwár in connection with the shooting affair . . . . 6—8
The Imperial Conference and Indians in the Colonies 13
The Reforms have failed entirely in doing away with bureaucracy . 9

Development of Bombay:

Protest against methods of land acquisition followed by the Bombay Development Directorate 60
The Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau 59
Hajis: Grievances of the — 67

His Excellency the Viceroy:

Comments on Lord Reading's reply to the address of the United Provinces Liberal Association 16
Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Calcutta Marwari Association . . . . 17 & 18

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales . . . 19—21
The Bombay Corporation's address to — 22

Indians in the Colonies:

Grievances of Indians in Natal 66
Indian Settlers in East Africa and the native inhabitants . . . 64
Kenya Colony and the rights of Indian and European settlers . . 65

Judicial matters:

Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Sherwani by the Aligarh Magistrate 61
Reflections on the apology tendered by Maulana Bakar Ali prosecuted for sedition in Karáchi 62

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Non-co-operation:

All-India Khilafat Conference at Karáchi and Angora Government . 40
Alleged strength of the Muslim feeling in India with regard to the Khilafat question 39
Appeal to Mr. Gandhi to desist from restarting passive resistance . 37
Begar on the Simla Hills 45
Boycott of foreign cloth . . . . 23—30
Can the liquor-shop-keepers claim a refund of their license fees . . 36
Comments on alleged apology offered on behalf of the editor of *Zamindar* of Láhore by his son 41
Comments on the anti-drink campaign . . . . 31—35
Comments on the intention of the Punjáb Government to restrict the length and breadth of the *Kirpan* 44
Lenin's policy and that of the British Government in the East contrasted 49
Mr. Gandhi and the late Mr. Tilak 48
Musalmans should be afforded facilities to sacrifice sheep and goats on the next Bakri Id festival 46
Protest against alarmist rumours in England about English lives being in danger 47
The — movement has made the bureaucracy mad 38
There is no chance of realising Mr. Gandhi's hope of securing *swaráj* before the end of this year 42
Utilization of the Tilak Swaraj Fund 43
Press Act: Comments on the recommendations of the — Committee . . 50—55

Public service:

British Medical Council's new proposals about the I.M.S. examination . 56
Comments on the transfer of Mr. Painter as Commissioner, Northern Division 57
Government pensioners and politics 58
Sind: Impending famine in Thar and Párkar, District Sind 63

EDUCATION—

Bombay Government's Press Note about religious instruction in schools . 73
Comments on the Primary Education Committee appointed by the Bombay Government . . . . 68—71
The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy 72

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the new duty proposed to be levied by Bulsár Municipality (District Surat) 75
Poona Municipality and its drainage and water works 74

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Dhárwár shooting incident.

Gujaráti Punch (17), 17th July; *Model* (26), 17th July.

1. We are of opinion that the demand of the Dhárwár District Congress Committee for the appointment of an impartial commission to inquire into the Dhárwár disturbances is quite proper. The minds of the people of Dhárwár are excited because the local authorities are making arrests. It is a mistake to think that the ends of justice will be served and the really guilty persons will be brought to book when the state of public feeling is such. It is quite natural that the local authorities should have become too autocratic. An independent and impartial commission proves to be very useful on such occasions. People then lose all fear and their confidence in Government returns, and through this confidence, they are encouraged to give out the truth. Hence Government should appoint a commission without delay in accordance with the demand of the Dhárwár District Congress Committee. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd is a sympathetic Governor. Hence we suggest to His Excellency to personally visit Dhárwár, reassure the people and to clearly declare that Government are prepared to investigate impartially into the firing incident and that they will not hesitate to punish the officials properly if they are found to be guilty. Will His Excellency be induced to take such a step which would be befitting a really sympathetic statesman? [The *Model* remarks:—In their second Press Note Government state that as some men have been arrested and their cases are under investigation before the local authorities, it would not be proper to issue any further explanation regarding the matter at the present moment. We never expected such an attitude from the Government of such a sympathetic Governor as Sir George Lloyd. It is a cruel mockery of justice that the very officials who are openly accused by the people are to try those who are arrested. What is more deplorable is the fact that this is being done under the administration of such a kind ruler as Sir George Lloyd and that of such a Viceroy as Lord Reading who professes to be the embodiment of justice. Such an inquiry will prove to be a farce. We emphatically request Government to appoint an independent Commission to inquire minutely into the matter and suitably punish those who are guilty, be they officials or non-officials. We also hope that the five Indians in the Executive Government of the Bombay Presidency will bring pressure to bear upon their European colleagues and get the proper thing done in the matter. We also hope that the Moderates also will strain every nerve to see that full justice is done to their fellow-countrymen in connection with the Dhárwár tragedy.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 18th July.

2. We think that hasty opinion has been formed regarding the attitude of Government with regard to the Málegaon and Dhárwár disturbances in certain quarters. No doubt these incidents are very sad ones, but before the responsibility for them is attributed to any one side, we are bound to wait for the result of the investigations being made by the law courts. We have great respect for Mr. Gandhi, but we say that he has no right to express any opinion on these disturbances before a complete inquiry is made into them. We also do not consider the demands made in certain quarters for the appointment of independent committees to inquire into them, to be very farsighted. What is to be gained by such inquiries, before knowing the nature of the evidence given in the course of the trials in law courts? Besides this, the non-co-operators will not consider any committee appointed by Government to be impartial. Lastly, will the non-co-operators come out to give evidence before a committee appointed by Government? We are of opinion that Dhárwár and Málegaon cases should be brought up for inquiry before a joint bench of one Hindu and one Muhammadan Judge of the Bombay High Court. We would also urge the defence counsels to request the authorities to transfer them to the Bombay High Court. We trust that the Government of Bombay, which has such confidence in the firmness of its policy, will not oppose this demand in order that it may win for itself greater confidence on the part of the people.

Kesari (111), 19th July; *Lokamânya* (115), 21st July; *Râjakâran* (131), 17th July; *Swarâjya* (145), 21st July.

3. Both the local authorities and the popular leaders at Dhárwár accuse each other of being responsible for the firing there. The latter have openly expressed their readiness to prove their accusations against the officials before an impartial commission. Still our Governor who is supposed to be just and impartial persists in maintaining that the people are in the wrong! And, as for the Viceroy, he has not the generosity even to send a reply to a telegram! Indeed, there is nothing to choose between the two. [The *Lokamânya* writes:—Even a peace-loving man like Mahatma Gandhi is driven to the conclusion that the anti-drink campaign will cause rivers of blood to flow in a month or two. This will help one to form an accurate idea of the present state of the popular mind. We request both Sir George Lloyd and Lord Reading not to take any hasty step in the matter. The Irish question is about to be successfully tackled, and if at this time they convert India into another Ireland, England will only have escaped from the frying-pan to fall into the fire. The *Râjakâran* says:—Lord Reading is peacefully slumbering at Simla. If he had the least capability, and if he had any regard for truth, justice and righteousness, he would have ordered the provincial authorities not to interfere with the anti-drink movement. The *Swarâjya* writes:—It is not right that the officials whom the people accuse of being responsible for the disorders should take any part in the Dhárwár inquiry. We trust Sir George Lloyd will concede the demand of the people in this respect.]

Karnâtak Vritt (84), 19th July.

4. If we look at the behaviour of the officials, from the Governor down to the policeman, none of them appears to have felt any regret for the sad occurrences at Dhárwár which resulted in the loss of three lives and severe injuries to some fifty or sixty innocent people. The only thing the high officials are concerned about, is how to gloss over the misdeeds of their subordinates. The press communiqués issued by Government show that they have no intention of investigating the case impartially. The readiness of the trying Magistrate to follow the police, wherever he is called, the refusal of the Magistrate and the Judge to release the accused on trial, the trial of these persons in the jail, and finally the alliance between the contractor and the police and the help given by the former to the latter in concocting evidence, all these evil omens show unmistakably that Government is scarcely inspired by any idea of doing justice in the investigation of this case. When a man is beset with calamities, the meaner sort of people take advantage of his fallen condition and seek to avenge their private wrongs; such things are going to happen in this case also. Our advice to the people at the present juncture is not to lose heart or allow themselves to be scared by the appearance of these evil omens. These omens are in a sense good omens, inasmuch as they will help to remove any doubts that might be lurking in the minds of the people regarding British justice and make the task of the non-co-operators easier. [Elsewhere in the course of a contributed article "S. B. J." writes:—Innocent people have been shot down in several places as in Dhárwár. Men like Mr. Divakar, known for their exemplary courage and integrity, have been arrested. If, in these circumstances, we remain quiet like people devoid of shame, how can we call ourselves a living nation? Is it not a shame on our part that a population of 33 crores should meekly submit to the domination of two or three lakhs of Englishmen? A few full-grown cows would make it quite difficult for a young cowherd to hold them. Are Indians then worse than cattle? To answer action by reaction is a sign of life. But we are forbidden by the Mahatma to use any kind of force in answer to the bullets of the bureaucracy. Such a course, moreover, would not be in the best interests of the nation. Is it not, therefore, necessary that we should respond to the high-handed actions of the officials in the only way recommended by the Mahatma? If we do not prove our ability to give this response, will not history proclaim to all the world that our nation, though seemingly alive, is in reality dead?]

5. The faithfulness of the balance of British justice to its masters and its refusal even by accident to turn to the side of the Indians has been again proved by what has happened in connection with the Dhárwár firing incident. That big English officials should feel thirst for Indian blood, that afterwards the Police should suddenly fire upon innocent Indians, that the Police should again fire upon those who had come with lamps to remove the dead and the wounded and that Government should declare all this to have been proper by issuing a Press Note, shows the kind of British justice we are having. A comparison of the popular version of the incident with that given in the Government communiqué proves how Government blindly believes the bureaucracy. No man in his senses can bring himself to believe that unarmed people could attack the armed police with the help of kitson lamps, as the Press Communiqué alleges to have happened. Such perversion of facts is sufficient to explain the word "satanic" which Mr. Gandhi has been applying to Government. [The *Prágatik* remarks that, all other attempts to put down non-co-operation having failed, the bureaucracy has now come to resort to firing to accomplish that end. It declares that the Dhárwár incident clearly proves that the bureaucracy means to create a permanent feeling of terror among Indians by making streams of innocent blood to flow. It opines that the 'beastly' authorities are attributing violence to the people to cover up their own crimes. The paper concludes:—If the Dhárwár officials be responsible for the murders committed, why should they not be prosecuted and severely punished?]

Prabodh (125), 17th July; *Prágatik* (129), 18th July.

6. Referring to the visit of the Honourable Mr. Hayward to Dhárwár in connection with the Dhárwár shooting case, the *Vijaya* says:—The Honourable Mr. Hayward spoke sweet words and promised to appoint a special officer to try the case, saying that it was impossible to appoint a Commission for that purpose. It is thus clear that the case will be tried by a man belonging to the very class against some members of which allegations of a grave nature have been made. Will such an officer give justice against his brother officers? An independent commission acceptable to both the parties would have been able to hear both sides impartially and the real facts would thus have come to light. [In a subsequent issue the paper says that from the information which it has received regarding the conversation which took place between Mr. Hayward and the leaders at Dhárwár, there appears no hope that justice will be done to the people. The paper expresses its belief that Mr. Hayward had gone to Dhárwár with the object of collecting information which would strengthen the hands of Government, and enable it to issue another Press Note in reply to the *Bombay Chronicle*. In support of its contention, the paper says that when a number of witnesses came forward to give evidence unfavourable to Government, Mr. Hayward abruptly brought the conversation to a close, saying that he had no time to hear what they had to say. Mr. Hayward is also reported to have said that the people would not be satisfied even if an independent commission were appointed, because it is bound to include some European or other and a European would not be acceptable to the people merely because he is a European. The paper asks who is responsible if things have come to such a pass. In another place, the paper refers to the trial which is going on before a Special Officer, and says that all those who belonged to the side of the prosecution were admitted into the jail, while people who belonged to the other side, including the pleaders of the accused, were refused admission. The paper asks how in such circumstances the public are to know if any trial was held at all and whether this is the sort of justice which Mr. Hayward promised. Concluding, the paper asks the lawyers to learn a lesson from what was happening around them and appeals to them to be self-respecting and to give up their practice.]

The Honourable Mr. Hayward's visit to Dhárwár in connection with the shooting affair.

Vijaya (90), 18th and 20th July.

7. "The Honourable Mr. Hayward has visited Dhárwár and the visit, as it might have been expected, ended in the usual manner. Mr. Hayward gave the usual official excuse that the police investigation was almost

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th July.

complete and, therefore, could not be abandoned and he gave the usual official promise that a special magistrate would be appointed to hear the case. It is true Mr. Hayward had an interview with the President of the District Congress Committee. But the public point of view, which was urged on his attention, was completely ignored by him.......... The main reason why the local officials are anxious to proceed with the prosecutions organised and manipulated by themselves is that most of the accused in the case are the persons who, if they were free, would give the most damaging evidence against the officials themselves. What has happened is that in Dhárwár those whose own conduct requires to be investigated are the prosecutors of those whose evidence would be most valuable in the investigation, if it were undertaken, as it should be, by a Government jealous of its reputation and anxious to vindicate justice. Justice in Dhárwár has thus become a topsy-turvy affair and it is not surprising that attempts should be made to save the faces of officials who, if the allegations against them are true, deserve the severest punishment. What is, however, amazing is that the Government of Sir George Lloyd should connive at such a scandalous attempt to pervert justice."

Loka Bandhu (85), 17th July.

8. His Excellency the Governor might have sent here this ex-judge of the High Court for giving utterance to some hollow expressions of sympathy. There were rumours to the effect that His Excellency would visit this place personally. Can it be that His Excellency was ashamed to show his face, bearing as it does the stain of murder, to the people of Dhárwár? Or was he informed by the local officials that the town was in a disturbed condition? But it matters little who visits this town. So long as the Government tamely surrenders itself to the domination of the local officials, out of mistaken notions of prestige, British justice is as good as dead.

The Reforms have failed entirely in doing away with bureaucracy.

Mahrátta (7), 24th July.

***9.** In the course of a communication in the *Mahrátta*, one Mr. Jayarao Sulikeri writes :—" The Reforms were hailed by all India to produce 'New Era', 'a change in the angle of vision', if I remember aright; the Reforms have failed entirely to kill the bureaucratic life—for the sake of which they were supposed to have incarnated. That the Reforms have failed in doing away with the life, is evident from the fact that its mischievous activities are now in full swing and are keenly felt in every nook and corner of this hapless country. What is it that one is finding to-day in India under 'New Era' and 'changed angle of vision'? Shooting and firing, bleeding and groaning, gagging and arresting—to the extent unknown before—are found everywhere from Cape Camorin to Himalayas. This 'New Era' is really a change—not for the better, but for the worse—and if Indian has acquired any change by the Reforms—it is a change for the latter."

Comments on the suggestions of Mr. Seshgiri Iyer for removing discontent in India.

Sind Observer (10), 13th July.

10. Referring to the means suggested by Mr. Seshgiri Iyer for removing the discontent in India, the *Sind Observer* remarks :—" We are not sure diarchy in Central Government will give the country the relief it is in need of when the non-co-operators are talking of Republic and Civil Disobedience. A time-limit for *swardj* may allay the present discontent. We agree with Mr. Iyer that such men as those who got eighteen months for stone-throwing at the hands of a newly appointed City Magistrate in Karáchi, who showed more zeal than discretion in awarding such a harsh punishment, should, at least, be released now. Whether Government is willing to release the rest or not, men like Swami Govindanand should be treated as first class misdemeanants, not asked to do hard work like common felons, and allowed to write and read books and papers in the jail.......... It is better to treat them in jail with consideration so that they may not come out with embittered feelings against the *sirkar*. This is the only civilised country where political prisoners are so badly treated. We await with interest what answers Government will be pleased to vouchsafe to Mr. Gulam Hussain's questions in this matter."

Lessons of the Irish struggle for independence.
New Times (8), 16th July.

11. Referring to the pourparlers with regard to the settlement of the Irish question, the *New Times* remarks:—"The Irish struggle is not without its lessons. It shows the failure of the Government's policy of force......... A campaign of violence, indeed, cannot succeed against a nation with a passion for freedom. Force has not proved a remedy in the case of Ireland; no more will it, in the case of India. Powerlessness of power; weakness of strength—such is the one great lesson of the Irish struggle. You cannot govern, in the long run, by force; you can govern only by consent, by co-operation of the people; and once that co-operation is withdrawn, you must fail—you might notwithstanding. There is something which can vanquish even overwhelming forces; that is a united nation's will. In his proclamation to the Irish people asking them to observe the truce honourably, De Velera rightly says:—'Your discipline must prove that this is the struggle of an organised nation.' He adds:—'An unbending determination to endure all that may still be necessary, and fortitude such as you have shown in all your recent sufferings, may still be required and these alone will lead to the desired peace.' The words have a message also for the Indian nation struggling to-day for freedom. In our union and discipline and determination to suffer for the nation is the promise of our Future."

Sir Thomas Holland and the purchase of stores for India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st July.

12. "The Stores Purchase Committee produced a majority report signed by all the non-officials against the minority report signed by two officials, one of them being the Chief Store-keeper of the India Office. Instead of carrying out the recommendations arising out of the suggestions of the Industries Commission, Government have postponed all action on the majority report of the Stores Committee and have proceeded to adopt the principles laid down in the minority report, which practically involve the continuance of the existing thraldom for India—namely, the purchase of everything in the United Kingdom, even if it is produced in India or can be bought cheaper in other countries. Government have recently re-imposed the old Stores Rules under which no officer can purchase stores worth not more than a certain very small amount locally, but must send his indent, for all orders beyond that sum even if it can be purchased locally at a cheaper price and is of a satisfactory quality. How could it be otherwise when our industrial affairs are handled by sweet-tongued officials like Sir Thomas Holland? This gentleman, after a highly adventurous career, has by sheer force and push, come right in the centre of administration. About his capacity there may not be two opinions, but what the Indian public would sooner have is a man not perhaps as capable but more willing to carry out the promises which have been made to them from time to time.......... With a facetious show of sarcasm, Sir Thomas Holland, during his recent visit to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, pointed out that purchases were made not by the Secretary of State but by the High Commissioner, as if the distinction were sufficient to answer the grievance. All this combativeness does not touch the real question. The proceeds of the sterling loan have been earmaked for railway purchases and it is to the interest of India to get them in the cheapest market. If Sir Thomas Holland is able to satisfy himself and the Indian public that locomotives are cheaper in Great Britain than in America and the Continent, he has no occasion to indulge either in jeer or in apology, since the interest of India is served by retaining the orders in Britain. But railway materials do not consist of locomotives only. And if present quotations are trustworthy, materials in Britain are costlier than on the Continent.......... Irrespective of the advantage or the disadvantage to India the Secretary of State bound himself to spend the money in Britain, and it is useless now to talk of the High Commissioner's identity or of his discretion when Mr. Mantagu was, in advance, made by his advisers to confine the market to Britain and enable manufacturers, severally or in secret combination, to state their prices and dispense the Loan Capital into their pockets."

The Imperial Conference and Indians in the Colonies.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st July.

13. "While the Colonial Office, in its communiqué summing up the results of the Special Conference held on the 15th instant, is careful to tell us all about the discussion on air, cable and wireless communications, it refrains from shedding light on the further debate that must have taken place on the subject of the position of Indians in the Empire.......... We shall not at all be surprised to find that the whole thing has ended in smoke and that the upshot of Mr. Sastri's much-boomed 'mission' has been merely to secure for him, personally, a few compliments from his Imperial 'colleagues' and the freedom of the City of London. If Mr. Sastri has achieved anything more, we are yet to know. The spectacle, however, of Mr. Sastri receiving the 'freedom' of London, while his compatriots are being treated no better than dogs in some of the Colonies, is, indeed, sufficient to make angels weep."

Comments on the relations between the tea planters and the coolies in Assam.
Vijaya (90), 20th July.

14. Referring to the Khoreal shooting case, the *Vijaya* says that the coolies in the tea plantations are regarded by the planters as slaves and their women-folk as objects for their enjoyment. The paper adds that the conditions of illiteracy, ignorance and slavery which prevail amongst the coolies employed in the tea gardens have helped to foster the idea in the minds of some of the coolies that they are bound to offer their women to the European planters and that the Europeans are sedulously encouraging this idea and are thus helping to undermine the morals of the coolie population.

Mr. Gupte's Liquor Prohibition Bill.
Swarájya (145), 21st July.

15. Commenting upon the reply given by Government to Mr. V. R. Gupte, M.L.C., that they cannot allow him to bring forward his Liquor Prohibition Bill in the absence of sanction from the Government of India, the *Swarájya* writes:—We trust Mr. Gupte will not give up the attempt but will try again to get his measure passed. But we must also say a few words here in regard to the attitude of Government in such matters. People generally wish that the drink traffic should cease, and it is the duty of Government to defer to their will. It is not right that they should disallow a Bill like that proposed by Mr. Gupte on a flimsy pretext. Besides, such conduct on their part discourages even the Moderates. Government always tell the Moderates to side with them and to have nothing to do with the non-co-operators, and in obedience to their will these poor people also always take sides with them. But when a Bill proposed by one of them is disallowed, they are pained to find that they have influence neither with Government nor with the people. Therefore, nothing will be lost if Government will show a little magnanimity in such trifling matters, not of course to give satisfaction to the nationalists but to keep the Moderates pleased.

Comments on Lord Reading's reply to the address of the United Provinces Liberal Association.
Gujaráti (15), 17th July.

16. Lord Reading's pronouncements during the last three months forces us to the conclusion that he will not be able to lead the nationalists of this country. The reply given by Lord Reading to an address presented to him by a deputation of the United Provinces Liberal Association goes to show that he is no longer a novice in Indian politics and that he has begun to form his own opinions on certain questions. Mr. Montagu gave us reasons to hope that Lord Reading would take steps to give responsible self-government to India during his tenure of office, but the speech goes a great way in discouraging us from entertaining such hopes. Three things stand out prominently in the Indian politics of the day: Indians have lost faith in British justice, they have lost faith in British pledges and have ceased to think that India stands to gain by the British connection. Lord Reading talked a good deal about justice on landing in India; but now he asks us to forget and forgive! Lord Reading seems to forget that Indians cannot possibly forget the wrongs done to them as long as the root causes of injustice are not removed. Lord Reading should cease

talking of justice and should proceed to punish those officers who were responsible for the Punjáb atrocities and who have escaped scot-free. It is well known that Indians do not get justice in cases against Europeans. Lord Reading has promised to investigate into the matter. We, however, do not think that he will be able to do anything in the matter. The bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indians are more than a match for him.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Calcutta Marwari Association.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 18th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 18th July.

17. The reply given by His Excellency Lord Reading to the deputation of the Marwari Association of Calcutta that recently waited upon him, though not likely to give unqualified satisfaction to the Indian mercantile interests, is all the same instinct with sympathy and goes to prove the desire on the part of Lord Reading to advance the interests of Indian trade and commerce. Undue preference in the matter of railway freights have created a feeling of sourness in the hearts of Indian merchants and we hope the Committee appointed to enquire into the question will recommend the removal of the preferential rates complained of by the Marwari Association. We regret to have to say that the Viceroy's reply in the matter of exchange is not likely to throw any light on the question or to ease the situation. Exchange has now fallen below 1*s.* 4*d.* and Government should do something to afford some relief to Indian merchants. We are fully in accord with the views expressed by the Viceroy in the matter of special communal representation. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers the Viceroy's reply as full of sympathy and as proof positive of his solicitude for the industrial and commercial welfare of India.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd July.

18. "No one could have read the homily delivered by the Viceroy in reply to the address of the Marwari Association without being struck by the similarity of the vague generalisations therein contained with those in his reply to the address of welcome by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in Bombay. The intervening space of so many months has not, we are afraid, brought home to the Viceroy, the intensity of mistrust and suspicion with which Indian businessmen have come to look upon the operations of the Government in so far as they affect trade, industry and finances of the country.......... We cannot compliment Lord Reading on his reference to the Fiscal Commission. It appears the Government have not understood the issue as it strikes the public of India. The people of India do not want any costly committee of enquiry in which one or two Indians may figure, whose report will practically be a foregone conclusion, inspired by officials. If fiscal independence (the phrase which Lord Reading used) has any special meaning at all, then the fiscal system which should be fixed should be one which may be devised by thoughtful Indian businessmen who could be trusted not to suggest anything revolutionary but to take definite practical action so as to turn the tariffs of the country to the advantage of industrial enterprise as controlled and promoted by Indians.......... A Commission of which an Indian is not the Chairman and on which there is not an Indian majority will be unacceptable to Indian commercial bodies and would not command any confidence. The reference of the Viceroy to trade and exchange was delightfully vague. To say that every country must export its surplus and get in return goods which it needs is a truism, but to imply that India cannot be self-sufficient in the matter of her industrial needs is to contradict an article of faith which is entertained by every Indian who knows that the raw materials of his country could be turned into finished goods here and not only for cloth but practically for every other article of daily need. India could under a national Government become absolutely self-sufficient."

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales.

Praja Bandhu (28), 17th July, Eng. cols.; *Sind Observer* (10), 14th July.

19. "Close upon the heels of the Duke's visit is announced the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and Mahatma Gandhi reiterates his injunction, 'India will refuse to welcome a representative of a system of which she is sick unto death.' We do not know what good the authorities both here and in England find in springing costly pageants upon the people

from time to time. They have long since passed the stage when they were pleased so easily. Now they demand something tangible and substantial. Unless, therefore, the Prince's visit is made the occasion for conferring that, it too is bound to meet with the fate of the Duke's visit. Will the authorities realize this?" [The *Sind Observer* remarks:—"The Prince in spite of non-co-operators will receive a very hearty welcome. It will be a great pity if the Prince's progress is marked by *hartals* and other unhappy scenes which disgraced the country when the Duke visited it.......... The Prince is a winsome man and we hope he will make even the non-co-operators to see the folly of their ways."]

Hindi Punch (19), 17th July.; * *Kaiser-i-Hind* (23), 24th July, Eng. cols.

20. "Corporator Fainéant" writes in the *Hindi Punch*:—"His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, before starting for his Indian tour, will take complete rest for two months and will not attend any functions during August and September......... He will, I hope, be a giant refreshed by the two months' compulsory holiday, and by the end of October will be in the robustest of health to undertake his Indian journey. All India fervently prays for the continuous good health of His Royal Highness. Nothing untoward should happen to mar the joy and enthusiasm that the millions of India feel at the prospect of the Royal Visit. It will cause the deepest disappointment if the fates again become averse and cause its postponement on the score of the health of the Royal Visitor. Already the cablegrams to India about the Prince's health are interpreted by some augurs of evil as the precursors of the announcement to be made hereafter that the Royal Visit has been postponed for a year more after consulting the medical advisers of His Royal Highness. I hope they will prove false prophets and the loyal and devoted millions of India will have the opportunity four months hence to welcome the great-grandson of Victoria the Good and the grandson of Edward the Peace-maker—both good and great Rulers who have left indelible marks on the heart of Hind by their wise and sympathetic rule." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—"It is no wonder that the Prince's health should have been somewhat impaired for it appears from accounts given in the Home papers that ever since his return to England from his Dominion tour he has taken a strenuous part in public activities. The Prince has a high sense of his own duties and he recently made a tour of the West of England where he was enthusiastically received by all classes of people. The Prince has endeared himself to all by his charming manners and his natural good temper and vivacity. We hope that the two months of rest which he will enjoy will so completely restore his health that he will be able to thoroughly enjoy his forthcoming visit to this country."]

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 21st July; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 20th July.

21. The non-co-operators are threatening to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales because they think that he is to come here to support the present objectionable system of administration. But he is to come here only as a representative of his Royal father and the Royal family and not as that of the British administration. The Royal family is aware of the loyalty of the Indians towards the Crown, and the King-Emperor has thought it fit to send the Prince to India at such a time of unrest in order that the old loyalty might be sustained and intensified and that the minds of the Indian people may be calmed down. The boycott of his visit by the non-co-operators will not hasten the attainment of *swaráj* by a single day. If the Indians accord welcome to the Prince that would not mean that they consider the present system of administration to be either just or desirable. It would only be an acknowledgment of his sympathy and that of the Royal family towards India. We hope that the Prince will visit this country. [With regard to the report that the Prince has been advised to take complete rest for two months, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks:—We pray that the Prince may be restored to full health after this compulsory rest. We hope that he will meet his loyal Indian subjects according to the arrangements already made and try to confirm the relations of mutual affection and mutual trust set up by the descendants of Queen Victoria with India. One party maintains that the Indian people are prepared to welcome him in the hope of receiving some gifts, while the other party tries to get the visit cancelled by declaring that the Prince has no power under the constitution to make any gifts and hence the people cannot in any way be enthusiastic about his visit. We are afraid that both these parties do injustice to the Indian people. Whether he brings any gifts for India or not, or whether he has any power to make gifts or not, it has been proved beyond doubt through previous experiences of Royal visits that they have turned out to be blessings to India, fruitful of good results, and have made public life in India more hopeful. The Indian people consider it their duty to welcome the Prince and make him fully acquainted with their condition. But still, if his visit is postponed for reasons of health, they will not object to its being deferred to more happy and auspicious times.]

The Bombay Corporation's address to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Kesari (111), 19th July.

22. The *Kesari* comments with satisfaction on the opposition offered by Dr. Velkar and Mr. Motiwala to the resolution proposed by Dr. Sukhia in the Bombay Corporation for presenting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on his arrival in India. It is not surprised, it says, at the adoption of the resolution by that body constituted as it is at present. It ridicules the remark made by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas at the Corporation meeting that the visit would involve self-sacrifice on the part of His Royal Highness and inquires how Mr. Jamnadas came to discover that sumptuous banquets and shooting expeditions involve any sacrifice on the part of anybody. It sarcastically remarks that the recovery of the Prince from his reported indisposition so as to be able to undertake the voyage to India largely depends upon the political atmosphere in the country in the near future.

Boycott of foreign cloth.

Bharatvási (155), 13th July.

23. We are of opinion that boycott of English goods would be our legitimate weapon of punishing England, if she refused to grant India her rights. But we feel that she has given India some substantial reforms. At the same time it is our duty to ask England to give us more power now and also to fix the date of granting us complete Home Rule. When she refuses to do that, there will be no harm in using any legitimate weapon of punishing her. But to make the punishment effective, only English cloth should be boycotted and other foreign cloth should be received freely till India is able to satisfy her own requirements from her own manufactured cloth. Further, the import of other English goods also should be stopped, as this will render the boycott even more effective. Our total foreign imports are valued at 130 crores out of which the British imports of cloth are worth about 45 crores, the rest being imported from other countries. Now, during the war, England was spending something like 210 crores per month. Hence the loss per year of 45 crores by boycott of cloth cannot immediately make any appreciable effect on England. Moreover, only recently she has received waggon-loads of gold and guineas from Germany. It is therefore foolish to expect boycott of cloth to compel her to grant us Home Rule by August or even by October. Mahatma also seems to feel like that. Otherwise we do not see why he should have restarted his talk of passive resistance or other like measures. There is one other matter to which we would draw the attention of our readers. This boycott will alienate the sympathies of the labour classes of England, through whose good-will and assistance we have a great chance of gaining our object. Under these circumstances we feel that boycott should not be resorted to, as it is a method of revenge and punishment. Swadeshi is the better way, and we can achieve our object by it as successfully as otherwise.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 18th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 19th July; *Political Bhomiyo* (72), 22nd July; *Insáf* (67), 15th July.

24. In spite of our sympathy for true Swadeshi, we regret to say that we cannot lend our support to the movement started by Mr. Gandhi for boycotting foreign cloth as it is, in our opinion, fraught with harm to the mercantile classes and the general public alike. The movement, it is believed, is to be supplemented by the picketing of foreign cloth shops, and we are afraid that such picketing will have the same harmful effects it produced in the case of the temperance movement. We are firmly of opinion that the movement for boycotting foreign cloth will never be able to achieve the success its promoters mean to secure. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also declares that the movement for boycotting foreign cloth is doomed to failure and will spell the fall of Mr. Gandhi. The *Political Bhomiyo* writes:—Mr. Gandhi first suggested that a bonfire should be made of foreign cloth on the 1st of August, but when he met with opposition for such an absurd suggestion he has now toned down and declares that his suggestion is to be carried out in the matter of wearing apparel only and not in respect of bales or pieces of cloth! We wish Mr. Gandhi had confined himself to pure Swadeshi and had not lent his countenance to the boycott movement which engenders hatred and places the merchants in an awkward position and impoverishes the people. We feel sure that the boycott movement will meet with the failure which Mr. Gandhi's other activities have met. The *Insáf*, on the other hand, expresses hope that Bombay will accord a ready response to Mr. Gandhi's appeal to boycott foreign cloth and help India to free herself from the iron grip of Manchester].

Navjivan (70), 17th July.

25. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—Many suggestions have been made to me to the effect that foreign cloth should be given to the poor or sent abroad instead of being burnt. After considering all the arguments advanced in support of these suggestions, I have come to the conclusion that foreign cloth must be burnt. If we consider it a sin to use foreign cloth, we must regard it as filth and should never transfer it to others. Hindus, Muhammadans and Pársis should consider it unlawful to use foreign cloth. In order to create such a feeling amongst the people, I consider it very necessary that we should burn foreign cloth in our possession. I shall, therefore, consider it an act of self-purification on the part of the people if they burn all their wearing apparel of foreign manufacture on the 1st of August.

Mahrátta (7), 24th July.

*26. "There is fairly a consternation in the camp of the apostles of foreign exploitation in India by the declared determination of Mahatma Gandhi to get the foreign cloth boycotted in India by the end of August next. Mahátma Gandhi has all along put Swadeshi in the forefront in his programme of non-co-operation and we for one find in it the real solution of the problem of economic bondage of India. India did produce sufficient cloth to clothe its citizens and would have continued to do so but for the vicious passion for using glossy, fine foreign cloth, which passes under the camouflage of higher standard of living. It is generally the rulers who set what is called fashion and the idea of getting dressed in the tip-top-style of the rulers engendered the use of foreign cloth throughout. For forty years the late Lokamanya Tilak fought against this mental slavery and his life-long work is coming to fruition. All Maharashtra shall give its hearty support not by simple mental acceptance of the Swadeshi creed but by actual practice in daily life. We cannot understand either the view-point or the logic of those who object to the present movement of boycott of foreign cloth which is nothing but intensified Swadeshi.......... All nations including England raised high tariff walls to support their infant industries and in absence of that effective power India has to take recourse to Swadeshi. India produces sufficient cotton to get sufficient stock of clothes out of it. India is a past master of the art of weaving. If once we give up the hankering of fine cloth and get accustomed to use rough and only minimum clothing needed in India's climate, we believe the problem is practically solved.......... The Indian mills, in their turn, will increase their production intensively and extensively and their number will also increase. Thus there is strong potential power in the movement which none can gainsay. Messrs. V. J. Patel and J. K. Mehta have indeed done a public service by their pamphlet which puts before our eyes, as if in a mirror, the present state of our piece-goods industry.......... Messrs. Patel and Mehta prove by the figures that if there are ten lakhs of spinning-wheels in operation with an adequate number of looms there can be no scarcity of goods. They prove it that Swadeshi or boycott of foreign cloth is neither 'chimerical' nor 'political lunacy'. On the contrary 'this red herring of scarcity of goods to meet the requirements of India is drawn across the trail needlessly by those who will not or cannot help the movement.' Let none be deceived by the brave show of figures put forward by interested persons nor hear their disquisition of economic laws which are twisted to suit their arguments. India has determined to win *swarájya*, from unwilling hands. It is not simply a figure of speech when it is said that India is at war. India is indeed at war with its economic and political bondage and thus in a sense with the present system of government. No nation that is at war, even in its limited sense, can afford to be dependent for its necessities upon foreign nations. There can be and there is no difference of opinion regarding the Swadeshi. Let India do its duty and prove its capacity to win *swarájya*!"

Lokasangraha (116), 18th July; *Lokamánya* (115) 17th July.

27. England exports cotton goods to this country in very large quantities. The English have not only enslaved our bodies but they have clothed them, too, with cloth manufactured by themselves as if to remind us always of our slavery. This state of things must be galling to every man and he must work incessantly to put and end to it. The task is not as easy as it appears to be at first sight. We import cloth from England annually worth about sixty crores of rupees and if we desire to stop this import we must not only burn our present foreign articles of clothing but should take other steps as well to gain our object. We should try to secure fiscal autonomy for India. After that we should devote our attention to the development of our industries. Whatever Mahatma Gandhi may say, the spinning-wheel and the handloom will never be able to oust English cloth. The factory, and not the *charka*, can stop the import of foreign cloth. [The *Lokamánya* asks its readers to believe that the boycott movement is not in any way connected with politics and that it is an economic necessity with the people of this country.]

Hindu (158), 13th July.

28. Under the headings "Remember Lokamanya Tilak," "Boycott foreign cloth by the 1st of August," "Save India from starvation by boycotting foreign cloth," "If you wish for India's liberty boycott foreign cloth," "Respond to the appeal of the Mother of the oppressed brothers and of Mahatma Gandhi, and boycott foreign cloth," and "Indians, remove the blot of slavery and disgrace from your heads" the *Hindu* writes:—The foreign cloth that we use is the cause of the slavery of India. We should be ashamed for bringing this blot of slavery upon ourselves! If we do not yet wake up and boycott foreign cloth, we ought to drown ourselves in the nearest tank or well, so that the world may not see our sullied faces! Remember the 1st of August. The anniversary day of Lokamanya Tilak. India has solemnly resolved, and Mahatma Gandhi has directed, that if Indians have any regard for Lokamanya Tilak, foreign cloth should be boycotted before the day of his anniversary! No one should henceforth buy any foreign cloth. If he buys any, he will be considered an enemy of his country and his nation. Brothers! wake up. Liberate your country soon!! Never use any foreign cloth!!!

Sanj Vartamán (31), 22nd July.

29. We feel sure that many people will assemble on the sands at Chowpati in Bombay on the 1st of August to celebrate the anniversary of the death of Mr. Tilak. People will be said to have observed the anniversary of Mr. Tilak's death only when each of them goes to Chowpati clad in *khadi* from head to foot and takes a vow not to use cloth of foreign manufacture or cloth made out of foreign yarn. Mr. Gandhi has made a suggestion that people should make a bon-fire of foreign cloth on that day, but many people do not like it as they are of the opinion that it would be much better to give away foreign cloth to the poor than to destroy it by burning. We, therefore, think that those who are in favour of burning foreign cloth may do so and those who want to give it away to the poor or send it out to Smyrna may do as they like. The question of making a bon-fire of foreign cloth is not a very important one. We are chiefly concerned with the question of boycotting foreign cloth and encouraging Swadeshi. *Swarâj* will be gained at the point of the spindle. We would, therefore, ask the people to take a vow to boycott foreign cloth before the 1st of August.

Gujaráti (15), 24th July, Eng. cols.

***30.** "There are thousands of people who feel great respect for Mahatma Gandhi but disapprove of his programme. But they dare not openly criticise or oppose. The classes of people that he is now trying to influence for procuring the boycott of foreign goods in Bombay and elsewhere belong more or less to this category. They remain silent or acquiescent in his presence and have not the courage to place before him their real convictions and sentiments with absolute candour and thus convince him of the untenability of his economic dogmas and the unsoundness of his post-haste methods for the economic salvation of India......... Those who are far removed from his direct influence are much more outspoken......... Mr. Gandhi's conference with the piece-goods merchants at the Mulji Jetha Market Hall on the 8th instant does not seem to have won them over to his views. It is a noteworthy feature of his mentality that when he begins to pursue one idea, for the time being he forgets the other items embodied in his programme. When he was busy persuading the cloth merchants and others to contribute to the All-India Swarájya Memorial Fund, he went on telling them that they would get *swaráj* only if one crore of rupees were collected by the end of June. When he deals with the question of 'untouchability,' he allows himself to be carried away by his views on the subject and declares that *swarájya* can only be obtained by the removal of this dark spot upon Hinduism. His attitude is the same with reference to the enrolment of one crore of members for the Congress, distribution of 20 lakhs of *charkhas* and abandonment of the drink habit. Following his usual practice he told the piece-goods merchants that *swarájya* could only be secured when they boycotted foreign cloth. He appealed to them to take the world by surprise on the anniversary day of the late Mr. Tilak, *i.e.*, the 1st of August, by boycotting foreign cloth. At another meeting of the members of the different Commission Agents' Associations he exhorted them to forsake their agency for supplying foreign cloth to their constituents and if they did so, they would obtain *swarájya* in a month. It is a matter of profound regret that the Mahatmaji should allow himself to indulge in such exaggerated hopes and estimates and allure the people from the path of steady and patient work. Surely he knows the actual truth and it is incomprehensible to us why he should fight shy of it and run counter to his high principles even in the name of Swadeshism or *swarájya*......... We are painfully astonished to find that Mahatma Gandhi who, it is complained in many quarters, often drives in motors in the course of his peregrinations in the country and uses foreign machinery for his *Young India*, should call upon the piece-goods merchants and others to 'burn their clothes made of foreign cloth,' when hundreds and thousands of starving men, women and children find it well-nigh impossible to get cloth that is absolutely necessary just to cover their bodies. We do not think that his doctrine of economic hatred, though he disclaims any such feeling on his part, should be carried to such an extent, when sufficient Swadeshi cloth is not and will not be available for years together.......... Supply sufficient Swadeshi cloth to meet the requirements of the various classes of the population. That is the general demand on the part of the people. The feeling of the country is in favour of Swadeshi and what is wanted is an adequate supply of Swadeshi goods of every kind to take the place of imported articles. Where are they? Echo answers where? Let us all do what we possibly can to promote the cause of Swadeshism on sound lines and in a spirit of patriotism. But that cannot be accomplished by violating the elementary principles of economics or disregarding the prudential dictates of common sense and wordly experience, the hard realities of human nature or the vastness and complexity of the Indian economic problem. Too much haste is waste in the normal affairs of life and is no less so in politics or economics."

Comments on the anti-drink campaign.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 23rd July.

31. In the course of a long article in which it reviews the proceedings of the recent meeting of liquor shop-keepers in Bombay addressed by Mr. Gandhi, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—Mr. Gandhi has ordered the liquor shop-keepers to give up their profession at any sacrifice. It is not so easy to practise as it is to preach. To hope to stop the liquor traffic, which had been going on for hundreds of years, at the call of the non-co-operators would be to expect to achieve the impossible. We cannot believe that the liquor traffic can be completely stopped either by means of such intimidation or by the fear of rivers of blood. We draw the attention of all to the warning given by Mr. Gandhi, and request him to withdraw from a step which is likely to lead not only this city but the whole country towards bloodshed. Can the temperance movement not be conducted peacefully? What is the use of shedding blood or giving up one's life for it? We do not approve of the methods adopted by Mr. Gandhi, in spite of our desire to see that the consumption of liquor is reduced. We wish that they would copy the methods adopted in America in this matter. On the one hand Mr. Gandhi says that the orders of the authorities should be obeyed, and on the other hand he declares that he will refuse to move from the vicinity of the liquor shops when ordered to do so by the Police, and that he is prepared to put his life in danger of being fired upon. Does this befit a thoughtful, farsighted and cool-headed politician?

Sánj Vartmán (31), 20th July; *Hind Mitra* (18), 17th July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 21st July.

32. We do not want to bring any pressure to bear upon the liquor-shop-keepers. We only request them to give up their profession. But we are sorry to say that they do not seem to behave honestly with Mr. Gandhi. The main question which they are called upon to answer is whether they want to put an end to the liquor traffic or not. If they do not want to do so willingly, they should tell so plainly to Mr. Gandhi. Then, till *swarájya* is attained there will remain only one weapon in the hands of the public to dissuade people from visiting liquor-shops, and that is picketing. If picketing is well organized in Bombay, all the liquor shops will have to be closed within six months. We earnestly appeal to the liquor-shop-keepers to ponder well upon the plain warning that has been given to them by Mr. Gandhi. The honour of the whole Pársi Community rests with the Bombay Pársi liquor-shop-keepers. We hope that they will duly safeguard it. [With regard to the alleged willingness of the liquor-shop-keepers to close their shops if their license-fees are returned to them, the *Hind Mitra* remarks:—Now the only remedy to eradicate the drink evil from the country rests with Government. They should return the license-fees which they have taken in advance from the liquor-shop-keepers, and stop the distillation of country liquor and the import of foreign spirits. The only argument that the authorities advance against this is that excise revenue to the tune of crores of rupees will cease and the poor people will have to pay some other new tax. This is only an evasive excuse. From whose pockets do Government derive the present excise revenue? Government should understand that the days when such excuses could be offered are gone. They should work side by side with Mr. Gandhi and his lieutenants in order to save the people from the evil of drink. It is their duty to do so as the *ma-bap* of the people. We trust that they will consult with a deputation consisting of Mr. Gandhi and other leaders and remove the only obstacle that stands in the way of the liquor-shop-keepers giving up their profession. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, on the other hand, writes:—The liquor-shop-keepers have again expressed their willingness to close their shops if Government return their license-fees to them and assure them that they will not give out the licenses to others. This demand of theirs is just like a challenge that cannot be taken up. In reply to this, Mr. Gandhi has warned them and told them that if they do not agree to do what he wants, picketing would be resumed next month and rivers of blood would begin to flow. We are really shocked to hear those words from the mouth of the high priest of non-violent non-co-operation. It is still more deplorable that, in spite of the fact that this high priest of non-violence is sure that rivers of blood will flow as a result of picketing, still he is prepared to resume it. After these words uttered by him, how can his non-co-operation movement be called non-violent?]

Rastra Veer (133), 17th July.

33. Liquor is worse than poison, the latter destroys the body of the consumer only; the former destroys the whole family and the body social. When all saints and great men have been denouncing the drink-evil, is it not a strange and regrettable thing that the parental Government should encourage it? Does not a Government allowing liquor traffic under its rule deserve greater condemnation in the present circumstances than a mother administering poison to her child? It does not become the parental Government to be ready to open and protect liquor shops for the sake of revenue just like a mean-minded person, when the people are unitedly demanding that the manufacture and sale of liquor should be made a punishable offence. Government should understand that the anti-drink movement is not a new one but of long standing and is not born of non-co-operation though now it has been placed on a more organised basis owing to the awakening among the people. Government should not, therefore, be afraid of losing their prestige if they yield to it. For yielding to a popular demand strengthens the prestige of Government instead of lessening it.

Lokasangraha (116), 21st July.

34. Commenting upon the sentence of fine inflicted on a picketer at Poona for interfering with a liquor-shop-keeper's man, the *Lokasangraha* writes:—Picketing has been prohibited at Belgaum and there are clear signs that the authorities at Poona also are going to adopt the same course. We shall welcome the advent of the day on which picketers and others interested in the anti-drink movement are punished although perfectly innocent. Signs are visible that that day is not far distant. We warn Government that the punishing of the innocent will not fail to harm them in the long run. People who have taken part in the movement have done so after duly weighing the consequences. Government should bear well in mind that if they resort to repression on flimsy grounds the weapon they wield may perchance recoil on themselves.

Bharátvasi (155), 12th July.

35. Mahatma Gandhi's ideals of prohibition of liquor, development of the spinning-wheel and propagation of Swadeshi are certainly very good; but the same cannot be said about the methods resorted to to achieve those ideals. There are two ways of stopping the use of liquor. One is to get a law passed, prohibiting and penalizing the manufacture and import of liquor. This way is advocated by those who are called the Moderates. And we are also for it. The other is to place such moral and religious considerations before the minds of the habitual drinkers, that they give up drinking of their own accord. The non-co-operators say that they have adopted this method. When picketing liquor-shops, some of them are no doubt actuated by religious and moral considerations. But we know of several cases where people have been ill-treated and liquor shops destroyed. Those who disapprove of Mahatma Gandhi's methods say that the object of the liquor prohibition campaign is political and not religious. And there is ample proof in support of this assertion. Mr. Mahomed Ali's speech at Karáchi on Friday last contains the following passage:—"As regards Passive Resistance, Mahatma Gandhi says that we shall do picketing in front of liquor shops, and we shall obstruct the road, and prevent drinkers from entering the shops." This shows that force and not persuasion is to be used in stopping the drink habit. And the object of obstructing the road is clearly to come into conflict with the Police, as is plain from another portion of Mr. Mahomed Ali's speech, where he says "The Police will ask us to clear the road, but we shall refuse to do that...... Then they will be obliged either to arrest us or to fire on us." Road obstruction being an offence, the Police cannot be blamed if they use force in order to remove the obstruction. Here is another passage from Mr. Mahomed Ali's speech: "As soon as the Police touch us, our victory will be assured. The world will then see that Indians were sent to jail for prohibiting the use of liquor." This is taking a very wrong view. Picketing has been going on in Hyderabad on a very large scale; but we have never found the Police making any arrests or firing on any one on that account. Road obstruction, however, will be an ample justification for the Police to employ force to remove it. Mr. Mahomed Ali's speech makes it quite clear that the object of the liquor prohibition campaign is to come into conflict with the Government, so that India may again have a taste of such sad occurrences as that of the Jallianwala Bagh. Mr. Mahomed Ali does not of course care if India goes to hell, so long as his object of fighting the Government is achieved.

Can the liquor-shop-keepers claim a refund of their license fees.

Servant of India (9), 21st July.

36. "It is very funny to see Mr. Gandhi putting up the vendors of abkari licences to approach the Government for a refund of their licence fee. On account of the picketing campaign the contractors have suffered a loss. Now, picketing, in theory at least, means nothing more than an intensified use of moral suasion. Persuasion has always been allowed by law and the contractors, when they bid, always take into account the possibility of persuasion being used on a large scale. Mr. Gandhi does not certainly mean that any other method than persuasion is being followed by the pickets. We also hear that in Poona at least those who came forward to take part in the auction were warned by the Collector of a likelihood of picketing being organised. It is difficult to understand how in these circumstances the contractors can claim a refund. Even if any part of the loss which they have sustained is of such a character that Government should make it up, we do not know yet the extent of the loss which has resulted. And, further, whatever compensation the abkari contractors may be entitled to receive, we fail to see how Mr. Gandhi can go so much against his principle as to advise them to apply to Government. They are not non-co-operators. It is open to them to take Government's money, he says. People are nowadays made co-operators or non-co-operators just as it may suit the convenience of the moment. But Mr. Gandhi at any rate is a non-co-operator. Can he consistently give them such advice, just to obtain a respite for picketing volunteers."

Appeal to Mr. Gandhi to desist from re-starting passive resistance.

Bharatvási (155), 15th and 16th July.

37. Indians have arrived at a very critical stage at the present moment. What we have been anticipating since a long time has actually come to pass. Khilafatists and non-co-operators, realizing the impracticability of the four steps of non-co-operation, have now announced their intention to start passive resistance and thereafter to declare India a republic. Professor Vaswani, one of the most enthusiastic non-co-operators and a true friend of the Khilafatists, has come to realise now what we saw so long ago. The *New Times*, the non-co-operator organ of Karáchi, describing the proceedings of the recent Khilafat Conference, writes that there is a general feeling among the Karáchi people that Muslim leaders may at any time draw the sword, and that India may then witness the same guerrilla warfare that has long been going on in Ireland. It is quite plain that Khilafatists have brought great pressure to bear upon Mahatma, which has obliged him to agree to passive resistance being started again. The step which was taken in 1919, and which was followed by such serious consequences, is being taken a second time. We would point out to Mahatma that the results of passive resistance this time will be much more dangerous than what they were in 1919, and that he will not be able to check his companions if once the movement is on, because they have openly said that they are not prepared to obey him. We therefore appeal to him to desist from re-starting passive resistance. We appeal to our countrymen also to concert measures to meet this new danger that threatens this country. [In the next issue the paper says:—The spirit of the Great War in the West has now assumed the shape of bloody revolution and made its home in India "The land of Rishis". The whole atmosphere of this country is surcharged with passion, excitement and revolutionary madness. There is a thirst for blood in both the officials and the people. We cite the occurrences of Rai Bareili, Assam, Málegaon, Aligarh, Dhárwár, Karáchi and Shikárpur in support of our statement. Now again preparations are being made to start passive resistance and *jihád*, the consequences of which will be even more dangerous than what Ireland has seen. Some great calamity is coming over this country. May God have mercy on us, and may Lord Reading and Mahatma Gandhi take a course which might avert it.

The non-co-operation movement has made the bureaucracy mad.

Lokasatta (117), 16th July.

38. Since the inauguration of the movement of non-violent non-co-operation, firing is being resorted to very frequently. The bureaucracy seem to have made up their minds to quell even an ordinary disturbance by firing upon the people. Among the places at which they slaughtered innocent men and women by a shower of bullets are Nagpur, Malegaon, Dhárwár, etc. Apparently the bureaucracy are not able to maintain peace in India except by frequently firing upon the people. They talk of justice and equality and at the same time subject the people to a shower of bullets. It is the height of ingratitude that the officials should shoot the very people at whose expense they maintain themselves. Since the tragedy of the Jallianwala Bagh the bureaucracy are thirsting for the blood of Indians. The non-co-operation movement has made the bureaucracy mad. If it were not so, a District Magistrate would not have fined a respectable gentleman 400 rupees for wearing the Gandhi cap, and another official would not have declared that he was thirsting for the blood of the people. This unsatisfactory state of things can be ended only by the attainment of *swarájya.* So long as India does not possess full *swarájya* the heavy downpour of bullets will not cease.

Alleged strength of the Muslim feeling in India with regard to the Khilafat question.

New Times (8), 13th July.

39. "The Ali Brothers and Dr. Kitchlew made powerful speeches at the Khilafat Conference. They are not half-hearted politicians; they are deadly in earnest; and they feel intensely for Islam. No discriminating critic would, for a moment, doubt that they are ready to go to jail to vindicate the faith in them. They voiced the acute feeling of the Indian Muslim community in regard to the Khilafat, and Britain can commit no greater blunder than to come in conflict with the Muslim sentiment. Islam is a political religion, Islam is a League of many Nations, and to trample upon Islam is to rouse the ire not alone of Turkey, but of the East. Indian Muslims feel that the Sultan-Khalifa is almost a prisoner in other hands; their hope is in Kemal Pasha, the head of the Angora Government; and they have warned Britain against rendering any help, direct or indirect, to Greece against the Angora Government. We sympathise with the Muslim feeling; we recognise that alike fair dealing and statesmanship should dictate to Britain a policy of neutrality with regard to the Angora Government. The Indian Muslim's demand is reasonable, but their warning, as embodied in the Resolution at the Khilafat Conference, is conceived in a mood which, however natural to many Muslims, is, to say the least, unwise......... There is, doubtless, much in the idea of Indian Republic which would fascinate our young men, but not everything which fascinates is feasible. An impression seems to have been created upon some in Karáchi that Muslim leaders may, at any time, give the word for drawing the sword or indulging in a 'guerilla warfare'. We may be sure the Muslim leaders will be as good as their word and will stand for non-violence as long as they are associated with the movement......... It will be a fatal day if India's young men are led to accept a cult of violence."

All-India Khilafat Conference at Karáchi and Angora Government.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 24th July.

40. Referring to the resolution passed at the Karáchi All-India Khilafat Conference protesting against the British Government opening hostilities against the Angora Government, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"We wish to know when and how the Angora Government came to be synonymous with the Khilafat. We can understand our Mussalman brothers standing up for the Khilafat but the Angora Government is not the Khilafat, it is a secular revolt, may be from patriotic and national motives, from the Khilafat, and can in no way be regarded as partaking of the sacrosanct character of the Khilafat. We do not mean by this that the British Government will be wise in undertaking hostilities against the Angora or any other Government without adequate cause, but only that, in our opinion, no reason has been given to invest Angora in Mussalman eyes with the sacrosanct character attaching to the ancient institution of the Khilafat. Experts differ as to whether the Khilafat is or is not indicated in the Holy Koran. But there can be no difference as to the Angora Government not finding any place in it. We are sure that we are stating the opinion of many of our Muhammadan as of our non-Islamic countrymen when we say that they cannot be asked to put any institution for the time being in the place of the Khilafat which has one definite historical meaning only and can have none other. Apart from that, the question of proclaiming the independence of India as a Republic is not a matter to be decided in the off-hand fashion suggested by the Moulana's speech. Even as a warning, it lacks finish. Neither the Government nor the people of India have taken it seriously, and they are right. A leader so eminent in knowledge and so disinterestedly patriotic as the Moulana should always command for his words the confidence of all those whom they may reach. But this is rendered difficult by warnings of this kind which, while they alarm friends, give cause to detractors to scoff."

Comments on alleged apology offered in behalf of the editor of *Zamindár* of Lahore by his son.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 17th July.

41. Commenting on the rumour that Mr. Akhtar Ali Khan has tendered an apology on behalf of his father, Moulvi Zafar Ali Khan, editor of the *Zamindár*, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* remarks as follows:—If Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan is tired of jail life, then he should only repeat the words uttered by his leaders. But we know that a person like Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan will not stoop to utter even those words which were used by the Ali Brothers. It is not the practice of the Musalmans to tender an apology. But if it be asked as to why the Ali Brothers apologised, we shall simply repeat what they have said at Karáchi, namely, that the apology was not meant for the Government but for the public. But our Maulvi Zafar Ali Khan would not even apologise to the public, especially when he and his son have sacrificed their property in the service of the country. Long live Zafar Ali Khan!

There is no chance of realising Mr. Gandhi's hope of securing *swarāj* before the end of this year.
Hindusthán (21), 21st July.

42. Our full sympathy goes to the great movement for boycotting foreign cloth which in our opinion will bring many advantages to this country. We feel sure every man and woman will heartily help this movement. We, however, do not think that India will be able to secure *swarāj* on being able to effect a complete boycott of foreign cloth. Mr. Gandhi has still some faith in the British public and he thinks that if India can show the necessary grit by boycotting foreign cloth, the British public will be induced to effect a compromise with us and redress the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs and give us *swarāj*. Is it the British public or the British Government who can effect a compromise with us? Certainly the latter. Now we know that the British Government is a government of capitalists and the British public have no voice in it. We, therefore, do not think it possible for the British Government to effect a compromise with us before the 1st of October next or to give us *swaráj*. People in this country will have to undergo sufferings of various kinds for securing *swarāj*. Thousands will have to go to jail for the purpose. It is only when the British public and the British Government are convinced that they cannot hold India any longer that any compromise is possible. In these circumstances it is tantamount to courting disappointment to hope for securing *swarāj* on the 1st of October or by the end of this year.

Utilization of the Tilak Swaráj Fund.
Gujaráti (15), 17th July.

43. A crore of rupees have been collected for the Tilak Swaráj Fund owing to the personal influence of Mr. Gandhi and the high esteem in which he is held by the people. Mr. Gandhi seems to think that people will contribute such an amount every year till *swarāj* is secured and so he has issued instructions for the expending of the amount within the next six months. We shall be glad if people are able to contribute a crore or so every year for the Swaráj Fund, but we do not think that they will continue to do so for a long time. If people are in a position to give away a crore every year it will not be considered as a sign of their poverty but of their wealthiness. If a crore of rupees are collected every year it will be possible to establish model industrial schools in many parts of India and to ensure the supply of cloth for clothing the nakedness of the people by establishing weaving mills in the country. But strange to say, Mr. Gandhi has issued a *farman* to the effect that the money collected for the Swaráj Fund should be expended in the manner he thinks best! Many have, therefore, begun to think that the crore of rupees have been as good as wasted. Mr. Gandhi now expects the country to boycott foreign cloth by the 31st of July. It will be considered a miracle if Mr. Gandhi is able to realise his wish. We are, however, of the opinion that many difficulties are to be surmounted in carrying out the vow of Swadeshi. No attempt has been made to erect spinning and weaving mills in the country to enable us to withstand foreign competition. Mr. Gandhi relies solely on the feelings of patriotism for boycotting foreign cloth. But the actual result has been that many cloth merchants have expressed their inability to join the Swadeshi movement or to contribute any further to the Swaráj Fund. Mr. Gandhi may, therefore, be said to have met with temporary failure in his Swadeshi movement. But the country will certainly reap the advantages of the enthusiasm that has been created among the people for using hand-spun cloth with feelings of love.

Comments on the intention of the Punjáb Government to restrict the length and breadth of the *kirpan*.

Young India (12), 21st July.

44. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The *kirpan*—the Shikh scimitar—is for the Shikh, 'what', says the Secretary of the Shikh Young Men's Association, 'the sacred thread is to the Brahman'. And now the Punjáb Government is trying to divest the Shikhs of their 'sacred thread' by restricting its length and breadth. Much as I abhor the possession or the use of arms, cannot reconcile myself to forcible prohibition. As I said three years ago, this forcible disarmament of a people will be regarded by history as one of the blackest sins committed by the British Government against India. If people want to possess arms, they ought to have them without ado. But in the case of the Shikhs who have held *kirpans* without let or hindrance all these years, the crime is worse. The Secretary has no difficulty in proving that this war against the *kirpan* has synchronised with repressive measures adopted against the brave community. The reason too is obvious. The Shikhs have attained political consciousness. They are not content merely to kill at the bidding of their officers. They want to weigh the pros and cons of a cause in which they are called upon to fight. Above all, they want to know where they 'come in'. They want to become equal partners. This is intolerable, and they must be put down. The bravest among them have, as the Government imagine, been silenced. I can only hope that, rather than surrender their sacred weapon, the Shikhs will court imprisonment. We cannot learn discipline by compulsion. We must learn not to use arms or to use them with responsibility and self-restraint, notwithstanding the right to possess them."

Begar on the Simla Hills.

Young India (12), 21st July.

45. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"If proof were wanted that the movement of non-co-operation is neither anti-British nor anti-Christian, we have the instance of Mr. Stokes, a nationalised British subject and staunch Christian, devoting his all to the eradication of the evil of *begar*. Mr. Stokes is a convinced non-co-operator and Congressman.......... No Indian is giving such battle to the Government as Mr. Stokes. He has veritably become the guide, philosopher and friend of the hillmen. The reader should know that *begar* is going on under the shadow of Simla, under the Viceroy's nose as it were. And yet Lord Reading is powerless to remedy the mischief. I have no doubt that he is willing enough. But he cannot carry the district officers and others with him. And some of the officials are so unscrupulous that if they cannot have their way in the territories directly administered, they do so through the

native states. Now, on the hills near Simla there are small native states in which the British officer is all-powerful, more so in his own jurisdiction than the Viceroy. He can make the states do as he wills, and yet profess to be unconnected with their doings. There is one such state under the Court of Wards. And it is here that, through the influence of the Deputy Commissioner of Simla, repression is going on in order to suppress the *begar* movement. The chosen way is to lop off tall poppies. The axe must be laid at the root. And so the most efficient and cultured of the poor hillmen, named Kapur Sinh, has been put under lock and key. Here is a graphic description of the way evidence was collected: 'People were subjected to a reign of terror. The Simla Police were brought, a number of them arrested, all the people scared by threats of machine-guns and Kala-pani.......... It was in such an atmosphere that the evidence for the prosecution was collected. This reminds one of the Punjáb martial law days. Naturally the hillmen feel sore about this persecution of their trusted leader. I hope that under Mr. Stokes' inspiration, they will resolutely refuse to do any *begar* at all even for full value, until their leader is discharged. They must not weaken, but must invite upon their devoted heads the wrath of the authorities, and face imprisonment even as he did. Why this persistence in exacting *begar*? For the authority, the influence and the comfort of the officials and officers depend upon the continuance of *begar*. Without it, they cannot sport and kill wild beasts in the forests of the Himalayas. The Duke could not have been taken for *shikar* to the mountain fastnesses, if *begar* had gone out of use. For the doubtful pleasure of shooting tigers and innocent game, a way had to be cut by impressing the labours of thousands of unwilling villagers. If the beasts had intelligent speech at their command, they would state a case against man that would stagger 'humanity'. I can understand the shooting of wild beasts which come to annoy us. But I have found no cogent reasons advanced for wasting treasures upon organising parties for satisfyng man's thirst for blood. And yet, if there was no *begar*, there would be no 'sport' for the officer or the globe trotter. I need not have the practice of Indian princes and precedents from the Mahabharata flung in my face. I decline to be slave to precedents or practice I cannot understand or defend on a moral basis."

Musalmans should be offered facilities to sacrifice sheep and goats on the next Bakri Id festival.
Muslim Herald (171), 22nd July.

46. Writing on the forthcoming Bakri Id festival the *Muslim Herald* remarks that this year also the cows will be saved from being slaughtered and will be paraded in procession. It feels anxious for the poor Musalmans and wants to know what has been done with a view to help them to fulfil their religious duty to God. It calls upon the Khilafat Committee to help the poor Musalmans financially to enable them to sacrifice goats and sheep in place of cows. If nothing of this sort is done, opines the paper, then it will mean that the Khilafat Committee desires that the Musalmans should give up their *shariat* (sacred law) for the sake of their Hindu brethren or the Khilafat Committee, that they should not fulfil their religious obligations and that they should avoid the duty enjoined by God and His Prophet. In conclusion, the paper warns the Khilafat Committee that if the poor Musalmans are not pacified then they will have to be sorry for their negligence and indifference.

Protest against alarmist rumours in England about English lives being in danger.
Sind Observer (10), 13th July.

47. "The alarmists in England are on the move. Lord Sydenham must find some work for his idle hands to do and he is only too ready to swallow any cock and bull story invented by paid agitators of the European Association in England if thereby he could damage Mr. Montagu and damage the Government of India......... We should think Lord Sydenham is the last person in the world to speak or write with any fair-mindedness about India, his governorship being a failure and his subsequent record in England being an inglorious one. As to preservation of law and protection of property we may assure Lord Sydenham that Indians, who have a stake in the country, are more interested in them than the European population and in any misfortune befalling this country Indians will suffer

more than Europeans.......... We do not shut our eyes to the fact that there are dangers attending the pestilential non-co-operation agitation and that some mob disorders have taken place. The Government is powerful enough to suppress disorders with a strong hand; and let us not forget that Indian co-operation and support, official and non-official, have also been forthcoming in an abundant measure to assist Government in the discharge of its duties. The way the Indian Police have defended the Aligarh treasury during the recent attack must excite the admiration of all patriotic people, which goes to prove that the country is sound at heart.......... European lives and honour are as sacred to the Indians and the Government as those of the meanest of His Majesty's subjects in India and to make any differentiation is nothing but mischievous. To our mind the periodical panics raised in England are due to the unnatural atmosphere in which even the best Britishers are made to live in this country.......... We do say the situation is not without dangers, but, at any rate, raising alarms is not the way to overcome them.......... Lord Sydenham speaks of the only places where Europeans are not insulted in India being the Native States. Mendacity cannot go any further. We have yet to hear of a European being insulted in the streets of Karáchi or Madras, Bombay or Calcutta. The District Magistrate of Aligarh bore testimony to the fact that the riotous mob did not at all move in the direction of the civil lines where the European residents are quartered.......... As Lord Lytton has pointed out, it is the rabidly worded messages of correspondents in India of the London press, which are absolutely without foundation, which are creating alarms. Certain messages of the Khilafatists and Swarájists are often withheld by the telegraphic offices in this country; but is there no way to withhold the mendacious messages telegraphed to London? Government must not be afraid of the *Morning Post* or the *Daily Telegraph* to put a stop to this sort of lying propaganda."

Mr. Gandhi and the late Mr. Tilak.
Kesari (111), 19th July.

48. In the course of a long article on the anniversary of the late Mr. Tilak, the *Kesari* says that the moderates and the white officials occasionally think well of Mr. Tilak because they are now confronted with Mr. Gandhi whose political opinions are far in advance of those held by the departed leader, and who never tires of describing the Government as 'Satanic'. It observes that Mr. Gandhi may call himself a disciple of Mr. Gokhale but that he would certainly have fallen out with the latter if he were now living, and it points to the relations between him and Mr. Sastri who has stepped into Mr. Gokhale's shoes. It recalls a conversation Mr. Gandhi had with Mr. Tilak a few days before the latter's death and mentions that Mr. Tilak doubted the efficacy of Mr. Gandhi's methods. It remarks that the followers of Mr. Tilak opposed the resolution on non-co-operation at the Calcutta Congress because they knew what his views on this subject were but that they loyally accepted it when it was passed by a majority and decided to boycott the councils. The paper expresses its conviction that although the leaders have not been able to agree as regards details, the movement of non-co-operation as a whole has served to help forward the cause of *swarájya*.

Lenin's policy and that of the British Government in the East contrasted.
Sind Observer (10), 16th July.

49. "Ever since Lenin occupied the throne of Russia he has been intriguing with all Asiatic countries to overthrow British imperialism; and we are driven to the conclusion that our own Imperial statesmen have played into the hands of Lenin. He has scored diplomatic triumphs against our statesmen.......... Our statesmen were too busy consolidating their gains in Mesopotamia Palestine and elsewhere and Lenin was busy also in turning Persia, Afghanistan and the Turkish Nationalists against us. And he has succeeded. After the withdrawal of Russians from Persia after Lenin ascended the throne, if Britain had similarly withdrawn from Persia instead of attempting to bring it entirely under British influence by an agreement which has now been denounced, Soviet Russia would not have appeared in the colours of the protector of Persia. Lord Curzon's disastrous Persian policy ended in a triumph for Lenin.......... We allowed Afghanistan to seek a friend and protector in Lenin. Britain has also created the suspicion in the Islamic world, rightly or wrongly, that she wants to take all Muslim States from Afghanistan to Turkey under her control. Lenin worked upon this fear in the Islamic world and scored his triumphs.......... We beg British statesmen to recast their policy. They must not make a present of the Islamic world to Lenin. The internal and external peace of India depends upon the good-will and kindly disposition of the followers of the Prophet. We are capable of keeping them at bay. But then we should always live under the fear of one menace or other. By cancelling all debts, by withdrawal of Russian armies from Persia and extending several concessions to Persia Lenin has won the good-will of the Persians. By restoring some old districts of Afghanistan and by promising help in several ways he has captured the Afghans. We wish every success to Sir Henry Dobb's mission. We have to establish our good faith at Kabul by giving more lands, if necessary, to the Amir. Britain must dispel all suspicions entertained in the Muslim world. On a proper solution of the question of the Khilafat depends whether the Pan-Islamic movement supported by Soviet Russia would develop into a menace, specially to the peace of India, or whether it can be so guided as to become the friend of the British Empire."

Comments on the recommendations of the Press Act Committee.
Sánj Vartamán (31), 21st July.

50. The repressive Press Act of 1910 is on its death-bed and it is likely that it will breathe its last and be buried by September next. All the newspapers in this country will heave a sigh of relief on reading the report of the Press Act Committee. We congratulate the Committee on the recommendations they have made and express the hope that the Government of India will soon proceed to repeal the Press Act and the Newspapers Incitement to Offences Act. We cannot, however, agree with the recommendation of the Committee for the retention of the power enjoyed by the local Governments in the matter of confiscating seditious literature because we know that both the Government of India and the local Governments have misused their powers. We do admit that literature published by the Gadar party is of an objectionable nature and should be prevented from finding a circulation among the people. We have no objection if Government retain the power of confiscating openly seditious literature, but the publishers of such literature must be given the right to appeal against the decision of Government so that the people may be assured that Government would not misuse their powers.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd July.

51. "The Press Act is at last to go.......... We must express our thankfulness and that of all right-minded men and women, who regard the freedom to express opinion as one of their most cherished birth-rights, that a menace to that birth-right is at last to be removed.......... Dealing with the effectiveness of the Act, the Committee proceeds to make the gratuitous allegation that 'a section of the Press is at present just as hostile to Government as ever it was and that it preaches doctrines calculated to bring the Government and also occasionally particular classes or sections of the community into hatred and contempt as freely now as before the Act was passed' and expresses its belief that 'the more direct and violent forms of sedition are disseminated more from the platform and through the agency of itinerent propagandists than by the Press, and no Press law can be effective for the repression of such activities.' The recklessness with which these allegations have been made reveals the bias which informs the whole reasoning of the Committee and emphasises the danger of a non-judicial body arrogating to itself the function of a Court of Justice.......... This small mercy, in the shape of the suggested repeal of one of the repressive laws, is, however, not an unmixed blessing. The sting still remains. While the Committee has strongly set itself against the suggestions to penalise the Press for 'protecting' the Indian States and to confiscate a press in the event of its keeper being convicted for a second time of disseminating sedition, it has yielded to the clamour for the retention of at least a few arbitrary powers for the bureaucracy. One of these is the power to confiscate newspapers, books or other documents, offending against section 124A of the Penal Code. Though the owner of the press or any other person aggrieved is given the right to protest before a court of law and challenge the seizure of

such documents and though the onus of proving the seditious character of the document is to be on the Government, we cannot imagine why the Committee should arm the executive with an arbitrary power, the exercise of which it is not possible for every person to challenge. This power is not much less obnoxious than that of demanding security from newspapers and presses and must not be retained. The recommendation of the Committee in this respect reveals how far its 'Liberal' members are from recognising the elementary principle of liberalism that freedom is the only effective safeguard against its abuse. As regards the editors, the law must be similar to that obtaining in other countries and we strongly protest against any proposal for subjecting them to the necessity of appearing before a Magistrate for making even a formal declaration."

Indian Social Reformer (6) 24th July.

*52. "But the Committee have clearly shirked their duty in recommending that the power to seize and confiscate seditious newspapers, books and other documents should be retained and with it 'the auxiliary power' to prevent the importation into British India or transmission through the post of such documents; but leaving 'the exact method by which this should be effected' to the 'expert advisers' of Government. The Committee speak of 'openly seditious' publications which they have seen, but the point is when, how and by whom is the line to be drawn between openly and covertly seditious publications. Would a special officer be appointed to read every newspaper before it is posted to see whether it contains openly seditious articles, and would he be empowered to stop its being posted, if he should think there is one? The interval between a newspaper being printed and going to post is a matter of minutes, and should this procedure be followed, it will gravely interfere with the regular issue of newspapers. We cannot, of course, imagine that the Committee contemplate the establishment of censorship before a paper goes to press. The suggestion that the name of the editor should be printed on the front page of a newspaper has been followed for many years past by this and some other newspapers, and we do not see any reasonable objection to the practice. The plea that it infringes the principle of anonymity is absurd, as all that is required is the name of the responsible editor and not of the writers of the articles in a newspaper. We are glad that the Committee have rejected the spurious plea for repressing the Indian Press for the sake of Indian States. The Indian States know very well that they have little to fear at the hands of the Indian Press among the conductors of which they have some of their best and most sincere friends, and which, even in extreme cases, is seldom disposed to apply to them the same severe standards as it habitually applies to the British Indian administration."

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 22nd July; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 22nd July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 22nd July.

53. We are glad to note that the Press Act Committee have suggested the repeal of the Press Act and the Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act and feel sure that the Government of India will not fail to accept their recommendations. Why we feel sure on this point is that Lord Reading has begun to put into practice his pledges about giving justice to Indians. The Committee, while suggesting the repeal of the Press Act, have allowed Government to retain the power of confiscating seditious literature subject to appeal to the High Court. No one can deny the necessity of keeping a check on the circulation of seditious literature. But who should decide that any particular literature is seditious? We are of the opinion that the chances of injustice will be greatly minimised if committees with a popular element in them are appointed to decide the question instead of leaving the matter to Government officials. We hope, therefore, Government will make some such arrangement as suggested above so that writers may not run the risk of falling victims to freakish officials. We do not think any good purpose will be served by giving needless prominence to the names of editors of newspapers. If the editor is to be held responsible for what appears in a newspaper, why should the proprietor be exempted from such responsibility? Let us hope that the Press Act will be repealed before the advent of the Prince of Wales in

India. [The *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* expresses gratification at the recommendations of the Press Act Committee and believes that the suggestion for the repeal of the Press Act is directly due to the visit of the Duke of Connaught and hopes that it will be carried out before the visit of the Prince of Wales. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also expresses gratification at the recommendations of the Committee and declares that the Committee must have been appointed at the intervention of the Duke of Connaught.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 24th July, Eng. cols.

***54.** " It is a happy augury for the future that the first step of Lord Reading's administration will be the repeal of a measure that has been condemned by almost all men of light and leading in the land.......... A new era of political advancement has been ushered in; the days of autocracy are declared to be over; and it is but in the fitness of things that with this changed spirit and broadened out-look repressive laws of this nature, likely to continually breed suspicion and distrust, should be wiped out so that all could begin work afresh with a clean slate.......... None can deny that on general principles the Committee is indisputably right in its conclusion that in the altered circumstances created by the Reforms the advantages likely to be secured by the repeal of the Act outweigh the benefits which would accrue by its retention. We hope that the repeal of the Press Act will be a prelude to the repeal of other Acts of a still more unpleasant nature and that in Lord Reading's regime India will have the good fortune of seeing the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past cleared away like the mist before the rising sun."

Gujaráti (15), 24th July, Eng. cols.

***55.** " The Press Act Committee's recommendations are unanimous and almost all of them will be welcomed by the whole country.......... The Act was despotic in principle and the procedure it provided was dangerously arbitrary. It was, in fact, a badly worded and a most high-handed piece of legislation which should never have been allowed to disgrace the Indian statute-book to the harassment and oppression of those connected with the Indian press. We specifically mention the Indian press, because the local Governments and the Government of India were so impartial that they never thought of enforcing the provisions of the Act against the Anglo-Indian press. It is this circumstance that made the Act still more odious and hateful in the eyes of the Indian public. The Committee is of opinion that the Act has not been wholly effective in securing the object which it was enacted to achieve and has proved of little practical value, because even at present a section of the press is in the opinion of the Committee as hostile to Government as ever it was and that violent forms of sedition are disseminated more from the platform and through agency of itinerary propagandists than by the press. We do not know what evidence the Committee had before it for making this grave allegation against speakers at public meetings and we are sorry it has committed itself to such an assertion. Whatever that may be, it is something that the Committee has come to the conclusion that the Act has not proved effective in achieving the object Government had in view.......... We do not think the question of its continuance has anything to do with the reformed Councils. It is merely a transparent excuse for repealing a measure that should never have been enacted. As might have been expected, most of the local governments have recommended its retention. But the Committee, we are glad, has unanimously voted for its repeal. No other alternative would have met with the approval of the Indian public.......... There is no reason whatsoever why the administration of Native States should be exempt from criticism when the actions and policies of British rulers are open to fearless and uncompromising comment in British India. Sir William Vincent's plea on behalf of the Native rulers who, he pompously stated, had stood by the British Government in the last war, was as insincere as it was untenable and we notice with satisfaction that the Committee has rejected it in view of the danger of stifling even legitimate criticism of the administration of Native States. There is only one provision of the Act which has been retained. It empowers Governments to seize and confiscate newspapers, books or other documents offending against the provisions of section 124A of the Indian Penal Code and to prevent the importation into British India or the transmission by post of such documents. It is proposed by the Committee to empower the Customs and Postal officers to seize seditious literature. We are entirely opposed to any such proposal. These officers, like the officers of the Telegraph Department and certain Collectors and District Magistrates, are apt to be very arbitrary and it will be very mischievous to endow them with such a dangerously large power, though no doubt its exercise will be subject to review at the hands of Government. A party aggrieved by the seizure and confiscation of any document or newspaper by Government will be at liberty to challenge it by an application to the High Court. We think the remedy should be an appeal and not merely an application. It is necessary to provide a further safeguard at the very outset and that is the Government and their officers should be required to state distinctly the grounds for their action, before seizure and confiscation are carried out, so as to enable the aggrieved party to know his precise position. The Newspapers Incitements to Offences Act had not been used for the last ten years. It is a sufficiently damning commentary on the meddlesomeness and unwisdom of the authors of the Act and the Committee has very properly recommended its repeal.......... On the whole the report of the Committee is satisfactory, though some of the statements and suggestions it contains are unjustifiable. It is a complete answer to the carping, ungenerous and unfair critics of the Montagu scheme of reforms and we congratulate the Committee on the courageous recommendations it has made and the implied condemnation it has pronounced upon the two principal Acts for the repeal of which the country had so long been loudly clamouring."

British Medical Council's new proposals about the I.M.S. examination.
Servant of India (9), 21st July.

56. "The latest move of the British Medical Council is quite in keeping with its traditional policy of straining every nerve to keep the I. M. S. as a close preserve for Europeans. It has now suggested that medical degrees of Indian Universities should be made non-registrable in the United Kingdom unless the maternity training obtainable in our medical colleges is brought up to the standard in British Colleges by February next. If carried into effect, the proposal will result in making competition by Indians for the I. M. S. examination a matter of great difficulty.......... The proposal of the British Medical Council, in case it materialises, will not only deprive promising Indians of the facility they have been enjoying for years past, but will place an additional obstacle in their way. It will, moreover, blast the chance graduates holding Indian medical degrees now have of starting private practice in the United Kingdom.......... We have no doubt Indian public opinion, especially the medical profession in India, will not be slow in giving expression to its strong disapproval of the Council's activities."

Comments on the transfer of Mr. Painter as Commissioner, Northern Division.
Lokasangraha (116), 22nd July.

57. The chief demand of the accused in the Dhárwár shooting affair is that those officials who dealt with the disturbance should be transferred from the place, and should not take any part in the inquiry. It is satisfactory to note that Government have apparently recognised the justice of their demand. They have deferred to popular opinion in a way by removing Mr. Painter from Dhárwár. But what about the impression that is likely to be created in the minds of the people that by promoting Mr. Painter to the Commissionership at Ahmedabad they show their approval of his conduct? Government should understand that by such thoughtless conduct on their part autocratic officials become still more autocratic.

Government pensioners and politics.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd July.

58. Referring to a Madras Government Press communiqué about a retired Muhammadan Deputy Collector having been warned and about his having given an undertaking not to preach disloyalty, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks :—"We pity less the pensioner than the mighty Government that is reduced to such straits as to threaten to deprive its former employees of the means of livelihood to which they have become entitled by reason of the full term of service they had rendered

to it. The pensions retired Government servants are earning are not gratuities that can be withheld or granted at the sweet will of the employer. The Madras Government in threatening the retired Deputy Collector to deprive him of the pension he has earned by the sweat of his brow, have introduced a factor in the relations between employer and employed which few will admit to be quite fair. And what, after all, was the offence of the pensioner? Was he threatening to revolt and use violence against the Government? When the authorities in India are permitting retired Civil Servants, enjoying fat pensions at the cost of the people of this country, to vilify the children of the soil—nay when we have retired pensioned officials like O'Dwyer, still gloating over massacres of the innocents as at Amritsar, does it look either fair or decent that immoral pressure should be brought to bear on inoffensive Indian employees of Government because they are 'reported' to be sympathising with the non-co-operation movement."

The Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 19th July.

59. It is gratifying to note that Government have expressed their willingness to supply all the particulars required by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in the matter of the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme. It is now about two years since Government placed their scheme for the reclamation of Back Bay before the public, and so it cannot redound to any one's credit to press for the immediate suspension of the work already commenced, without getting an explanation from the Development Department. The objection to the scheme on the score of its alleged tremendous cost should be carefully investigated and the public should be taken into confidence in the matter. It is hoped to afford relief to middle class people through the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme when the Rent Act comes to be repealed. If the poor and middle-class people are to be benefitted by the scheme, the name of Sir George Lloyd will be written in letters of gold in the history of Bombay. We, therefore, await with interest the result of the forthcoming interview which His Excellency means to accord to the committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber.

Protest against methods of land acquisition followed by the Bombay Development Directorate.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th July.

60. Referring to the memorial addressed to the Governor in Council by the owners of land and houses in the villages of Devnur, Maravli, Mahul, Vadavli, Chembur, etc., situate in the island of Trombay, against the methods of land acquisition adopted by the Bombay Development Directorate, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"We stand aghast at the Bolshevik schemes for the nationalisation of land. Under Bolshevik rule, it is the rich that have to suffer for the benefit of the poor. But what do we find here? We see the poor robbed of their lands for the sake of the rich! Are not operations like those of the Development Directorate calculated to engender Bolshevism among the people? The Directorate has no clear idea of what extent of land it will require for its purposes. As illimitable powers have been vested in it by Government, it proceeds to exercise them with a high hand, regardless of consequences. Unless a halt is called in the mad career of this body and proper public control exercised over its operations, we shudder at the extent of the miseries it will entail on the poor and middle class population of this city and the suburbs and the terrible disillusionment that will overtake all those concerned before many years are past."

Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Sherwani by the Aligarh Magistrate.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd July.

61. "To all who have read the temperate and obviously conscientious statement of Mr. Sherwani, the news that the same Mr. Sherwani has been sentenced to one year's rigorous imprisonment must have come as a thunderbolt......... Upon the evidence before us we find it quite impossible to believe that Mr. Sherwani ever by word or deed contributed to any public disorder of whatever kind at Aligarh or anywhere else. Nor does the evidence upon the strength of which the present sentence on him was pronounced impress us with a sense of his delinquency. A police constable—we are informed—who admittedly did not understand the Arabic and Persian words in which the Urdu speech of highly-educated men abounds, had taken notes of a speech of his, making it appear as if he (Sherwani) had declared that British troops, in occupation of the Holy Places of Islam, committed horrible atrocities on the Muslim inhabitants. Inhabitants of Aligarh who do understand the Persian and Arabic words which form three parts of the Urdu language, and who were present at the lecture, are prepared to swear that Mr. Sherwani's speech, at least the part of it to which the ignorant constable's short-hand notes referred was not concerned with Arabia, but with Anatolia, and the atrocities related were not ascribed to British but Greek soldiers......... It is only a few days since one of our own reporters, who knows English well, in his notes of a speech which we delivered at the Márwádi Vidyálaya Hall, substituted 'Allied troops' for 'Greek troops' as the perpetrators of atrocities. Happily we saw the report in time and corrected the 'error', or we suppose we might have found ourselves in the same predicament as Mr. Sherwani at this moment, even though some hundreds of respectable persons were there to witness to the actual words we used on the occasion. If that was the case where the reporter had no animus against the speaker, what must be the chances where, as in a police case, there is a definite bias against the speaker, the hope of obtaining praise and reward by making out a charge against him, and where the reporter has only a dim idea of what the speaker says. Whose liberty is safe, we ask, among those who are opposed to the present Oriental policy of Government, when such denunciations carry weight with the Magistracy? Will not Lord Reading, with his high regard for British justice, put a stop to this state of things?"

Reflections on the apology tendered by Moulana Bakar Ali, prosecuted for sedition in Karáchi.

Hindu (155), 14th July.

62. Moulana Bakar Ali, who gave, at a public meeting in the Khalikdina Hall at Karáchi, an account of the indignities and hardships inflicted on the Holy Najaf and other holy places of Muhammadans, during the war, was prosecuted by Government for sedition. He, however, apologized for the alleged offence, and the Government, which is terribly afraid of the spectre of sedition, which, perceiving sedition in matters of no consequence, goes on persecuting people for sedition, and which fears that the propagation of sedition here, might shake the very throne of His Majesty the King in London, at once withdrew the case against him, and set him at liberty. It is not a great thing if any one, cowed down by the cruel treatment meted out in the jail to political prisoners, under the present-day irresponsible administration, tendered an apology. But the Government thinks that it has achieved a great triumph by securing the apology of Moulana Bakar Ali, and so copies of the Government communiqué on the subject come pouring in, the last one of these we received by registered post, presumably with the object that we should publish of the whole account of the apology, and give it the same importance as the Government has given it. We had, however, published this as an item of ordinary news before the official communiqué was issued. Moreover, this news does not indicate such a great success on the part of the Government that we should republish it. What matters, if only a few out of so many Indians, fearing the cruel and inhuman treatment that is meted out in the jails, secure their release by tendering an apology? And has any communiqué ever been issued to spread the happy news of so many innocent heroes going to jail with smiling faces? Above all, has the Government stated in its communiqué, how Moulana Bakar Ali was made to write out this apology in the jail? Was his apology taken by means of entreaties similar to those that were made to Pir Mahbub Shah? If the Government insert in the communiqué an account of the way in which the Moulana was made to tender his apology, we might please it by publishing all the facts in our paper. Otherwise we do not think it at all necessary to mislead the readers by publishing an incomplete account. After Moulana Mahomed Ali had finished his recent speech at Hyderabad, the Secretary of the Khilafat Committee of Lucknow delivered his speech in which he said that the statement of Moulana Bakar Ali in his apology, denying his previous statement in the Khalikdina Hall at Karáchi about the indignities inflicted on Holy Najaf and other Holy places, was not correct. He read out from reliable Urdu papers, and himself corroborated the statement contained therein, that indignities had really been inflicted on the holy places. Let us see what the Government does to gag the mouth of the above gentleman.

Impending famine in Thar and Párkar District (Sind).
New Times (8), 15th July.

63. "Pathetic accounts have come to us concerning the impending famine in Thar and Párkar. The cattle are dying for want of fodder; men and women and children are starving. It is some consolation to learn that there has been some rain in a few villages; but the majority of the villages are still without rain. If the situation does not improve in a few days, Thar and Párkar may be in the grip of a great famine. Congress Committees in Sind can do nothing nobler than spend part of their funds for relief centres in famine-stricken areas; nor should Sind officials delay in doing the utmost they can for the people in Thar Párkar who, judged by all reports, are in a sad plight. Let us all grapple with the calamity which is coming upon Sind and pluck as many lives as we can from the jaws of death."

Indian Settlers in East Africa and its native inhabitants.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th July.

64. "The falsehood sedulously propagated in certain quarters that the native inhabitants of East Africa dislike the Indians and will resent the grant of franchise to the latter has been exposed by the 'natives' themselves. As the reader will note they have passed a resolution to the effect that not only the presence of the Indians in Kenya is not prejudicial to their advancement, but that the Indians are the best friends of the 'natives' next to the missionaries. The Indians will not grudge to the latter the pre-eminent position they hold in the esteem of the 'natives' of East Africa, though why these missionaries—at least such as were interviewed by the local 'White' press—should suggest that these resolutions were 'inspired' and by no means represent the 'native' standpoint, is more than one can make out. Even the aborigines of East Africa can forget differences of race and creed, but not so, it would appear, these 'White' missionaries, who forget that, long before any of them set foot on the soil of East Africa, Indians had already settled among the 'natives' on terms of perfect amity; and that even now it is the Indians who move among them much more freely and sympathise with them in their weal and woe much more intimately than do either the missionaries or the 'White' settlers who have followed in their wake. But, it serves the purpose of the settlers and their missionaries to misrepresent the facts to the world and make out that these 'natives' hate the Indians and are opposed to their being accorded any privileges. This misrepresentation is part and parcel of the game of *divide et impera*, at which the White man is a past master."

Kenya Colony and the rights of Indian and European settlers.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd July.

65. "As we have always maintained, the choice whether India shall or shall not remain within the Empire rests primarily with Englishmen and their compatriots in the various Colonies and Dominions. Indians will be willing to remain in the Empire on terms of honourable partnership, but as perpetual slaves to the white races—never. The Kenya whites wish to deny the Indians franchise in perpetuity. They will not tolerate the election of even one or two representatives to the Council, though their vastly smaller community enjoys the privilege of sending nearly a score of representatives. They are opposed even to the limited franchise, because they say once the principle is conceded, Indians will succeed, in course of time, in gaining all they clamour for......... It is clear as daylight that the white agitation has no legs whatever to stand upon. Their threats to resort to violence to prevent Indians securing their just rights constitute a direct challenge to His Majesty's Government to put their high professions of 'racial equality', and 'equal partnership' within the Empire, to practice. Mr. Churchill recently laid down the Empire ideal. He is at the head of the Colonial Office and is really responsible for the administration of Kenya. If he cannot protect the Indians from the insults, aggression and violence of his white compatriots, it will mean that he is incapable of keeping the Empire from falling to pieces."

Grievances of Indians in Natal.
Sind Observer (10), 13th July.

66. "The Natal Provincial Council has passed an ordinance the object of which is to prevent Asiatics from acquiring municipal vote in future.......... And this ordinance comes at a time when an Imperial Conference is taking place in London to which two Indian members have been admitted on terms of equality! And also when India is an original member of the League of Nations! It seems to us to be a mockery to admit India to the highest councils, Imperial and International, when Indians are being treated as undesirables in the Colonies under the British flag and when in their own country they occupy a position of inferiority. The Premier of South Africa is busy negotiating peace with the Irish to strengthen the bonds of Empire while in his own country the foundations of the Empire are being sapped by the short-sighted action of the white residents. 'You are not wanted here, please get out' says the Colonial white man. 'When we ate loaves, we gave you cakes; when we drank water, we offered you milk; while we lived in howels, we lodged you in mansions; we want you now to retire gracefully to your home. We want to be masters in our house as you are in yours' said an extremist orator at the Khilafat Conference. If the Natal white man is right, why is the Indian extremist wrong?"

Grievances of the Hajis.
Bombay Samáchár (57). 23rd July.

67. The difficulties of the Hajis, narrated in the annual report of the Protector of Pilgrims for the year 1920-21, proves the urgent necessity of a discussion of the question by the Colonial Office with the Arab authorities, and we are glad to learn from Reuter that a member of that office will soon proceed from London to Jeddah to discuss the question. The report records cases of the Hajis being plundered on their way to Mecca and it is, therefore, high time that the British Government took steps to protect the lives and property of the Hajis in consultation with the Arab authorities. In Bombay there is provision for the accommodation of about 1,600 Hajis at a time, but the Haj Committee were at times called upon to provide for 6,000 Hajis and had to enlist the help of philanthropic Moslems in the matter. At present only Bombay is open for Haj traffic and we believe that much of the congestion of the traffic would be relieved if Karáchi were also thrown open to it. Let us hope Government will give careful consideration to the question of the desirability of opening the port of Karáchi for Haj traffic.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Primary Education Committee appointed by the Bombay Government.
Gujaráti (15), 24th July, Eng. cols.

***68.** The problem of free and compulsory education is not an easy one to solve and we are glad the Bombay Government has appointed a Committee of ten members of the Legislative Council with Sir Narayan Chandávarkar as Chairman to examine the whole question. We can say with confidence that no better choice could have been made for this office. We are sorry the selection of members was thus restricted and educationists outside the Council left out, simply because the local Council will be called upon to consider any legislative, administrative or financial measures the Committee may recommend. That is surely no ground for not utilising the experience and knowledge of outside experts. We do not know the procedure that will be followed by the Committee. But we take it that it will examine and consult outsiders before it arrives at any decision on the points submitted for its consideration."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 24th July.

***69.** "The Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay appointing a Committee of the Legislative Council to consider and report on the question of introducing free and compulsory education in the Presidency, will come as a disillusionment to many who hoped for great things in the educational sphere from the introduction of 'diarchy' in the provinces. It is pointed out in the Note that only three or four Municipalities had so far availed themselves of the powers under the Patel Act during the last three years. We do not know if Mr. Patel expected that all the Municipalities or even a considerable minority of them would hasten to apply the Act. But of this we are sure, that many more Municipalities than three or four would have done so had the two-thirds grant rule now announced been adopted when the Act was passed. Now, of course, there are other extraneous causes militating against the extension of education in Municipalities, but these will be overcome if Government manifest greater faith in the compulsory movement. Government express satisfaction at the growing popular demand for free and compulsory education in municipal and rural areas, but they complain that sufficient stress is not laid in popular discussions on finance, machinery to enforce compulsion and the readiness of the vast majority of the people to submit to compulsion. The growing demand signifies greater readiness on the part of an increasing number of the public to submit to compulsion, and as for finance and machinery, we venture to think that it is the business of the administration, not that of the public, to indicate the sources of the former and the nature of the latter. On this ground, the terms of reference so far as they relate to the suggestion of new sources of taxation to meet the cost of any scheme of compulsory education which the Committee may devise, merely shift the responsibility which properly belongs to Government to the Committee which is not entitled to have it thrust upon it. In Sir Narayan Chandávarkar the Committee has a strong Chairman, and otherwise it is as good as any that could have been selected from the Legislative Council."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd July.

70. "It appears to us to be somewhat anomalous that Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, President of the Bombay Legislative Council, should have been chosen as president of the Primary Education Committee which has just been appointed by the local Government. The anomaly becomes all the more strange since Sir N. G. Chandavarkar had not long ago declined to preside over the Kánara Forest Committee on the plea that as President of the Council his hands should be left unfettered. On account of his refusal the latter Committee has been deprived of his intimate knowledge of conditions in Kánara."

Bombay Samáchár (59), 23rd July.

71. It is gratifying to note that the Government of Bombay have appointed a Committee to inquire into the question of making primary education compulsory in this Presidency at the instance of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye. However, we cannot approve of the manner in which Government have tried to justify their past indifference towards the question in the Press Note issued by them on the subject. It is likely that some opposition will be manifested in the villages against the introduction of compulsory primary education, but Government need not attach undue importance to it as it is sure to be replaced in due course by an appreciation of its benefits. Let us hope that the Committee will be helpful in enabling Government to arrive at the final and unalterable decision of making primary education free and compulsory in this Presidency.

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th July.

72. "To judge from the comments which have appeared in the Press in Maharashtra, the policy—or rather the want of policy—of the Minister of Education in this Presidency has raised a storm of disapproval in large sections of the population which the Minister, it appears, is seeking to meet by contemplating the appointment of 'a strong committee to go into the question of compulsory elementary education'. The contract between promise and performance exhibited by the Moderates now in power in the Provincial Governments, is too glaring to escape the attention of the people who are interested in the expansion of education. The so-called Liberals, whom the Education Minister represents in the Executive Government of the Presidency, were profuse in their promise of the great feats of educational and social progress they were going to perform on the inauguration of diarchy, but with the sweets of power securely in their grasp, their Minister at once changed his language and attitude and began to speak the jargon of the bureaucracy....... The Moderates are pledged to 'work the reforms successfully', and it will be a pity if this is interpreted to mean simply routine and keeping things going. It is some satisfaction to know that this idea of

the duty of those who are co-operating with Government in the experiment of the diarchy, is repudiated by some of the Liberals with creditable candour and courage, which, we feel sure, is appreciated by the people at large."

Bombay Government's Press Note about religious instruction in Schools.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 24th July.

***73.** "Such clumsiness as there is in this Press Note is due to the clumsiness of much departmental terminology—the Secretariats are so busy administrating that they have no time to spare for attaining simplicity and lucidity of expression. The Department makes a distinction between public institutions and publicly-managed institutions, the latter being those affected by the present statement. All the institutions which submit to Government or University inspection, and follow their curricula, are termed public institutions. These are subdivided into public institutions under public management—*i.e.*, Government or by a municipal or other local body such as a district board; and public institutions under private management—*i.e.*, by a society, a committee or an individual. Christian Missionary institutions belong mostly to the latter class—public institutions under private management—while the Press Note deals with public institutions, under public management. Private institutions, in departmental parlance, are those which have not accepted departmental or University standards and do not submit their pupils to any public test, *i.e.*, the Non-co-operation National Schools."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Poona Municipality and its drainage and water works.
Servant of India (9), 21st July.

74. "As a sure means of inviting the attention of the Government to the serious defects and drawbacks in the Poona drainage and water supply works, Mr. Kelkar has suggested the non-payment of further municipal instalments towards the liquidation of the loan advanced by Government for the purpose. His motion will shortly form a subject of discussion in the local municipality; but whatever its fate, it shows how the municipality, having despaired of securing due relief by the usual means, is forced to resort to this extreme method. It is time the Government paused to consider if their officers charged with the execution of the whole scheme have properly acquitted themselves. It is a matter of common knowledge that not long ago Poona was noted for its healthy and bracing climate, so much so that for middle-class people in the neighbouring province of Berar and C. P. it did duty more or less as a sanatorium. All that is changed and it has now become the hot-bed of malaria and similar other complaints. Its health has deteriorated and its mortality has proportionately increased.......... The Government wants to keep the actual management of the works in its own hands in the hope that it will ensure their efficient upkeep. The experience of the people, however, points quite the other way. It is to be hoped that the Government will look into the matter and restore the city to its former health."

Comments on a new duty proposed to be levied by Bulsár Municipality (District Surat).
Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 21st July.

75. The city-fathers of Bulsár have hit upon a means of meeting the deficit of Rs. 17,000 in the Bulsár Municipal treasury and this has given rise to much discontent among the people staying in the villages round about Bulsár, and it seems to us that there is much justification for the discontent. The Municipality has decided to levy a duty on building materials, foodstuffs and all other articles of daily use. If a duty which is likely to yield a revenue of rupees one lakh and a half is levied to meet a deficit of Rs. 17,000, really it can be said to be not only objectionable but also oppressive. We request Government to hear both sides carefully before sanctioning the levy of the duty.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 29th July 1921.

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:

Comments on the Bombay Government's reply to an interpellation regarding high prices of vernacular text-books 11
Comments on the Government's reply in the — as to their Excise policy 10
Protest against disallowance by the President of the — of a question about meetings of the Bombay Executive Council 9
Protest against the ruling out of order of Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale's resolution in the — regarding the Dhárwár disturbances. . . 1—8

British Rule:

Alleged exploitation of India by the British 13
An appeal to Indian Moslems to help the Turks 16
Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office . 18
Comments on the reply to the Dhárwár pleaders' protest to His Excellency the Governor. 19
Complaint that fine levied on Málegaon falls entirely on the shoulders of Muhammadans 17
India no more a paradise for the Whites 12
Non-co-operation movement is not responsible for the strikes on tea estates 22
Protest against Mr. Painter's promotion to the Commissionership, N. D. 20
Should the British connection be maintained? . . . . . . 14 & 15
The Boy Scouts organisation should be wholly under popular management. 23
The Matiari (Sind) shooting case 21

His Excellency the Governor:

His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's appeal in connection with the Boy Scouts movement 28
The people of Sátára should boycott His Excellency the Governor's visit to the place 29
His Excellency the Viceroy: Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Calcutta Marwari Association . . . 24 & 25

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

The decision of the All-India Congress Committee to boycott the Prince's visit 53
The forthcoming visit of — . . . . 26 & 27
Indians in the Colonies: The future position of — 77

B 109—6 Con

PARAGRAPH

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Judicial matters:

Comments on the sentence passed on Swami Krishnanand of Karáchi . 66 & 67
Protest against rigorous imprisonments to educated offenders . . 70
Protest against the repressive orders against Pandit Motilal Nehru and others . . . . 68 & 69

Military matters: How the Imperial Service Troops maintained by the Native States should be reorganised 76

Non-co-operation:

Appeal to the authorities to appease the minds of Muhammadans by conceding their legitimate demands. 59
Boycott of foreign cloth . . . . 31—38
Civil disobedience will be resorted to if Government continues its repressive policy 54
Comments on alleged attempts of the U. P. authorities to extract apologies from the *Independent* 55
Comments on Mr. Gandhi's intention to carry on picketing even though it leads to bloodshed. . . . . 46 & 47
Comments on the Parsi meeting in Bombay to celebrate the anniversary of the late Mr. Tilak 65
Condemnation of the violence of the crowd at Karáchi towards Europeans on the day on which Swami Krishnanand was sent to jail . . 63
Congress and Khilafat workers are being treated worse than communists in Britain 51
District officers and the picketing of liquor-shops . . . . . . 41—43
Exhortation to the people to wear *khadi* and boycott foreign clothes . 40
How the boycott of foreign cloth will add to the misery of Mussalmans. 39
How the — movement can be killed and the Indian people satisfied . 64
Government should declare its attitude towards peaceful picketing . 48—50
Mr. Gandhi's views on non-violence 62
Satyagraha is the only weapon of the oppressed 60
Should the people resort to civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes? . . . . 52 & 53
The Gandhi cap and Europeans . . . . 56—58
The Thána District Local Board and the anti-drink movement . 44 & 45
What should be the respective attitude of Hindus and Mussalmans towards cow-slaughter on the next Bakri-Id day? 61
Why Mr. Gandhi thinks that foreign cloth should be burnt and not given to the poor 30

Press Act: Comments on the recommendations of the — Committee . . 71—73

Public service: Government has done nothing to revise the salaries of its menial establishments 74
Protest against the proposed scheme allowing early retirement to the Civilians 75

LEGISLATION—

Comments on Dr. Gour's Inter-marriage Bill 80
Comments on the postponement of the Bombay Bhagdari and Narvadari Act Amendment Bill 78
The Bill to restrict the transport of cotton before the Bombay Legislative Council 79

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding religious instruction in Schools and Colleges . . . . 82 & 83
Comments on the Government Press Note regarding free and compulsory education in the Bombay Presidency 84
Protest against the rise in the prices of the vernacular readers . . . 85
The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy 81

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

"Protest against the ruling out of order of Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the Dhárwár disturbances.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 27th July.

1. We record our emphatic protest against the ruling of the President of the Bombay Legislative Council in the matter of the motion of Rao Bahadur G. K. Chitale for adjournment of the Council to enable him to move a resolution to the effect that an independent committee be appointed to inquire into the firing by the Police on an unarmed crowd at Dhárwár. It is to be regretted that the demand for an independent inquiry into the Dhárwár affair has been diplomatically evaded by a man of judicial acumen like Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Mr. Chitale was quite justified in bringing his motion before the Council; but the President was guilty of a serious error in gagging the Council. If Rao Bahadur Chitale's motion was technically defective the President should have given him an opportunity of correcting the defect. The second reason advanced by the President for disallowing the motion is not warranted by the constitution of the Council. The President has thus usurped the power vested in the Council of deciding whether a question, whose disallowance is not covered by the rules, should be discussed or not. The President has become an autocrat and the meek submission of the Council to his decision shows that it has no stuff in it. Had Rao Bahadur Chitale's motion been accepted the authorities would have been enabled to understand the complaints of the people in the matter of the Dhárwár affair. How can people have any faith in the present Council?

Servant of India (9), 28th July; **Gujaráti* (15), 31st July, Eng. cols.

2. "The firing that took place at Dhárwár on the 1st instant has undoubtedly some very ugly features about it, and requires close scrutiny by an impartial Committee. The official and popular versions of that incident are as poles asunder, and the popular version in which the police authorities are held guilty of cold-blooded murder of the people who were shot down on the occasion finds most influential support, both of local men and outsiders. This fact should have decided the Government, even if they were hesitating before, to institute an inquiry into the circumstances in which the firing occurred. But the Bombay Government was unmoved; all that they did was to send down the Home Member to the scene of the disturbance, who, instead of ascertaining by a preliminary inquiry whether there was need for a formal elaborate investigation by an outside committee, merely attempted, it would appear, to restore the public confidence by using some soft words. It was hoped that, if the Government did not appoint a committee promptly of their own motion, they would be persuaded to do so on a resolution to that effect being passed by the Legislative Council. Such an opportunity was afforded by the motion for adjournment brought forward on the opening day of the Council by Mr. Chitale; but the President, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, ruled it out of order, on the ground that the matter which it was the object of the motion to discuss was 'under adjudication in a court of law' and that the motion was thus contrary to the rules. This ruling which has the effect of choking off the discussion of a subject that has aroused the utmost interest throughout the Deccan and Karnátak is, in our opinion, as wrong as it is unfortunate. For, what is under adjudication is the conduct of several persons who are alleged to have committed certain offences; Mr. Chitale, however, moved for an adjournment of the House with a view to discussing the conduct of the police—not the same thing. What the general public is interested to know is, first, whether there was any need for firing at all, and, secondly, if so, whether there was necessity for all the firing that took place, *i. e.*, whether there was no excess of firing. Neither of these two subjects forms part of the judicial trial that has commenced. The court will find in this case whether A committed arson, B threw stones, C caused obstruction, and so forth; but it is not its business to find whether there was justification for the firing that occurred. This question will not come up before the court at all, except only indirectly; and what is required is a finding of an impartial tribunal on this one definite issue—whether, on this occasion, no more force

was used than was absolutely necessary. It is quite possible that the accused might be convicted of the offences and yet the firing might have been unnecessary or excessive; it is equally possible that the particular persons charged with offences might be innocent, and yet the firing might have been necessary. And if the magistrate draws an inference from facts which he is called upon to investigate and records a finding on a matter which does not properly lie within his sphere, such a finding will obviously be regarded as an *obiter dictum*, without any authority which attaches to a conclusion arrived at in regard to a matter directly under investigation. It is difficult to overrate the disappointment which will be felt by the people of Dhárwár, and which will be shared to the full by the whole of Maháráshtra and Karnátak, at the President's ruling. The conviction of the public is that the whole firing was unnecessary and that the police story is inherently improbable. The leaders of Dhárwár are quite prepared to produce evidence to that effect before an independent committee; to fob them off with a trial of something else is not the way to satisfy public opinion. It is yet open to the Bombay Government to appoint such a committee. We have given on another page the opinion which the senior member of that Government held as an unofficial person—and which we have no reason to suppose he has changed on his acceptance of office—that whenever any firing on an unarmed mob occurs in India, an independent committee should be charged with the duty of examining the circumstances with a view to finding out whether the firing was justifiable or not. Sir Ibrahim insists that a definite rule should be laid down requiring Government on every occasion of firing to set up an inquiry. We can assure Sir Ibrahim that he cannot better illustrate the need for such a rule than by citing this particular instance of firing. Though not in charge of the Home Department, he must be able to exert his influence in regard to a matter which, we believe, will not be decided by the Home Member on his own individual responsibility, but will form the subject of collective deliberation. The extent to which he succeeds in influencing the Government's decision on this matter will indeed be regarded as the test of the power which Indian members wield in the new Government outside their own sphere." [The *Gujaráti* remarks:—" Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's ruling has been disapproved in certain quarters, but we think it is correct from the point of constitutional procedure and from that of sound traditions of judicial administration. It need not, therefore, upset their mind and cause any feeling of disappointment."]

Mahrátta (7), 31st July.

*3. " In disallowing the resolution of Mr. G. K. Chitale concerning the adjournment of the Council for considering the question of appointing an independent committee to inquire into the Dhárwár firing, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, the President, has committed not only a crime—of course, crime against the Nation and the generally accepted principles of morality, but a great blunder. He was pleased to rule it out of order on two grounds.......... We think the grounds to be hopelessly flimsy.......... In the excess of his juristic wisdom, Mr. Chandavarkar failed to fully appreciate the feelings of people of Dhárwár and the grievous sense of colossal wrong under which they are living now. The ways in which the Dhárwár trial is conducted, are simply a bundle of scandals that have engendered a feeling of unspeakable disgust in the minds of the people of Maháráshtra and Karnátik about the Government. Nor will the disallowance of the President alleviate it. The resolution might perhaps be out of order from a rigidly legal point of view, but we sincerely believe it could have been suitably altered and sympathetically considered had the President wished it so. As to the second objection of Sir Narayan of the Eternal Verity fame, we think that it is incorrectly put forth. The matter which is *sub judice* and the matter which the proposed Committee was to investigate are entirely different from each other. To mix them up and so to confuse the ordinary people may be the height of legal knowledge: but in actual practice it is the acme of sheer folly. The inquiry extended to the circumstances connected with the recent firing at Dhárwár by the police on an unarmed crowd and whether it was proper and justifiable; and it is our conviction that a Committee, such as was suggested, would not have affected the matters pending in the Court of Law. This is, in our opinion, one more instance of the fact that the ways of Indian péople are not the ways of the bureaucracy and moderates who have got mixed with the former, completely. So much for Mr. Chandavarkar. By Dhárwár-firing and the Dhárwár case Government have seriously offended the people, offended against humanity, offended against ordinary morality. They are in duty bound to appoint an independent committee and investigate the whole affair thoroughly. The people will not be satisfied otherwise and harbour a feeling of disaffection and hatred of Government which will not be of good augury to them. The silence of Government in the matter of the Dhárwár-firing is rightly considered as an eloquent testimony of fault on Government's part and unless sufficient light is shed on the affair, the feeling will persist. Firing has become a sport with Government of late; but we are afraid that it will recoil, like a boomerang, one day or another on Government themselves. Will the Government call up their wisdom or allow matters to drift as usual?"

4. The *Lokasangraha* also condemns Sir N. G. Chandavarkar for disallowing Mr. Chitale's resolution and characterises the grounds put forward by him for disallowing it as most ridiculous and requests him not to make himself a laughing-stock of the public by such conduct in his old age. [The *Swarájya*, too, considers the decision of the President as highhanded and declares that the incident has proved that the powers of Government have not at all been curtailed by the new Councils.]

Lokasangraha (116), 30th July; *Swarájya* (145), 28th July.

5. "It seems incredible that Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, with all his legal and judicial training, should have offered the plea that the Special Magistrate appointed to conduct the trial at Dhárwár, 'is to find out whether the firing took place under justifiable circumstances or not.' Surely, Sir Narayan is aware that the Special Magistrate is at present conducting no Coroner's inquest.......... Sir Narayan knows very well that the Magistrate is engaged only in finding out whether the accused before him are or are not guilty of the charges of rioting, arson and so on brought against them by the police—the very police into whose conduct, in view of the allegations publicly made, Rao Bahadur Chitale demanded an enquiry! It will be strange justice which determines from the guilt or innocence of the accused, the innocence or guilt of the prosecuting party, without a trial of the latter and in spite of the fact that the charges against the latter are of quite a different nature to those brought against the accused. Yet, it is mainly on such an astounding plea as this that the President of the Council has ruled Mr. Chitale's resolution out of order!"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th July.

6. When a man commits a fault he is driven to commit many more while attempting to hide it. We are reminded of this by the policy pursued by Government with regard to the Dhárwár firing. No Indian can help feeling resentment against Government on finding that the latter are persecuting innocent people and their leaders. The authorities have adopted such a mean and unjust attitude since the commencement of the inquiry that we cannot help calling it a mere farce. According to our correspondent the authorities resort to such base tactics as refusing admission to the pleaders for the accused, issuing only a limited number of passes, associating men who are avowedly hostile to the Brahmins with the conduct of the inquiry, etc. We no not understand why they go through all this trouble if they have made up their minds to convict all the accused. If this farce is to continue, where was the necessity for Mr. Hayward to go to Dhárwár? No enquiry is made into the people's complaint that the Sub-Inspector shot innocent people, but, on the contrary, the popular leaders are hauled up before a court of law on false charges. Does not the Governor know that blood-stained hands can be cleaned by pouring water, and not more blood, on them? The Government of Bombay seem to be determined not to hold an independent inquiry into the Dhárwár affair. As the official and the non-official versions are as wide apart as the poles the most straightforward course would have been to entrust the inquiry to a committee composed of

Kesari (111), 26th July; *Lokamánya* (115), 27th July.

representatives both of Government and the people. But if they did not want the elected representatives of the people, could they not have entrusted the inquiry to independent non-official gentlemen? But they are afraid that the people will come to know the true facts. Yesterday R. B. Chitale's resolution was disallowed on the ground that the cases are *sub judice.* As a matter of fact there is no connection between these cases and the inquiry demanded by the people. But how can Government, who are blinded by power, be expected to know this? [The *Lokamdnya* writes :—Government are aware that their attitude in connection with the Dhárwár shooting affair has greatly dissatisfied the people. Their refusal to take advantage of Rao Bahadur Chitale's motion to explain their position shows that they do not believe themselves to be in the right. We cannot say that it was statesmanlike on the part of His Excellency the Governor to lose an opportunity like this.]

Dnydn Prakdsh (41), 27th July.

7. The *Dnydn Prakdsh* gives an extract from the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's speech, delivered by him eight years back as the President of the Moslem League in connection with the Cawnpore Musjid riot affair, and declares that it proves the necessity of holding an independent inquiry into the Dhárwár firing incident. It holds that such an inquiry should have been held by Government while the incident was fresh, but it regrets that instead of doing so, the motion placed by Mr. Chitale before the Bombay Legislative Council was declared to be out of order. In its opinion, what took place in the Council was most undesirable.

Hindusthdn (21), 28th July; *Praja Mitra and Pdrsi* (29), 27th July; *Bombay Samdchdr* (57), 29th July.

8. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has acted quite arbitrarily in disallowing Mr. Chitale's motion for the adjournment of the Council to enable it to consider his resolution for the appointment of an independent committee to inquire into the recent firing at Dhárwár. The attitude of the President of the Bombay Legislative Council is an insult to public opinion and it will tend to aggravate public hostility to the moderate party. The Special Magistrate appointed by Government will not inquire into the charges that are being levelled against the Police at Dhárwár, but will deal with the charges framed against the persons accused by the Police. But Sir Narayan had the temerity to say that he was safeguarding the interests of the defence by disallowing Mr. Chitale's motion! The *Praja Mitra and Pdrsi,* on the other hand, is of the opinion that the President was quite justified in disallowing Mr. Chitale's motion and remarks :—We are in a position to say that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd is very anxious to see that the Dhárwár affair is investigated in a thorough manner. Unlike other Satraps, he is prepared to shoulder the responsibility for any wrong acts done in connection with the administration of the Presidency and he does not think it any honour to shelter himself behind his Executive Council. We feel sure that His Excellency will not fail to inflict exemplary punishment on any official, be he high or low, if he is proved to be guilty in the course of the present inquiry. The *Bombay Samdchdr,* on the other hand, questions the decision of the President and considers it an encroachment on the privileges of the Council. It is of the opinion that the independent committee asked for by Mr. Chitale would have served to clear many doubts from the minds of the people.]

Protest against disallowance by the President of the Bombay Legislative Council of a question about meetings of the Bombay Executive Council.

Servant of India (9), 28th July.

9. "Complaints are rife for a long time in the Bombay Presidency that Cabinet meetings are few and far between; that even important matters in which collective deliberation is obviously necessary are left to the discretion of the particular department concerned, and that, not to speak of a joint deliberation of the two wings of Government, even the meetings of the executive council alone are seldom held......... Mr. Gupte, desirous of ascertaining the truth in regard to them, gave notice of a question in the

following terms in the Bombay Legislative Council:—[Here the paper gives the text of the question]. This question was, however, disallowed by the President, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, on two grounds:—[Here the paper gives the grounds.] But neither of these grounds is a valid one. In the first place, it is not a matter entirely 'within the discretion of His Excellency the Governor' 'to rule how business in his executive council and with his ministers shall be conducted'. For as Mr. Gupte himself said in this very question, the Joint Select Committee has enjoined upon the Governors the duty of joint deliberation............ The Joint Committee's recommendations are quite as binding as the provisions of the Act itself. The Governor is expressly required to have joint deliberation, and is not given discretion to do without it, as the president imagines. In the second place, it is not a matter of domestic arrangement between the Governor and his ministers, whether official or unofficial; but it is a matter of public concern......... Mr. Gupte and the general public are entitled to know whether in the Bombay Government there is always 'unity in deliberation', but the mistaken ruling of the President has prevented light being thrown on this important question."

Comments on the Government's reply in the Bombay Legislative Council as to their Excise policy.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 31st July.

*10. "In reply to a question in the Bombay Legislative Council Government enunciated their Excise policy as follows. It is the policy of Government in order to minimise temptation for those who do not drink and to discourage excess among those who do, to make the tax upon liquor as high as it is possible to raise it, without stimulating illicit production to a degree which would increase instead of diminishing the total consumption. Every part of this statement rests on a fallacy. Those who do not drink will not be tempted to drink by offering liquor cheap or even *gratis* to them; those who drink are not prevented from drinking to excess by the high price of liquor; illicit production is stimulated by the present policy, and what keeps it in check is the penalties attaching to it. The production of liquor, whether by or under the auspices of Government, or by a private trader, is equally illicit. Both produce liquor for the sake of profit. There is as little morality in the one as in the other. We go further and say that it is the Government policy that leads to the largest production of liquor, that this largely creates the demand that it supplies, and that it is not the high duty, but large preventive and punitive powers, that keeps private persons from entering the field as the high duty (and consequent high price) will otherwise tempt them to do. These same preventive and punitive powers will be sufficient to enforce a policy of prohibition and, in fact, if there is no 'licit' production, there will be little temptation for 'illicit' production. This aspect of the matter requires to be closely studied by the Minister responsible for the Excise policy. The present policy entirely ignores the existence of a strong religious and social sentiment in this country against drink or holds that it cannot enter into the calculation of administrators. We assert that it is the presence of the drink shop—there is at least one in almost every street judging from the statement for Bombay city laid on the table in reply to another question—and not the price of liquor, that constitutes the temptation and the abolition of the shop is the only way of abolishing temptation."

Comments on the Bombay Government's reply to an interpellation regarding high prices of Vernacular text-books.

Gujarâti (15), 31st July, Eng. cols.

*11. "Complaints regarding the high prices that have to be paid for Gujaráti vernacular readers form the subject of an interpellation by Mr. C. M. Gandhi.......... Government replied that the enhanced prices were due partly to profiteering on the part of book-sellers and partly to inadequacy of stocks resulting chiefly from the very high cost of production compared with scheduled selling prices. It is true that Government had no control over the retail book-sellers. But there is no reason why the head-masters of different schools should not be supplied direct with the required number of books under some arrangement with the publishers or with the Government Central Book Depôt instead of allowing the local book-sellers to monopolise the available stock.......... The enhanced prices are a serious burden upon the purse of poor parents, and we absolutely refuse to believe that the present grievance cannot be substantially redressed by co-operation on the part of the publishers, Government and the head-masters and managers of schools. It should be further borne in mind that the publishers have enjoyed the monopoly of publishing vernacular readers for several years past, and Government ought to insist upon reduction of prices at their hands. At the same time there is no reason why steps should not be taken to publish the readers in this country as far as possible. The present system affords golden opportunities for extending generous patronage to flourishing publishing firms in England and it will take long to abolish it. But we are totally opposed to having text-books that Government or private agencies cannot publish in India with their available resources. A poor country like India cannot indulge the expensive luxury of artistic productions.......... We need not invite the attention of the Education Minister to this matter, as he is well conversant with the hardships of voiceless parents. The grievance has appeared in some form or other for years past and it would be a great pity if it were found incapable of remedy owing to insuperable difficulties."

India no more a paradise for the Whites.
Hindu (158), 22nd July.

12. The *Hindu* writes:—"The days of enjoyment are past. The supply of cheap bungalows, free servants and abundant *shikar* is now stopped. The time when Bharat was a paradise for us is gone for ever. To-day there is a new awakening there. Indians do not want to remain our slaves." The above is the confession of a *gora* official to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, whose paper writes that the above confession is the main reason why *goras* are now demanding increments in their salaries. That India is no more a paradise for *goras* is not solely due to political awakening. It is also due to the fact that India has been bled white and has, therefore, nothing more to give.

Alleged exploitation of India by the British.
Loka Bandhu (85), 24th July.

13. The British people have no intention of making India their home and staying here permanently like the Pársis. They have enslaved 31 crores of Indians and reduced them to the position of coolies working for the comfort and happiness of a few crores of Britishers. It is now 150 years since British rule was established in this country. During this period of 150 years, a few of the Britishers professed to be our friends and raised false hopes in our hearts. There were others who openly showed themselves to be our enemies and gave us threats. Both these classes were all the while considering whether they should tear off the hair of Mother India or cut off her nose or her fingers, and being inspired by a common motive succeeded in bringing ruin upon India. But, unlike the Amir of Afghanistan or the Mikado of Japan, they did nothing for the real advancement of their subjects. Various inventions which were introduced into the country, such as Railways and the Telegraph, proved ultimately to be for the benefit of England and of the British officials over here. It is said that the prayers offered to all the gods ascend to the God Keshava. So every act of the Britishers in this country is intended for the benefit of England.

Should the British connection be maintained?
Sind Observer (10), 19th July.

14. "The British connection has been of enormous advantage to India in arousing a fallen nation from the deep slumber of centuries. It has been of enormous material and moral advantage to England and upon the wealth acquired from India the foundations of England's prosperity were built. The possession of India made England the greatest Empire on earth, India being the storehouse of the Empire for war as well as peace purposes. England cannot afford to lose India, for then she will sink down to the level of a third-rate-power........ How then are we to live as friends and equals and what is the cause of the suspicion entertained in the Indian mind that Indian interests are being sacrificed for those of England? The records of the Congress for 35 years furnish the evidence necessary. It is a curious coincidence, but nevertheless

an historical fact that the Congress came into existence just at the time when the British Nation, having forgotten its great mission in India, had turned to the exploitation of the resources of India. Imperialism obtained ascendancy and Lord Curzon told the planters about 20 years ago that exploitation and administration went hand in hand and that the exploiters and administrators were members of the same family engaged in similar occupations. Lord Curzon was frankness itself. And the whole of the Indian National movement, as represented by the Congress, was directed to make the position of the Indian in his country tolerable and honourable. The Congress has failed in obtaining justice from the rulers, but it has succeeded in rousing up the people. The Congress of petitions is dead; but the Congress of power is living.......... But we believe exploitation is only a passing phase of imperialism. The domination of British Parliament by capitalists is the root-cause of the present trouble. But it will not last long. The war has imparted tremendous lessons. Britain is now in the throes of a struggle between capitalism and the moral laws of humanity. The British genius has not acknowledged a defeat in the governance of people. It will assert itself again over the forces of gravitation of capitalism, for capitalism has great moral limitations.......... We are in hopes the Prince of Wales will establish the fraternal bond of love between India and England."

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 27th July.

15. Commenting upon Mr. Mahomed Ali's remarks about establishing an Indian Republic, made in a speech at Karáchi, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—We as well as the whole of India would sympathise with Mr. Gandhi if his object is to secure *swaráj* under the British rule. We do not sympathise with the methods adopted by him and the fixing of a time-limit of one to four months for achieving it. He has now gone one step further and talks of rivers of blood being made to flow for the attainment of *swaráj*. He will admit that a very insignificant proportion of the educated classes of the country are with him, while the illiterate people are under his influence owing to his personality. *Swaráj* is as distant as it ever was even now when the whole of the Bezwada programme has been put into force. Whenever the prescribed time-limit for the attainment of *swaráj* is reached, Mr. Gandhi extends that limit. Are not all these devices measures of desperation? Is there any common sense, foresight or political wisdom in the statement of Mr. Gandhi to the effect that rivers of blood will flow in September? The non-co-operators have been defeated at all points. They hope to succeed in their object by trying the dangerous experiment of picketing and thus bringing the authorities into collision with the people and causing rivers of blood to flow. We are of opinion that they will not only fail in this but also be responsible for checking the progress of the country. We do not knew what Mr. Gandhi thinks about the statement of Mr. Mahomed Ali with regard to the declaration of an Indian Republic at the Ahmedabad sessions of the Congress. It is quite possible that the Ahmedabad Congress will do something out of the way which will cast in the shade the doings of the Bezwada Congress. It seems Mr. Gandhi and his followers want immediately a *swaráj* which will be as short-lived as the tree of the magician which springs up, laden with fruit, in five minutes, and withers away in an equally short time. But the majority of the people want a lasting *swaráj* attained by gradual stages. Those loyal Indians who have been quietly co-operating with Government for the achievement of such *swaráj* will succeed in the end. We have yet to see what shape the picketing of foreign cloth shops takes.

An appeal to Indian Moslems to help the Turks.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 24th July.

16. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* in an article entitled "the Ottoman Empire and the Mussalmans" remarks:—A unique religious duty devolves upon the Mussalmans at a juncture when all the brute forces are making preparation to lower the banner of unity and to injure the interests of Islam. Remember well that it is incumbent on the Muslims to help the Turks; and if any person shirks that duty, he no longer remains a Mussalman. The angels are looking from the sky as to what you do for the armies of Islam. You should humble yourselves before God and pray for them. We request the

Mussalmans of Bombay to convene a meeting of prayer in the Juma Musjid for the victory of the Turks. May God grant victory to the armies of Ghazi Mustafa Kamal Pasha and may God save the holy places of Islam from falling into the hands of the usurpers.

Complaint that fine levied on Málegaon falls entirely on the shoulders of Muhammadans.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 24th July.

17. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* complains that in the case of Málegaon Government have decided to throw the whole burden of the fine levied in connection with the riots on the shoulders of the Mussalmans of that place alone. It asks whether or not the Hindus formed part of the demonstrations, and characterises the decision as sheer injustice.

Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 26th July, Eng. cols.

18. Referring to the proposal to transfer Aden to the control of the Colonial Office, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks :—" We do not know from what considerations of Imperial policy or constitutional symmetry or administrative convenience the Imperial Government have thought fit to reverse the order of well-nigh a century and decide upon such a momentous change. These considerations should be weighty indeed to have induced the Cabinet to decide upon the proposed arrangement and to persuade the public to accept it. There are vested interests of a very considerable extent which will be profoundly affected by the proposed change. And we feel that, in view of these interests, the step should not be taken except as a last resort. The subjects of the Empire are entitled to reckon upon the internal stability and fixity of the Empire. If shuffles of this nature are to be permitted, because somebody's sense of constitutional symmetry is offended, we do not know where we are. Constitutional experiments involving the interests of thousands of people cannot be allowed to be made, because somebody at the Foreign Office or the Colonial Office is too active or too restless to be content with things as they are. Aden has been largely, if not entirely, developed by Indian money and Indian enterprise, and the Indians who have a large stake in that place may legitimately claim that they have proceeded upon the assumption on assurance that Aden would ever remain an integral part of the Indian Empire. Indian merchants and settlers are entitled to be heard before a step of such far-reaching effect on their interests is taken. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain the view of these people, as also of the Arabs. If such an attempt were made there is no question that the weight of public opinion would overwhelmingly be against the proposed transfer.......... In any event apart from questions of high policy of which we are in complete ignorance there seems to be no case made out for the sudden transferance. It is much too late in the day to cut off Aden from India and consign it to the tender mercies of the Colonial Office."

Comments on the reply to the Dhárwár pleaders' protest to His Excellency the Governor.

Lokamánya (115), 29th July.

19. Mr. Kargudri and other pleaders at Dhárwár had complained by wire to His Excellency the Governor about having been insulted by the local Police on the day on which the inquiry into the shooting affair by the Additional District Magistrate began and about having been prevented from being present at the inquiry. An answer to the wire has now been given through the Additional District Magistrate, 4 or 5 days after the wire was sent, and an attempt has thus been made to pacify the pleaders. The pleaders have already told Mr. Lawrence to his face that the reply was unsatisfactory. But the fact that the Bombay Government has at least made an attempt to pacify the pleaders shows that there appears to have been some awakening about the Dhárwár affair at Ganeshkhind. Mr. Lawrence's letter to the pleaders was clearly written after his ears had been pulled from above. The very fact that 4 or 5 days had to pass before matters were explained shows that the explanation was suggested from Poona. To ask the people to believe the statement that the inquiry is being held at the jail simply because no other convenient place could be secured in such a big city as Dhárwár is to suppose them to be mere milksops.

Protest against Mr. Painter's promotion to the Commissionership, N. D.

Lokasháhi (119), 25th July.

20. Mr. Painter, the blood-thirsty Collector of Dhárwár, has been appointed Commissioner of the Northern Division. Has he been thus promoted for the firing at Dhárwár? When a dog becomes mad, it rolls about in its madness. That is at present the condition of Government. But it must bear in mind that the madness of such a dog brings on its death. While the people demand the dismissal of such high-handed officials, Government is honouring them with promotions. That shows its unfitness to rule. The bureaucracy might find pleasure in indulging in such acts of high-handedness in utter disregard of the feelings of the people, but it is all sure to end in the downfall of the Empire.

The Matiari (Sind) shooting case.

New Times (8), 25th July.

21. "We have before us two accounts of the Matiari tragedy. They are written by Mr. Jethmal Parsram, editor, *Bharatvasi*, and Pandit Vishnu Sharma, editor of the *Hindu*.......... We await more particulars and can only offer a few preliminary observations to-day based on the two accounts before us. Pir Mujdid was evidently a leading organiser of the Khilafatist meeting; and he adopted a correct attitude in his talk to the Mukhtiarkar's man. The man is reported to have said to him: 'If you come in the midst of us, we shall show you who is more powerful!' Pride of power has been the one great sin of the official class in India. The Pir Sahib answered the man in the right spirit when he said: 'On our side, we have used no force; nor shall we use it. If you want to use force, we shall submit to it.' And the Pir Sahib did well in closing his meeting to avoid coming in conflict with the 'Aman Sabha'—a pro-official association proud of its 'power.' Some boys, we are told, were standing on the ground where the non-co-operators' meeting was held, and when they saw members of the Aman Sabha returning, they cried:—'Allah ho Akbar' and 'iho, iho'. Allah-ho-Akbar is a religious cry to which no one in his senses can object; 'iho, iho' is an impertinent shout in which boys indulge; they should not have cried 'iho, iho' to the Aman Sabha men; but what had the non-co-operators to do with the foolish shout of some foolish boys? And gentlemen of the Sabha should have taken the boys' shout in good humour.......... But the police sub-inspector at Matiari was offended at the shouts of boys and—the police fired! According to a version before us, the bullets were fired eight times! It is denied that any brickbats or stones were thrown by the people; some dust was kicked up by the boys at play. The police fired. Sayed Nazim Sham came to disperse the crowd and received three bullets in his legs. Who gave the permission to fire? And what did the officials do to look after the wounded? What medical help was afforded them? A young man who received severe injuries 'died in the morning,' we are told, 'with cries of medicine.' The telegram received by the Secretary, Khilafat Committee at Karáchi, asked that medical aid be sent at once for the wounded at Matiari. Ten more, we read, are laid up and one of them is on his death-bed! We are not surprised to hear an educated Government servant say, yesterday, when commenting on the tragedy:—'Another Jallianwalla'! Private medical aid has, by this time, reached the wounded; and the people have remained peaceful and patient; they regard the young man who has died as a martyr. It is time to appoint a Committee of Inquiry to look into the whole matter carefully and report on the subject at a very early date. The Committee should be a Peoples' Committee, not merely of non-co-operators. It would carry greater weight."

Non-co-operation movement is not responsible for the strikes on tea estates.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th July.

22. Referring to the speech of the President of the Indian Tea Association in London accusing the non-co-operation movement of encouraging strikes on tea estates, the *Bombay Chronicle* remarks:—"If these tea magnates persist in shutting their eyes to the truth that it was not so much Mr. Gandhi's movement as the intolerable and disgraceful conditions prevailing on the tea estates themselves that have driven the labourers away from Assam, they will be injuring their own interests. Only fair wages and humane treatment will ensure contentment among the labourers and no amount of official pressure exercised in the interests of the employers will avail the latter permanently. Instead, therefore, of fulminating against Mr. Gandhi's followers and egging on the authorities to suppress by violence the legitimate aspirations of the people, those who control the tea industry will be well advised to put their own house in order betimes."

The Boy Scouts organization should be wholly under popular management.

Lokasangraha (116), 28th July.

23. Referring to His Excellency the Governor's appeal for funds for sending a party of Boy Scouts to England for training purposes, the *Lokasangraha* remarks that it has no objection to such a party being sent, but expresses the hope that the people's money would not be misspent on the comforts of the European gentleman who is accompanying the party. It further asks as to why Government or its henchmen should control the organisation if it is to be supported by the money of the public. It thinks that if the institution is at all to produce spirited and able men it should be controlled by the people's representatives.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Calcutta Marwari Association.

Gujaràti Punch (17), 24th July, Eng. cols.

24. "Lord Reading seems to be on a fair way to land his chariot in the bureaucratic groove. Replying to a deputation of the Marwari Association of Calcutta that waited on His Excellency, Lord Reading gave more indications of the way in which his mind is being moulded than hitherto and taking it in conjunction with his latter day speeches, we may well hope to see him in the near future as a fair product of the Chelmsford-cum-Vincent school. The address of the Marwari Association naturally dealt with commercial and industrial topics in the main and two of its most important points were the Railway and the Tariff Policy of the Government of India. And on both these points the reply of Lord Reading is characteristic.......... As regards the 'need for securing for India the right to regulate her own tariffs according to her needs', Lord Reading has nothing better to say than repeating the old, old tale of resorting to a protective tariff that will assist in the development of our industries 'without injustice to consumers or harmful results to our external trade' being a 'complex' matter that requires 'special' consideration. Perhaps it is because His Excellency has only been three months in this country that he does not know that the hollowness of such pleas has been long exploded. But what is more surprising than the above is His Excellency's homily to the deputation on the need for foreign trade. We do not know what caused His Excellency to show off his special knowledge as to when a country prospers and when it does not, for we have not come across a single sentence in the deputation's address which may, even by implication, be construed as hinting to His Excellency the desirability of stopping all foreign trade.......... If foreign countries buy India's raw materials, it is not to oblige India but because it suits their interests. But even supposing that protection will lessen India's exports of raw materials, even then more raw materials will be consumed by native factories and the resultant diminution of imports of finished goods will more than compensate for that loss which weighs so heavily on the hearts of India's so-called well-wishers. Will His Excellency bear this in mind?"

Sind Vasi (167), 19th July.

25. The reply given by Lord Reading to the address of Calcutta Marwari Association is even more disappointing than the one he gave to the Kadyan Deputation. The Association's main demands were two in number, the maintenance of the present high customs duties, and the removal of the difference in the railway freight rates for raw materials exported to foreign countries, and Indian manufactured goods, its complaint being that the rates for the former were very low as compared with those for the latter. Both these demands were made with an eye to India's industrial prosperity. As regards railway freight rates, the Viceroy's reply was, that Indian railways were started mainly for India's export trade which was the principal source of their profits, and that therefore it was natural for them to fix lower rates for export materials. This may be true for the Company-managed railways, but not surely for State railways, which should be worked solely in India's interests. The Companies also can be prevailed upon to fix equitable rates in consideration of the many concessions that have been made to them by Government.

The forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 30th July.

26. The programme of the tour of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in India has been published. There would have been no end to the disappointment of the Indian people if the visit had been postponed. Seeing that he has visited various parts of the Empire and made himself acquainted with the condition of the people of those parts, it was not desirable in any way that he should not visit India which is an important part of the Empire. The visit is desirable also because such visits of members of the Royal family have always benefitted India. Although they are surrounded by officials, yet the interview given by King George as Prince of Wales to the editor of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* against the wishes of the officials shows how after all they make themselves acquainted with the people's feelings in spite of official tutelage. The Prince's visit will prove as beneficial to him as it will be to India and hence the Indian people will welcome him with redoubled enthusiasm.

Lokasháhi (119), 25th July.

27. It is now settled that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is soon to visit India. How can the country, wounded at heart, welcome him with joy? We are not Mangs or Europeans in India taking pleasure in killing men, to come forward to receive His Royal Highness by trampling under foot the dead bodies of our brethren killed by the white officials, the countrymen of His Royal Highness! His Royal Highness says that he wants to communicate freely with the Indians. But can he be ignorant of the fact that the British Government has bound down India in utter slavery, that it is being persecuted even now and that if it is not granted *swarájya* immediately, it is prepared to throw off the yoke of the British Government? If the Prince comes to India without remedying the country's grievances, the people would refuse to exchange amenities with him. At the same time we admit that His Royal Highness has no power in his hands and that he is bound to be conscious of the fact. Let him, therefore, in these days of democracy give up his right to the throne, and then India will welcome and worship him as a great champion of democracy just like Lokamanya Tilak. If he is not prepared to do that, it would be better if he does not come to India at all to be made a laughing-stock just like the Duke of Cannaught.

His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's appeal in connection with the Boy Scouts movement.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 28th July; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), dated 28th July.

28. We are glad to say that His Excellency the Governor of Bombay has undertaken the movement of training Indian youths as scouts and raising a big force of such scouts and has accepted the post of Chief Scout in order to make it a success. Lord Sydenham and Lord Willingdon were against this movement. But our present Governor is made of different stuff. He is guided by higher principles. We have often declared that the chief aim underlying the practice of sending out Governors from England is that they should act impartially, as arbitrators between officialdom and the people. Sir George Lloyd is an admirer of this high principle and hence he considers it proper to hold himself directly responsible with regard to his administration rather than abide by the decisions of his Council. It is the duty of all classes of people to respond heartily to the appeal issued by His Excellency as the Chief Scout of this Presidency. His Excellency rightly declares that this matter has no connection with any particular political party. Such volunteers as these scouts are the real wealth and source of strength of the Presidency and the country and it is the duty of all classes of people to provide the necessary funds for the organisation.

We consider it necessary to draw the attention of the people to the statement contained in the appeal issued by His Excellency the Governor that eighty per cent. of the money collected will be spent in this Presidency, fifteen per cent. will be handed over to the All-India Chief Scouts Association while only five per cent. will be sent to the governing body in England. No distinctions of caste or creed will be observed in spending the money here. The guarantee for this is that the Committee appointed to manage the funds consists of more than three-fourths Indians. There cannot be any better guarantee than this. We hope that the appeal of His Excellency will be responded to in a manner which will do credit to our Presidency. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* writes:—We hope that people will respond heartily to the appeal made by His Excellency the Governor. We also share in his hope that the people of the Bombay Presidency will collect such a large sum as will be worthy of the great reputation of their Presidency and will enable it to occupy the first place in the Boy Scouts movement.]

The people of Sátára should boycott His Excellency the Governor's visit to the place.

Lokamánya (115), 28th July.

29. A Sátára correspondent writes:—His Excellency the Governor is coming here on 1st August and it appears that he is to receive three addresses. It is not known why at all His Excellency is coming. The people are suffering so much injustice and harrassment under His Excellency's regime that no patriot will care to be present at any of the functions in his honour. The district is distracted by the *zulum* of the Satyashodaks, and the picketers in the anti-drink campaign are being prosecuted and severely sentenced. The climax has been reached in the firing at Dhárwár. As His Excellency has as yet done nothing to redress these grievances, it is improper to give him any address. No one should, therefore, take part in the receptions to be held in His Excellency's honour and all shops in the town should be closed on that day.

Why Mr. Gandhi thinks that foreign cloth should be burnt and not given to the poor.

Young India (12), 28th July.

30. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Critics have overwhelmed me with their rebuke regarding the burning of foreign cloth. After having considered every argument advanced against it, I cannot help saying that destruction is the best method of dealing with foreign cloth. The Provincial Congress Committee has left it optional to the givers to choose between destruction and despatch to Smyrna or elsewhere. The discussion of the question, therefore, lacks the importance it would have had if destruction had been the only method prescribed for dealing with foreign clothes.......... I hold that the wearing of foreign cloth in India is almost as bad as drinking. I am not sure it is not even worse than drinking in some respects. For the last hundred and fifty years India has been importing foreign cloth at the expense of her great cottage industry, *i. e.*, spinning.......... If we only realised the magnitude of the injury done by the East India Company and of the sin committed by us in yielding to the persecution of the Company's *gumastas* or temptations put in our way, we would hang our heads in shame. Our great national industry would not have perished, our women would not have been forced to labour on public roads, millions of our people would not have been obliged to remain a part of the year in enforced idleness if we could have retained Swadeshi. In my humble opinion cloth which revives such black memories and is a mark of our shame and degradation is fit only to be destroyed. It certainly cannot be given to the poor. We should have much greater regard for their feelings and their national culture than to think that we serve them by giving them what to us is a mark of our slavery. Should not India's poor have a sense of patriotism? Should they not have feelings about dignity and self-respect in the same manner as we have? I would not have the meanest of us remain without a spirit of true patriotism. Just as we would or at least ought to recoil with horror from giving them rotten food we will not eat, so should we feel about giving them foreign cloth. A moment's thought would also show that much of the fineries we are throwing away are perfectly useless for the poor. Of what use can the dirty hats and caps stinking with our perspiration be to them, or the rich silk *sadis* and the finest muslins that are being given up?......... They cannot clothe the famine-stricken. The things that are really useful to them are very few indeed."

Boycott of foreign cloth.
Navjivan (70), 24th July, Supplement.

31. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the Supplement to the *Navjivan*:—Destruction and construction are the two phases of non-co-operation. We should dislike foreign cloth just like any unclean thing. In order that such a dislike may be created in us we should also clearly realize that the root-cause of our slavery is foreign cloth. Everything else followed it. The factories of the East India Company were built for the sake of cloth. The 1st of August should be very memorable for us. We should boycott all foreign cloth totally on that day. We should assemble on that day in every village at a certain place and give up for ever all the foreign cloth in our possession. This is the highest form of devotion and we would make the attainment of *swarâj* possible within this year by performing this one duty. Women would find it very difficult to do so. It was easy to give away ornaments, but to discard beautiful *sarees* made of foreign cloth would be very difficult. Nevertheless it is necessary that such a bitter pill should be swallowed. After that it would only remain for a few men and women to be ready to go to jail. May God endow the people of Gujarât with this spirit of renunciation! The spinning-wheel should be set working in every home in Gujarât and hand-spun *khadar* should be made in every village of that province. For the present the Congress Committee should devote its attention to this great movement. Our practical ability will be gauged from the success we attain in making people renounce and produce. [Elsewhere Mr. Gandhi earnestly exhorts the people not to observe any *hartal* on the 1st of August.]

Gujarâti (15), 24th July.

32. Mr. Gandhi has begun to advocate the cause of Swadeshi and the use of the spinning-wheel, and so there is a great demand for *khadi* cloth. But there does not seem to be enough of *khadi* in the country to take the place of foreign cloth. Even half the requirements of the people cannot be met by the present output of *khadi*. Still Mr. Gandhi does not care to wait till the country can meet its own requirements and asks people to boycott and burn foreign cloth even if they have to go naked or scantily clothed. It is one thing to ask people to use Swadeshi cloth if they can do so and quite another thing to ask them to destroy the foreign cloth in their possession. We do not think that people would be prepared to make a bonfire of foreign cloth worth crores of rupees. The item that has evoked serious objection in Mr. Gandhi's programme in this matter is the house-to-house visitation of volunteers for collecting articles of foreign cloth. A respectable gentleman writes to us thus:—I shall push out anybody who comes to my house to make such a search. I would not mind my wife appearing scantily clothed before Mr. Gandhi if he came to me, but his lieutenants and prominent followers do not bear such an unblemished character as to permit me to tolerate their presence in my house, even for a moment, if they came as volunteers.

Sind Observer (10), 21st July.

33. "We are unable to see any sense in the effort made by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee in making a house-to-house collection of foreign cloth to make a bonfire of it on 1st of August which is the anniversary of the death of Mr. Tilak.......... If Bombayites have a superfluity of clothing they can as well send it to the poorer parts of the country like Sind, Cuttuck, Bengal and U. P., where the naked and the half-naked could be clothed with it; and these will thank the Bombayites for their generosity. On the principle that charity must begin at home we are not in favour of sending this stuff to Smyrna.......... Mr. Gandhi is destroying foreign cloth without providing a cheap substitute. It is clear enough that Mr. Gandhi's object is not the economic salvation of the country but the creation of political bitterness. A so-called economic movement based on a political purpose will not survive long. It did not succeed in Bengal 15 years ago. The non-co-operators

wish to keep the pot of racial hatred boiling at the highest temperature before their time-limit for *swarâj* is over and before the Prince lands in India. But they must beware of the inevitable reaction and exhaustion which are bound to follow all forced marches.......... The course of trade cannot be diverted by bonfire and boycotts as the course of history has not been diverted by assassinations. What is wanted is a positive programme of spinning and weaving and supplying the demand made for *khadi* cloth and not the negative programme of destruction of the few *videshi* clothes which the average Indian possesses. In that case Swadeshi should have nothing to do with politics."

Hind Mitra (18), 24th July; *Insáf* (67), 22nd July; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* (81), 29th July; *Broach Mitra* (58), 24th July; *Hitechhu* (66), 24th July; *Hindusthán* (21), 28th July.

34. We feel sure that India will be able to secure *swarâj* by September next if the people realise the importance of Swadeshi and take a vow to boycott foreign cloth. We feel sure that the Pársis will yield place to none in celebrating the Swadeshi week. The Provincial Congress Committee has done well in hitting upon the plan of making a bonfire of foreign cloth on the 1st of August and we feel sure that the people will give it enthusiastic support. The boycott movement will compel England to grant *swarâj* to India unconditionally. [The *Insáf* writes :—We feel sure that the more the people of India give a prompt and enthusiastic reception to Mr. Gandhi's suggestion for boycotting foreign cloth the nearer they will bring *swarâj* to India. We feel sure that cloth merchants will have no hesitation in making a bonfire of foreign cloth on the 1st of August. The *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* writes :—Mr. Gandhi will be doing more good than harm to the country by the burning of foreign cloth if he succeeds thereby in creating hatred of foreign goods in the hearts of his countrymen. We hope that the country will give a ready response to Mr. Gandhi's appeal. The *Broach Mitra* also appeals to the people to take a vow of Swadeshi and to boycott foreign cloth. The *Hitechhu* expresses approval of the movement for boycotting and burning foreign cloth and expresses hope that Karáchi will give a ready response to Mr. Gandhi's appeal. The *Hindusthán*, on the other hand, writes :—No one need to be told that we sympathise with the Swadeshi movement or that the boycott movement has our hearty support. We, however, fail to understand what good purpose will be served by making a bonfire of foreign cloth worth crores of rupees at present stocked in this country. We are distinctly of the opinion that the burning of foreign cloth will tend to impoverish the country and do it harm.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 25th July; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 26th July; *Bharat Seva* (14), 29th July; *Gujarát Vartamán* (64), 27th July; *Baroda Vartamán* (56), 25th July.

35. The advice given by Mr. Gandhi for boycotting foreign cloth all at once is impracticable and is, moreover, likely to stimulate dishonesty in the country. The country just now is not in a position to boycott foreign cloth. We are certainly of the opinion that there is no other movement which can be more patriotic and beneficial to the country than the Swadeshi movement. But we, at the same time, think that the boycott movement will do more harm than good to the cause of Swadeshi. We wish Mr. Gandhi had utilised the crore of rupees collected for the Swaraj Fund in establishing a couple of cotton mills and had devoted their profits to encouraging other indigenous industries. India then would have been able to meet its own requirements in respect of cloth in a decade or so. Mr. Gandhi's fad about boycott has not been received with approval by the commercial public and we hope he will give careful consideration to the practical difficulties of the question. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also condemns the boycott movement and wishes Mr. Gandhi had thought of establishing cotton mills for producing cloth of superior quality before preaching boycott. It expresses fear that the movement will do harm to the country. The *Bharat Seva* writes :—We would urge all to take steps to increase the output of Indian cloth and to use Swadeshi cloth. But we would appeal to them not to make a bonfire of foreign cloth purchased by themselves. Such a step would prove harmful to the country and is not likely to help the cause of boycott. The *Gujarát Vartamán* writes :—We fail to understand the motive underlying Mr. Gandhi's order about making a bonfire of foreign cloth. We have nothing to say against the use of Swadeshi cloth but the burning of foreign cloth would be merely an exhibition of hatred. It is really a piece of folly to burn cloth when hundreds of people are going about in an almost naked condition. We are inclined to think that Mr. Gandhi means to keep the hatred felt by the Indians for Europeans burning by the symbol of a bonfire of foreign cloth. Elsewhere the paper writes :—Mr. Gandhi has been preaching from the house-tops that he is intent upon securing *swaráj* by peaceful and non-violent methods; but he has made it clear to the proprietors of country liquor-shops in Bombay that rivers of blood will flow if they do not close their shops of their own accord. This goes to show that the non-co-operation movement now ceases to be non-violent and is assuming a violent aspect. Mr. Gandhi so far deluded the people with the belief that his movement was free from violence; but he has now shown himself in his true colours. Let us hope the people will think twice before joining the movement. The *Baroda Vartamán*, while approving of the Swadeshi movement, expresses emphatic disapproval of boycott and the movement for burning foreign cloth.]

Kesari (111), 26th July.

36. “ Mahatma Gandhi once objected to boycott on the ground that it would mean hatred of foreigners, but the objection seems to have vanished through his experience of the last ten months. He first launched the non-co-operation movement by calling the present system of Government ‘ satanic ’, an appellation which none before him, neither Dadabhoy Nowroji nor Tilak, dared to apply to the system and he has been so often repeating it that ‘ satanic ’ has as it were become a synonym for our Government. It is well that the Mahatma has at last come to recognise that the boycott of foreign cloth has in it nothing worse than calling the British Government ‘ satanic ’. This boycott is the least controversial item of the programme of non-co-operation, and in our opinion no moderate, even of the mildest type, can take objection to it. To resolve not to wear foreign cloth is to commit no offence, nor can Swadeshi clothes be subjected to insult in Government offices. The Viceroy did not refuse to receive Mahatma Gandhi in interview because he went dressed in *khadi*. We admit that the Gandhi cap is taken today more as a mark of non-co-operation than of *swadeshi*, and yet it is well-known that the Central Provinces Government have declared that there was no objection for a Government servant to wear that kind of cap. In short, though other items of non-co-operation might be considered controversial on the score of involving loss, the objection is not at all applicable to boycott of foreign cloth. It is the duty, therefore, of everyone to practice it as far as possible.

Mahrátta (7), 31st July.

***37.** “ Mahatma Gandhi, by reviving the Swadeshi movement, has brought a healthy message to the country. The Swadeshi movement has in it a power of self-purification in a high degree.......... India cannot afford to wear glossy fine foreign cloth. It is a shame that a Nation, with such great traditions as India, should depend for clothing its sons and daughters upon foreign countries. Had the Nation been at war and had there been a blockade by powerful enemy countries, India would have been in a worst plight imaginable and would have been obliged to succumb to the foreign aggression in a moment. History is replete with instances when sheer economic helplessness spelled the ruin of countries. India is at present also at war with her economic bondage and she wants to free herself. She must find out ways and means to supply herself with Swadeshi cloth. Viewed from this point the *charkas* and hand-looms have their immense value, and we whole-heartedly recommend its use to all our countrymen. The argument that we must proceed at a slow speed and the boycott of foreign cloth cannot be effected immediately do not appeal to us. What would India do in a case of blockade ? The Germans, when blockaded, invented thousand and one new devices to supply the nation's demands and the whole world looked in astonishment and admiration towards a nation that stood the strains of stupendous and all-embracing blockade in spite of great odds. Will not India rise to the occasion? She boasts of inventive brains and business capacity in a larger degree, she produces the cotton in ample quantities, she has the latent spinning and weaving genius. Will she not organise her resources in a way as to be able to produce sufficient cloth to supply her needs? We trust India cannot be beaten at least at this point."

Hindu (158), 20th July.

38. There was a time when our country was rich and prosperous. The fame of its wealth spread everywhere and attracted European trading companies to its shores. In time these companies developed into governing corporations. But the East India Company of England finally excluded all others and got possession of India. And English rule has continued ever since. But under this rule India is today the poorest country in the world. Thousands and lakhs of people die yearly of starvation. According to Government statistics influenza carried away 60 lakhs in four months. In no other country did it play such havoc as here. The cause of this extreme poverty and hunger is the destruction of all India's arts and industries during the time of the English rule. Time was when our country not only produced sufficient cloth for its own requirements, but also exported a good deal to foreign countries. The Government has rendered India so helpless that every year it has to import about 60 crores worth of cloth from foreign countries. Now we must remove this helplessness of ours by boycotting all foreign cloth. We shall thereby save 60 crores of rupees every year and also gain *swarâj*. The 1st of August is the anniversary day of Lokamánya Tilak who fought for *swarâj* till the last day of his life. The best manner, therefore, of keeping his memory fresh is to boycott on that day all foreign cloth.

How the boycott of foreign cloth will add to the misery of Mussalmans.
Muslim Herald (171), 29th July.

39. We hear that Mahatma Gandhi has issued an *ukase* to the effect that foreign cloth should be completely boycotted from the first of August. *Khaddar* caps are generally in vogue and similarly the *khaddar* cloth is slowly coming into use. It seems that a new calamity is about to befall the Mussalmans. Our grievance is that the Mussalmans are poorer than the Hindus and that Swadeshi cloth is more costly, besides being ugly. It is becoming difficult for the Mussalmans to maintain themselves, but the dearness of cloth will now be added to their troubles. Moreover, the Mussalmans are better dressed than the Hindus. The latter can be satisfied with a *dhoti* or a *langoti*, but a Mussalman cannot. Unfortunately the Mussalmans are not thrifty, but it is asserted that they will become thrifty now. We hesitate to believe such a statement. We hear that the cloth merchants of Zakaria Bazar, most of whom are Muhammadans, are in a miserable plight. After the first of August their condition will become still worse. The merchants of Europe will suffer when their time comes, but for the present many Muhammadan merchants will be ruined. In short, the Mussalmans have to suffer in every way.

Exhortation to the people to wear *khadi* and boycott foreign clothes.
Karnâtak Mitra (35), 28th July; *Karnâtak Vaibhav* (83), 26th July.

40. A "Patriot" writing to the *Karnâtak Mitra* says:—Take a vow this very day that you will wear only *khadi*. Do not lose a single moment. Take off the foreign clothes from your body and tear them to pieces. There is no harm to your self-respect if you wear *khadi*. Our self-respect has been already destroyed on several occasions in the past and we need not fear any further loss of it. If you had self-respect, where did it go when wicked people murdered your innocent brothers? Where did your bravery hide itself when your sisters were deprived of their *sarees* and their honour violated? Where did your pride take refuge when innocent young children were blown up from guns? Enough! Do not talk any longer of your self-respect. Are you not ashamed even now? Do not the recent happenings at Dhárwár break your heart? Why do you not put the thorny bridle of non-co-operation upon the wild horse of bureaucracy which has grown fat by feeding on your own grass and corn and drinking your own water and which threatens to bite you? Beware even now. The horse has run amock. It has gone mad and is given to biting. Put the bridle of Swadeshism upon it and make it run in the open. In this way only will it regain its senses by the end of December, and then we can ride it with great pride and set out in a triumphal procession. [The *Karnátak Vaibháv* says:—The utility of the boycott as a political weapon is not confined to its use as a measure of retaliation against the enemy. Even from the point of view of personal welfare, it will be found equally valuable. They have swallowed up our industries and by the merciless exploitation of our starving people they have grown fat and have acquired the habit of sucking our blood. The emaciation caused by this sucking up process has brought red ruin upon our country. The boycott is the best remedy for overcoming the effects of the emaciation.]

District officers and the picketing of liquor-shops.
Mahrátta (7), 31st July.

***41.** "The various bureaucrats seem to be competing with each other in finding a way to stop the picketing of the liquor-shops. The District Magistrate of Dhárwár instituted very recently criminal proceedings against the office-bearers of the Khilafat Committee and Secretary of the Congress Committee in one place in that district with a view to stop their activities. The District Magistrate of Belgaum has stopped picketing of a liquor-shop in Belgaum by serving a notice to that effect on Messrs. G. B. Deshpande, Mazli and others under section 144. The District Magistrate of Sátára has his skilful ways of doing things and he has found it convenient to prosecute volunteers and exact fines in one way or the other. The District Magistrate of Thána has, however, cut the gordian knot by issuing orders under section 144 and forbiding even loitering near the shop and pressing a drunkard from abstaining from drink. We do not know where all these orders are to end. Why does not the Government come forward and boldly declare that their professions of ending the liquor traffic as early as possible were mere eyewash and they want to inflict drink upon the Nation? These orders make their position only ridiculous and drive the people to disobedience of the same as they interfere with their natural rights. Let Government beware in time of the consequences, because these orders invite nothing but disobedience."

Nireekshaka (47), 25th July.

42. The orders against picketing issued by Mr. McGregor, Collector of Belgaum, and Mr. Campbell, Collector of Thána, show how the law is abused by these petty officials and how undesirable it is to invest them with absolute power. Section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code has been abused by these officials for the suppression of picketing. Mr. Campbell in this matter has outdone Mr. McGregor. The former has prohibited the Thána District Local Board from helping picketing with money. This order the Local Board has determined not to obey. While the Local Board was preparing to carry out their intention, the Collector has cut the gordian knot by ordering the stoppage of picketing under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, alleging that complaints had been made against the picketers' conduct. As a matter of fact no complaint has been lodged in the criminal courts against these people. Let the people of Thána oppose this policy of the Collector by proper means. We would also appeal to him to cancel the order.

Lokasangraha (116), 31st July.

***43.** The *Lokasangraha* condemns the notice which the Collector of Thána has issued under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code for putting a stop to picketing in the Thána District. The Collector, it remarks, has put forward the stock argument of breach of the public peace for putting down picketing of liquor shops, but it points out that it is hard to understand how a breach of the public peace is caused by simply beseeching those going to liquor shops not to go there to drink liquor. It declares that Government are sufficiently strong to put down any highhanded acts that may be committed in the name of picketing and it has no objection to Government using their authority for maintaining the public peace, but it prays Government not embracing blockade in spite of great odds. Will not India rise to the occasion? She boasts of inventive brains and business capacity in a larger degree, she produces the cotton in ample quantities, she has the latent spinning and weaving genius. Will she not organise her resources in a way as to be able to produce sufficient cloth to supply her needs? We trust India cannot be beaten at least at this point."

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The Thána District Local Board and the anti-drink movement.
Lokasangraha (116), 28th July.

44. The *Lokasangraha* congratulates the Thána District Local Board upon its decision to assist the anti-drink campaign with money and declares that the Commissioner, N. D.'s order directing the Local Board not to give effect to its decision being illegal, the Board should not obey it and make the matter a test case. It expresses the hope that other Local Boards and Municipalities would follow the example of the Thána Local Board and help with money the anti-drink campaign going on in the country and also carry on picketing under their own supervision. It feels confident that if persons in municipal uniforms carry on picketing under the supervision of Municipal Councillors, the Police would think twice before touching them and declares that the Municipalities should consider it their sacred duty to undertake this work.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th July.

45. "The Thána District Board is quite justified, we think, in trying to cope with the drink evil in the way it proposes. The Collector's order, holding the execution of the Board's resolution in abeyance, is an unwarranted interference with the discretion of the Board, which, it is to be hoped, the Commissioner, N. D., will not uphold. The protest which the Board had addressed to the Commissioner convincingly shows that the peace and order in the district will be better safeguarded if the Board itself undertakes picketing.......... The example set in this respect by the Thána District Board deserves to be followed by other local bodies throughout the country."

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's intention to carry on picketing even though it leads to bloodshed.
Gujaráti (15), 24th July.

46. Though Mr. Gandhi is an advocate of non-violent non-co-operation still he is said to have determined to carry on the temperance movement to such an extent as to involve sacrifices that would end in bloodshed. We do not think that it would be possible to stop the sale of liquor without an agitation of such a nature. All license-holders should bear this in mind that public opinion is against the traffic in liquor. Under the present reforms public opinion has begun to influence Government and the license-holders can have no idea as to when the officials would have to bow down to public opinion. There is, therefore, some risk for Government in framing the Budget by relying upon the Excise revenue; and the people also should bear in mind that they would have to pay some direct tax when Government cease to derive revenue from Excise. People have been convinced that the officials render them no help in the cause of temperance and the affairs at Dhárwár and Aligarh teach them that they should persist in their efforts to get the liquor-shops closed even at the risk of causing bloodshed. Mr. Gandhi has, therefore, warned the license-holders as to his intention of renewing picketing in August next. We hope that the license-holders will not be so obstinate as to drive the picketers to carry on their agitation to such an extent as to cause bloodshed. We are of opinion that some good purpose will be served by Mr. Gandhi's persisting in the movement he has undertaken. It is the duty of the people to help him to bring his movement to a successful issue. The hearts of those officers who pay no attention to the petitions of the people for closing liquor-shops may be moved by the blood that may be shed near liquor-shops. **At Dhárwár and Aligarh people might have provoked the officials by throwing stones at them but it**

must be borne in mind that matters were carried to such a pass owing to officials not having respected public opinion. It reflects discredit on the part of Government that they should persist in allowing the sale of liquor against public opinion and should open fire when exasperated people throw stones at officials.

Akhbár-e-Islám (54), 23rd July.

47. It seems Mr. Gandhi, in his zeal for the attainment of *swaráj*, has no idea as to what he speaks. The words uttered by him at a meeting of the liquor-shop-keepers of Bombay last Tuesday cannot but wound the heart of every patriotic Indian. We cannot understand why he predicts the flowing of rivers of blood. It is strange that Mr. Gandhi who has been clamouring so loud against the Punjáb tragedy hopes to see rivers of blood flowing. He has been advising people from the beginning not to use force, but his method of dealing with the liquor-shop-keepers and cloth-merchants is the best proof of the use of force. We would rather have the present state of things in the country than the one which Mr. Gandhi wants to bring about if it is his object to make rivers of blood to flow.

Government should declare its attitude towards peaceful picketing.

Servant of India (9), 28th July.

48. "What is the Government's attitude to the picketing movement which is now in progress throughout the country under the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi—we mean the movement of peaceful picketing? For no one can allow picketing to go on if it is attended with violence. But peaceful picketing must be given fullest scope. Are the popular ministers prepared to give every possible chance to it? We should have had no reason to doubt, and we do not doubt, that they are determined to give all reasonable facilities for everything that promotes temperance; but a definite declaration has now become necessary in view of the impression left on the public mind, due to police measures taken in certain circumstances arising out of picketing, that the Government are bent upon putting down the movement of picketing at any cost. Mr. Gandhi even anticipates that 'rivers of blood' may flow in the next few months. For our part we feel that, into whatever excesses certain over-zealous officials might have been betrayed on occasions, any such inference as the public are disposed to draw as to the Government's temperance policy is unwarrantable. Still, in view of the misunderstanding that prevails, it is up to the ministers to announce their policy in unmistakable terms and also to exert a restraining influence on the guardians of law and order so that it should be rendered impossible for the public even to misconstrue Government's attitude towards temperance movements."

Jágaruk (45), 20th July; *Ráshtra Veer* (133), 24th July.

49. While picketers of liquor-shops sometimes transgress the legitimate bounds, Government officials, too, occasionally lose their mental balance and make possible a tragedy such as that at Dhárwár. People must be blamed when their conduct happens to be blameworthy; but the matter does not end there. Are not Government also to blame since they do not take steps to check the drink evil in deference to the popular will? [Mr. Nathaji A. Mali, Secretary, Non-Brahmin League, Chikodi, Belgaum, writes to the *Ráshtra Veer* that the Council of the Deccan Non-Brahmin League was not justified in upholding the conduct of the Police and in callously passing over the sufferings of the people caused by the firing. In the writer's opinion the affair should not be made a party question since it involves the lives and honour of Indians.]

Kesari (111), 26th July.

50. The picketing movement has put Government in a somewhat awkward position. They cannot oppose it openly nor can they allow it to succeed lest it should bring on difficulties. Government have, therefore, it appears, determined to stifle it by resorting to guerilla tactics. To prosecute the volunteers on false accusations and to prohibit the leaders from visiting certain places are some of these tactics. We take liberty to warn Government that these remedies are unsound and futile, nay, they will prove to be disastrous in the end. If one picketer is sent to jail or a leader is gagged there will be found others to take their places. The present policy of Government is rather indirectly strengthening the movement. It has become in fact the measure of its success.

Congress and Khilafat workers are being treated worse than Communists in Britain.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th July.

51. "Congress and Khilafat workers, who are being sent to jail for refusing to furnish security or to give an undertaking that they will not open their mouths at certain places, are not even one-tenth so 'violent' in their speeches as the leaders of the Communist Party in Britain and yet they are being treated as more dangerous than the latter. In many cases they may not have made a single speech in their lives, but the mere fact that they have joined a Congress or Khilafat Committee is sufficient to condemn them in the eyes of the authorities, as a menace to the State. Such is the pass 'British Justice' has come to in this country at the present day!"

Should the people resort to civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes.

Hindusthán (30), 26th July 1921.

52. The All-India Congress Committee is to meet in Bombay on the 28th instant. The questions of civil disobedience, non-payment of taxes and the opinions of responsible leaders of different provinces thereon will occupy its serious attention. We can take up the question of civil disobedience only when we are sufficiently prepared for it. It is abolutely necessary to postpone it if we have not reached that stage, for we should take only such steps as will succeed and from which we may not have afterwards to withdraw. Hence we request the leading members of the Committee to be very careful in deciding this matter. Similarly, they should discuss very carefully the question of non-payment of taxes. Because just as the big and small leaders of the country are likely to get imprisoned through the adoption of civil disobedience, so also the masses will be sorely tried if payment of taxes is refused. No one can deny that the question of public peace is the most important in connection with both these measures. We are of opinion that we should only take the above steps after a careful estimate of our preparedness, organization and power of endurance. Just as it is certain that Government officials will at such a time have ample opportunities to exercise their repressive policy so also is it equally necessary on our part to observe a peace in spite of all such repression. This is the reason why we have laid special stress on these two matters. We believe that the Committee will not take any hasty step.

The decision of the All-India Congress Committee, to boycott the Prince's visit.

Mahrátta (7), 31st July.

***53.** "The All-India Congress Committee, after a good deal of deep deliberation, has resolved to ask the people of India not to take part in any of the functions that would be arranged by the bureaucracy here in his (the Prince's honour......... We hope the Prince and his advisers including His Majesty the King will take note of the determined attitude of the country and will see their way to either cancel it altogether or to postpone it to the day when India enjoying he full rights of *swardjya* will most hospitably be able to receive the great Prince as would befit his position and dignity. This boycott of Prince's visit is significant of the mood of the country and we hope that wiser counsels will soon prevail in the other camp and the visit will not be persisted in and enforced upon unwilling country."

Civil disobedience will be resorted to if Government continues its repressive policy.

Lokamánya (115), 28th July.

54. It is reported that the Sind Congress Committee has notified that the Province is now prepared to launch civil disobedience and to refuse to pay taxes to Government. This will give an idea as to the extent to which the people there have been exasperated by the high-handedness and oppressive proceedings of the bureaucracy of the Province. That matters should have come to such a pass there is most shameful to Government. At present only the Sind Congress Committee has been obliged to take the step, but it appears that the Dhárwár affair will compel the Karnatak and Maharashtra Congress Committees to follow in the wake of Sind, and the United Provinces also are likely to follow suit in consequence of the things occurring there. Messrs. Sherwani and Ayyar, though charged with the serious offence of sedition, were convicted and sent to jail within twenty-four hours of their arrest! Even Court Martial trials do not show such despatch. It would be better if Government authorised the Police to deal with any one in any way they liked! That would at least save the Goddess of Justice from despair! Lord Reading has planned that the Prince of Wales should land in India in November. We hope he does not intend to countermand the plan. For it cannot be that His Excellency wishes the welcome to His Royal Highness to take the form of passive resistance. We would again humbly warn His Excellency that he should not force Indians to resort to passive resistance by allowing injustice to be practised to its uttermost limit. That would not do good to the Empire. Does His Excellency not know instances of powerful empires being reduced to dust by injustice?

Comments on alleged attempts of the U. P. authorities to extract apologies from the *Independent*.

Young India (12), 28th July.

55. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"The correspondence published in the *Independent* between Messrs. Javahirlal Nehru, Joseph and Ranga Iyer and the U. P. Govrrnment proves that my visit to the Viceroy and my advice to the Ali Brothers to apologise for some of their speeches was a blunder from a political standpoint.......... The Government have even copied the phraseology of the Brothers' apology. Dirt is popularly and correctly described as matter misplaced. In precisely the same manner, whilst I hold that the Brothers' apology was an honourable transaction being in its place, the apology required by the U. P. Government would have been a dishonourable transaction being out of its place. But that Government had tough people to deal with. They were not to be duped by false analogies, nor frightened by threats of imprisonment. The Government, therefore, has before it the choice of further proving its incapacity and intolerance by launching prosecutions against the three public workers for speeches or writings which the public and they themselves had long forgotten. If it prosecutes the 'offenders', it will prove itself incapable of dealing with the root cause of the unrest, and it will prove itself intolerant of well-merited hostile criticism.......... A Government that does harsh things cannot be truthfully described by sweet words.......... If the Government wish honestly to deal with non-co-operators and wish to imprison them because they do not like non-co-operation even though it is and remains non-violent, it has only to charge them under Section 124A, and every one of us must plead guilty, because it is our creed to harbour and to promote disaffection towards the Government as a system. We are out to destroy the system, and that, I am told, amounts to sedition in terms of that section. If it is permissible in law to compass destruction of the existing system, every non-co-operator is a pledged loyalist."

The Gandhi cap and Europeans.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 26th July.

56. Messrs. Shaw Wallace and Company and the British India Steam Navigation Company have dismissed one clerk each for attending office with a Gandhi cap. A strong protest must be made against such dismissals. Every one has a right to use any article of clothing he likes; but it is to be regretted that Indians are not allowed such freedom in this country. Some District Magistrates get alarmed at the sight of the Gandhi cap and one of them inflicted punishment on a Vakil for appearing with a Gandhi cap in his court. We fail to understand why Magistrates and private European gentlemen get excited at the very sight of the Gandhi cap. We may, for the sake of argument, grant that the Gandhi cap is the badge of a political party. But why should Europeans get exasperated at its sight? No one uses the cap with a view to teasing Europeans. Such a cap was used by Mr. Gandhi when he went to Lord Reading for an interview, and did His Excellency get angry with him on that account?

Young India (12), 28th July.

57. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"An employee of the British India Steam Navigation Company has been discharged for the effrontery to wear the *khadi* cap. Messrs. Shaw, Wallace & Co. set the ball rolling.

This is an insult, the enormity of which we have not yet realised. We have stooped so low that we do not notice the curve. And yet such insults are more humiliating for nations than physical blows delivered wilfully or in a fit of anger. The crawling and rubbing the nose were physically less painful than the floggings, and yet there are no two opinions that the former humiliated India more than the latter. What is there in a bow? And yet a Prince nearly lost the *gadi* because he had forgotten to bow at the correct angle and retire from a Viceroy's presence in the required manner. It was the homage exacted by insolence for its sustenance. So have the two firms dismissed their poor clerks, because they had the manliness to wear their national dress or the insignia of their faith if you like. The proud firms could not brook an exhibition of manliness on the part of their clerks. The moment the men of India realise their manhood and the women their womanhood, India becomes free. No power in the world can then keep freedom from her. These two dismissals, therefore, should have a world of meaning for us. And I must confess to a feeling of painful disappointment over the supineness of the employees of these firms. They should have shown at least the courage of the common labourer. India can show examples of a wholesale strike for the sake of an injured comrade. Have the clerks of these firms no feeling for their comrade? Can they claim kinship with the whole of India? What would they have done if a blood-brother had been so treated as these two brave young men? It is not yet too late for employees of these firms to make amends. They can still wear white *khadi* caps by way of protest and demand the reinstatement of their fellow clerks in their respective offices. I venture, too, to warn the managers of the two great firms. Non-co-operators have steered clear of racialism. They are fighting against a vicious system with all their might. They have no quarrel with individual Englishmen. But if the latter take sides as the managers of the two houses have done, it will be difficult to avoid a racial outburst. There is a danger of European firms being boycotted if the European merchants do not treat this matter as one of urgency and enforce rectification of the grievous mistake committed by the firms in question."

Mahrátta (7), 31st July.

***58.** "No whim of any autocrat of old exceeds in sheer stupidity than the opposition which certain bureaucrats on this side of India are offering towards the Gandhi cap. The District Magistrate of Bijápur is at present reaping a whirl-wind of caps. Bijápur has shown the right spirit when it has determined to wear nothing but the Gandhi cap, and the District Magistrate there has to consume himself in his anger and in his incapacity to stop the wearing of it. The white cap is slowly becoming a symbol of National fight against the autocracy. European firms have now joined the fray and the Indian Steam Navigation Company has dismissed a clerk for his supposed effrontery in using a cap. Shaw, Wallace & Co. still retains the honour of the originator. The bureaucracy and these foreign firms will drive all men in the Nation, including even those who never liked to wear it, to have it on as a protest and we urge all our countrymen to do so. The fight should be concentrated on the cap, and if they see their way, let some of the members of the Legislative Council attend the sittings of the Council in the white cap. Let the Government and the commercial firms dismiss one and all their Indian servants which virtually means a boycott of Government and European firms' services which is a consummation devoutly to be wished."

Appeal to the authorities to appease the minds of Muhammadans by conceding their legitimate demands.

Musáfir **(162), 16th July.**

59. The speeches delivered in the recent Khilat Conference held at Karáchi under the Presidency of Mr. Mahomed Ali were, as usual, strong and forcible. The people whose minds are already excited over the Turkish question easily give credence to what is said in such speeches. We would desire the Government to appease the minds of the Muhammadans by conceding their legitimate demands. The Khilafat and the Ottoman questions serve as handles to the agitators to excite the feelings of Muhammadans and to make them distrust the Government. Under these circumstances, Government would be well advised to use every means in its power to win over the Muslim community by removing the cause of their dissatisfaction.

Satyagraha is the only weapon of the oppressed.
Hindu (158), 20th July.

60. It has always been our opinion that the best and the most effective weapon for successfully opposing a Government which relies on *zulum* and oppression and which does not recognise the path of truth and justice is of Satyagraha. Of course Satyagraha requires much of sacrifice and endurance on the part of those who resort to it. But we agree with the view of the celebrated Satyagrahi, Mr. Thoreau, that even if a few persons opposed a *Zabardast* Government with the weapon of Satyagraha, they are bound to succeed in the end. The sacrifice and endurance of such Satyagráhis produces so much awakening within the country that the work which cannot possibly be done in years is accomplished in a few days! Every drop of the blood of martyrs produces lakhs of martyrs (heroes) who liberate their country. For those who are helpless, innocent, unarmed, but who stand on truth and justice, and are prepared to bear hardships, there is only one weapon and that is Satyagraha. But in order to know how to practise Satyagraha, when to begin it, and how to make it successful, it would be better if all the Provincial Congress Committees send their respective opinions to the All-India Congress Committee which would then be in a position to know how far the Provinces are ready for it and what their views are. We suggest that the Sind Provincial Congress Committee should soon hold a special meeting in connection with this question and give its opinion.

What should be the respective attitude of Hindus and Mussalmans towards cow-slaughter on the next Bakri-Id day.
Young India (12), 28th July.

61. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Bakri-Id will be soon upon us. What are we to do to frustrate the attempts that will then be made to foment quarrels between us—Hindus and Mussalmans? Though the situation has improved considerably in Bihár, it is not yet free from anxiety. Over-zealous and impatient Hindus are trying to force matters. They lend themselves an easy prey to the machinations of mischief-makers not always prompted by the Government side. Protection of the cow is the nearest to the Hindu heart. We are, therefore, apt to lose our heads over it, and thus be unconsciously instrumental in doing an injury to the very cause we seek to espouse. Let us recognise that our Mussalman brethren have made great efforts to save the cow for the sake of their Hindu brethren. It would be a grave mistake to underrate them. But immediately we become assertive, we make all effort on their part nugatory. We have throughout all these many years put up with cow-slaughter either without a murmur or under ineffective and violent protest. We have never tried to deserve self-imposed restraint on the part of our Mussalman countrymen by going out of our way to cultivate friendly relations with them. We have more or less gratuitously assumed the impossibility of the task. But we are now making a deliberate and conscious attempt in standing by their side in the hour of their need. Let us not spoil the good effect by making our free offering a matter of bargain.......... If we would prove our friendship, we must help our brethren whether they save the cow or not. We throw the responsibility for their conduct towards us on their own shoulders. We dare not dictate it to them as consideration for our help. Such help will be hired service, which the Mussalmans cannot be blamed if they summarily reject. I hope, therefore, that the Hindus of Bihár and indeed all the parts of India will realise the importance of observing the strictest forbearance, no matter what the Mussalmans do on Bakri-Id. We must leave them to take what course they choose......... The greater the pressure put upon the Mussalmans, the greater must be the slaughter of the cow. We must leave them to their own sense of honour and duty. And we shall have done the greatest service to the cow. The way to save the cow is not to kill or quarrel with the Mussalman. The way to save the cow is to die in the act of saving the Khilafat without mentioning the cow.... ..... The question is how many Hindus are ready without bargaining with the Mussalmans to die for them and for their religion? If the Hindus can answer it in the religious spirit, they will not only have secured Mussalman friendship for eternity, but they will have saved the cow for all time from the Mussalmans......... To my Mussalman friends I would but say one word. They must not be irritated by the acts of irresponsible or ignorant but fanatical Hindus.......... Let them know and feel sure that responsible Hindus are not on their side in their trial in any bargaining spirit; they are helping because they know that the Khilafat is a just cause, that to help them in a good cause is to serve India, as they are even as blood-brothers, born of the same mother Bharat-Mata."

Mr. Gandhi's views on non-violence.

Young India (12), 28th July.

62. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—" Non-violence is the most vital and integral part of non-co-operation. We may fail in everything else and still continue our battle if we remain non-violent. But we capitulate miserably if we fail in adhering to non-violence. Let it be remembered that violence is the keystone of the Government edifice. Since violence is its sheet-anchor and its final refuge, it has rendered itself almost immune from violence on our side by having prepared itself to frustrate all violent effort by the people. We therefore co-operate with the Government in the most active manner when we resort to violence. Any violence on our part must be a token of our stupidity, ignorance and impotent rage.......... The story of Aligarh is an illustration in point. It seems clear enough that sufficient provocation was given by the police. We have long recognised that it is their business to do so. The people of Aligarh walked into the trap laid for them. They allowed themselves to be provoked, and resorted to arson. It is not yet clear who killed the constable in mufti. The burden is on the people to show that they did not. Let us be hard on ourselves.......... We may not throw the blame for any mishap on the *badmashes*. We must be responsible for their acts. Or we declare ouselves unfit for *swarāj*. We must gain control even over them. Even they must realise the necessity of not interfering with the national and the religious work we are engaged in. In a movement of purification, the whole country is lifted up not excluding the wicked and the fallen. Let there be no mistake that that is our deliberate claim. If it is merely a lip claim, we shall prove ourselves guilty of having set up a system more satanic than the one we condemn as such. Therefore, whilst we are following the course of non-violent non-co-operation, we are bound in honour to live up to it in thought, word and deed. Let us make the frank confession, if we are too weak or too incredulous to live up to our creed.... ..... I find it necessary, too, to utter the word of caution because the provocation by the Government is on the increase. It is the greatest in the United Provinces. The arrest of Mr. Sherwani at 5 o'clock in the morning, his swift trial, conviction, sentence and removal the same day are enough to irritate the most sober-minded. The details of the trial show that the magistrate knew little of law and cared less. The evidence before him, if all of it has been given to the press, was quite insufficient for a conviction. It almost seems that the conviction and sentence were pre-arranged. The production of evidence in that case was a huge farce. We are having a rehearsal of trials under the ordinary law. Where is the difference between an executive order and a judicial trial? The latter is more deadly as it is more difficult to expose. To say that a man had no trial, carries greater conviction of justice than to have to say that the trial was farcical.......... An authentic rumour comes from the United Provinces that at least three more or less noted workers found the gaol life too trying, gave undertakings to refrain from certain acts and procured their discharge. If this is true, it is sad. We must be firm as a rock.......... We must be able cheerfully to bear any torture that may be our lot in the gaols of India. We may expect no quarter from the Government. We must expect it to do the worst it can whether within or without the law. Its one purpose is to bend us, since it will not mend itself. I am not passing harsh judgment on the Government. Dhárwár and Aligarh are the latest instances of Government's defiance of propriety. If I am to credit another rumour, in a United Provinces gaol a brave Mussalman prisoner was put in a dark cell and locked up in it for three days in the midst of foul stenches. My informant asked

me what a man who could not bear these stenches was to do. The harsh but deliberate answer I gave was, that he was even not to apologise, he was free to dash his head against the walls of the prison rather than submit to the wish of the tyrant.......... The Temple of Freedom is not erected without the blood of sufferers. Non-violent method is the quickest, the surest and the best. Let us be true to our solemn oath taken at Congress and Khilafat gatherings, and triumph is at hand."

Condemnation of the violence of the crowd at Karáchi towards Europeans on the day on which Swami Krishnanand was sent to jail.

New Times (8), 27th July.

63. Referring to Mr. Price's letter in the *Daily Gazette* complaining of the violence of the crowd at Karáchi on the day on which Swami Krishnanand was sent to jail, the *New Times* remarks :—" This conduct of the crowd must be severely condemned. It is true the crowd was excited over the arrest of Swami Krishnanand whom we all believe to be innocent; but excitement cannot morally justify an assault. It is true, as Mr. Price himself admits, the crowd consisted largely of 'children and youths'; but Indian children and youths, no less than the grown up men, must develop self-control if, indeed, India is to achieve *swarâj*. *Swarâj* cannot come with clamour and shouts; it cannot come without self-control and discipline......... Grown up men should deem it their sacred duty to show in words and conduct that they really believe in the creed of non-violence. We confess we have heard some speeches by non-co-operators which violate the creed, as we understand it, of non-violence. At this hour, the public mind is deeply excited over the news from Angora and the policy of vigorous repression pursued by Government. At this hour the feeling among the masses is stronger than at any other time in the history of our struggle. Just, therefore, at this hour, special efforts should be put forth to discipline that feeling. If at any time, in any place, the national movement is disgraced by exhibition of race-hate or violence on our part, great is the blow we give to the cause. On every occasion when a big crowd is expected, it is necessary to have a large number of volunteers to maintain discipline and order......... It is necessary, also, to impress upon all, including children and youths, the idea that every European's life is sacred to us as much as an Indian's. If, indeed, we find a European assaulted, we should rush to his rescue as we would in the case of an Indian. We have no quarrel with Europeans; our quarrel is with the present system and—let us never forget—our quarrel is in the name of humanity. Those who will not discipline themselves nor worship Humanity in all Nations do not deserve to become soldiers of *swarâj*."

How the non-co-operation movement can be killed and the Indian people satisfied.

Sind Observer (10), 23rd July.

64. " They are talking of civil disobedience and republic. Republic is mere moonshine. Civil disobedience will cause some anxious hours for the country but Government is powerful enough to overcome the trouble. When we see some fine young men of our own race working against the Government which has done so much for India by uplifting it from the slough of despond, we feel sorrow for the misdirection of their energies. There is deep dissatisfaction in the mind of all. The non-co-operator is vociferous, energetic and active, and others hug the hope to the breast that all temporary difficulties will be overcome by a great Viceroy. His Excellency has not yet given the country an inkling into his broad policies although friends at Simla are full of optimism; and Pandit M. M. Malaviya seems to be in high spirits. We consider it a misfortune that some more non-co-operation leaders have refused to go to Simla to see the Viceroy. We have repeatedly said that *swarâj* within five months is mere chimera. But His Excellency cannot rule out of consideration that, whatever he may propose to do, it must give general satisfaction to people including the non-co-operators. If the non-co-operator is not satisfied and still cries for the moon the mass of the people must be so struck with the impending reforms that it will not give countenance to the doctrines of non-co-operation. The non-co-operator appeals to the people to help him to get *swarâj* for the country and dwells upon their grievances on every occasion; the Government has also to find its

strength in the support of the people. Government can, of course, rule by force; but then unrest will grow deeper and the final crash will end in a triumph for the non-co-operation movement. The unrest though widespread has not yet become bitter. It is amenable to soothing influences. Centuries of Irish history is a warning to us all. Judging from the attitude of certain Europeans in the country we are forced to the conclusion they will not yield an inch without a struggle. Of course, that is British tenacity. Do they want the people to develop greater strength? If a few hundred thousands develop it—it is not necessary the 300 millions should develop it—things will become hot enough. But then it will be a bitter struggle. We want Englishmen to take care of their larger interests in the country, trade and industry, by not fighting every inch of ground. Timely conciliation and concession will take the sting out of the struggle. America gave *swarâj* to Phillipines within a time-limit of 15 years. A time-limit of 10 or 15 years will satisfy all reasonable people in the country and non-co-operation will have no congenial soil to grow upon."

Comments on the Pársi meeting in Bombay to celebrate the anniversary of the late Mr. Tilak.
Sánj Vartamán (31), 25th July.

65. Commenting upon the meeting which was held under the auspices of the Pársi Rajkiya Sabha to celebrate the anniversary of the late Mr. Tilak, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks:—In spite of heavy rain the meeting held on Saturday was a great success. Parsis formed the majority of those who attended the meeting. We know well that the bulk of Parsi community looked with suspicion upon the late Mr. Tilak. But owing to the extraordinary honour received by him at the time of his death, as well as owing to the increase of political enthusiasm among the Parsi community, a majority of them have been convinced that he was a great man and a great patriot and that he had done innumerable services to India by carrying on the agitation for the attainment of *swarájya* among the people. Had Mr. Tilak been alive to-day he would have heartily supported Mr. Gandhi's programme and increased the enthusiasm prevailing among the people. The country has suffered an irreparable loss owing to his untimely death and the Deccan has not produced any other man who can take his place. He is dead, but his services will never be forgotten. Every Indian should try to walk in the footsteps of this great man. The best way to commemorate his memory is to act according to his teachings.

Comments on the sentence passed on Swami Krishnanand of Karáchi.
New Times (8), 26th July.

66. "A mock trial!—such the comment of a number of local pleaders upon the prosecution of Swami Krishnanand. The whole affair was rushed through in an unseemly way, the whole trial taking about four hours altogether! Mr. Lobo argued the case in about five minutes; and the Magistrate was in his chamber to formulate his judgment for about an hour. That judgment is a judgment upon him and the system of which he is an instrument. A quiet, peace-loving *sanyasi* is sentenced to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment! On what charge? That he seized a policeman by the collar and gave him a blow and prevented him from doing his lawful duty! Is there a man with any knowledge of the Swami who can, for a moment, believe this cock-and-bull story? In his brief, oral statement—the Swami was given no time for a written one—he urged that the charge against him was absolutely false; and the public refuse to believe that the Swami could do any of the things he was charged with......... The Swami altogether spoke for about 15 minutes. But Mr. Nabibux looked impatient! 'This is not a liquor-shop,' he said. And after the judgment was given, it was the Swami's turn to say: 'This is not a court of justice'! What sin did the Swami do in organising an anti-liquor campaign in Karáchi? For his unselfish labours, he would have the gratitude of any civilized administration believing in the moral values of life. The Swami is punished for organising a picketing campaign. Is it a sin to picket?......... It was the Swami who had been given blows by a policeman. But far from the policeman being punished, the Swami is sentenced to a year's rigorous imprisonment! Justice indeed! Can the Sind Government for a moment deny that liquor-traffic is an evil?......... Are not men like Swami

Krishnanand helping good forces by starting anti-drink movements? In sending Swami Krishnanand to jail, the Sind bureaucracy has shown once again that its heart remains unchanged. The object of punishing the Swami, as it seems to us, was to 'create an impression.' An 'impression' has been created. Of what character? Of fear? Or of a nobler resolve to strive and struggle for freedom? The conduct of the people in the coming days will show. One thing is certain. The public regard such political persecutions as persecutions, pure and simple."

New Times (8), 25th July.

67. "The hurried prosecution of Swami Krishnanand began and closed to-day. He was charged under section 353 with assault and use of criminal force! He was sentenced to-day at about 3-30 P.M. by Mr. Nabi Buksh, City Magistrate, to 12 months' rigorous imprisonment. It is, to say the least, a shocking sentence. We never saw a worse travesty of justice. He was accused of having blocked the way on the 20th and prevented the police from doing their lawful duty! The Swami denied having done anything of the sort. He brought in no defence witness and throughout behaved with the courage of a non-co-operator and the quiet moral dignity of a swami. His sin was that he led and sustained with success the liquor-boycott campaign in Karáchi.......... Several of those who were present in the court room frankly said it was a mock-trial. The non-co-operator must not complain; he must face the developing situation in Sind with courage and self-control. The policy of repression must be met with the moral strength born of faith in Freedom."

Protest against the repressive orders against Pandit Motilal Nehru and others.

Lokamánya (115), 30th July.

68. The *Lokamánya* strongly protests against the order issued under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code against Pandit Motilal Nehru, and wonders how such prostitution of the provisions of the section is being allowed while Dr. Sapru, the eminent lawyer, Home Ruler and Congressman, continues to be the Law Member of the Government of India. It declares that the District officers have left off all shame in making use of the section against the Pandit who had gone to Aligarh to warn the people against the use of violence, and regrets that he should have been thus gagged while Pandit Jagat Narayan is a Minister of the United Provinces Government. It opines that had Dr. Sapru and Pandit Jayat Narayan carried any weight with the respective Governments they are serving under, the unjust gagging order would not have been issued at least against Pandit Motilal who has all along been like a brother to them. The incident, it remarks, shows the utter uselessness of the much advertised new Reforms.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th July.

69. "Not content with the abuse of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, a new weapon has been forged with the ostensible object of crushing the non-co-operation movement by seeking to overawe the workers in it. The Government of the United Provinces have taken the lead in this matter. They recently asked Messrs. Jawaharlal Nehru, George Joseph and C. S. Ranga Iyer to express regret for certain of their utterances and writings and demanded an undertaking to the effect that they would refrain, in future, from inciting people to violence, directly or indirectly. The Government of the United Provinces knew that all three of them were non-co-operators and would refuse to express regret or give any undertaking to be allowed to remain 'free'. The answer has already been given by Mr. Ranga Iyer's acceptance of a year's 'rigorous' imprisonment.......... However that may be, Bombay alone has remained, so far, unaffected by the madness which has seized the rest of the provincial Governments, the administration of Sir George Lloyd having kept its head amid the panic; but what are we to think of the following telegram we published yesterday from the Secretary, District Congress Committee, Dhárwár:—[Here the paper gives the telegram which states that certain members of Village Congress and Khilafat Committees in Dhárwár Taluka have been served with notices to show reason why they should not execute bonds to keep the peace under section 107 of the Criminal Procedure

Code.] Magistrates everywhere in India have only to serve notice like the above on all members of the Village, Taluka and District Congress and Khilafat Committees and they will be helping the Congress and the Khilafat movements to achieve the goal they have in view. The supreme ordeal before the nation is evidently approaching and the nation will pass through it unscathed for the ordeal is not a physical but a spiritual one and India has no fear that she will be unable to stand a spiritual test. As Mahatma Gandhi has always maintained, such an ordeal is bound ultimately to purify both the victim and the persecutor. Meanwhile, we may ask, what is Lord Reading doing?"

Protest against rigorous imprisonments to educated offender.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th July.

70. "The sentences of rigorous imprisonment on men whose crime was of opinion merely, educated, literary men unused to roughing it, which have lately been delivered in a number of cases throughout India, solely on the evidence of the police, appear to us the opposite of 'British Justice'. We regard them as the most dangerous symptom of the present situation, reminding us as they do unpleasantly of Czarist Russia now, thank God, defunct."

Comments on the recommendations of the Press Act Committee.
Sind Observer (10), 21st and 20th July.

71. "The Committee has recommended the incorporation of some sections of the Press Act in the Sea Customs and Post Office Acts. We are afraid there is a danger in this and good care must be taken to see that our old friend does not appear before us in a new garb. We see no objection to Local Government's retaining the power of confiscating seditious leaflets and most of the leaflets that have hitherto been confiscated deserved the fate meted out to them. But even in this respect a reasonable safeguard is provided by allowing an appeal to the High Court of the Province on the part of the aggrieved party when the Local Government will be placed on its defence to prove the seditious character of the documents. But the proposal to retain sections 13 to 15 of the Press Act, and to empower the Customs and Postal officers to seize seditious literature within the meaning of section 124-A, Indian Penal Code, subject to a review on the part of the local Government and challenge by any person interested in the proper courts, is a dangerous one and must be abandoned. This power placed in the hands of a postmaster makes him a newspaper censor and gives him the powers conferred by the Defence of India Act on the Local Governments to confiscate papers or have them banned from their respective provinces by an executive order. We do not want to see harmless Postmasters turned into despots. We can imagine seditious papers being sent to India by sea; the Customs officials might seize them and send them to the Local Government which would publish reasons for confiscation; but over-zealous officers might stop the importation of even good and independent papers like the *Nation* or the *New Statesman* which are not seditious. Specially in times of excitement or unrest the Customs officials would play havoc with a man's foreign mail papers. The Postmaster should be given no power at all to interfere with the despatch of newspapers.......... The postal authorities can ruin a newspaper by stopping its outside circulation under these new powers. There are loud complaints in the country that even harmless telegrams are withheld by the Telegraph Department because they are sent by particular persons to particular persons or particular newspapers.......... It is an awful situation to comtemplate when the Telegraphist and the Postmaster between them decide the fate of newspapers in this country. It may be said these powers are reserve powers and will be used sparingly, if at all. We place no confidence in these specious promises. See to what use, foreign to its original purpose, section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, is being put. In difficult times a Postmaster can effectively stop the mofussil circulation of a paper. The Local Government will supply a list of papers in their bad books and the Postmaster effectively strangle them. It is silly to give such powers to a man who may not even be able to understand the contents of the paper or the meaning of a leading article written in high flown English. Our legislators must take care to see that the editor of a newspaper after being released from the hand of a District Magistrate is not placed in the hands of a petty postmaster. The safeguard of appealing to the High Court in case of confiscation of any issue is merely illusory because no editor or manager of a paper would care to spend so much money by taking the case to the High Court. Prosecutions are generally launched on the strength of two or three seditious articles and instead of confiscating an issue through the underling of a Postmaster Government must prosecute the paper. It will be doing sheer injustice to the paper to suppress it through the Postmaster." [In a preceding issue the paper writes:—"We must take very strong objection to the provision making it compulsory to insert the name of the editor of a paper on every issue of a paper.......... The cloak of anonymity saves the editor from a world of worry and bother. We know some irresponsible editors cannot be caught hold of for seditious writings and for being dragged into a court of law for defamation.......... If the registration of the name of an editor is unavoidably necessary a provision that on the assumption of his office he should be registered before a magistrate as the editor and on his relinquishing his office he should intimate to the magistrate to that effect would meet with Government's requirements.......... Our objection is with regard to the publicity sought to be thrust on an humble and modest editor and not that he should shirk his responsibility. He is a coward who shirks the responsibilities of editorship."]

Servant of India (9), 28th July.

72. "The Committee on the Press Act have recommended the repeal of both the laws, referred to them, which are restrictive of the liberty of the Press. Only one provision of the Act of 1910 is proposed to be retained as part of the ordinary law, *viz.*, the one empowering Government to seize and confiscate seditious books, newspapers, etc. Government is to be given power to take executive action first, and the person who may feel aggrieved is to be given the right afterwards to challenge the action in the High Court, the onus of proving that the publication in question is of a seditious character lying on the Government. Without minimising the value of the safeguard in any way, we may say that the proper procedure is to require the Government first to prove the publication to be seditious and then to take action in the ordinary way. The Committee have refused protection to the Indian princes against seditious writings in the British Indian Press. This conclusion, we make no doubt, will meet with general approval, and is in consonance with the so-called non-intervention policy of Government. If the British Government are unable, in pursuance of that policy, to exert any pressure on the Indian States in the matter of introducing constitutional reforms, they must, as a matter of reciprocity, be unwilling to give protection to the States against British Indian subjects."

Hindusthán (20), 23rd July; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 26th July.

73. The report of the Press Act Committee has nothing new to say about the Act and the recommendation about its repeal is more or less a farce. The Committee are playing the role of one-sided critics when they make bold to say that incitement to offences is given by way of speeches and that the evil can be checked by the growth of distinct parties in politics supplemented by the activities of a properly organised Bureau of Information. In India there will be only one party—the Home Rulers—as long as *swarájya* is not granted to us. Experience of other countries leads us to the opinion that the Bureau of Information is the most harmful institution ever organised by Government. It is only parliamentary institutions and the Press that can help Government to keep the people informed of their activities. The Committee have conferred no boon on the Press for they have allowed the bureaucracy to retain the arbitrary powers they enjoyed so far in another garb. The Committee have made quite a novel suggestion about the publication of the name of the editor and we are glad to see that this suggestion of the Committee has met with opposition in all quarters. [The *Bombay Samáchár*, on the other hand, approves of the suggestions of the Committee and considers them consonant

with the new reforms and expresses hope that Lord Reading's government will accept them in their entirety.]

Government has done nothing to revise the salaries of its menial establishments.

Vijayi Marátha (149), 23rd July.

74. Government has increased the salaries of its European and also of the Indian servants on the ground of the present hard conditions, and they are now living in luxury. Government have, however, paid no heed to the needs of the menial service. The Pattewalas in the Poona District have long petitioned for increment in their salaries and have received the usual answer that their request is receiving consideration; but nothing further has been done. Similarly nothing is being done for the Patils and village watchmen. Government pays heed to those only who like Talatis can force their demands on its notice. If the Patils and Pattewallas desire that their grievances be redressed, let them knock heavily at the door of Government by constitutional means.

Protest against the proposed scheme allowing early retirement in the Civilians.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th July.

75. "It is well-known that Ministers have no disciplinary control of the Imperial Services which have to execute their policy. The immunity is destructive of discipline, as the control of policy is being transferred to the Indian legislature. Nevertheless, in order to pamper the members of the 'heavenborn' Service, the course was adopted to the discomfiture of Ministers, and now what they want is a liberal premium on resignation. If the prize for bluff and revolt is made attractive enough, many will be prepared to retire on unearned fortunes and fish for a career elsewhere. On principle, the tolerance of a rebellious spirit in the Services is a scandal. No civilian was engaged on the understanding that perfect autocracy would be maintained in India, and when change is authorised by Parliament, it is their business to get on or get out. The pretence now is that any approach to responsible Government is obnoxious to their moral sense and that they find it revolting to serve under the new conditions obtaining in the country.......... The new conditions have been authorised by Parliament and it is ridiculous of the Secretary of State to go about consulting his subordinate officers after the event and to offer a solatium in consideration of their contempt for the Statute. If they cannot administer according to authorised policy, there is a clear case of incompetence or ill-will and the best course is to allow them to act on their responsibility and make room for better executors of the law. We are not concerned with the troubles of Mr. Montagu who, to buy peace, offered, time and again, attractions to serve and gifts to depart in silence. If through a spirit of insubordination, Civilians are constrained to go—it is bluff till retirement is made worth their while—the State should not be saddled with the cost of maintaining the faithless emigrants in idleness. Still, the idea of a gift, capitalised or recurring on separation, is being discussed as a legitimate right. Suppose to-morrow an Indian is authorised to serve in a high place in the army, are the subordinate *sahibs* to be free to sniff and ask for a little fortune on which to retire? The project is impossible of acceptance without a grand loot of the Indian Treasury."

How the Imperial Service Troops maintained by the Native States should be reorganised.

Servant of India (9), 28th July.

76. Referring to the Imperial Service Troops, Mr. G. R. Abhyankar writes in the *Servant of India*:—"These troops are not allowed by the British Government the use of effective and serviceable arms and weapons. The firearms which they are privileged to use are worse than gas pipes. During the time of the war they were equipped with Lewis and Hotchkiss guns. But these weapons were withdrawn as soon as these troops ceased to be employed on active service. This feeling of distrust has offended their warlike susceptibilities and honour. The officers of these troops were not treated with proper courtesy and dignity by the officers of the British Army. They were not allowed to mess or live with officers of the same rank in the Indian army. They were not allowed on the same deck with British officers! When even lascars were permitted to remain on the same deck, officers of the Imperial Service Troops were not given this privilege. This differential treatment has wounded the feeling of many veteran officers of these troops. In short the system has not been able to ensure any military co-operation which was the principal object in establishing the same......... The whole system, even as it is, is looked upon with the utmost suspicion by the paramount power and the inevitable result has been that these troops have not in the past been of any real help to the Imperial army. If there is a sincere desire on the part of the Government to exploit the resources of the Indian States and to make effective use of this system, it is absolutely necessary to adopt the following measures :—(1) The distinction of Imperial Service Troops and other troops should be at once abolished......... (2) Facilities for training officers for these troops should be provided by establishing military schools and an Indian Sandhurst which even the Princes themselves might come forward to support with monetary grants......... (3) These troops should be permitted the use of effective weapons such as those provided to the Indian army. (4) There should be a uniform standard of education, mental culture, physical fitness, age limit, pay and privileges for the officers employed in the Imperial Service Troops. (5) The treatment given to officers of these forces should be the same as that accorded to officers of the same rank of the Indian army. (6) These Imperial Service Units scattered over the face of this continent should be periodically brought together and concentrated in large garrisons."

The future position of Indians in the Colonies.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 31st July.

*77. " A special cable to the *Statesman* (Calcutta) foreshadows a settlement of the vexed question of the position of Indians in the self-governing British colonies. It says :—' An authoritative quarter states that, when the question of admission of Indians to the Dominions was discussed by the Imperial Conference, Australia, New Zealand and Canada were agreeable to the removal of the present restrictions in so far as educated Indians are concerned provided that no attempt is made to introduce Indian labour.......... General Smuts' attitude was that, although personally he had no objection to the removal of restrictions, he was unable to go against the wishes of the great majority of South Africans.' This settlement, if it comes about, will be a fair one. The test of admission will no longer be racial but educational. As the Indian people advance in education, the bar will automatically lift to admit an increasing number of them. The Indians already domiciled in the Colonies, should, of course, be treated as full citizens in the same sense as Englishmen. As for General Smuts, he is the exponent of high idealistic views on the platform when away from South Africa, but his idealism is apparently not a working principle with him. The Dominion Premiers should first visit South Africa before coming to India and persuade the *ex*-Boer General's compatriots that they had better cultivate broader views if they are not to lag hopelessly behind the rest of the Empire."

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the postponement of the Bombay Bhagdari and Narwadari Act Amendment Bill.
Praja Mitra and Pârsi (29), 30th July.

78. We are gratified to note that the consideration of the Bill further to amend the Act for the preservation of the Bhagdari and Narwadari Tenures has been postponed in the Bombay Legislative Council at the instance of the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla with a view to giving the people concerned a further opportunity to submit their representations with regard to it. The minute of dissent recorded by Mr. Dadabhai P. Desai, M.L.C., in the report of the Select Committee voices public opinion on the Bill and we therefore hope that Government will be pleased to drop the present Bill altogether with a view to removing the discontent and anxiety prevailing among land-holders in the Broach and Kaira districts.

The Bill to restrict the transport of cotton before the Bombay Legislative Council.
Praja Mitra and Pârsi (29), 27th July.

79. We wish that Government will not be in a hurry to get the Bill to restrict the transport of cotton in certain areas passed through the Bombay Legislative Council. The method proposed by the Bill to maintain the good name of Surti cotton cannot be said to be practicable from an economic point of view. The Bill restricts the transport of cotton and cotton waste by rail and takes no measures to restrict their

transport by road and sea. It will thus be seen that the Bill will not be able to achieve its objects. Those who are clamouring for unadulterated Surti cotton should be told that they should pay sufficiently high prices to secure what they want. We would, therefore, ask Government and the Bombay Legislative Council to postpone the consideration of the Bill to see if they can achieve what they want by other means than legislation.

Comments on Dr. Gour's Inter-Marriage Bill.
Sind Observer (10), 20th July.

80. "In denouncing Dr. Gour's civil-marriage bill critics have particularly emphasised the point that it introduces divorce. But after all is divorce such a bad thing? Amongst Muslims divorce is prevalent and according to modern notions of educated Muslims it requires to be made a little more strict. Those who speak of divorce not being prevalent amongst Hindus do not know what they are talking about. It is prevalent amongst some lower classes but not amongst the higher classes. It is not sanctioned by law; but it is sanctioned by custom. Dr. Gour's bill only legalises what is already a custom amongst some lower castes; and the divorce applies only to those who marry under the Act. As the Act is intended only for those who marry outside their caste, it does not introduce divorce at all as a general rule amongst the Hindus. It is intended for the protection of a microscopical few. We shall not be sorry if divorce is introduced amongst the Hindus by another bill, which, of course, is not possible at present."

EDUCATION.

The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy.
Kesari (111), 26th July.

81. The older the Ministership of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye grows the greater evidence it furnishes of his incapacity, and the expectations the people entertained about the spread of primary education during his regime are being disappointed. The very wording of the resolution appointing the Primary Education Committee appears to show that he has got it appointed simply to secure some support for the weak policy he has been pursuing with regard to primary education. The Minister was expected to exert himself to effect all possible economies in expenditure to solve the compulsory education question successfully. But he has altogether disappointed the public. All his loud talk about reforms in this respect before he was appointed Minister is to be mere froth. The manifesto which he had published at the time of the Council elections appears to have been intended simply to secure his entry in the Council. Now that his purpose is served, why should he care for his assurances and the hopes held out by him? By appointing the Committee on primary and compulsory education Mr. Paranjpye has tried to kill two birds with one stone. He hopes thereby to secure support for the levy of a new tax for making primary education compulsory and also to shelve the question of the revision of the salaries of the primary teachers already sanctioned by Government. As a member of the Committee which had recommended the revision it was his duty as Minister to carry it out immediately. But it is stated that in reply to a recent deputation of teachers that waited upon him in the matter he pleaded his inability to do anything for them and asked the teachers to go to the Chandavarkar Committee and get their grievances redressed. If this be true there is nothing to equal this breach of faith.

Comments on the Bombay Government's Press Note regarding religious instruction in schools and colleges.
Gujerâti Punch (17), 25th July.

82. Commenting upon the Press Note issued by Government regarding religious instruction in educational institutions, the *Gujarâti Punch* writes:—We welcome the decision of Government about imparting religious instruction in schools and colleges. It is specially noteworthy that Government, in this Press Note, have accepted the principle that education without religious instruction is useless. Many men, well-versed in religious knowledge, will get an opportunity to impart religious instruction because Government teachers have been exempted from doing so. As Government have prohibited the teaching of ceremonial observances, they should have special text-books on religious instruction prepared for use in schools and colleges. It is likely that objections will be raised as to the nature of the instruction imparted if such special text-books

are not prepared. Government should appoint committees to compile such books with the help of learned men of all religions. Such committees will also be helpful in securing teachers for religious instruction. We hope that prompt attention will be paid to this suggestion. The present Press Note is not quite clear on certain points. It is not clearly stated in it what schools and colleges can impart this instruction, nor has full information been given as to what should be its nature. Hence Government should issue a more detailed Press Note on the subject.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th July.

83. Commenting on the Education Department circular about religious instruction, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"If the official circular is perused carefully, it will be obvious to any impartial reader that there is in it as much condemnation of compulsory religious instruction in public institutions as there is willingness to permit all public institutions, including Government, municipal and local board schools, to arrange for the imparting of religious instruction of a wholly non-compulsory character to those pupils whose parents have no objection to the same. The ideal aimed at in the official circular, therefore, is the elimination of compulsion and the introduction of voluntary instruction. But our morning contemporary, by twisting the sense of phrases and sentences here and there, tried to suggest that the Educational Department was actually pouring its benediction on the compulsory religious instruction which the Wilson College and other missionary institutions are enforcing on all students attending them. We are sure the Education Department will be the first to repudiate the suggestion of our contemporary.......... The enforcement of religious instruction against the wishes of both the pupils and their parents is contrary to the principle of religious freedom to which the State is committed, and cannot be tolerated any longer. Let the missionaries be thankful that they were permitted all these years to carry on their propaganda work without raising protests from the parents. But the practice should be put an end to, in view of the strong objections now entertained by the non-Christian public. We look to the Indian Minister of Education to terminate the scandal at the earliest possible occasion. We are disclosing no secret when we state that the Minister personally is opposed to compulsory religious instruction."

Comments on the Government Press Note regarding free and compulsory education in the Bombay Presidency.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 30th July, Eng. cols.

84. "The recent Government Press Note on free and compulsory primary education in the Presidency is most surprising, coming as it does in the regime of a minister who gave the introduction of free and compulsory primary education in the Presidency the first place in his election manifesto. It is too late in the day to appoint a committee to consider the desirability and practicability of introducing it. It can only mean that the Minister now feels that he proposed too much in his election programme and that, therefore, he wishes to gain time by postponing action in the matter until the Committee appointed reports on the subject.......... It is very disappointing to see that Mr. Gokhale's distinguished follower should fall a victim to the same official plea and postpone action in the matter which is now fortunately entirely within his competence until the practicability of the measure has again been examined by a Committee. .... As regards the desirability of the measure there should hardly be any question in these fast-advancing times. As regards the practicability of the measure in Municipal areas, the achievements of the Surat Municipality in this direction before the disintegrating influence of non-co-operation began to operate thereon are sufficient to show that there is every prospect of its success in such areas. We ask Government in all seriousness what it has done, since the passing of Mr. Patel's Act, to encourage Municipalities to avail themselves of this permissive legislation, what facilities it has afforded them in the matter, and what financial aid it has offered. So far as we know, Government have hitherto tried to put obstacles in the path of Municipalities desirous of introducing compulsion.......... The question of free and compulsory education in both Municipal and rural areas is mainly a question of funds which it is the bounden duty of the State to find. As is well-known, the Government

finds no difficulty in securing funds for any proposals relating to what it regards as its own special concerns. Why should not then this subject, which affects the welfare of the teeming millions of the people, receive the same consideration at the hands of the Government? Why cannot a certain percentage of the large increase in the income-tax revenue be allocated for the purpose of universal primary education? Why cannot the mercantile classes who are making heaps of money be levied a special education tax for the benefit of the poorer classes who are contributing by their labour to their enrichment? Government ought to have thought out the question of ways and means for the purpose long ago."

Protest against the rise in the prices of the vernacular readers.

Prabodh Chandrika (126), 25th July.

85. Messrs. Macmillan and Company, a notorious gang of profiteers, have already, during the days of the great war, feathered their nest by increasing the prices of the books in the Vernacular Reading Series by twenty-five per cent. It now appears from a Press Note issued by Government that they have again allowed the Company to further increase the prices by fifty per cent. It is all the mistake of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye, who ought to have taken into consideration the general poverty of the students attending vernacular schools before sanctioning the increase. He ought to have known that the public would indulge in all sorts of surmises if he thus joined hands with the Company in putting up the prices of the readers. We dare say that if the Minister has the courage to cancel the contract, any Indian firm would be able to offer the books to the public at much reduced prices. If Mr. Paranjpye is not able to do so, the teachers should try to see that these heavily priced books are not much patronised by the students and thus teach a lesson to the Company.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 5th August 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 6th August 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

	PARAGRAPHS.
Bombay Legislative Council :	
Comments on Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas's interpellation regarding the Bombay Labour Office in the—	8
Comments on Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas's resolution on Labour in the—	9 & 10
Comments on the Bombay Government's reply to an interpellation regarding acquisition of land belonging to the Bombay Cow Protection Society	14
Comments on the Committee on compulsory primary education	15—17
Comments on the Bombay Government's decision to appoint a committee to inquire into the Matiári shooting incident	18—20
Comments on the passing of the resolution regarding women franchise in the—	11 & 12
Government and the temperance movement	3 & 4
Question of liquor prohibition in the—	5—7
Rao Bahadur Kale's resolution in the—about appointing pleaders to District Judges' posts	13
Reflections on the proceedings of the recent sessions of the—	1 & 2
British Rule :	
Comments on the British manufacturers' objections to the import duty on piece-goods	42
Comments on the conferment of the Freedom of the City of London on Mr. Sastri and the Maharao of Cutch	40 & 41
Comments on the Dhárwár shooting incident	31—33
Comments on the meeting held at the Excelsior Theatre in Bombay in aid of the Smyrna sufferers	47
Comments on the proposed appointment of an Indian as one of the Judges of the International Court of Arbitration	43
Comments on the report of the Deck Passengers' Committee of Inquiry.	45
Complaint about the forcible disarmament of India by the British Government	48
England's policy as regards Persia.	44
Non-Brahmins should never again vote for Brahmins at Council elections	36
Protest against the flotation of the Calcutta Port Trust Loan in England	46
The Additional District Magistrate's inquiry at Dhárwár	34
The Indian unrest and how to allay it	39
The Satyashodhaks and the Brahmins of the Sátára District.	37
What policy non-Brahmins should follow in the future for reducing public expenditure	35

B 114—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Income Tax: Comments on the report of the — Committee 85

Indians in the Colonies: The Imperial Conference and the position of Indians domiciled in the Colonies 86

His Excellency the Governor:

- Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to an address at Sátára 24
- His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and the Boy Scout movement . . 25 & 26

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

- Comments on the Prince of Wales' proposed tour in India . . . . 27—30

Non-co-operation:

- Alleged indifference of Mr. Gandhi to the boycott of Government schools 80
- All-India Congress Committee's resolutions . . . . 53—56
- Appeal to Government to cancel the unjust orders of District Magistrates against peaceful picketing 62
- Boycott of foreign cloth . . . . 70—74
- Comments on the arrest of certain leaders of Andhra 64
- Comments on the excesses of the mob in Bombay in connection with the wearing of *khadi* and the antipathy of certain Europeans towards the Gandhi cap 60
- Comments on the violence of the mob against Europeans in Karáchi in connection with the sentence passed on Swami Krishnanand . 57—59
- Gandhi cap in public offices 75
- Government of India's statement about Lord Reading's interview with Mr. Gandhi . . . . 48—52
- How Indian soldiers and civil officials help Government in their campaign of repression 66
- How Government is suppressing other public movements besides picketing 65
- Indian patriots will have to suffer much during the next two months . 63
- Mr. Gandhi's views on civil disobedience 67
- Mr. Stokes' plea for obeying Mr. Gandhi as a dictator 81
- Protest against the intention of non-co-operators to picket toddy-shops . 69
- Public meeting at Bombay on the Tilak anniversary . . . . . 77—79
- Slave mentality growing among the followers of Mr. Gandhi . . . 82
- The country must be prepared for Satyagraha 68
- The Swadeshi movement already giving room for fraud. 76
- The Thána District Local Board and picketing of liquor-shops . . 61

Public Service: Protest against the resolution adopted by the British Medical Council . . . . 83 & 84

Sind: Comments on the Matiári shooting incident . . . . . . 21—23

EDUCATION—

Comments on Bombay Government's letter to the Matriculation and School Leaving Examination Joint Board about the medium of instruction . . . . 87—89

NATIVE STATES.

Complaints against the Chief of Aundh 90

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Reflections on the proceedings of the recent sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council.

Model (26), 31st July, Eng. cols.

1. "The more we see and the more we hear about the workings of the Reformed Councils in the various Provinces, the more we realise and feel not only the absolute impotency but also the sheer futility of these periodical farces.......... Resolutions and motions on the most burning questions of the day that vitally affect the public interest are either disallowed by the arbitrary and high-handed-austerity of the Chair, or withdrawn by the effeminate and impotent pliancy of the mover.......... We are not aware of the early career of Sir Narayen Chandavarkar, but the excellent manner in which he plays his part to the great admiration of the gigling gallery, and utter degradation of the honourable gentlemen on the floor, we feel almost certain that he must have commenced his career as a Municipal school teacher. If that is so, then, indeed, what a rise for him from the school-master of a Municipal school to a head-master of a Government political institution. Sir George Lloyd deserves to be congratulated for having selected the right man for the right place. But when it is a matter of congratulation for the Government it is really a matter for regret and consolation for the public. The only solace and comfort to the public mind are that when such a dummy assembly presided by such a figurehead has neither the will nor the power to do any good to the public, it is equally powerless and impotent to do any appreciable public harm. When so much time, energy and breath are wasted over numerous silly absurd questions, the mouth of the Council is at once gagged and public discussion is immediately stopped under various pretexts, as soon as a question or resolution of real public interest and importance crops up, that would expose the brutal misdeeds and high-handed conduct of public officers; full and true discussion is allowed over the recommendation of a member about the manner in which 'Babul' trees growing in a particular village should be sold, and the method in which their sale-proceeds should be applied.......... But dare any member in that Council put a single question about the inhuman firing on an unarmed crowd without a warning, such as at Dhárwár, and move a resolution to inquire into the conduct of the police, or other public servant? No. Such a question or resolution is either against public interest or public safety, or is *sub judice*, or worst still, is prejudicial to the defence of the unfortunate victims undergoing their trial.......... The last plea appears to us to be most preposterous and astounding. If anything, such a discussion would rather have considerably helped than hampered the defence, and by what stretch of imagination is the subject-matter of such a resolution is question *sub judice* passes our comprehension. If the poor accused at Dhárwár who are denied even the ordinary rights and priveleges usually accorded to even worst criminals dare to put question in the course of their trial about the brutal conduct of any of the police officers, the trying Magistrate will, we are certain, disallow the question as irrelevant, on the plausible pretext that he is not trying the police for any act of misconduct on their part. Thus the trying Magistrate at Dhárwár on the plea of irrelevancy and the presiding peacock at Poona on the plea of *sub judice* will manage to hush up this shabby matter, and the satanic miscreants in the police force, thus unchecked and encouraged, will snap their fingers at the public rage, and will only await another opportunity in future to repeat the brutalities with greater force. What does it matter if innocent citizens are caged and killed like plague rats, the prestige of the officers of the Crown must remain unimpaired. So far our legitimate grievance against sham councils was that it had not the power to effectively prevent the evil or injustice; all that it could do was to wail and bemoan long after the miseries had been inflicted, but in this unfortunate Presidency, with Sir Narayen in the Chair, we are deprived even of the second doubtful advantage, and it has become more a Government hushing society than a legislative body."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 7th Aug.

*2. "There is a good deal of uneasiness in regard to the circumstances in which firing was resorted to in Dhárwár, and it was to be expected that this would find expression in the Bombay Legislative Council. But as meanwhile a prosecution had been launched against certain of the men in the crowd which was fired upon, the President of the Council had no option under the procedure prescribed but to disallow a motion for adjournment to discuss the conduct of the Police in the case.......... It is anomalous that the Executive should be able, if it thinks fit, to forestall a discussion in the Council by launching a prosecution. We do not say that this was done in this case, though we do not see why when the Government of India did not, in the case of the Nankana tragedy, object to a resolution of adjournment moved in the Legislative Assembly to discuss it though there too a prosecution had been instituted, the Bombay Government did so in the Dhárwár matter. In the somewhat similar incident at Matiári in Sind, the Council was able to get Government to appoint a Committee of Enquiry because the incident occurred too near the Council session to admit of a prosecution being undertaken, if it was intended to do so. It is obviously not right that the Council's freedom to discharge its function in respect of such cases should depend upon the accident of whether they occur immediately or some time before a Council session. The true remedy is to frame a rule, such as that suggested by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola some years ago, to the effect that wherever firing is resorted to in dealing with crowds, an independent Committee shall be appointed by Government as a matter of course to enquire into the circumstances that led to the firing. The impropriety of the Legislature discussing a matter before the Courts, is dictated by the highest interests of justice and should not be departed from. When the trial comes to an end, it will be the duty of Government to consider if they should appoint a Committee of enquiry such as that they have appointed regarding the Matiári firing, and should they fail to do so, some member of the Council, we trust, will bring the matter up again."

Government and the temperance movement.
Gujaráti (15), 31st July.

3. At the recent meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, Government declared that they were in sympathy with the temperance movement, but they have given evasive answers when pressed for complete prohibition. The Government reply makes it clear that they are not in favour of closing the liquor-shops altogether. The way in which Government have qualified their sympathy for the temperance movement goes to show that their sympathy is worthless. Mr. Gandhi has already given notice of his intention of taking part in picketing even at the risk of rivers of blood flowing and if the officials take any further steps to discourage the temperance movement in the name of peace and order, people will lose whatever little faith they have still left in Government and will be confirmed in the belief that Government do not respect public opinion. Picketing near liquor-shops has no doubt been found to be faulty, but the blame for creating breaches of the peace must rest on the shoulders of Government as it is they who are refusing to close liquor-shops in spite of public opinion. We now feel convinced that the Government of Bombay are not willing to prohibit the sale of liquor and that they want to encourage the sale of liquor under the pretext of safeguarding the rights of the people and of maintaining peace and order.

Servant of India (9), 4th Aug.

4. "The reply given by the Bombay Government to Mr. Harilal D. Desai's question as to picketing is very unsatisfactory. It no doubt expresses Government's 'sympathy with all measures directed to encourage temperance, provided that the methods adopted are not calculated to lead to the inconvenience or annoyance of the public, to interference with lawful vocations and the liberty of the subject or to breaches of the peace and other infringements of the law.' But so much more stress is laid in it upon the necessity for police measures to prevent violence that the general impression would be that if an overzealous officer stopped picketing without sufficient reason the Government would not come much in his way, as indeed is shown by the fact that the circular prohibiting picketing issued by the District Magistrate of Thána is still allowed to pass unchallenged by the Government. The reply to Mr. Desai's question further says: 'They have not issued any general instructions on the subject, but they expect the magistracy and police to be prompt and vigilant in taking all the measures that may be necessary to prevent or to punish infringements of the law or any lawful order made by a

competent authority.' No one wants anything but peaceful picketing to be allowed by Government, and if a breach of the peace ensues it follows that the law must take its own course against those who are responsible for the breach. But when the suspicion is rife that the authorities have been putting a stop to picketing on the slightest pretext, the Government give the assurance, which was quite superfluous, that the guardians of law and order will be very prompt in discharging their duties!"

Question of liquor prohibition in the Bombay Legislative Council.
Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 7th Aug., Eng. cols.

*5. "Most of the non-official members who took part in the debate appeared to be warm advocates of prohibition, but not one of them was able to show how prohibition could be immediately put in practice without throwing the administration into confusion. The need for the appointment of a representative committee to consider the whole question impartially and without prejudice became quite apparent; and we are really glad that the question is now going to be threshed out thoroughly......... The Honourable Mr. Mehta very pertinently alluded to the question of revenue, though he added that Government had never looked at the problem from this point of view. Anyhow the problem has to be faced, not only by Government but also by the public whom it deeply affects. Let us not forget that the revenue of four crores and more derived by Government from the liquor traffic is mainly employed in providing the people with the benefits of education, water-supply, hospitals, roads and bridges. If this revenue is to be totally sacrificed, it follows that the public must either go without these amenities or pay for them in the shape of taxes......... If prohibition is to come it must come gradually as the financial condition of the country improves. If drink is an evil, ignorance, dirt, filth and insanitary surroundings are also evils. Remove the latter and then it will be easier to remove the former. We are glad to see that in the course of the debate on Mr. Dumasia's resolution, some of the members took the opportunity to condemn the violent methods employed by picketers before liquor-shops in Bombay, Poona and other places......... Picketing as a temperance measure is futile, but as a means of stirring up political unrest and creating disturbances, which we believe is the main object of its promoters, it is a very clever device. Fortunately, Government have so far pursued a prudent policy of patience and forbearance, so that the agitators have not succeeded in their aim as much as they expected."

Mahrátta (7), 7th Aug.

*6. Discussing the resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the appointment of a committee to consider the question of the liquor and drug traffic, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"The Abkari minister had no independent policy of his own and only repeated parrot-like the oft-repeated bureaucratic arguments. He was for considering the *pros* and *cons* of the practicability or otherwise of the question. After all this circumvention, he conveniently came to a standstill by suggesting that prohibition could be more effectively carried if all the provinces agreed upon that course. So till then only temperance-cum-prohibition can exist. What is then the Committee going to decide? One important point has been finally set at rest in the current meeting of the Bombay Council, *viz.*, that of compensation to the licensees of liquor-shops.......... We fully sympathise with Mr. Dumasia's proposal. But we regret to find that to win over the Council he tried to make out that picketers were allowed to set law and authority at defiance.......... Government however, true to its spirit, let the opportunity pass by its opposition and the resolution was lost. Mr. Dumasia had pleaded that the licensees had now two courses open to them—either loyally to co-operate with the Government or to go over to the side of the non-co-operators and cast their lot with them for good or ill. Now that his case fails in the Council, let us see what further advice this advocate of the liquor contractors gives to them. The liquor contractors too will, we hope, on their part, compare this treacherous obstinacy of Government with the conciliation of the so-called obstinate (?) Mahatma Gandhi. Did he not advise and bring about the stoppage of picketing in their interests last month in Bombay? And we heartily wish and hope they are able to judge between a true friend and a false friend."

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Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 6th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 6th Aug.

7. We do not think that the attitude adopted by the Government of Bombay at the time of the discussion over Mr. Dumasia's resolution for appointing a Committee for suggesting ways and means for compensating liquor-shop-keepers in the Presidency for the losses suffered by them from the system of picketing will redound either to their credit or their wisdom. It is really surprising that Government do not want to share any responsibility in the matter of these losses. Have Government done wisely in taking up such an attitude? Will this not encourage picketing and discourage people for bidding for licenses? We are, however, gratified that Government have accepted the resolution for appointing a Committee to report on the question of the drink and drug traffic in this Presidency and its total prohibition. [The *Bombay Samáchár* hopes that the Committee will recommend the total prohibition of drink in this Presidency.]

Comments on Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas's interpellation regarding the Bombay Labour Office in the Bombay Legislative Council.
Hindusthán (20), 31st July, Eng. cols.

8. "Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas has been able to elicit the reply from the Government that a labour investigator has been appointed as an Assistant to Mr. Findlay Shirras, Director of the Labour Bureau, on a salary of Rs. 600 rising to Rs. 900. On Mr. Kanji's driving the question still further the Government replied that they could not find a suitable Indian for the post! Unfortunately further questioning by Mr. Kanji was stopped by the President on the plea that notice was necessary. Otherwise we could have learnt how the Government came to this felicitous conclusion that no suitable Indian could be found as assistant to Mr. Shirras though the salary offered was Rs. 600 to Rs. 900 and the qualifications required were of the minimum sort. The Labour Board is one of our new encumbrances and its recruitment is obviously going on in the familiarly old bureaucratic manner. Mr. Kanji can well supplement the information elicited by him with a distinct resolution on the question. Unfortunately, the Labour Board is not a transferred subject, and so any resolutions which may be passed regarding it will be merely in the nature of a recommendation. Even recommendations are not likely to be regarded."

Comments on Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas' resolution on Labour in the Bombay Legislative Council.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Aug.

9. "An important resolution that was discussed by the Bombay Legislative Council was that moved by Kanji Dwarkadas asking Government to take early steps to bring into existence suitable machinery for the prevention and early settlement of Labour disputes.......... The debate on Mr. Kanji's resolution revealed how far the speakers were from grasping the reality of the recurrent problem of disputes between Labour and Capital.......... Mr. Gupte alone among the speakers, to judge from the published reports of the debate, went near it when he pointed out that all the disputes between Capital and Labour were due to unequal division of profits between the two parties and added that unless Labour got its proper share, no machinery for solving Labour disputes would be successful.......... The only way of escape from an era of industrial strife is to realise the inherent injustice of the present capitalistic system of industrial organisation and adjust it to the needs of the times. And the only way of adjustment lies in the twofold step of honestly encouraging the organisation of trade unions and of securing the establishment of a legal minimum wage in all industries. So far as the recognition of trade unions is concerned, we have yet to see an adequate realisation of their duty on the part of the Capitalists and the Government.......... The task can be accomplished by the Labour Departments attached to Provincial Governments with the aid of accredited representatives of Labour and Capital. Unfortunately, the Labour Departments as they are constituted at present are not fitted, on account of their *personnel*, to accomplish the task satisfactorily.......... The paramount need at present is to reorganise the Labour Departments on a satisfactory basis with a predominant Indian element, to collect data for the determination of a living wage in every industry, and, above all, to foster and encourage the

establishment of trade unions.......... Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas has succeeded in persuading the Bombay Legislative Council to agree to the appointment of a committee to consider the practicability of creating a machinery to settle and prevent Labour disputes.......... But, for such machinery to work efficiently and fairly, it is obviously essential that the parties to the negotiation must meet on terms of equality. That state of things cannot be said to exist when Labour is being practically sweated and exploited by Capital. However, something is better than nothing and we welcome the appointment of the committee though we are inclined to be sceptical as to its results."

Hindusthán (21), 5th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 4th Aug.

10. It is gratifying to note that the Bombay Legislative Council in its Poona Sessions has accepted the resolution moved by Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas for appointing a Committee for bringing into existence a suitable machinery for settling labour disputes. However, we have not much faith in such a Committee. A glance at the work being done by the costly machinery created by Government in the form of the Labour Office will suffice to convince any one that Government officials and the non-official members of the Council who do not command public confidence will not be able to achieve success in settling labour disputes. Both the Committee and the Labour Office should know the condition of the labouring classes both inside the factories and outside them. The Labour Office at any rate will not be able to settle labour disputes by pitchforking an *ex*-territorial officer of immature age into a high post. No improvement will be effected in the position of the labouring classes or of the country as long as the solution of the labour question is not entrusted to a Committee consisting of non-officials commanding the confidence of the labouring classes and officials who sympathise with them. [The *Bombay Samáchár* believes that the passing of the resolution by the Council marks a further advance in the solution of the labour problem in this Presidency over and above the good work being done by the Labour Office.]

Comments on the passing of the resolution regarding women franchise in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 1st Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 1st Aug.; *Hindusthán* (21), 3rd Aug.

11. The struggle which was begun on behalf of the women of the Bombay Presidency with a view to securing for them the right to vote for members of the Legislative Council has proved successful. We share the joy felt at this success by educated women and their sisters who desire to have a voice in the administration of the country. We congratulate them on the success they have achieved in the Legislative Council; but it is not quite complete. They have been given the right to vote but not that of being elected members. They should put up a strong fight to get this latter right. They should demand it by organising meetings in every town and village. They should not rest content till they have secured this right. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* congratulates the women of the Presidency on the justice done to them. It hopes that the draft of the Bill will be prepared without delay, brought before the Council and passed at its next winter session in order to give practical effect to the resolution which has been passed. It exhorts Indian women to request Parliament to grant them the right of being elected as members of Councils. It is sure that they will succeed in the struggle. The *Hindusthán* declares that the Bombay Legislative Council, in passing the resolution about female franchise, has not done much for the cause of female emancipation, as women, though now entitled to vote, will not be able to enter the Council.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Aug.

12. "The Local Legislative Council, in spite of the presence in it of several obscurantists, can be truly said to have honoured itself by adopting the resolution recommending the enfranchisement of women in the Presidency......... The opposition to the present instalment of reform was confined to three sections—we cannot call them schools of thought—namely, a few official Europeans, some Muhammadans and some members of the non-Brahmin class. Regarding the opposition from the European quarter, which, fortunately enough, was set off by the warm support given to the measure by

another section of Europeans. It is indeed a pity that Messrs. Rothfeld, Cadell and Hayward should have failed to realise that the proposed reform was neither so revolutionary as they imagined nor so indifferently viewed by the women themselves......... As for the fears of some of the Muslim and non-Brahmin members of the Council, we can only say that they do not appear to have cared to make a close investigation of the real feelings of their women......... But because a certain section of women are compelled by men to lead a life of seclusion and thus prevented from taking active interest in the movements around them, is that any reason why the more progressive and enlightened should be debarred from exercising the rights of citizenship?"

Rao Bahadur Kale's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council about appointing pleaders to District Judges' posts.

Raj Hansa (86), 5th Aug.; *Lokasangraha* (116), 4th Aug.

13. Referring to the discussion on the resolution of Rao Bahadur Kale in the Bombay Legislative Council about appointing pleaders to District Judges' posts, the *Raj Hansa* says that the grounds on which the Honourable Mr. Hayward opposed the resolution were both of them unjustifiable, inasmuch as they are not supported by actual facts. The paper asks whether raw youths belonging to the Indian Civil Service who come to this country without even a decent knowledge of the Indian vernacular are more experienced and better fitted to fill the posts of District Judges than the lawyers who plead in the Civil and Magisterial Courts and earn a reputation for efficient pleading. As regards administration, experience and training, the paper says that the judicial and the administrative functions in India are not represented by two different departments but they merge into one another. The method of administration adopted in this country conclusively proves that those who serve in the Judicial Department can easily pick up the secrets of administration. The paper quotes the instance of the Honourable Mr. Hayward himself and says that Mr. Hayward was only a Judge of the High Court before he was appointed as a member of the Executive Council. Concluding, the paper urges upon Government the necessity of appointing eminent pleaders to the posts of District Judges and says that it would have been creditable on the part of Mr. Hayward if he had voted in favour of the resolution with a due sense of regard for the interests of the public. [The *Lokasangraha* writes:—Mr. Hayward's contention that previous experience in the Judicial Department is necessary to qualify a man for the post of a District Judge is absolutely untenable. We fail to understand why previous experience should be considered to be necessary in the case of a District Judge when it is not considered essential while filling the post of a High Court Judge. Indeed, it is most harmful that the post of a District Judge should be filled by an official like the Subordinate Judge who is accustomed to lead a life of dependence. If an independent man is required to fill any post it is that of the District Judge who often succumbs to bureaucratic influence.]

Comments on the Bombay Government's reply to an interpellation regarding acquisition of land belonging to the Bombay Cow Protection Society.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 3rd Aug.

14. A sensation was caused among the Bombay public by the reports circulated among them about the compulsory acquisition of land belonging to the Bombay Cow Protection Society by Government and steps were being contemplated to convene a public meeting to protest against the action taken by Government in the matter. The reply given to an interpellation by Dr. Dadachanji in the Bombay Council in the matter goes to show that there is no need of calling a public meeting as contemplated. The Society will no doubt have to part with some of the land owned by it, but according to Government it is not of any use to the Society as it is not pasture land. There also does not seem to be any truth in the report that Government were not willing to give adequate compensation to the Society for the land taken from them. It was rash on the part of the Society to have purchased the land in question when it was well-known that a portion of it would be dug up for the purposes of the reclamation of the Back Bay. Let us, however, hope that

Government will pay liberal compensation to the Society and give it in addition a piece of land somewhere else which would be acceptable to it.

Comments on the Committee on compulsory primary education.
Ráshtra Veer (133), 31st July.

15. The Honourable Mr. Paranjpye has appointed a committee to consider whether compulsory primary education is practicable and desirable and to prepare a scheme regarding it. It seems the Minister has been reluctantly driven to do this owing to strong public opinion against him. Yet to express doubts as to the desirability of the compulsory primary education, not to speak of its practicability, is certainly not creditable to the Minister. If compulsory primary education is undesirable, wherefor this farce of a committee and its recommendations? In his heart of hearts Mr. Paranjpye believes that compulsory primary education is desirable but he cannot unsay what he has been saying to the contrary. He has, however, made a mistake in appointing only members of the Legislative Council on the committee. He could have got men outside the Council who have sympathetically thought over this problem. Let these sympathetic men, however, make constructive suggestions to the committee. But if the show of this committee is only meant to put off this pressing problem, the bureaucracy will not be successful in these days of public awakening. Mr. Paranjpye has devised a bureaucratic stratagem for suggesting a scheme of taxation through the members of the committee while he himself is keeping aloof. Before new taxes are imposed, expenditure on both the reserved and transferred departments must be cut down, and if the saving thus effected be not sufficient for education, the people will then be most willing to make good the deficit by paying taxes. If the committee has no power to make these suggestions for cutting down expenditure its recommendations will be one-sided. Let the committee consider the circumstances of the people and make only such suggestions as will not tax the purse of the poor agriculturists.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 4th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 5th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (21), 5th Aug.; *Gujaráti Punch* (17), 31st July; *Gujarát Vartamán* (64), 3rd Aug.

16. Government deserve to be congratulated on making a clear statement of their policy in the matter of making primary education free and compulsory, at the recent sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council to the effect that they have no intention of shelving the question by appointing the recent Committee but that they want the Committee to suggest means to overcome the difficulties that lie in the way of making primary education free and compulsory. Let us hope that the Committee will make its recommendations early enough to enable Government to provide in the next Budget the fund necessary for carrying them out. The extra cost of making primary education free and compulsory could have been met from the revenue from Excise, but now that the non-co-operationists are bent upon crippling that source of revenue Government might do well to issue for the purpose a loan repayable in about ten years. [The *Bombay Samáchár* is of the opinion that Mr. Gholap who is himself a member of the Committee appointed by Government to inquire into the question of making primary education free and compulsory was ill-advised in moving his resolution on the same subject. It asks advocates of compulsory education to wait for the report of the Committee already appointed by Government and then press for the adoption of its recommendations. The *Hindusthán* writes:—It seems Government have appointed the Committee to enable them to impose new taxes on the people, and they have no intention of effecting retrenchments in expenditure. Let us hope that the Ministers will not advocate imposition of new taxes before reducing the high salaries they themselves draw. The *Gujaráti Punch* disapproves of the suggestion for imposing new taxes on the people for making primary education free and compulsory and thinks that the extra expenditure should be met by retrenchments. It suggests that the Minister of Education should call a round table conference of all the political leaders in this Presidency and discuss the question with them in a frank manner with a view to finding out a solution of the difficulties that surround the question. The *Gujarát Vartamán* expresses itself in favour of making primary education free but opposes the idea of making it compulsory.]

Gujaráti (15), 7th Aug., Eng. cols.

***17.** "Mr. Gholap's resolution, asking the Government to bring primary education within the reach of the depressed classes by the introduction of free and compulsory education as early as possible, evoked a good deal of discussion in the local Legislative Council. His speech as well as that of Mr. Bole who supported the resolution showed that they had no adequate grasp of all the bearings of the problem and that their strictures on the Education Minister were more influenced by downright prejudice than by any genuine desire to attack the problem as a whole in the right spirit. As was pointed out by Mr. Cowasji Jehangir and others, there is no reason why the depressed classes alone should come in for special consideration and be isolated from the other classes, since the question has to be considered as affecting all of them......... Mr. Gholap's resolution was more a manifestation of communal enthusiasm than of dispassionate judgment and sound grasp. The feeling of the councillors was against his limited resolution and we are not surprised that Dr. Batliwalla's amendment met with unanimous acceptance at their hands......... Dr. Batliwalla's amendment, which was accepted as a substantive proposition and received Mr. Gholap's and Mr. Bole's approval also, does not aim at the immediate introduction of free and compulsory education with a stroke of the pen. But it is to be the goal of the educational policy of the Government to be realised as early as possible. That is the position which the Education Minister has all along taken and we hope the Committee which the Government have appointed will be able to lay before the public a comprehensive scheme capable of realisation within the next few years, at any rate by rapid stages in keeping with the social and economic conditions of the presidency and with the evergrowing demand for the widespread spread of education."

Comments on the Bombay Government's decision to appoint a Committee to inquire into the Matiári shooting incident.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 3rd Aug.

18. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the policy of repression adopted in other provinces in India and ascribes the comparative immunity of the Bombay Presidency from acts of repression to the tact, sympathy and foresight of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. It, however, regrets to see that His Excellency has maintained silence in the matter of the recent firing at Dhárwár and Matiári and asks His Excellency to announce his policy with regard to firing in general at an early date. It is gratified at the readiness expressed by Government in the Council to appoint a Committee to enquire into the firing at Matiári. It declares that officials in Sind are found to be more high-handed than those in the Presidency proper and asks His Excellency to take steps to place a check upon them.

Servant of India (9), 4th Aug.

19. "It was wise of the Bombay Government to have decided to appoint a committee to investigate the firing incident that took place at Matiári in Sind. The reason given was that the versions of the happenings at that place varied so widely that an outside committee became necessary. If this reason has any force, there ought to have been appointed a Committee to inquire into the Dhárwár firing. Mr. Hayward contested the proposition that the Government should agree to appoint a Committee whenever there is any complaint made against firing anywhere, as it would involve a supersession of the ordinary tribunals of the country. There is strong reason for an independent inquiry into cases of firing in India where people are unarmed and where the judicial remedy against officers who order unnecessary firing is practically closed to the people; but we may well leave Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, the senior member of Council, to fight this matter out with his junior colleague in the Home Department. Sir Ibrahim insists upon the institution of an open an independant inquiry, not only into every case of firing about which there is a complaint, but into all cases whatever, whether a complaint has been made about them or not.......... This question may well be left to the senior member of Council, but what is most surprising in the speech of the Home Member is the statement that the ordinary courts of the land will be superseded if Government agreed to make inquiries, whereas the fact is that these courts are practically closed to the people so far as an inquiry into firing is concerned—by the requirement that the local Government's previous sanction should be obtained before prosecuting officers who have ordered firing."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Aug.

20. "We are glad of the decision of the Government of Bombay to appoint an independent and impartial commission of inquiry into the Matiári firing incident. The Dhárwár affair, in conjunction with other 'affairs' in other parts of India, had roused a horrible suspicion among the Indian public that some edict had gone forth from some high quarter that the subordinate police should have a free hand in dealing with the non-co-operation and Khiláfat movements.......... Now that an impartial investigation is to take place into the Matiári incident, the public will feel reassured on the main point of issue, *i.e.*, that it is not and never has been a part of the policy of the Government of this Presidency to allow the subordinate police a free hand to deal with the Khilafat and the non-co-operation movements.......... We welcome this decision in regard to the Matiári incident as a vindication of the honour of Sir George Lloyd's Government."

Comments on the Matiari shooting incident.

New Times (8), 28th and 30th July.

21. "An official version of the Matiari tragedy has been published....... It is a futile effort to whitewash the police. It says the 'leaders,' the 'local agitators' 'continued to incite the crowd calling out to kill the sub-inspector and the police'! Where is the proof, we ask? Non-official versions agree that the Khilafatists were throughout anxious for peace and order.......... It is true some boys made noise and kicked up dust; but was that any justification for firing upon the crowd? The official version admits that the sub-inspector 'gave the order to fire'. What are the antecedents of this man? Is it true, as a Hyderabad paper alleges, that he was once dismissed? What is his reputation in Matiari? And who gave him the order to ask the sowar to open fire? 'He was struck,' the official version says, 'on the temple and brought down to his knees.' Grant that he was, grant that stones were pelted at him; what right had he, we ask, to order firing upon the crowd? He could not fire without the Magistrate's order; he took the law in his own hands; and he must be put on his trial. The official communiqué admits that 'one man was killed.' On whose head is the guilt of that poor man's death? 'Nine were injured but none seriously,' says the official version. But non-official versions said that one of the wounded was in a precarious condition. And what medical help, we ask, was rendered by the officials to the wounded? Did the Mukhtiarkar make any inquiry as to the condition of the wounded? The Khilafatists wrote to him they wanted medical help; what reply did he send them? Matiari has a compounder; was he sent for? 'Medical aid,' says the official version, 'was sent for from Hyderebad for the treatment of the injured.' When? The firing took place on Thursday at about 8 P.M. An urgent message to Hyderabad through a man could have brought medical aid to the wounded in a few hours. As a matter of fact, medical aid did not arrive till after about 36 hours! Is it a wonder people speak of Matiari as another Jallianwalla?......... The story of the Matiari tragedy will not be soon forgotten; and official whitewashings will avail nothing." [In subsequent issue the paper writes:—"The Matiari tragedy adds one more to the number of tragedies enacted by a power-intoxicated police and irresponsible bureaucrats.......... There were some of our countrymen, however, who believed, inspite of the Dyer debate in Parliament, that the Reforms had made it impossible for police to run mad again. The Matiari tragedy will falsify such expectations. We have urged that there should be an impartial commission to report on the tragedy. Government has appointed a committee of two non-officials and one official; we cannot think the appointment of such a committee will satisfy public demand. A Commission of the People is needed. Suppose even the officials found guilty are punished. The question is, is repetition of such a thing impossible? As long as the administration is irresponsible to popular opinion, the situation is unsafe. The present system

makes it possible, makes it easy, for officials to behave in defiance of public opinion. India must change the system if it wants a guarantee against repetitions of such tragedies in the future. We have heard much of the 'new era' of 'reforms'; and Lord Reading has said, over and again, that the policy of his Government was one of justice. Will His Excellency look into recent happenings to know what Sind officials are doing to help 'justice'?]

Sind Observer (10), 27th July.

22. Referring to the Government press note on the firing at Matiari and the account of it given by the editor of the *Bharatvasi*, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"The Government's account is, of course, the version of the officials on the spot. Mr. Jethmal is not a non-co-operator and is not expected to blacken the officials for the mere fun of the thing. He saw the officials, heard what they had to say; he saw the Congress people and the Khilafatists and heard their story and he comes to the conclusion that the 'officials had absolutely no justification for firing on the crowd.' The Government communiqué mentions that the agitators stationed boys and men along all roads and lanes for the purpose of preventing people from attending the Aman Sabha meeting. Mr. Jethmal corroborates this statement, the object of the picketing being to dissuade members of the Aman Sabha from working 'against the interests of religion'......... Granting that the Aman Sabha people are officials, zamindars and *jo-hukums* have they not the right to form an association of their own?......... No Moderate in the country can ascend a platform without being hooted down and disgraced. Although we do not value an Aman Sabha started under official auspices and protected by the police armed with deadly weapons who return 'bullets for brickbats,' to use Mrs. Besant's phrase, we must confess it is the non-co-operators who have driven their opponents to requisition policemen to protect their meeting. Intolerance is the badge of the race of non-co-operators honourable exceptions notwithstanding. The non-co-operators must change their tactics and leave the Aman Sabhas to develop in their own way unmolested.......... They must always remember the Aman Sabhas are not like the Moderate Party's associations with no membership and no governmental strength behind. An Aman Sabha in a place means all the strength of local officialdom behind it, and that counts for a good deal indeed. It is said in the official version that street boys, who were very prominent in this demonstration, raised cries and shouts.......... Let us suppose that everything mentioned in the Government report is true. Did that justify firing? 'If you come in the midst of us, we shall show you who is more powerful' said a Mukhtyarkar's man to a Khilafat leader. This affords us a clue as to the attitude of the officials. It is again the question of bullets for brickbats. We cannot help thinking that wounded pride and not actual necessity is the cause of the firing. There should have been no resort to firing at all.......... The permission of the Magistrate, who was on the spot, seems not to have been sought before opening fire. This is another dereliction of duty. We hope the Sind Government will not try to explain away things but will institute a searching and impartial enquiry into the matter.......... The Sind Police are not noted for being the servants of the people but rather they are their masters. And it is this mentality which is responsible for the Matiari trouble. We impress upon the non-co-operators and Khilafatists that they are following a suicidal policy by enlisting street urchins for doing the dirty part of their work while prating all the time on public platforms about non-violence and all the rest of it. Their violence in thought, word and action is as much responsible for all the mob excesses committed in the country as any police *zulum*."

Sind Observer (10), 29th July.

23. Commenting on the statement on the Matiari shooting incident prepared by Messrs. Santdas and Daulatram, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"We attach great value to this statement and we ask the Honourable the Commissioner in Sind to do likewise when he proceeds with an examination of the official versions placed before him. After reading the statement of Messrs. Santdas and Doulatram we are confirmed in our belief that there was no necessity to return bullets for dust and brickbats and that a power-

intoxicated Sub-Inspector of Police is responsible for the tragedy. The Government communiqué led one to believe that the sub-inspector was so handled by the crowd that he would not recover for many a day from the effects of the injuries received. The man was walking the next day after the firing as jollily as ever in the streets of Matiari with only a bandage near the eye and no other policeman was hurt. So it is clear for a little injury received by him he retaliated by ordering firing. He must have either lost his head or deliberately wanted to produce an effect on the people by shooting them down. We are surprised that after this wanton disregard of life on the part of the police they should be thinking of launching prosecutions on people in Matiari considered obnoxious by them.......... We may be permitted to tell our sympathetic Commissioner that even reasonable and moderate people are shocked throughout Sind by the doings of the police sub-inspector. And further prosecutions will convey the impression that while Government is ready to shield its officials it is relentless towards the people. As we have said on the previous occasion we are no defenders of mob excesses...... But we hold the view shooting was not necessary, taking all the circumstances into consideration, as no lives of the Sabha people or policemen were at all in danger of being lost. Clearing the street with batons would have sufficed when there were in the street 'only 30 or 40 boys with a few elderly mad caps'......... We shall be satisfied if all further prosecutions are stopped and an impartial committee is appointed to investigate the matter. Above all things peace must be restored in the town at once......... There is a serious charge laid at the door of the Mukhtiarkar that when he was asked to obtain medical aid he displayed callous indifference and said 'go to Gandhi and his disciples.' We are sure the Mukhtiarkar will deny this charge in toto. But what accounts for no medical aid being requisitioned for 36 hours after the shooting though the Mukhtiarkar, who is also the first class Masgistrate, was on the spot all the while? Messrs. Santdas and Doulatram characterise this conduct on the part of this officer as amounting to 'culpable negligence'......... Unless the Mukhtiarkar is able to satisfy the public and the Government with regard to this neglect of obvious duty his conduct should be taken serious notice of by the Government."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to an address at Sátára.

Lokamánya (115), 6th Aug.

24. Commenting upon the reply given by His Excellency the Governor to an address presented to him at Sátára, the *Lokamánya* writes:—By describing small holdings as uneconomic His Excellency meant to suggest indirectly that they should be done away with and should be transferred to the capitalists as is done in the Mulshi Peta and in the Ahmednagar District for the benefit of a European sugar manufacturing company. Formerly our peasantry was engaged in spinning and weaving when not actively engaged on their lands. That occupation of theirs, however, is now gone. India is essentially an agricultural country and 80 per cent. of its population has always to depend upon agriculture. Instead of destroying small holdings they should be developed and the agriculturists encouraged to take to spinning and weaving. If the villagers do not support Mahatma Gandhi's Swadeshi boycott movement at this time, they will not escape the perpetual slavery of the capitalists.

His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and the Boy Scout Movement.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 3rd Aug.

25. Government have at last considered it wise to introduce the Boy Scout System in Government schools; but we do not know how far the movement for introducing this system in the local schools has progressed. It is necessary for the public to respond to the appeal issued by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and His Excellency the Governor for funds because the training given to the students under this system makes them good, honest and brave citizens. There is no doubt that the movement will succeed because His Excellency the Governor is the head of the movement in the Presidency. We are sure that only Indians will be sent to England to be trained as scout-masters. This movement has already long ago made much progress in the European schools. Hence we do not understand why the

Indian schools have been still kept back in the matter. Government should take immediate steps to introduce this movement in the Indian schools so that the people may feel assured that a great part of the money which will be contributed by them will be spent on Indians.

Gujarát Mitra (16), 31st July, Eng. cols.

26. "We trust confidently that the appeal made by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd on behalf of the Boy Scouts movement for support to the people of this presidency will evoke a speedy and generous response.......... The allocation of the funds raised, *viz.*, 80 per cent. to the Bombay Provincial Association, is an adequate guarantee that by far the largest use of the funds received will be made for the promotion of objects concerning the Presidency and chiefly towards the spread of the movement.......... The movement has caught on well already in India; what was now wanted was to establish a higher standard of training and organisation for it. It is for this that the present appeal has been made, and we have no doubt that all who realised and appreciated the work will not be slow in making a generous and adequate response."

Comments on the Prince of Wales' proposed tour in India.

Sind Observer (10), 29th July.

27. "At the very outset we must say that the gentlemen responsible for drawing up the programme seem to have no idea of Karáchi and its importance in the economy of our national life. They have treated Karáchi very shabbily by giving it a niggardly 8 or 10 hours. If this programme is to be adhered to—we write in no spirit of disrespect or disloyalty to His Royal Highness—it would be much better if the royal train were driven straight to Kiamari without causing the Prince the trouble of landing on the soil of the capital of Sind.......... Of course, His Royal Highness has no lot or part in drawing up this programme; and the Simla gods looking down from their Elysian heights upon the plains seem to know nothing of Karáchi except that it is the nearest port of embarkation in the Arabian Sea for the Royal Party.......... We want His Royal Highness to stay in Sind at least for two days; either the departure must be delayed or a day or two taken away from the programme of any big city or Native State. Karáchi's climate is very pleasant and enjoyable during the spring and in March summer does not begin here.......... The arrangement of the tour leaves much to be desired. We would prefer His Royal Highness going from Bombay to Delhi straight. By that time the Government of India would come down to the plains and the Legislative Assemblies could also be called for an extraordinary session of a week or ten days. It is popularly believed that there are some announcements to be made. To reach Delhi, the capital, on February 14th nearly two months after landing in Bombay and then to make any announcements—if there are to be any—will be trying to the patience of the people. Bombay is not the capital and no announcements are made there.......... The non-co-operators will be able to say to the masses, who always associate some 'boons' with the visits of Royalty, that these tours bring no benefit to India except heavy expenditure.......... Not only should all the repressive laws go by the board, some further political progress must be made such as the introduction of diarchy in the Central Government, and we look forward with lively anticipation to the speech of Lord Reading on September 3rd when he will formally open the session. And we must say this much: that the times demand some radical reforms and the removal of the two historic grievances. A very calm atmosphere should be created for the reception of the Prince and the non-co-operator must find his occupation gone. Is it intended to create the impression in the mind of His Royal Highness that the people of British India live under the best possible administration compared with the regime prevailing in Native States? First impressions count for a good deal. We would very much like the tour in the unprogressive Central Indian States not being undertaken before Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta are visited. Some arrangement must also be made to bring the Heir to the Throne into living touch with the life of the villages. After all real India lives in villages not in towns. We want the Prince to see the India of the poor, voiceless millions as much as the India of pomp and pageantry. Let not the Prince be walled of from the people and made to

spend the days in India in an unreal and artificial atmosphere of ceremonial and pursued by intolerable limelight."

Kesari (111), 2nd Aug.; *Swarájya* (145), 4th Aug.

28. In spite of Lord Derby's announcement made a few days ago that the delicate condition of the Prince of Wales' health makes it necessary for him to take complete rest for some time, the bureaucracy insists upon bringing him here and has already chalked out the programme of his tour. The nation, too, must do its duty now; the All-India Congress Committee has accordingly issued instructions to the people as to the attitude they should adopt towards the visit of the Prince. It is the duty of every *swarájist* to refrain from taking any part in the welcome to the Prince since the bureaucracy are bringing him here to bolster up its oppressive rule. We have no grudge against the Prince himself or against any other member of the Royal family. We are to boycott his visit simply with the object of showing that we are not satisfied with the present system of administration. [The *Swarájya* tells the authorities to be careful in preparing the programme of the Prince's tour lest he might go and visit such places as Amritsar, Nágpur, Dhárwár, Malegaon, etc.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Aug.

29. "The decision to bring the Prince of Wales to India, 'in spite of the growing unrest and discontent by reason of the failure of Government to respond to popular will', to quote the mild phraseology of the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee on the subject, is one more proof, if proof were needed, of the complete divorce of Government from people. The only reply, then, that a nation, which values its honour above everything else, can give is to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales which is intended by those, who are manipulating it for their own ends, for their humiliation. And this answer is embodied in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee.......... India has thus spoken in no uncertain terms. Nothing would please her better than to welcome His Royal Highness with open arms. But she cannot welcome the Prince when his visit is organised and manipulated by those responsible for it to prevent her from immediately coming into her heritage of freedom."

Bombay Chronicle (2), 7th Aug.

***30.** 'Atropos' writing in the *Bombay Chronicle* (Sunday Edition) about the Prince of Wales' visit to India remarks:— "The proposed visit may interest the lighting contractors, road repairers, house-decorators, pandal-makers, sight-seers and even titled axe-grinders in and out of office including the Molly Magwires of the Moderate gang, but it may be asserted without any fear of contradiction that the visit will be most inopportune at this moment.......... The pomposity and grandeur of Durbars and public reviews will no longer hocus the public into the belief that the visit of a Royalty will be followed by a milennium nor will it create any moral effect on the distressed feelings of Hindus and Muhammadans, whatever the Mighty Minds of the India Office may think."

Comments on the Dhárwár shooting incident.

Gramya Swarájya (63), 19th July.

31. If His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught and His Excellency the Viceroy had given some advice to the autocratic officials who caused the havoc at Amritsar instead of asking the people to forget the incident, it would not have been repeated at Dhárwár on the 1st of July 1921. It seems the autocratic and blood-thirsty officials are very much in love with the horrors of Amritsar and wish that they should be repeated. Our heart trembles to note the horrible incident that occurred at Dhárwár on the 1st July. It is said that the Collector of Dhárwár was thirsting for the blood of the people. Perhaps he may have arranged the incident which has happened in order to satisfy this thirst of his. When the people shouted *Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai*, Mr. Shivlingappa, the Sub-Inspector, was enraged and he opened fire on the people without any warning. Those who tried to nurse the wounded were also fired upon. Really it is not possible to say to what lengths a man's cruelty may go, when he forgets himself. Then the Collector and others started forthwith to find out means for their defence. They drafted a telegram and sent it to His Excellency the Governor. Thus has the shadow of Amritsar fallen upon Dhárwár. What should we say to the autocratic Government which relies solely upon the telegram of the Collector? Such events only serve to make firm determination all the firmer. We shall rest satisfied in the knowledge that the thirst of the Collector of Dhárwár has been quenched. We need not now ask whether the British administration is really based upon justice or injustice. Indians have to do only one thing now and that is to extort *swarдj*. They should work out their own *swarдj* and secure independence by their own efforts. After that they should ask persons like Mr. Painter to leave India. Blood-thirsty officials will seek opportunities to shed blood so long as we have not attained *swarдj* and independence. Disturbances such as those at Dhárwár cannot obstruct our path to *swarдj*. They are mere stones; we have yet to climb hills. The people should not forget their great mission. They should purge themselves of feelings of malice and revenge. *Swarдj* is not far if they continue to be non-violent.

Kesari (111), 2nd Aug.

32. Apart from the question whether the disallowance of Mr. Chitale's motion about the Dhárwár firing was right or wrong, the policy underlying the refusal of Government to agree to an inquiry as to whether the authorities were justified in firing upon the people will not be approved of by any civilized country. It is the primary duty of every Government to protect the lives of its subjects. The conduct of a Government official who is accused of dereliction of this duty must be enquired into by an independent commission. If Government want the right of firing upon the people at any time they like, then they cannot shirk the responsibility of submitting to an inquiry attending that right. Government have admitted in a way this responsibility by appointing a committee to inquire into the firing at Matiári in Sind. But the constitution of that committee, too, is not satisfactory nor does the manner in which it was appointed by Government redound to their credit. In the first place, whenever there is a firing the propriety thereof must be inquired into by an independent committee and Government should have no choice in the matter. The members of such a committee should be selected from among the members of the Legislative Council and not from among the protegés of Government. Again, the decision of such a committee should be binding upon Government. At any rate Government have appointed a committee to inquire into the firing at Matiári although it does not exactly satisfy us; but they are not prepared to do even that in connection with the firing at Dhárwár. This shows that Government are unable to divest themselves of their habit of screening the advocates of Dyerism.

Lokamdnya (115), 3rd Aug.

33. It is now clear that the Bombay Government is not going to appoint any independent Committee to inquire into the Dhárwár firing incident. It will have to regret hereafter for having lost the opportunity of showing its sense of justice by refusing to appoint such a committee, for the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee has decided to appoint an independent Commission to inquire into the misdoings of Shivlingappa, Panch and Company and we congratulate the Committee upon the appointment of the Commission which is to prove to India that the Dhárwár affair was Jallianwalla in miniature. The following gentlemen have been appointed as commissioners:—Mr. Abbas Tayabji, Mr. Setlur and Mr. Bhavanishankar Niyogi (Nágpur). The Commission has been asked to report within a month.

The Additional District Magistrate's inquiry at Dhárwár.

Karnátak Vritt (84), 26th July.

34. In our last issue we had published a leader under the heading "Evil Omens". The predictions that we made therein are being slowly realized. The police were responsible for the firing at Dhárwár. The burden of proof regarding the circumstances which necessitated and justified the firing rests entirely upon them. But these obligations upon the police have not only been set aside, but what is more, some respectable people have been arrested by these very people who were guilty of firing and prosecutions have been launched against them. But even leaving aside this question for a moment, we could at least expect an impartial inquiry into the circumstances of the case. But with the inclinations of the authorities leaning on the side of injustice, it is natural that this advantage also should be denied to the Dhárwárees. Or why should we say to the Dhárwárees only? British justice all over India has taken the same form. No wonder, then, if people should cry out that they have no faith in British justice. [Elsewhere the paper says:—To the accused the trial may seem only of the nature of a farce. The trial, however, is going on in its usual way. But the pleaders do not even turn their glance in the direction of the Court. Even though the public outside Dhárwár might be curious to know what course events have been taking, the Dhárwárees themselves have no curiousity in the matter. About eight or ten witnesses are examined every day. About 74 witnesses have been examined till now and hundreds of witnesses might be examined hereafter. The reader can very well imagine what all these witnesses will say.]

What policy non-Brahmins should follow in the future for reducing public expenditure.
Jágaruk (45), 16th July.

35. Effecting economy in the expenditure of the Provincial Governments has much to do with the introduction of universal primary education, with the concessions to be given to the backward and the untouchable classes in the matter of higher education and with prohibition of the drink traffic. Government has done nothing to make primary education compulsory and, instead of prohibiting drink, has been encouraging it in order to meet its extravagant expenditure. It has been continuously employing Europeans on high pay whether their services are required or not and has been increasing their salaries. The consequence of this has been that Government has encouraged drinking, since its prohibition or restriction would, it was feared, involve a loss of some crores and come in the way of the bureaucracy having its fill. It appeared as if Government did not care if the ruinous drink habit destroyed the domestic happiness of its rayats, chiefly non-Brahmins! At present the expenditure of the Provincial Government exceeds its revenue by one and a half crore and the bureaucracy is thinking of making up this deficit by imposing new taxes. Universal primary education and prohibition of drink are the two objects for which people will be most willing to pay additional taxes only if the present squandering is checked; otherwise, the bureaucracy will swallow up the additional revenue for its growing luxury! The wonder of it is that while the Honourable Mr. Curtis acknowledges the necessity of cutting down the present expenditure the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye justifies the squandering of money by the bureaucracy! The members of the Legislative Council also cannot be expected to exercise any restraining influence on the bureaucracy as a majority of them are ignorant of politics and are anxious only for the retention of their seats. The result of all this is likely to be that the additional revenue that is to accrue would all go towards filling the pockets of the bureaucracy. Every possible step ought to be taken by the non-Brahmins to prevent this looting of the rayats by the bureaucracy and by the Ministers who appear to have became mere puppets in its hands.

Non-Brahmins should never again vote for Brahmins at Council elections.
Vijayi Marátha (149), 30th July.

36. The *Vijayi Marátha* declares that the experience hitherto gained of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye and other Brahmin members of the Bombay Legislative Council has proved that for non-Brahmins to elect Brahmins, whether they be of the moderate or the extremist party, is quite suicidal. It, therefore, gives a warning to the non-Brahmins to keep Brahmin candidates at the next election at arms' length and to vote for sympathetic non-Brahmins alone.

The Satyashodhaks and the Brahmins of the Sátára District.
Kesari (111), 2nd Aug.

37. The commission appointed by the first Brahmanya-saunrakshak Sabha held at Pandharpur has done excellent service by publishing its report regarding the pranks of the Satyashodhak Samáj. It is clear, however, that it could produce no impression on the jaundiced vision of Government. A copy of the report was sent to

Government and they were asked whether they would take steps to put a stop to the excesses of the Satya Shodhaks. But our blind Government could see no specific complaints in a report which is replete with details of the excesses committed by the Satya Shodhaks, and so they replied that they were unable to take any notice of vague allegations! If you do not want to inquire into the grievances of the Brahmins, say so plainly. Why do you put forth such lame excuses? The chief complaint of the persecuted people in the Sátára District is that the excesses are due to the apathy of the District authorities. The Government of Bombay meet the charge by publishing the report of the Collector of Sátára. This is an excellent method of dealing out justice! We wonder whether Government expect a man, who sits in judgment on himself, to find himself guilty. In reply to a question asked by Sardar Mutalik Government declared that they generally agreed with what Mr. Moysey said at the Durbar. We shall not be surprised if after this approval expressed by Government the Brahmins of the Sátára District find the pranks of Mr. Moysey increasing like those of a drunken monkey.

Complaint about the forcible disarmament of India by the British Government.

Mahrátta (7), 7th Aug.

***38.** "India has been forcibly disarmed and Indians have practically forgotten all acquaintance with arms and have thus been disabled even to protect their own hearths and homes against agression. They have thus been forced to depend upon a foreign nation for its protection and this inability for self-defence has been used by the very nation that has disarmed India as an argument against granting her full self-government and showing her unfitness for it. Mahatma Gandhi once characterised this forcible disarmament as one of the blackest sins committed by the British Government against India.......... India has demanded the repeal of the Arms Act and the Government that boasts to be civilised should not continue the forcible disarmament of a nation in order to be able to rule over it."

The Indian unrest and how to allay it.

Akhbár-e-Islám (54), 1st Aug.

39. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses the opinion that the remedies suggested by Mr. Joseph Baptista to put an end to the present unrest in India in the speech recently delivered by him at the Excelsior Theatre, Bombay, would be quite effective for the purpose. It points out that in the Viceroy and the sympathetic Governor of Bombay, India fortunately has two physicians who can diagnose correctly the causes of the present unrest. And it advises them to take steps to put an end to the unrest, utilising the visit of the Prince of Wales for the purpose. It considers that those who have started the boycott movement just before the visit of the Prince are guilty of the greatest blunder and that unconsciously they are acting as the worst enemies of India. The paper concludes by remarking that if the Prince tries the remedies suggested by Mr. Baptista for allaying the unrest in India, his visit will be immortalised for ever in the history of the country.

Comments on the conferment of the Freedom of the City of London on Mr. Sastri and the Maharao of Cutch.

Jám-e-Jámshed (22), 1st Aug.

40. The Indian people cannot but be pleased at reading the reports of the hearty welcome accorded to the Indian representatives at the Imperial Conference by the British public. They cannot also fail to appreciate the honour done to India by the Londoners by the bestowal upon them of the Freedom of the City of London. [The paper then refers to the speech of Lord Lytton on the occasion and remarks:—] The Indian people have ever stretched the hand of friendship towards England as well as other nations, but India is not to be blamed if the response from the other parties is not as hearty as it should be. We hope that the appeal made by Mr. Sastri in his speech will produce a good effect in the proper quarters. We recognise with some degree of joy that the attitude of the people of Great Britain towards Indians has improved considerably; but such is not the case in the colonies. We hope that the functions which took place at Guildhall and the speeches delivered by

British as well as Indian statesmen on the occasion will make the necessary impression on the people of the colonies and that they will acknowledge India's status as an equal member of the Empire as well as her rights to enjoy full freedom within it.

Mahrátta (7), 7th Aug.

***41.** "The Honourable Mr. Sastri and the Maharao of Cutch were presented with the 'Freedom of the City of London.' We do not grudge any honours to the leader of the Moderates or the Maharao of Cutch, if they themselves or their countrymen appreciate the honour. We do not know if Mr. Sastri appreciates it, but we know that his countrymen condemn the grim mockery of the whole affair. Does Mr. Sastri feel himself to be a 'free' man taken in its broadest sense? Are his countrymen 'free' even in their own land? Are his countrymen treated as free men in the countries outside India or even in the colonies of the British Empire? And when his countrymen and his Motherland is rotting in the slavery of foreign domination, how could he—of all else, the Honourable Mr. Sastri, the leader of the Moderate party and inheritor of the traditions of the late Mr. Gokhale—accept the hollow tinsel of the 'Freedom of the City of London'? He was invited to South Africa and East Africa by his countrymen there to get him into touch with the slavery of theirs. What would he reply to them if they ask about his 'freedom'? Had he refused the honour he would have shed greater glory on his love of his country. His acceptance of this mock 'freedom' has demonstrated his slave mentality and want of moral courage to keep the prestige of his country above that of the individual......... Mr. Sastri's speech at the Mansion House after being conferred the 'Freedom of the City of London' is replete with fulsome flattery of the Britishers and their rule in India, and sings nothing but the glory of the New Reforms. We are sorry to see a leader of Mr. Sastri's standing so losing himself in his immediate surroundings."

Comments on the British manufacturers' objections to the import duty on piece-goods.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Aug.

42. "The protest of British manufacturers against the duties which this country levies on piece-goods imported from abroad is full of significance to the Indian public.......... The British manufacturers think that the interests of Lancashire ought to prevail above everything, whereas the Indian public maintain that the interests of the Indian people should be the supreme consideration. We know, of course, that the fiscal policy so far followed by the Indian bureaucracy has all along been largely inspired by the selfish motives which the British Capitalists have in view, but India is not going to tolerate the injustice any longer, whatever view we take of Mr. Montagu's responsibility to Parliament."

Comments on the proposed appointment of an Indian as one of the Judges of the International Court of Arbitration.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Aug.

43. "A Behár contemporary understands that an Indian will be appointed as one of the Judges of the International Court of Arbitration under the League of Nations.......... We are told the gentleman appointed will get Rs. 22,000 a year. The salary attached to the post may prove a damper on the enthusiasm of some of the candidates for the post, but looking to the high honour of the post itself, we should think that those who have retired from the Bench in this country or who may be qualified to discharge the duties of the Bench would be glad to accept nomination on a tribunal of such an international character as the one in view. We can easily name more than one Indian who would be an acquisition to the Tribunal. We hope there is no intention on the part of the Indian Government to appoint a European. The Government of India ought to make it clear that only Indians are eligible for the post."

England's policy as regards Persia.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Aug.

44. "There is a good deal that is true in Lord Curzon's lament over Persia, but if his Lordship had taken the trouble to indulge in a little introspection and questioned himself about the real reasons for the fruitlessness of Britain's 'countless sacrifices' for the sake of Persia, he would have realised that it is not so much the perversity of the people of that country as the blundering statemanship—

one would almost say, crass folly—of the British Foreign Office that has been responsible for the ruin of all British hopes in Persia and for thrusting the people of that country into the arms of the very people, the Bolsheviks, to keep the Persians aloof from whom, Britain had been making all the sacrifices named by Lord Curzon......... If the Anglo-Russian Convention had the effect of making the Persians deeply suspect the *bona fides* of their European 'friends,' the Anglo-Persian Agreement was calculated to rouse their bitterest hostility to the one Power which had all along been posing as their especial guide, philosopher and friend, but which now stood revealed in their eyes as someting totally different from that personage......... In despair Persia was compelled to turn her attention to the Russian Soviet Government, which had overthrown Czarism and which promised every facility and guaranteed every safety te her, but which never demanded anything of her, save her open friendship. Can one really hold the Persians to blame for the turn of events? If only British statesmen had the sagacity to realise that the genuine friendship of a nation can never be purchased by either bluff or secret diplomacy and that it can only be won by frankness and disinterestedness, Persia need not have gone astray, as it has done, and distrusted Britain."

Comments on the report of the Deck Passengers' Committee of Inquiry.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Aug.

45. "We have in the Deck Passengers' Committee an instance of a Committee which has utterly misapprehended its *raison d'etre* and its object of inquiry. [Here the paper gives the terms of reference and goes on:—] The four specific cases of recommendations suggested the general notion that overcrowding must be prevented, and accommodation must be secured that will guarantee a standard of health and comfort compatible with our present stage of civilization. To those who have had any experience of a sea voyage on the Indian coast, on vessels specially designed to meet the traditional requirements of the Indian trade; to those who have seen human beings locked up between decks or huddled together in exposed portions of the ships, to those who have experienced the insults that Eurepean officers on board are only too commonly guilty of towards the wretched, helpless and inarticulate deck passengers, we need hardly say that the condition of deck passengers needs improvement as much as that of third class passengers by Indian railways. And yet the solicitude of the Government in their case has been frustrated by the inexplicable obtuseness of the Committee who have the effrontery to observe:—'The bulk of the passengers come from classes who appear to be content with things as they are. There is no doubt that what the labouring classes, who form 90 per cent. of the deck passengers, want is a quick transit and a cheap fare.' And their accommendations are based on this radical misconception of the object of their inquiry.......... The question really is: Have the Government of India, with all their pretensions to enlightenment, humanity, civilisation, any standard of human comfort for the travelling public? The members of this Committee of Inquiry have rather considered with what minimum of improvements, what modicum of derangement of vested interests and capitalist obsessions, the critics of the existing situation can be silenced and with what increase of cubic space per passenger—even though that increase may mean nothing like a proportionate increase of fresh air and moving space per passenger—can the poorest but most paying section of the travelling public of India be satisfied. Could anything be more absurd? We need hardly examine their suggestions as to increase of latrine facilities or provision of separate accommodation for women, as they all result from the same fundamental misconception of the nature and object of the inquiry."

Protest against the flotation of the Calcutta Port Trust Loan in England.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Aug.

46. "The details which the *Morning Post* has disclosed regarding the subscription in England of the Calcutta Port Trust Loan of a million sterling only go to prove that there was absolutely no justification, financial, political or moral, for the flotation of the loan in England at so high a rate of interest as 7 per cent. instead of in India. While public loans in England are readily subscribed at 6 per cent. or even at 5 per cent., it is criminal folly that India should waste her resources by offering as much as 7 per cent. interest for her loans in England while in India itself Government loans at 6 per cent. are easily over-subscribed. It is difficult to assign any reasons for the policy of extravagance that finds favour with the authorities in India, except it be that it is deliberately done in the interests of certain powerful financial interests at 'Home' who are out to profit by the indifference and helplessness of the Indian public."

Comments on the meeting held at the Excelsior Theatre in Bombay in aid of the Smyrna sufferers.

Muslim Herald (171), 5th Aug.

47. Commenting on the meeting held at the Excelsior Theatre in aid of the Smyrna sufferers, the *Muslim Herald* remarks that not very long ago it was said that the Hindu-Muslim unity was just like a mixture of oil and water. But now, adds the paper, owing to the changed times, both these communities are coming nearer, their mutual differences are being sunk and the unity is growing stronger. It thinks that it was the Greek atrocities perpetrated upon the poor Turks that caused the Hindus, the Musalmans and the Parsis to assemble at the Excelsior Theatre. The paper asserts that these barbarities clearly prove that the European nations, in spite of their pretensions to civilization, are still wild and barbarous. It concludes by saying that it was quite apparent from the speeches delivered at the meeting that the inhuman acts of the Greeks were due to the British Government or, at least, to the secret instigation and selfishness of Mr. Lloyd George, and adds that this very thing is paining the hearts of the Mussalmans.

Government of India's statement about Lord Reading's interview with Mr. Gandhi.

Lokasangraha (116), 3rd Aug.

48. The statement published by the Government of India about the Gandhi-Reading interview will silence those who have been indulging in vain guesses about the Ali Brothers' apology. It is clear that the apology has had nothing to do with the proposed prosecution of the Brothers. It is true that the Mahatma asked the Ali Brothers to apologise at Lord Reading's request and that the draft of the apology was previously seen by His Excellency. But it is now clear from the statement that Mr. Gandhi did not ask them to apologise to escape prosecution, but only to free the non-violent non-co-operation movement from the stain of violence which the Brothers' speeches cast upon it. The apology thus, instead of casting any discredit on the moral courage of the Ali Brothers, has made it more resplendent.

Young India (12), 4th Aug.

49. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"His Excellency the Viceroy has now issued a statement agreed between him and me regarding the interviews I had the honour of having with him. The statement sets forth all the details that the public need know. I do not propose to discuss it. In my opinion it makes it clear that the apology as I have called the statement of regrets initiated with me, that it was conceived before I ever knew of the impending prosecution for the speeches that were shown to me and that it was neither suggested nor made for fear of the prosecution of the Brothers, certainly not to avoid imprisonment. It is my firm belief that the Brothers have rendered a great service to the cause by making the statement. I do not regret having given them the advice. I wish also to place on record my appreciation of the willingness with which Lord Reading approached my request for the publication of an agreed statement. In the lengthy correspondence that ensued between us for settling the form and the language of the statement, I did not observe on His Excellency's part any inclination to avoid mention of any relevant detail. On my part I had informed him that I had no intention to hide anything whatsoever. The public therefore have a full statement from both sides."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 7th Aug.

***50.** "It is probable—indeed, it seems to be obvious—that the communiqué has had the advantage of the Mahatma's revision, and that, in fact, it is in the nature of the 'agreed statement' which he had pressed upon the

Viceroy to publish, if His Excellency did not see his way to according him permission to make public his own version. If that is the case, we can only describe this 'agreed statement' as another diplomatic victory for Lord Reading. That the chief of non-co-operators should 'agree' with the head of the Government with which his party has declared its non-co-operation, upon the extent or manner in which what passed between them at an interview on a public question should be divulged, seems to the average person to be a very significant act of co-operation. To share a common secret is, perhaps, the most intimate form in which one human being can co-operate with another, and the language of the official statement, whether the Mahatma suspected it or not, is carefully chosen so as to convey the impression that His Excellency has good reasons for going as far as he can to magnify the Mahatma's share and to minimise his own in the matter. And the thing is so dexterously managed that, while the Mahatma's friends can satisfy themselves that there is an official acknowledgment that the Mahatma was not aware of the decision to prosecute the Ali Brothers when he offered to the Viceroy to get them to publish their statement and that there was nothing in the nature of a bargain, the careful reader cannot but conclude from the marshalling of facts that it must have been difficult for the Mahatma not to have been aware of the intended prosecution and that, whether it was a bargain or no, Lord Reading left him in no doubt that if the statement was not published, and published promptly, His Excellency would not be able to stop the proceedings from taking their course.......... Our own conclusions, subject to correction in the light of any new facts that may be disclosed by the Mahatma, are that the Mahatma was apprised of the contemplated prosecution before he saw the Viceroy, that he might have known of it before he left Allahabad for Simla, that he was anxious to stop it because, besides other consequences, it would have strained the Congress-Khilafat concordat to the breaking-point, that he had to take the responsibility of getting the Maulanas to sign a statement, such as that the Viceroy wanted, without consulting them previously, as His Excellency informed him that 'he might not be able to prevent the commencement of proceedings if the statement was not published with the least possible delay.' The natural thing for the Mahatma, if he was not anxious to stop the prosecution, would have been to have told the Viceroy that he must consult the Ali Brothers before he expressed any opinion on their speeches placed before him. Unless these extracts were of a flagrantly and obtrusively violent character, it would not have been possible even for the Mahatma at a single glance at them in his first interview with the Viceroy—especially if these included the speeches of which he had written in *Young India* that they were unobjectionable—to have definitely concluded that they were capable of being interpreted as incentives to violence. On the other hand, if they were of so flagrant a character, it is impossible to understand what the Ali Brothers meant by saying that they never imagined that they were capable of having any such interpretation. The Mahatma, we knew, has a good deal of shrewdness behind his simplicity. His belief in soul-force excludes physical violence but not the power of a crore of rupees. So long as he relies on soul-force, he is invincible. But when, as in this case, he trusts to his shrewdness, he is sure to be worsted by one who, like Lord Reading, combines to equal or greater natural shrewdness, a wider familiarity with the world, which, as ordinarily understood, means the weaknesses of men."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 1st Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 2nd Aug.

51. His Excellency Lord Reading has accepted the challenge given to him by Mr. Gandhi and has published a communiqué in the matter of Mr. Gandhi's interviews with him and the apology of the Ali Brothers. We have reason to believe that the draft of the communiqué was sent to Mr. Gandhi last week for enabling him to state any objections he may have against it before it was made public. The communiqué certainly redounds to the credit of the Viceroy. The Viceroy showed his broad-mindedness in allowing the Ali Brothers to effect a change in the form of the apology prepared by Mr. Gandhi and approved by himself. The facts about the apology as published in the communiqué go to show what amount of truth there is in the statements made in certain quarters that the apology was made neither to Government nor to avert a criminal prosecution. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* declares that the communiqué makes it clear that the Viceroy accepted the apology of the Ali Brothers at the intercession of Mr. Gandhi and withdrew the prosecution that was to be launched against them as a result of Mr. Gandhi's intervention and the submission of the apology.]

Kesari (111), 2nd Aug.

52. It appears from the statement issued by the Government of India about the Gandhi-Reading interview that Gandhiji did not accept any conditions while framing the Ali Brothers' 'apology' nor did they affix their signatures to it to avoid being prosecuted. Notwithstanding this, Government officiously issued a statement declaring that they had abandoned their intention of prosecuting the brothers in view of their apology and warning the brothers to abide by their promise in future. In this affair the conduct both of Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers was such as would become a real non-violent non-co-operator. Government, on the other hand, thought it necessary in the interests of their prestige to publish a misleading statement with a view to creating an impression among the people that they refrained from taking action against the Ali Brothers not because they were afraid of disturbances, but because the brothers tendered an apology. It is now quite clear that in this game of chess it is Lord Reading and not Mahatma Gandhi who has lost.

All-India Congress Committee's resolutions.

Lokasangraha (116), 3rd Aug.

53. The first important resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee was for the boycott of the Prince of Wales's visit. It was passed unanimously and we don't think there would be any difference of opinion with regard to it. We are at a loss to understand what benefit the bureaucracy thinks would accrue by bringing His Royal Highness to India while the minds of the people of the Congress party are growing in exasperation every day. If the bureaucracy imagines that His Royal Highness's coming and the sweet speeches he would deliver would remove the popular discontent, it is mistaken. Indians have not certainly remained such milksops as to be dazzled by the artificial splendour of the members of the Royal House. It appears as if the bureaucracy, in order to save their own prestige, are prepared to sacrifice that of the Prince of Wales. As regards the foreign cloth boycott resolution, we think that to have a complete boycott by the 30th September is practically impossible. It would be an exaggeration to say that a trade which it took a century and a half for England to build up can be completely destroyed in two months. By taking various steps, however, we can give the greatest blow to England's cotton trade that it has ever received up to this time. There might be differences of opinion as to the resolutions passed, but it is the duty of every one to carry out the aims of the Congress to the best of his ability.

Mahrátta (7), 7th Aug.

***54.** "The decisions arrived at, after deep and anxious deliberation by the All-India Congress Committee in its meeting held at Bombay last week, point undoubtedly to the grim determination of the people to attain *swarájya* by all peaceful and non-violent means. The resolutions passed by the Committee distinctly show that those who shape the destiny of our nation are in earnest and mean business. The cold calculating statesmanship of the leaders of the present movement has its mark on all resolutions and any impartial and unprejudiced observer who has any insight into great national political movements like the present one in India, can at once see that India is marching towards *swarájya* in long strides. The resolutions are for the most part constructive and destructive only where necessary...... ... The Prince of Wales' visit was simply a side issue. The All-India Congress Committee disposed of this issue in the most satisfactory manner.......... India means to be free and attain *swarájya* as early as possible and it cannot be a respecter of persons and measures that go to thwart its onward march. The visit of the Prince belongs to this category and hence India has no alternative but to demonstrate by its action that it cannot take part in the function and that it does not welcome even the Prince who would buttress the present system of government in India against the will of the people. We hope that wiser counsels would still prevail and the Prince would be spared these indignities......... There can be, we believe, no difference of opinion, on this question of Swadeshi or in other words the boycott of foreign cloth....... There is no difference of opinion, we believe, regarding the good that would accrue from the boycott of foreign cloth and if India means to bring it into effect it can do it immediately.......... The Committee has wisely concentrated its attention on the constructive side of the question and we urge all lovers of country to commence at once the work of taking census of weavers and cotton carders and induce them to take to this noble profession of Swadeshi weaving. An exception is being taken to the destruction of foreign cloth and we share the view that the foreign cloth in the nation should rather go to cover the uncovered brethren of our nation. But so far as demonstration of our determination to discard foreign cloth is concerned, it has its purpose. The big bonfire in Bombay has signalised to the world our determination to throw off the foreign economic yoke.......... The next important question before the Committee was that of prohibition of liquor and we are glad that the Committee gave its full approval to the peaceful method of picketing the liquor-shops.......... The last and the most important question before the Committee was that of civil disobedience and the Committee has decided to postpone it till after the completion of the programme of boycott of foreign cloth by the end of September next.......... The meeting of the Committee thus acquitted itself most creditably and we for one think that the Committee has decided wisely on all questions. India has stormy days before her and the rudder of the ship of our political movement must be directed by cool and calculating brains so that the ship may anchor safely in the port of *swarájya*. We have an exceptionally energetic, resourceful and statesmanlike captain in Mahatma Gandhi and a willing and obedient crew and lieutenants in the members of the All-India Congress Committee which also serves the purpose of a war staff. The war staff may discuss, debate and ever differ when the war strategy is being discussed, but when once the decisions are finally taken it has to turn itself into active workers to win the battle.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 4th Aug.

55. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses approval of the resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee at its recent meeting held at Bombay and lays special stress on the wisdom shown by the Committee in recommending postponement of Satyagraha. It, however, disapproves of that part of the resolution of the Committee which empowers any Provincial Congress Committee to adopt Satyagraha in its own Province, if the need for it is hardly felt, with the permission of the Working Committee. It is of the opinion that Satyagraha, if at all adopted, should be adopted all over the country simultaneously to make it effective when the time is ripe for it.

Hindusthán (20), 1st and 3rd Aug.

56. We would like to congratulate the All-India Congress Committee on having unanimously resolved to postpone the question of civil disobedience. We are of the opinion that the general public has not yet been enough disciplined to be able to undertake such a tremendous task. The Committee has, however, done well in allowing any Provincial Committee to begin civil disobedience in any province with the approval of the Working Committee if the province is considered ripe for such an undertaking. We feel sure that our political leaders will not advise civil disobedience unless they are confident that it will not involve any breach of the peace. [In a subsequent issue the paper dwells upon the wisdom and foresight displayed by the Congress Committee in passing its resolutions and declares that the general public would be put to a severe test in carrying them out.]

Comments on the violence of the mob against Europeans in Karáchi in connection with the sentence passed on Swami Krishnanand.

Young India (12), 4th Aug.

57. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" Though I have not read the papers regarding the stoning of Europeans in Karáchi by a crowd that was incensed against the imprisonment of Swami Krishnanand, from what I have heard through friends from Sind I must confess that those who threw stones have done a disservice to the sacred cause they had at heart. They have also shown little honour to the Swami by breaking the pledge of non-violence. The Swami is undoubtedly a popular and fearless worker. He had been producing by organised picketing a marked impression on the receipts of the liquor-dealers. I hear too that he was falsely charged with having assaulted some one. Granting all this, it was the clear duty of the populace to observe perfect self-restraint. It is a most thoughtless thing to assault innocent Europeans, because the police have wrongly prosecuted and a magistrate has wrongly convicted. Incidents such as these make civil disobedience difficult if not impossible. Let the crowd that so misbehaved in Karáchi honour the Swami by boycotting foreign cloth, and by spinning or weaving."

Sind Observer (10), 27th July.

58. "We published a letter from Mr. E. L. Price yesterday as to the disgraceful conduct of some street boys and elderly fools towards himself and some Europeans. The mob was in an infuriated mood on account of the lightning arrest, summary trial, swift punishment and quick despatch of Swami Krishnanand to jail—all taking place within a few hours. We do not want in this note to discuss the policy of the Executive in despatching inconvenient persons to jail in this fashion. But we may say at once that the prestige of the Government is lowered and not enhanced by these lightning strokes which take the people's breath away. The administration of criminal justice in this country with regard to political men is not considered to be above reproach; and a sentence of one year to a man for an alleged assault on a police constable, who is universally respected in Karáchi by the masses for the irreproachability of his character and the service he has rendered to them, cannot make the Government loved by the people. The sentence is most heavy in all conscience; a warning, or a fine or a few days' simple imprisonment would have met the ends of justice. The case had no legs to stand upon and would have been blown into smithereens under able cross-examination...... ... Turning to Mr. Price's complaint we have nothing but utter detestation for the conduct of the men who have insulted him. Non-official European gentlemen have nothing to do with the Swami's arrest and punishment. They are peaceful citizens and it is a shame that they should have been badly treated. We will tell Mr. Price that the riff-raff of a city are not saints in any part of the globe and they no more represent the best mind of India than the Europeans who danced with bare bodies night after night opposite the Elphinston hostel for College boys in Bombay, in spite of vehement protests to the contrary, represent the best mind of European India.......... To try to paint such exhibitions of ill-temper as a crusade against the European population is doing injustice to the citizens of Karáchi. Let the law deal with these men and boys suitably but justly."

Hitechhu (66), 31st July.

59. The authorities have sentenced Swami Krishnanand who was the leader of the picketing movement in Karáchi to one year's hard labour. The intention of the authorities in doing this is evident. As the authorities saw that the picketing movement was proving very effective and as they could find no other means of stopping it, they caught hold of the leader of the movement. But to prevent the Swami from taking part in the temperance movement is not the only object of this sentence. Besides this, they apparently wanted to overawe the people by an exhibition of their strength and thus to crush this movement as well as to nip in the bud any other which may begin. Thus the authorities seem to have found out a very easy way to crush the temperance movement and at the same time getting the Swami out of the way. But we are sure that they have failed in their object. On the contrary the temperance movement is going on more vigorously. But this is only the immediate result of it. There are other far-reaching results and the most important of them is that the people have lost confidence in the British administration. Is there any wonder if the harassed people look upon the sentence passed upon the Swami as the murder of justice?

Comments on the excesses of the mob in Bombay in connection with the wearing of *khadi* and the antipathy of certain Europeans towards the Gandhi cap.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 4th Aug., Eng. cols.

60. "The accounts of the excesses committed by the mob on the one hand—the Pársis come in for rough handling, their heavy contributions to the *swaráj* funds notwithstanding—and the resentment displayed by certain Englishmen at what is known as the Gandhi cap......... are fraught with much more serious possibilities. Whether or not his followers believe it and whether they place into loyal practice the teaching of non-violence, the world surrounding notes the importance to uphold non-violence that underlies the aim of the mighty Swadeshi movement. From the legal standpoint the agitation is unexceptionable. From the political point of view, despite the plausible arguments of some of our friends and the *Times of India*, the case of Swadeshi seems unanswerable.......... Hence it is difficult to speak with restraint when we notice the intolerance displayed by certain heads and managers of local European offices towards their clerks who choose to dress themselves in a manner convenient to themselves...... ... Will the Englishmen in this country realise that the cause of Swadeshi does not rest on idle fantasy ?......... The few unbalanced or querrulous Englishmen who fall foul of their subordinates are doing an incalculable harm to the Imperial cause. They show that they have yet to learn that the most effective impetus is imparted to a disagreeable movement by opposing it half-heartedly. The wise men of old have laid it down that it is worse than futile to enter upon hostilities where the chances of success are small or evenly balanced. The Swadeshi movement has now acquired a momentum which very few things indeed can arrest. The insensate opposition of the heads of a firm here or of a firm there will act like the sprinkling of water in a blazing fire. It will have the effect of kindling the flame brighter and hotter.

The Thána District Local Board and picketing of liquor-shops.
Praja Bandhu (28), 31st July, Eng. cols.; *Hind Mitra* (18), 31st July.

61. "One more local body has entered the list and crossed swords with Government. The Commissioner, N. D., has confirmed the order of the Collector directing the execution of the Thána District Local Board's Resolution regarding drink traffic to be held in abeyance, and that Board has again resolved to immediately engage a paid staff to preach the evils of drink, to negotiate with licensees, etc., and after a fortnight to organize and conduct picketing whatever the orders of Government may be. This is a bold and spirited stand against an 'unjust, arbitrary and high-handed' order of Government. The shibboleths of 'peace and order' have too long stifled the rights and privileges of the people. But now before their awakened consciouness of political power the choicest weapons from the bureaucratic armoury must prove futile. The experience of Ahmedabad, Nadiád and Surat Municipalities has not yet proved enough, that the Thána District Local Board is defied. A few more such acts of defiance, and the hollowness of bureaucratic rattle and the growing strength of an awakened nation will be felt beyond the shadow of a doubt within the pale of practical politics. [The *Hind Mitra* declares that the Thána District Local Board has set an excellent example to the local self-government bodies not only in this Presidency but in the whole of India. It adds :—The powers of Government are no doubt wide. But it is a question whether they can exercise their power against a movement for the stamping out of a vice which destroys body and soul which is strongly supported by the people. It is clear that if Government do not act with prudence and foresight, the consequences will be very unfortunate. We are eagerly waiting to see the other Municipalities and Local Boards courageously following the example set by the Thána District Local Board.]

Appeal to Government to cancel the unjust orders of District Magistrates against peaceful picketing.
Mahrátta (7), 7th Aug.

*62. "We hold with the All-India Congress Committee that peaceful picketing of the liquor-shops should continue, in spite of any intereference from any quarters. The District Magistrate of Thána has by a general order under section 144 put all picketing under an official ban and the matters are coming to ahead in that district.......... The sky is overcast with darkest clouds and before they burst we would request the responsible authorities to ward it off by cancelling all these unjust orders against peaceful picketing."

Indian patriots will have to suffer much during the next two months.
Lokasangraha (116), 4th Aug.

63. A general survey of the policy pursued by the bureaucracy since the Punjáb atrocities will convince an impartial observer that that body has now become vindictive and overbearing. The bureaucracy may proclaim that the reforms have ushered in a new era but our experience does not support this claim. Instead of atoning for their sin of slaughtering the people in the Punjáb like sheep and dishonouring their womenfolk, they are busy

abusing the provisions of the law. They do not at all hesitate to re-enact the scenes at the Jallianwalla Bagh. What is the duty of the people at this time? They must not blench but should face even death if necessary. *Swarájya* is such a precious thing that patriots should not hesitate even to sacrifice their lives for it. India has unfurled the banner of *swarájya.* Our opponents too are trying their level best to bring about our discomfiture. In the next two months we have to devote our attention to the drink evil and the boycott of foreign cloth. The authorities are trying to kill the temperance movement although it is perfectly legitimate. Volunteers will have to undergo much suffering while engaged in this movement. But success will be attained through this very suffering. The sufferings of innocent people always undermine the foundation of oppressive rule. The Collector of Thána has made a wrong use of section 144 in prohibiting picketing. It is very likely that the other Collectors also may follow his example. All temperance workers, therefore, should unite in trying to compel the Collector to cancel his order. People should disobey this order; otherwise, there is no knowing to what lengths the officials will go. The time is come when people should peacefully ignore the orders of the authorities. What will they do? Nothing beyond sending us to jail. It does not matter. We should bear in mind that our sufferings in jail will help to nurture the plant of *swarájya.*

Comments on the arrest of certain leaders of Andhra.

Young India (12), 4th Aug.

64. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" After all Konda Venkatappaya and his barrister and vakil friends have been arrested.......... I believe Konda Venkatappaya to be the pride of Andhra. He woke up in that great country when every one else was asleep. He has great strength of character. He has accepted non-violence as his creed and he is fully living up to it. With so many others he has for years dedicated himself to the service of the country. And when he is arrested, to me it is the surest sign of the complete insanity of the Government. It is also a sign to me of victory hastening to us. Only, the Andhra friends must remain calm and unperturbed. They are a brave and spiritually minded people. They have dogged pertinacity. They have a fine body of workers. And they can give a good account of themselves during these few months of strenuous work. They can best honour the imprisoned leaders by becoming leaders themselves and organising Swadeshi. They must discard foreign cloth.......... Let every Andhra man and woman be engaged in this great work during the next two months, no matter what happens to whom. Imprisonment of the best of us ought not to arrest the progress of our work; it should on the contrary add to our speed."

How Government is suppressing other public movements besides picketing.

Kesari (111), 2nd Aug.

65. The District Local Board of Thána had, in spite of the objection taken by the Collector, determined to launch the picketing campaign against liquor-shops, after waiting for a fortnight. But in the meantime the Collector has, by the use of the all-pervading section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, proceeded to prohibit picketing altogether. Now it is to be seen what the Local Board proposes to do. In the first place our local self-government bodies are generally timorous and ever obedient to the bureaucracy, and if any one of them like the Thána District Local Board comes forward courageously to help in the anti-drink movement, Government's order under the above section is launched against it to bring its operations to a standstill. It is necessary that the question whether the District Magistrate can issue such an order under the section should be got decided once for all and it is hoped that the Thána District Board will take up the matter in earnest. Government is still avoiding to answer the question whether it considers picketing as illegal. Whenever asked, it only says that picketing has to be stopped when there is likelihood of breach of the peace and declares that it sympathises with all steps for the advancement of temperance when they do not interfere with individual liberty or lead to a breach of the peace. This verbal sympathy of Government is all useless. Where picketing is to take place through a public body like the Thána District Board, the time has

certainly arrived for disobeying illegal orders of Government with the permission of the Congress Working Committee. So much for picketing. There is of course no room for breach of the peace in starting Congress Committees and enrolling members for them. But the bureaucracy is going to interfere with that too, and in the Dhárwár Táluka, twenty-one members of the Village Congress Committee and the Khilafat Committee of the village of Bettigeri have been served with notices to show cause why they should not furnish securities under section 107 of the Criminal Procedure Code! Government apparently sees breach of the peace in starting such Committees. It, however, fails to see anything wrong in the indecent *tamashas* of the Satyashodhaka or in their attempts to extort money from the Brahmins. All this shows to what extent the judgment of the bureaucracy has become distorted.

How Indian soldiers and civil officials help Government in their campaign of repression.

Young India (12), 4th Aug.

66. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"Bureaucracy does not mean Englishmen merely; it also means thousands of Indians trained by them. It is a vicious system which taints all who belong to it. And so it has come about that now the Indian soldier and the Indian Civilian are being used more and more for advancing the system. Who are the men at the back of the Guntur arrests? Indians. Who gave the order to fire in Matiári? An Indian. Who charged the poor labourers of Assam? Indians. Who conducted the mock trial of Maulana Sherwani? An Indian. The Gurkhas who charged had not the courage to disobey the orders to assault innocent men and women. The Indian officers and magistrates in various places have not the courage to refuse to punish or shoot innocent men. Our demoralisation is complete when we become willing tools in the hands of the tyrant. I should not at all be surprised if we find that the next Jallianwala is organised and worked under Indian guidance. And it would go down to posterity as training in *swaráj*! The profession of a soldier or a judge cannot be an honourable calling under a system of government that is designed to keep millions of men under subjection as long as possible. But we must put up with the tyranny of our own kith and kin as we do with that of the foreigner. Let us not weakly imagine that we may frighten them into giving up their 'job'. They will do so only when they are tired of it, never by our making their life intolerable. We must challenge them to do the worst even as we challenge the English official or officer. As a matter of fact they can only be pitied. And being irresponsible they are more likely to make fatal blunders than an English official. The latter often imposes upon himself a restraint which his consciousness of being a member of the ruling face requires, whereas the Indian runs at the most the risk of losing his post. The repression now assuming definite shape in our land is therefore of a far more dangerous type than hitherto. We must be prepared to face it patiently and fearlessly."

Mr. Gandhi's views on civil disobedience.

Young India (12), 4th Aug.

67. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—"Civil disobedience was on the lips of every one of the members of the All-India Congress Committee. Not having really ever tried it, every one appeared to be enamoured of it from a mistaken belief in it as a sovereign remedy for our present-day ills. I feel sure that it can be made such if we can produce the necessary atmosphere for it. For individuals there always is that atmosphere except when their civil disobedience is certain to lead to bloodshed. I discovered this exception during the Satyagraha days. But even so a call may come which one dare not neglect, cost it what it may. I can clearly see the time coming to me when I must refuse obedience to every single state-made law, even though there may be a certainty of bloodshed. When neglect of the call means a denial of God, civil disobedience becomes a peremptory duty. Mass civil disobedience stands on a different footing. It can only be tried in a calm atmosphere. It must be the calmness of strength not weakness, of knowledge not ignorance.......... It is sufficient in mass civil disobedience if the resisters understand the working of the doctrine. We must dismiss the idea of overawing the Government by huge demonstrations every time some one is arrested. On

the contrary we must treat arrest as the normal condition of the life of a non-co-operator.......... We expect to bear down the opposition of the Government by courting and not by avoiding imprisonment, even though it be by showing our supposed readiness to be arrested and imprisoned *en masse.* Civil disobedience then emphatically means our desire to surrender to a single unarmed policeman. Our triumph consists in thousands being led to the prisons like lambs to the slaughter house.......... Our triumph consists again in being imprisoned for no wrong whatsoever. The greater our innocence, the greater our strength and the swifter our victory. As it is, this Government is cowardly, we are afraid of imprisonment. The Government takes advantage of our fear of gaols. If only our men and women welcome gaols as health-resorts, we will cease to worry about the dear ones put in gaols which our countrymen in South Africa used to nickname His Majesty's Hotels. We have too long been mentally disobedient to the laws of the State and have too often surreptitiously evaded them, to be fit all of a sudden for civil disobedience. Disobedience to be civil has to be open and non-violent. Complete civil disobedience is a state of peaceful rebellion—a refusal to obey every single state-made law. It is certainly more dangerous than an armed rebellion. For it can never be put down if the civil resisters are prepared to face extreme hardships. It is based upon an implicit belief in the absolute efficiency of innocent suffering. By noiselessly going to prison a civil resister ensures a calm atmosphere. The wrong-doer wearies of wrong-doing in the absence of resistance......... A full grasp of the conditions of successful civil resistance is necessary at least on the part of the representatives of the people before we can launch out on an enterprise of such magnitude......... It is my firm conviction that if we bring about a successful boycott of foreign cloth, we shall have produced an atmosphere that would enable us to inaugurate civil-disobedience on a scale that no Government can resist. I would therefore urge patience and determined concentration on Swadeshi upon those who are impatient to embark on mass civil disobedience."

The country must be prepared for Satyagraha.
Hindu (158), 23rd July.

68. Some people say that the country is not yet ready for Satyagraha Well, we do not say that it is quite ready just now. But there are two months yet, August and September, during which, along with the boycott of foreign cloth, we shall train the country for Satyagraha. And it is not by preaching but by example that people are trained for self-sacrifice. The sacrifice so far made by the country shows that it is ready for yet more. Hence we should proceed onwards and start Satyagraha. We are an oppressed people, but our cause is just and God is our supporter, and therefore we feel confident of success.

Protest against the intention of non-co-operators to picket toddy-shops.
Jám-e-Jámshed (22), 3rd Aug.

69. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has declared that if the toddy-license-holders renew their licenses for the next year, the non-co-operators will begin to picket the toddy-shops also. This is one more proof of the non-violent nature of the movement! Is this not an open threat to the toddy-license-holders? In spite of the arguments of Mr. B. F. Bharucha against the use of toddy, we say that fresh and pure toddy is not only an innocent drink but that it also is an article of food to the poor village people. The Bombay Temperance Council is of the same opinion. The non-co-operators will not believe in this because they want anyhow to keep up their agitation.

Boycott of foreign cloth.
Gujaráti (15), 31st July.

70. Only a hundred years ago not only did India produce cloth to meet its own requirements but exported its yarn and cloth to foreign countries. Representatives of the East India Company used to discourage or even kill Indian industries with a view to finding a market for British goods and even today we find among our administrators some who follow the example of the officials of the East India Company. History loudly proclaims that the East India Company almost killed the cloth industry of India in the course of its administration. India's political dependence led to its complete dependence in the matter of its trade and industries. The Indian people are, therefore, agitating for the removal of these fetters of bondage. Indians have lost their all. They do not possess arms nor are they versed in the arts of warfare! But in the words of Mr. Gandhi India still possesses its own soul and can, therefore, regain its lost glory. In short Mr. Gandhi wants people to dispel the glamour of luxuries and to boycott foreign goods with a view to effect their own regeneration. No one can refuse to accept Mr. Gandhi's advice. People are not afraid to make the huge sacrifices that are expected of them, but they should be made to realise fully the magnitude of the sacrifices they have to make. Those who are ruling India at present know the Indian situation full well and the people on their part should be made to realise that they will have to make very strenuous efforts for realising their ideal of Swadeshi. We know full well that no Indian went about naked when our cloth industry was not extinct, and the object of the Swadeshi movement is to re-establish the old order of things in the matter of our clothing. Even if we secure *swarāj*, whether within the British Empire or without it, it should be our ideal to break the bonds of our dependence on foreign countries in the matter of cloth and yarn. We feel sure that if the Indians persist in the Swadeshi movement, a day will dawn when India will not import a single pound of cloth or yarn from Manchester. We believe such a state of affairs is possible within the course of ten years.

Gramya Swarājya (63), 2nd Aug.

71. Mr. Gandhi has declared that all foreign cloth should be burnt on the 1st of August. Mr. V. J. Patel has published a statement in which he has disapproved of this. There was a time when Mr. Gandhi was strongly opposed to the word "boycott". It does not matter if, owing to change of circumstances, he has to advise in favour of boycott; but we do not approve of his advice to burn foreign cloth which will cause a loss of crores of rupees to the Indian people. Why does Mr. Gandhi remain stubborn in spite of the fact that his intimate friends are opposed to the burning of foreign cloth? We think that the people will not approve such movement if it is organized in the name of non-co-operation.

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 31st July; *Akhbār-e-Islām* (54), 4th Aug.

72. Mr. Gandhi has been advising the people to burn foreign cloth and has threatened the cloth merchants that he would institute picketing near their shops if they were to sell foreign cloth. The suggestion made by Mr. Gandhi for the destruction of foreign cloth is likely to place the cloth merchants in an awkward position. No sane man will ever consent to the burning of cloth worth crores of rupees and thus ruin the trade of India. [The *Akhbār-e-Islām* declares that Mr. Gandhi has been guilty of unpardonable sin in setting fire to a heap of foreign cloth in Bombay on Sunday last.]

Praja Mitra and Pārsi (29), 1st Aug., Eng. cols.

73. Referring to the bonfire of foreign clothes in Bombay, the *Praja Mitra and Pārsi* writes:—"Mr. Gandhi, of course, means it to be a symbol. It is to be symbolical of the nation's desire and determination to achieve freedom by an act of supreme sacrifice.......... It is possible to take this bonfire symbolically, in a different and sinister sense. It may be taken as emblematic of a spirit of hatred and hostility against all foreign peoples, especially the British. We are afraid that some at least of those who assist at these patriotic blazes, in white *khadi*, are actuated by a black spite. If the blaze is to be such a sinister symbol of race-hatred and bigotry, one would rather have it to be an idle show without meaning or purpose. Hatred is only answered by hatred; and if the result of the awakening of India to-day is to kindle of burning flame of hatred and enmity against foreigners, it will lead to the kindling of an answering flame in other breasts. The end of it will be mutual destruction.......... We are as keen as anybody to see India freed from the foreign dependence. But it is not by acts of fanatical destruction and narrow bigotry that that consummation will be achieved. Nor is the milennium likely to come by the exchange of the black cap for the white. Bonfires, demonstrations, monster meetings, clapping of hands and waving of flags are all very well. They have their uses. But their danger is that people are led to believe that patriotic service consists in the exactment of these sights and shows."

Lokasangraha (116), 5th Aug.

74. It is indeed a matter for satisfaction that the Swadeshi movement is associated with boycott. If we can bring the non-co-operation movement within the pale of practical politics we can make it so very powerful that the bureaucracy will quail before it. It is the sacred duty of every Indian to join in the Swadeshi-boycott movement. Every one should take a vow that he would use not only Swadeshi cloth but other articles also that are manufactured in this country, and that he would not even touch English cloth so long as India is denied *swarájya.* It appears somewhat difficult to bring about a complete boycott during the period of two months, but there is no reason why we should not try to spread the movement as widely as possible. It will attain considerable success if all the provinces adopt it simultaneously. In our opinion we should not make any difference between *khadi* and Indian mill-made cloth at least for two months. However, we should not fail to differentiate between mills owned by our people and those owned by others. We should not look upon Swadeshi as a purely economic movement but should also wield it as a political weapon.

Ganhi cap in public offices.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 5th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 3rd Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 6th Aug.

75. We are of opinion that the orders which have been issued in certain Government offices and private European firms regarding the Gandhi cap are improper. We approve of the views and policy of Sir George Lloyd, as expressed in a reply given by him to the address presented to him by the Mahráttas of the Sátára District, to the effect that the policy of Government has been, and will continue to be, to remain neutral regarding all controversial matters. We welcome the sensible attitude of Mr. Clayton, the Municipal Commissioner of Bombay, regarding this matter. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* makes similar remarks and adds:—We protest against the attitude of some Government officials and European merchants regarding the wearing of the Gandhi cap by their subordinates. We would tell them that they have no right to meddle with the question of the dress of their employees. We request Government to give them proper advice in this matter. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* also disapproves of the antipathy shown by certain Europeans against the Gandhi caps. It advises the various provincial Governments to issue a confidential circular in order to remove from the minds of Government officials their dislike towards the Gandhi cap.

The Swadeshi movement already giving room for fraud.

Indu Prakásh (44), 5th Aug.

76. The *Indu Prakásh* commenting on the Swadeshi and boycott movement declares that it is already giving room for fraud being practised on Swadeshi enthusiasts as Japanese *khadi* and England-made Gandhi caps have already invaded the market. It expresses regret that Mr. Gandhi has made light about the matter when brought to his notice and declares that if this is allowed to go on, it will not at all help in the cause of India's uplift.

Public meeting at Bombay on the Tilak anniversary.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 2nd Aug.

77. Never in the history of Bombay was there held such a monster public meeting as the one witnessed yesterday on the sands of Chowpati in celebration of the anniversary of Mr. Tilak. The young as well as the old want *swaráj* as early as possible and they would not like to wait for tomorrow if the fetters of bondage can be broken to-day. O! what enthusiasm was to be seen among the people! What wonderful public spirit! What eagerness was manifested for securing *swaráj*! How people's hearts were throbbing with patriotism! The citizens of Bombay have repayed their obligations to Mr. Tilak by observing his first death anniversary after making a huge bonfire of foreign articles of clothing. All those who have discarded foreign clothes

and donned Gandhi caps should now take a vow never to use foreign cloth all their lives. We would like to congratulate Bombay on the splendid manner in which its citizens have celebrated Mr. Tilak's anniversary. Let us hope the lead Bombay has taken in the matter will prove beneficial to the country and will hasten its progress towards *swaráj*.

Model (26), 31st July; *Broach Mitra* (58), 31st July; *Káthiáwár Times*; (25), 31st July.

78. The *Model* dwells on the services rendered to the country by the late Mr. Tilak and writes:—The first anniversary of Mr. Tilak's death is to be observed on the sands of Chowpati on the 1st of August and we hope many Parsi ladies and gentlemen will show their patriotism by presenting themselves at the meeting in Swadeshi garments and destroying foreign clothes in their possession in the bonfire that is to be lit there. Let us hope all the people that will be present at the public meeting will take the vow of Swadeshi and boycott. [The *Broach Mitra* exhorts the people to take the Swadeshi and boycott vow on the anniversary of Tilak if they want to secure *swaráj*. The *Káthiáwár Times* expresses itself in full sympathy with the Swadeshi movement but does not think that any good purpose will be served by making a bonfire of foreign clothes.]

Gujaráti (15), 7th Aug., Eng. cols.

***79.** "As might have been expected, all kinds of praises were showered upon the late Mr. Tilak at the various meetings that were held in this city and elsewhere on the 1st of August to celebrate his anniversary. Swadeshi is the cry of the day and naturally his efforts to promote the Swadeshi cause were mentioned in terms of high commendation by various speakers. But it escaped their notice that Mr. Tilak never wore Swadeshi clothes as defined by Mr. Gandhi, *i.e.*, hand-spun and hand-woven clothes, and that hundreds of other people also were Swadeshists in the sense in which he was. It should be further borne in mind that he did not use Swadeshi paper for printing the *Kesari* and when he was challenged to justify his conduct, his defence was that its subscribers would have to pay more!......... But when a powerful wave of Swadeshism is overflowing Bombay, it will not be amiss to give due credit to the Indian mill-owners for the service they have done by keeping the mill industry in Indian hands, and to remind the Swadeshi enthusiasts that their doctrines and praises are one-sided and do not touch the real core of the economic problem of modern India which can only be solved with better and surer chances of abiding success by modern methods and not by going back to primitive times. Temporary stoppage of or decline in the imports of textile fabrics is no proof that the Swadeshi problem has been solved with any degree of permanence or that it will bestow *swaráj* on India by the end of September. Already there are reports that the Japanese have imported or intend importing *khadi* and at the very height of the celebrations of Mr. Tilak's anniversary in this very city itself, caps were being sold by hundreds which were not made of *khadi* or Swadeshi material at all! We leave it to our readers to imagine what fraudulent practices will be resorted to and what profiteering there will be in various parts of a vast country like India and that too with absolute immunity, when there is no sufficient supply of *khadi* to meet the growing demand."

Alleged indifference of Mr. Gandhi to the boycott of Government schools.

Hindusthán (21), 30th July.

80. Mr. Gandhi, at the anniversary of Mr. Tilak observed at Poona, declared that he was indifferent to the boycott of schools. We now find that boys instead of leaving Government schools to join national schools leave the latter to join the former. It, therefore, seems that people consider Government schools superior to national schools. The bias of the people towards Government schools may be due to education having been made a transferred subject and their conviction that they would one day be able to secure from Government the kind of education they want. We are glad that Mr. Gandhi is not now very keen on the boycott of schools and hope that he will not open any more national schools and devote his energies towards improving the education that is being imparted in the existing national schools.

Mr. Stokes' plea for obeying Mr. Gandhi as a dictator.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 7th Aug.

***81.** Referring to Mr. Stokes' plea for obeying Mr. Gandhi as a dictator for carrying out the programme of non-co-operation, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"We need scarcely say that we have much respect for the Mahatma's social and personal principles but we have not been able to understand what exactly he has in view as his immediate objective. Now it is one thing and now it is another; and many who have a sincere respect for his personality are merely bewildered by the kaleidoscopic variations of his programme. Apart from all this, the curse of man-workship has lain heavily upon India and we cannot but look with grave disapproval upon any proposal to perpetuate it in a political garb. No, with the best regard for Mr. Stokes, we cannot but think that his advice is ill-calculated to lead to the great end of Indian emancipation in which he is genuinely interested. We cannot resign our right of reason in the Mahatma's or any one else's hands. We must prove all things and hold fast only that which is good."

Slave mentality growing among the followers of Mr. Gandhi.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 4th Aug.

82. The *Dnyán Prakásh* while discussing some of the resolutions passed at the recent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay declares that Mr. Gandhi rules the deliberations of the Committee according to his own whims and that the slave mentality has been growing among his followers. In its opinion, after a man once gets into Mr. Gandhi clutches it becomes extremely difficult for him to extricate himself.

Protest against the resolution adopted by the British Medical Council.

Sind Vasi (167), 21st July.

83. The British Medical Council has resolved that in future no Indian Medical Graduates should be registered in England. Now without registration no graduate can join any College in England or practise there. This resolution therefore means that Indians wishing to compete for the I. M. S. must leave India at an early age and take the entire medical course in England. It is a shame for the Medical Council to have passed this resolution, at a time when the question of India being given the same rights as are enjoyed by other parts of the Empire, is being seriously considered. Is it fair that this restriction should be put on Indians, when they labour under a great disadvantage already, in that their Indian degrees alone cannot secure them the Civil Surgeon's post? We suppose there will be protests all over the country. If the Viceroy and the Secretary of State have any sense about them they should at once put a stop to this action of the British Medical Council, else there will be a lot of agitation and bad feeling in the country. The Lahore Medical Graduates have also resolved that the I. M. S. examination should in future be held in India. The whole of India will endorse this view. When the I. C. S. examination is going to be held here, there appears to be no reason in not holding this examination also in India.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 7th Aug.

***84.** "There is no reason why India should not have a Medical Council of her own, instead of being tied to the apron strings of the British Medical Council which, of late years, has ignored the larger interests of medical education in India in its anxiety to bolster up the claims to preferential treatment of British members of the Indian Medical Service. Meanwhile we hope that the Government of India will be able to persuade the Council of the wisdom of paying due regard to Indian conditions in its laudable zeal for improving the standard of our medical education and its reprehensible zeal to make use of every pretext to place Indians at a disadvantage as compared with Englishmen in the Indian Medical Service."

Comments on the report of the Income Tax Committee.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Aug.

85. "The summary of the report of this body issued through the Associated Press gives rise to some serious reflections. Whether it was that their terms of reference confined their investigation to an unduly narrow sphere, or whether it was that the committee have themselves adopted an unusually restricted interpretation, the fact remains that they have ignored the most important problem of income tax administration in India. There is a slight reference to the variety of systems of account-keeping which renders it inexpedient to insist upon uniform books of account. But if the committee intend this as an excuse or explanation for the notorious evasions of this tax by the trading community, particularly by brokers and jobbers in such highly speculative branches as shares and stock, cotton and silver and gold—they might as well have recommended the bodily abandonment of the income tax. For, while in theory this is, perhaps, the one item in the Indian tax system which might require unqualified commendation, in theory it results in grave injustice owing to those best able to bear the burden escaping its incidence almost altogether.......... The other great problem in this connection is also merely glanced at—and that, too, obliquely—by the committee. In regard to the assessment on non-resident partners, the committee would empower the Collector to call upon the resident partner to pay super tax on the share of profits credited to the non-resident partner. But they 'do not consider it feasible to insert any provision requiring any such resident partner. . . . to get from the non-resident partner a statement of any other income that may accrue to him.' But here they entrench upon the very grave problem of double income tax within the Empire. We had expected the committee to give us some illuminating suggestion on this extremely knotty point in income tax legislation. We were afraid the Government of India, in this instance as in many others, would find their hands forced by the unanswerable logic of *fait accompli* by the passage of Imperial Legislation in the British Parliament. In both cases our worst apprehensions seem to have been realised."

The Imperial Conference and the position of Indians domiciled in the Colonies.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Aug.

86. "The public of this country will protest emphatically against the attempts on the part either of Mr. Sastri and the Maharao of Cutch or the Secretary of State and the Government of India to patch up any so-called compromise with the Dominion Ministers, behind the back of the people of India, on the subject of the position of Indians domiciled in the Empire. The deliberations of the Imperial Conference having been conducted in camera and the information vouchsafed to the public of India on the subject so far being of a most meagre and unsatisfactory character, it would be a travesty of justice to bind down the people of India to any 'compromise' without disclosing to them the terms thereof and without ascertaining their views on the subject. No compromise can be fair and legitimate which is not submitted first for public discussion in this country and is not acceptable to the public and the legislative chambers. We hope that neither Mr. Sastri and his colleague nor the Secretary of State have any misgivings on this subject and that all of them realise the necessity of ascertaining the views of the Indian public before sealing any compact with the Dominions in a matter which vitally concerns them and about which they are already so much exercised."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Bombay Government's letter to the Matriculation and School Leaving Examination Joint Board about the medium of instruction.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 7th Aug.

***87.** Referring to Government's letter to the School Leaving Examination Joint Board about the medium of examination, the *Indian Social Reformer* remarks:—"There can, in our opinion, be no question that the knowledge of English of the student must suffer by the adoption of the vernaculars as the media of instruction and examination. The non-co-operationists boldly face this situation by saying that they would be glad if Indian students unlearn all the English they have. But the University, which must continue to have English as its medium of instruction, cannot do so, though Government seem to contemplate even the University being vernacularised as not a very remote probability. The suggestion of Government that the deficiency in English can be made up in the two intermediate classes, is calculated to hamper these classes in their work of preparing undergraduates for their degree courses. It also overlooks the universal experience that proficiency in a language is more easily acquired in our earlier than in our later years. To English education is due all the new life that we see around us. In our view, the wholesale vernacularisation of education at this stage cannot but have the effect of depriving the backward classes of the vivifying influences that have brought the higher castes to their present position."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 6th Aug.

88. Commenting upon the letter addressed by Government to the Joint Examination Board in the matter of making the vernaculars the medium of instruction in High Schools, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes:—The letter manifests an anxiety on the part of Government to respect public opinion. There is a great deal of truth in the assertion made in certain quarters that the imparting of education through the medium of English is a great blow to the patriotic feelings of the people and that students find it difficult to understand the subjects taught to them through the medium of English. But we must take into consideration the fact that India, nay, even each single Presidency, has a number of vernaculars and so the question of making the vernaculars the media of instruction is fraught with difficulties. Maráthi, Gujaráti, Urdu, Sindhi and Kánarese are the vernaculars of this Presidency and if the different communities are made to receive instruction through the vernaculars they use, will it not be tantamount to creating obstacles in the way of the formation of an Indian Nation? We are inclined to think that the grant of *swarάj* to India will be delayed if education is imparted through the medium of the vernaculars. Besides, if students are allowed the option of answering question papers in the vernaculars, we fear no uniformity will be maintained in the standard of examination. Now that Government favour the idea of making vernaculars the media of instruction in High Schools some visionaries will press Government to advance the concession to colleges and thereby create an obstacle to the formation of an united Indian nation.

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 7th Aug., Eng. cols.

***89.** "An interesting and rather amusing letter addressed by Government to the Joint Examination Board has recently been published as a press note. We call it rather amusing because it shows how time and circumstances can work wonderful changes in the ideas of even the most conservative people.......... Nowadays when the cry is all for national education, it is but natural that even a conservative body like the Indian Educational Service should feel the necessity of making a change in some of its antiquated methods and notions. A time there was when most of the officers of the I.E.S. were strongly in favour of English as the only feasible medium of instruction in secondary schools.......... God be thanked that the Direct Method fad, together with all its absurdities and incongruities, is at last going to be consigned to the limbo of forgotten things! Both the secondary school-teacher and his pupil will breathe a sigh of relief at the welcome news. There are several difficulties in the way of making the vernaculars the media of instruction, but these are not insuperable. The first difficulty is that of providing suitable text-books, especially for teaching subjects like Mathematics and Science. The vocabulary of our vernaculars is very deficient in technical terms. This difficulty can however be obviated by using the corresponding English terms where suitable vernacular terms are not available.......... The Indian school-boy will have no more to wrestle with the meanings of words and phrases when he ought to be storing his mind with facts and ideas.......... In allowing the vernaculars to be freely used as the media of instruction—it being understood that there will be no compulsion at all in the matter—Government will be making a bold innovation in the educational policy they have hitherto pursued. There will be all sorts of difficulties to be contended with; but considering the benefits that will be eventually derived, these ought not to be allowed to stand in the way. Let it be clearly understood, however, that English is by no means to be relegated to a back place in the school curriculum.......... Whilst we advocate the use of the vernaculars as the media of instruction in secondary schools, we are at the same time anxious that the pupils' knowledge of English should not at all deteriorate. If the experiment is judiciously carried out there is no reason why such should be the case."

NATIVE STATES.

Complaints against the Chief of Aundh.

Vijayi Marátha (149), 30th July.

90. Mr. Ramji Ganuji Patel Mane of Zarzundi in the Aundh State writes:—The Chief of Aundh who is a learned Brahmin brags about the good administration of his State. His actions, however, do not agree with his professions. Though it is now two years since I applied for assistance against my tenants who have failed to deliver to me the produce of my land situated in the State, nothing has yet been done in the matter. Similarly though civil appeals have been filed five or six years ago in the Chief's court, even notices have not yet been issued and the parties are thus being put to loss for nothing. The Chief's way of helping the famine stricken in his State is by starting a fund and making all the State servants contribute to it one or two months' pay! Such are the ways of *swarájya* here. Let the reader think out for himself which of the two is better, *swarájya* like this or foreign Government!

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 12th August 1921.

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:

- Comments on Government replies to certain interpellations in the— . . . 26
- Comments on the Primary Education Committee appointed by Government . . . 24 & 25
- Comments on the shooting incident at Dhárwár . . . 28
- Liquor prohibition in the— . . . 27
- The subject of women's franchise in the— . . . 23

British Rule:

- Alleged high-handedness of a Punjáb Deputy Commissioner . . . 88
- Comments on Mr. Moysey's speech as President of the Sátára League of Peace . . . 76
- Comments on the committee appointed by the Bombay Government to inquire into the Matiári shooting incident . . . 82
- Comments on the Government of India's letter to the local governments regarding compensation to labourers for injuries received . . . 72
- Comments on the Matiári shooting incident . . . 83—85
- Comments on the report on deaths due to wild beasts and snakes in the Bombay Presidency for the year 1920 . . . 73
- Comments on the unconditional release of McKeown by the British Government . . . 74
- Government and the non-Brahmins in the Presidency . . . 77
- Heavy loss caused at Mahád (Kolába) by the recent floods . . . 87
- Hollowness of the fears of an Afghan invasion . . . 81
- How Government can allay the present discontent . . . 78
- Importance of the Sukkur Barrage for the prosperity of Sind . . . 86
- Manchester and cotton duties . . . 71
- Mavlas of Mulshi determined not to accept Tata Company's terms . . . 75
- Necessity of removing distinctions between Europeans and Indians in Indian law . . . 80
- Neither modification nor repeal of repressive laws will do any good . . . 79

Development of Bombay: The Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the Indian Marchants' Chamber and Bureau . . . 91

Excise:

- Enforcement of drink prohibition in India will lead to a decrease in criminality . . . 68
- Liquor shop-keepers ought to be compensated for the loss incurred by them . . . 67

PARAGRAPHS

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Excise—*concld.*

- Suggestion for a deputation to the United States to study how prohibition works there 70
- Thána District Local Board and picketing of liquor-shops . . . 69

Forest: Comments on the report on the administration of — in the Bombay Presidency for 1919-1920 92

His Excellency the Governor:

- Appreciation of His Excellency the Governor's attitude towards the non-co-operation movement 3
- Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the address of the Karnatak non-Brahmin League . . . . 7—9
- His Excellency the Governor of Bombay at Sátára . . . . . 4 & 5
- His Excellency the Governor's reply to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau . . . . 1 & 2
- His Excellency the Governor should have gone personally to Dhárwár to inquire into the shooting incident 6

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India . . . . 10—12

Indians in the Colonies:

- Comments on the resolution passed at the Imperial Conference regarding India's position in the Empire . . . . 13—18
- General Smuts and the colonisation of East Africa by Indians. . 19 & 20
- How racial inequality prevails throughout the British Empire . . 22
- Mr. Sastri's work in the Imperial Conference 21

Indian Reforms:

- Approval of the work of the new councils done so far 89
- Failure of Diarchy 90

Judicial matters:

- Comments on the Press Note issued by the Commissioner in Sind about Swami Krishnanand . . . . 29 & 30
- Comments on the sentence of imprisonment passed on Swami Krishnanand 31
- Comments on the withdrawal of the changes against two of the accused in the munitions scandal case . . . . 32 & 33
- The Dhárwár Magisterial inquiry 34

Military matters: Comments on the Government of India's announcement regarding the formation of a Territorial Force for India 35

Non-co-operation:

- Advice to Moslems about *Kurbani* on the Bakri-Id 59
- Appeal to non-co-operators not boycott the Matiári Inquiry Committee. 56
- Appeal to Muhammadans not to sacrifice cows on Bakri-Id . . 58
- Appreciation of the cause of Swadeshi 45
- Comments on the Government of India's Press Note regarding the interviews between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy . . . . . 41 & 43
- Comments on the hostility of the United Provinces authorities against the Gandhi cap 52
- Comments on the non-official committees appointed to inquire into disturbances 57
- Comments on the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee . 36—38
- Evil effects of the policy of repression alleged to have been adopted by Government 55
- Exhortations to the Indians to be prepared for greater sacrifices . . 65
- Exhortation to Mussalmans not to celebrate the Tilak anniversary . 51
- Government based on force and terrorization must be destroyed . 63 & 64
- Justification of the burning of foreign clothes . . . . . 47—49
- Mr. Gandhi's justification of the — movement 44

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

Non-co-operation—*concld.*

Protest against the bonfire of foreign cloth at Poona 50
Repression in Sind . . . . 53 & 54
Success of the foreign-cloth boycott movement. 46
The jail is the only place for a self-respecting Indian . . . . . 60 & 61
The Thána District Magistrate's order against picketing . . . 62
Views on civil disobedience . . . . 39 & 40
Young men of India must be prepared to lay down their lives for their oppressed motherland 66

Police : Houses of ill-fame in Bombay City 95

Public Service.

Comments on the Press Note regarding pensions of primary school teachers in the Presidency 93
The two additional posts of District Judges should be conferred on members of the backward classes 94

War :

Appeal to Government to secure a just settlement of the Turkish question 96
Meagreness of the reparations share allotted to India . . . . . 98 & 99
What the victorious advance of the Greeks means to the Turks . . 97

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Mahomed Shafi's reply to the deputation of the Anglo-Indian Educational Conference 100

MUNICIPALITIES—

House collapses in Bombay 101

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged high-handedness in the Dhrángadhra State 102
The non-co-operation movement and the Gwalior State 103

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

His Excellency the Governor's reply to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau regarding Back Bay Reclamation.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 13th Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islam* (54), 13th Aug.

1. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the reply given by His Excellency the Governor to the representations made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau regarding the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and thanks His Excellency for the trouble he has taken to take the people of Bombay fully into his confidence and for promising to publish further details from time to time and to furnish such explanations as may be called for by the public. The paper adds that the explanation given by His Excellency is satisfactory and removes the fears that were entertained with regard to the scheme. [The *Akhbár-e-Islam* remarks that the explanation furnished by His Excellency the Governor in the course of the recent meeting with the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, with regard to the usefulness of the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme, will not fail to educate public opinion in the matter.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 14th Aug., Eng. cols.

*2. "His Excellency Sir George Lloyd showed a keen appreciation of the public's desire for information and still more information regarding the Bombay Development schemes, when he came over from Poona to Bombay to meet the members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau and give them a detailed explanation in person instead of sending a reply in the ordinary official manner. Had His Excellency wished, he could have told Sir Lawless Hepper to send an official reply to the Chamber's inquiries, but such a reply would not have made the good impression which His Excellency's frank and convincing speech must have created. We are glad that the public has thus been taken into confidence as it were, and greater publicity promised for the future.......... Sir George Lloyd produced various arguments, facts and figures to show that the Back Bay scheme was not only necessary but essential, that it was easier than the Sewri reclamation scheme, and that it was financially sound inasmuch as it would provide cheap land, lower rents and thus reduce the standing charges on trade and industry. In the main his arguments were both strong and closely reasoned, and he was able to make out a good case for the scheme. We hope that the Indian Merchants' Chamber and other public bodies will consider these arguments well, and lend all the help and support they can to a project which means so much for the future industrial development of Bombay."

Appreciation of His Excellency the Governor's attitude towards the non. co-operation movement.

Akhbár-e-Islám (54), 11th Aug.

3. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* refers to the warning given by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd to the non-co-operators in a speech at Poona. It remarks that just as His Excellency has not taken any repressive measures as yet against non-co-operators so also the leaders of the movement should return the compliment by conducting their movement in a moderate manner. It is of opinion that this attitude of indifference towards the movement on the part of the Governor and his abstention from repressive measures against it will not only be a noteworthy feature in the history of this country but that it has redounded to the honour of His Excellency. Just as His Excellency trusts the people of this presidency so also, adds the paper, the people should repose the same amount of confidence in his government.

His Excellency the Governor of Bombay at Sátára.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 12th Aug.

4. The *Bombay Samáchár* approves of the admonition given to the Sátára Municipality by His Excellency the Governor in reply to the address presented to him by that Municipality to the effect that they should develop and utilise the resources at their disposal before approaching Government for help to improve their water works. It also approves of the advice given by His Excellency to the District Local Board, Sátára, to keep their roads in good repair and to utilise the funds at their disposal for the purpose. It, however, expresses regret that His Excellency expressed his inability to see his way to spend more than what is already being spent on education and while dwelling upon the necessity of making primary education free and

compulsory, it asks Government to open primary schools in some of the out-of-the-way villages that have to pay the local fund cess.

Kesari (111), 9th Aug.; *Lokasangraha* (116), 6th Aug.

5. The Government of Bombay are not discharging their duty properly in connection with the riotous conduct of the Satya Shodhaks in the Sátára District. The account given by Mr. Moysey in his report under the heading 'Peasants' movement' is most mischievous and some of the statements made therein are absolutely untrue. The Collector writes that hitherto the agriculturists gave to the owners of land two-thirds or three-fourths of the produce and that they now object to give to them more than half of the total yield. But as a matter of fact the practice is to give to the owners two-thirds or one-half of the produce and the agriculturists now want them to be satisfied with only a third part of it. Again, while the Brahmins, Gujars, etc., are subjected to this exaction, the Maratha land-holders are exempted from it. But the complaint is not about the division of the produce at all but about the methods adopted by some people at the instigation of the Satya Shodhaks to enforce their demands. [The paper here refers to the excesses committeed by the Satya Shodhaks at Charangaon and some other villages in the Sátára District and the alleged failure of the Collector to give relief to the aggrieved parties.] Thus Mr. Moysey openly holds a brief for the Satya Shodhaks. But we should like to know whether it is to the interests of Government themselves to allow him to indulge in his present tactics. In their unholy joy at the sufferings inflicted on the non-co-operators and especially the Brahmins they are patting Mr. Moysey on the back. At the Legislative Council Sardar Mutalik had asked pointed questions regarding the excesses committed by the Satya Shodhaks. Instead of giving straightforward replies to them Government suppressed them altogether! We suspect that the spirit of the Satya Shodhak Samaj has possessed not only Mr. Moysey but also the Governor. Otherwise he would not have approved of Mr. Moysey's conduct and shown an eagerness to claim half the share of his sin instead of making independent inquiries into the complaints of the Brahmins. The queer views expressed by him in his reply to the address given by the Marathas are indeed very surprising. This wiseacre who has been supplied with a one-sided account advises the non-Brahmins to restrain their anger even if their opponents make false allegations against them and subject their actions to adverse criticism. It is a fine way of dealing out justice to gag those who complain of being robbed and to espouse the cause of the robbers! We never expected that the Government of Bombay would display partiality to such an extent. We had hoped that the malady had gone only as far as the District authorities and that it would one day be eradicated. But we now find that it has gone right up to the brain and has vitiated reason at its very source. Unless the canker is checked in time it will cause sufferings not only to the Brahmins but will corrupt the whole body politic. [The *Lokasangraha* writes:—The Governor told the Marathas that it was not wise to indulge in mutual recrimination since their interests and those of the other communities were identical. It certainly does not redound to the credit of the Marathas that a stranger like the Governor should have occasion to give them such advice. However, while giving them this advice the charge which he levelled against the supposed opponents of the Marathas is absolutely untrue. The non-Marathas have never opposed the progress of the Marathas nor do they wish to do so now. Does the Governor suppose that to seek redress for wrongs done is to be guilty of misrepresentation of facts? Even the conscience of Sir George Lloyd must be telling him that the Satya Shodhaks practise oppression and are guilty of acts of lawlessness. Otherwise he would not advise them to rely only on peaceful and legitimate means.]

His Excellency the Governor should have gone personally to Dhárwár to inquire into the shooting incident.

Mahrátta (7), 14th Aug.

*6. "His Excellency the Governor of Bombay should have personllay visited Dhárwár instead of entrusting the task to lesser hands. His Excellency went so far as Belgaum and everybody expected that Dhárwár was his destination and Belgaum was but a halting place. Probably His Excellency was satisfied with the superficial inquiry made by Honourable Mr. Hayward and possibly by another inquiry made by Mr. Rushton assisted by Messrs. Shumukhappa and Channapa of the Criminal Investigation Department .... If His Excellency had intended to probe a little deeper, he would have ascertained the truth about the Dhárwár affair. But the attitude of sympathy which marked His Excellency's regime in the beginning no longer seems to be the feature of his later day administration. In this connection we would recall the enthusiasm with which His Excellency's presence was hailed two years ago when he condescended to open the new buildings of the Belgaum Social Club. His Excellency had to content himself this time with an address from the official-ridden Local Board and another from a few pompous nonentities, styling themselves the Karnatik non-Brahman League. It would be better for His Excellency to drive deeper into the Dhárwár affair and to move out of the ordinary rut if he means to do justice to the accused persons in the Dhárwár riot case, who, in the opinion of independent and unprejudiced observers who have made inquiries on the spot, are other than the guilty persons."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the address of the Karnátak Non-Brahmin League.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 8th Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 8th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 9th Aug.

7. Commenting upon the reply of His Excellency the Governor to the address presented to him by the Karnátak Non-Brahmin League, the *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks:—A majority of Indians who have got the good of India at heart view with disgust and disappointment the excesses committed by some of the leading non-co-operators under the guise of *swarāj* for some time past. The excesses have now begun to assume a serious form and the patience of Government is being wantonly abused. If immediate steps are not taken to put an end to this, the result will be very sad for law-abiding people. The people of this presidency will breathe freely on hearing of the note of warning now sounded by His Excellency against this impending danger. There are no doubts now as to the sympathy of His Excellency towards Indian aspirations. The people of this presidency welcome the firm resolve of His Excellency to discharge the primary duty of his government, *viz.*, preventing breach of peace. The forbearance of Government has now reached its utmost limit, and all people of moderate opinion will support Government if they have to take any severe steps in future to prevent disturbances. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* writes:—The non-co-operators should take the reply given by His Excellency to the Karnátak non-Brahmins as a serious warning to them. The *Bombay Samáchár* declares that the claim made by the League to the effect that it had escaped the pernicious effects of the prevailing political atmosphere falls to the ground through the very expressions used in its address which declare that the faith of the non-Brahmins in the reforms would be rudely shaken if Government failed to satisfy their expectations. It expresses approval of His Excellency's reply and highly appreciates the admonition administered to the non-Brahmins by His Excellency in the matter of building upon sure rather than on insecure foundations and the setback their cause would receive by the premature promotion of insufficiently qualified non-Brahmins.]

Indu Prakásh (44), 11th Aug.

8. The *Indu Prakásh* commenting on His Excellency the Governor's reply at Belgaum to the Karnátak non-Brahmin League's address, says:—His Excellency said that though Mr. Gandhi's movement was said to be non-violent it had not retained that character. We think that the bureaucracy is, if not wholly at least partly, responsible for bringing about this change in the character of the movement. If the bureaucracy had coolly stuck to the policy enunciated by the Government of India just after the birth of the non-co-operation movement, there would not, we think, have arisen any occasions for firing. But such incidents have taken place as the authorities have not kept their heads cool and have detected sedition in even such harmless things as Gandhi caps. We don't say that the people are not at all at fault, but the responsibility for investing ordinary incidents with a terrible aspect lies solely on the authorities. They seem to imagine that as soon as a crowd of people begins to shout, there is no other recourse but to fire on them. The consequence is that the people have become utterly dissatisfied with the Government and lost all confidence in it. The only remedy for

this lies in taking people into confidence. Let the bureaucracy give up its misconceptions about the non-co-operation movement and peacefully carry out Government's declared policy, and then we are sure there will be no need for firing for enforcing discipline and respect for the law.

Mahrátta (7), 14th Aug.

***9.** "There reigns in this province at present a calm atmosphere which pretends to prove to be the proverbial calm that precedes the storm. Dark and threatening clouds seem to be gathering on the horizon in all directions...... Matters have been brought to this pass by the bureaucracy in India when civil disobedience has become a peremptory duty. His Excellency the Governor of Bombay enjoyed a reputation of being a cool-headed statesman with a big heart and a bigger patriotism and love of fair play. It was his broad-minded patience and his unique capacity to understand other's point of view that saved the situation during the last two years, but it seems that the bureaucratic wine of prejudice and impression is rising to his head. During the first week of this month he paid official visits to the head-quarters of the adjoining districts of Sátára and Belgaum. We do not know with what precise object the tour was undertaken, nor do we know why it was abruptly cut short at Belgaum and was not extended to Dhárwár where his presence was overdue. However, we know one thing, that he has returned from his tour in a fit condition to be the first fiddle in the concert of repression, already started by the over-zealous satraps of other provinces. He means, it seems, not to lag behind in the race of repression. In reply to the address presented to him by the non-Brahmin League of Belgaum, he gave vent to some of his inmost thoughts which shows how the wind is blowing at present. We have absolutely no quarrel with the demands of either the Marathas of Sátára or the non-Brahmins of Belgaum. We have our fullest sympathy for their ambitions and are ready to spare nothing to advance their cause..........But we wish to warn our non-Brahmin brethren that they are allowing themselves to be fashioned into willing wedges utilised to divide the party of the people. And in this sense we condemn the tone of His Excellency's speech at Sátára. He took it for granted that the Satyashodhakas are the real aggrieved party and they are being misrepresented, and asked them to keep themselves aloof from any feelings of 'real hatred'. Daniel has come to judgment indeed! We do not wish to dwell upon this sorry topic any further but say that His Excellency's speech is a 'canvassing' speech and he wanted to see if he can divide with a view to rule. His Excellency's speech at Belgaum shows his hand clearly. He spoke on a subject which, as he said, had long been in his mind but for the expression of which the time was not until then ripe....... In this speech His Excellency has clearly sounded the bugle of battle. He has conjured up, we think, a picture of his own imagination and is trying to whip himself and the partisans of the bureaucracy into excitement. As we have said above there is absolutely nothing which is covert or underhand and consequently there can be no misrepresentation. The principle of non-violent non-co-operation enjoins upon every one to be truthful, honest and non-violent in the utmost degree and consequently the responsible leaders of the movement say what they feel and act up to what they say. If His Excellency chooses the path of ruthless repression, he is free to do so and no non-co-operator would grudge him the exercise of his powers. His Excellency can thus be seen to be ready for repression. Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, sees that the day of civil disobedience for him is coming nearer. The atmosphere is surcharged with electricity generated by choked up feelings. The prohibition movement is providing for both the parties a clear battle-field. The Congress Committee of Thána is seeing its way to break the order of the District Magistrate prohibiting picketing. The same is the case with Belgaum. The storm is thus coming on. Let all concerned prepare themselves for it. We hope and trust our countrymen would come out of the ordeal as winners."

Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

Vijaya (90), 11th Aug.

10. Referring to the announcement of the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, the *Vijaya* says that India can no longer be deceived by verbal assurances and that *swarâj* is the only remedy for removing the discontent which prevails among the people. The paper asks how the bureaucracy who can spare no money for education and other much-needed reforms can afford to spend huge amounts of money in connection with the Prince's visit.

Kesari (111), 9th Aug.; *Swarájya* (145), 11th Aug.

11. Anglo-Indian journals and responsible officials of Government are egging on the moderates to mix with the people and to carry on a ceaseless propaganda with a view to converting them to their way of thinking. The reason for this advice is not far to seek. The bureaucracy has decided to bring the Prince of Wales here to add to its prestige. The Nationalists have announced their intention of boycotting the visit and when the Duke of Connaught visited this country, they gave the world an idea of the magnitude of the success they can achieve in an undertaking of this kind. The bureaucracy are anxious to avoid a failure and are trying to make the visit a success by enlisting the support of the moderates on their side. We have no doubt the object of the bureaucracy will be completely frustrated. This body cannot hope to last long unless it agrees to give real *swarájya* to the people. But it will realise truth only if the Prince's visit is completely boycotted. [The *Swarájya* considers that the sums that will be expended by the Government of India and the Indian rulers on the welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales will be so much waste of money.]

**Gujaráti* (15), 14th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 13th Aug.

12. "There are various reasons why the Indian public is not enthusiastic over the proposed visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. One of them is the extravagant methods that are likely to be adopted by the Indian Government as well as the provincial administrations and also by Native Princes for the reception of the Prince of Wales.......... What commensurate advantage, it is being asked, will flow from this huge outlay?......... There is, besides, no doubt that the Prince's visit with its inevitable accompaniments of lavish encomiums and gorgeous and wasteful splendour will be exploited both in India and England and advertised in Europe and America for the purpose of magnifying and singing the glories of the British Empire and thus misleading the world at large as to the reality of the situation in this country. If the Prince could study it for himself in an independent manner, the position would be different. But that is an impossibility.......... There are numerous people who are indifferent to the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales, whilst many others are of opinion that nothing will be lost but something gained by honouring the future Emperor. At the same time it cannot be denied that the resolution, approved by the All-India Congress Committee, fairly reflects the opinion of Congressmen or non-co-operationists in India.......... But no impartial observer can help noticing the difference between the conditions which existed when Edward VII and the present King visited India, as Prince of Wales, and received due homage at the hands of all classes of people, and the circumstances now known to all over the country which have produced a feeling of coldness and indifference towards an event that is sure to be advertised as a historical one. We sincerely regret that the condition of things in India is not otherwise." [The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the discussion that took place in the United Provinces Legislative Council on the resolution expressing gratification at the proposed visit of the Prince of Wales to India and regrets that a certain section of the Indian public should be perverse enough to think of boycotting the visit of the Prince. It declares that since a hearty welcome is sure to be accorded to the Prince by Government and some of the people no good purpose would be served by the non-co-operationists holding themselves aloof from it and it exhorts them to join in welcoming the Prince and laying their grievances before him.]

Comments on the resolution passed at the Imperial Conference regarding India's position in the Empire.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 10th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 11th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (21), 8th Aug.

13. The *Sánj Vartamán* deals with the resolution of the Imperial Conference as regards the position of British Indians in the Empire and asks British statesmen to give careful consideration to the unfavourable attitude taken up towards the resolution by the representatives of South Africa which, in the opinion of the paper, is detrimental to the interests of the Empire. It expresses the opinion that Indians in the Kenya Colony and South and East Africa have no other remedy now left but Satyagraha and asks the Government of India to adopt a policy of retaliation towards those Colonies who

do not accord equality of treatment to India and to sever all commercial relations with them with a view to bring the erring colonists to their senses. [The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification that the Imperial Conference should have recognised the claim of India for a share in the indemnity to be paid by Germany. It, however, considers it unjust that Canada and Australia should be given a share four times as big as that assigned to India and calls upon the Government of India to press for a share in the indemnity equal to that given to Canada and Australia. It thanks Mr. Sastri for the efforts he made in the Conference for the recognition of the rights of Indians in the Empire and expresses some measure of satisfaction at the resolution of the Conference in respect thereof. It regrets that the representatives of South Africa could not see their way to accept the resolution and calls upon the Government of India to adopt a policy of retaliation against such of the British Colonies as are not prepared to concede the rights of citizenship to British Indian subjects. The *Hindusthán* strongly controverts the opinion expressed by General Smuts, when interviewed by the *Daily Telegraph*, that India was not capable of colonising in Kenya without the supervision of Europeans and that Indians would not be able to control the native population. It expresses its resentment at General Smuts' opinion that Mesopotamia would be a better outlet for Indian immigration and declares that the Arabs would resent any attempt at colonisation by Indians in Mesopotamia. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* discusses the resolution on the subject of the relations of Indians with the British Colonies passed by the Imperial Conference. It declares it shows a marked improvement over the resolutions passed at previous Conferences and may be accepted as a good omen. But it thinks that as the South African representatives have declared their inability to accept it, it is doubtful whether the resolution will lead to any practical results. The paper regrets the attitude of South Africa and says that the time has now come to deal with that Colony with a strong hand.]

Mahrátta (7), 14th Aug.

***14.** "The whole resolution seems to be nothing but an eye-wash. The Imperial Conference could not persuade itself to grant India an equal status. The representatives of Dominions could see that a nation that is not self-governing or, in other words, is a political slave, cannot aspire to have the status of a free nation. Aliens in their own lands, Indians could not claim to be free citizens elsewhere. How could the Imperial Conference, under the circumstances, support an untruth? They had to accept one or the other thing—either an equal status in the Empire and consequent grant of equal rights or a plain denial to India of equality of status and denial of any immigrational rights. However, they wanted to keep the whole show of solidarity of the Empire to go on and at the same time to keep the *status quo* of India's position in the Colonies and they have succeeded well, in a statesmanlike fashion, to word the resolution in a way, which after giving a lip-recognition to the equality of status as a member records the incongruity arising out of it and expresses a pious hope of mending matters in future.......... The resolution proclaims to the world that India continues to be a slave of the Empire and all talk of equal status is 'hot air.' The discussions regarding status of India has taught one lesson to all and it is that a nation cannot beg for its rights and hope to get them.......... The question of recognition by foreigners rests upon your strength. Equal status, as respect, cannot be demanded but commanded. Indians must be first free and self-governing in their own land and then they can, as a matter of course, be free to demand equality elsewhere with other free nations."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Aug.

15. "The resolution which the Imperial Conference has passed on the subject of the position of British Indians in the Empire has, it is true, carried matters a good deal nearer the solution than had been possible heretofore, but a completely satisfactory solution is yet to be arrived at. It is something that the Dominion representatives have by a majority recognised the incongruity between the position of India as an equal member of the Empire and the existence of disabilities upon India's nationals domiciled in various parts of the Empire. South Africa alone appears to be reluctant to recognise such incongruity. No reasons are given for the inability of the South African representatives to accept the view which has commended itself to the majority of the Dominion representatives.......... The Conference has left the question to be settled by direct negotiations between India and South Africa and, perhaps, it is well that it has been left so. If South Africa has any honourable excuse for denying Indians their just rights, it should be able to state them frankly and clearly.......... The Indian people are determined to see that India's position as an equal member of the Empire—not to say, an equal member of the League of Nations—is unassailable any more.......... India can enter into no compromise in this matter. India will have no objection to any member of the Empire enjoying complete control over the composition of its own population by restricting immigration from any other communities provided that the right of India also to control the compostion of her own population in a similar manner is recognised by the other members of the Empire and provided also that no sort of racial discrimination is made by any of the Dominions, reflecting adversely on the status or honour of Indians as a nation."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 14th Aug.

*16. "The terms of the resolution, regarding the status of Indians in the British self-governing colonies, adopted by the Imperial Conference are not such as to evoke the enthusiasm which, according to Reuter, has been created among Indians in England, or even the qualified satisfaction of the *Bombay Chronicle.* They do not advance the present position by a single inch. In the first place, they relate exclusively to Indians domiciled in the self-governing colonies. There is no reference to the removal of restrictions on educated Indians going to, settling and owning land in the colonies, which the special cable to the *Statesman* led us to expect as one of the points that will be agreed to by the Conference. These restrictions are evidently to continue as at present. As regards Indians already domiciled in the colonies the resolution of the Conference merely re-affirms what is already the law in Australia, namely, that their rights to citizenship should be recognized. We are not able to say at once in what way this will be an improvement on the conditions in Canada. South Africa, which is the crucial case, has refused pointblank to agree even to this measure of simple justice according to all ideas of civilized jurisprudence......... The only advantage so far as India is concerned that can be claimed for the Conference is that it has compelled General Smuts to come out of his sanctimonious idealism and show himself and his countrymen as they really are a set of self-centred egoists without any concern for the solidarity of the Empire to which they profess allegiance. The decision to let India and South Africa settle the question between themselves by negotiation is most unsatisfactory from our point of view and is a confession of the hollowness of much of the grandiloquent perorations of Prime Ministers and other members of the Conference.......... If, as the terms of the message published from Simla imply, this extraordinary course was suggested by the Indian representatives, we can only conclude that these gentlemen failed to distinguish the hard reality from complacent theory which conceals it in respect of the character of that Government. They would have better served the interests of their country if, instead of accepting this illusory resolution with an addendum which absolves the rest of the Empire of any responsibility for the position of Indians in South Africa, they had, following the example of the South African representatives, frankly expressed their regret that they could not accept it.......... The Conference has thus really been the occasion for the humiliation of India in the sight of the whole Empire, and it must continue to be so, so long as India's representatives are obliged to take their instructions from the Government of India and the Secretary of State and not from their own sense of what is due to their countrymen......... The action of the Indian representatives in accepting the method of direct negotiation with South Africa, is open to the construction that thereby India relinquishes her right to ask the British Government to maintain her status in the colony, and if, when the full proceedings become available, it is found that this is the case, prompt and emphatic repudiation of it will become imperative. In any case, before India has full responsible Government in the same sense as South Africa, it is not fair nor just of the British Government to leave her to fend for herself in her efforts to save her people from oppression in that colony. We agree nevertheless that the attitude of the Colonial Office in respect of the rights of Indians in Kenya, now threatened by the aggressive agitation of the European settlers, will be a test of the efficacy of the resolution of the Imperial Conference, unsatisfactory as it is."

Gujaráti (15), 14th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (23), 14th Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 13th Aug.

17. "It is something that the Conference was able to realise the incongruity between the position of India, as an equal member of the Empire, and the existence of disabilities upon domiciled Indians. It is a pity that General Smuts and the other representatives of South Africa declined to accept the resolution owing to what the described as the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the South African Union. The representatives of India recorded their deep concern at the position of Indians in South Africa and left the matter to be decided by negotiation between India and South Africa. In other words, General Smuts, who indulges in exalted platitudes in dealing with other subjects and other people and his colleagues, dominated the decision of the Conference on this important point.......... No Imperial Conference was wanted simply to declare that direct negotiations between India and South Africa might lead to a more satisfactory decision. In an interview with a representative of the *Daily Telegraph*, General Smuts gave it as his opinion that Mesopotamia would be a better outlet for Indian immigration than South Africa. We cannot admire this exhibition of altruism on his part at the expense of the people of Mesopotamia. It is not an honest solution of the South African problem. The warfare in Mesopotamia was successfully carried out by the British Government with the help of Indian soldiers and it is ridiculous to expect that the Arab population of Mesopotamia will welcome Indian immigrants and permit them to exploit the resources of their mother-land. General Smuts is further of opinion that India was not capable of colonising in Kenya without the supervision and direction of Europeans and that left alone, the Indian colonists would not be able to control the native population. Assuming for a moment that his contention is correct, there is no reason why three communities should not live and try to work in co-operation for the welfare of all. General Smuts' views are evidently coloured by his unwillingness to accord the rights of citizenship to Indians in South Africa." [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—"The above resolution is both hopeful and disappointing. It is hopeful because it at least brings the question nearer to a settlement by giving India the opportunity to enter into direct negotiation with the Union. It is hopeful because India has at last succeeded in getting a definite expression of opinion about the status of her sons in the Empire, the opinion of such a body as the Imperial Conference being of the greatest value. It is disappointing because it does not once and for all settle this vexing question, as many hoped the Conference would. Thus half the battle is won; the other half still remains to be fought out, not by indulging in acrimonious language liable to intensify racial bitterness and animosity but by friendly negotiations." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the resolution passed by the Imperial Conference regarding the status of the Indians within the Empire and remarks that the majority of the Indians are dissatisfied with it. It thinks it very sad that the Imperial Conference has only expressed its regret at the refusal of the South African representatives to accept the equality of the status of Indians within the Empire.]

Servant of India (9), 11th Aug.

18. "The Imperial Peace Cabinet has concluded its sittings, and a resolution has been adopted affirming equal status of Indians settled in other parts of the Empire with the inhabitants of those parts.......... Among the self-governing members of the Empire, it is in South Africa that this recognition will be valued as of immediate practical use, but the delegates of South Africa—the high sounding declarations of equality and brotherhood of General Smuts notwithstanding—have avowed their inability to accept the resolution 'in view of the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the Union'. Indian representatives, therefore, felt bound 'to record their profound concern at the position of Indians in South Africa'. The other parts of the Empire where the disabilities are the heaviest are under the direct administration of

the British Cabinet. Does the acceptance of the resolution by that Cabinet signify its determination to give effect to the principle of equality of status, say in East Africa or Fiji? If, in regard to South Africa, we are again thrown back on 'negotiations' and in it, East Africa and other countries no improvement in the standing of Indians is to be looked for, India herself has gained precious little from the transactions of the conference."

General Smuts and the colonisation of East Africa by Indians.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Aug.

19. "It passes understanding why so responsible a statesman as General Smuts should seek, at the present critical juncture, to prejudice the cause of Indians in Kenya Colony by giving expression to views of a wholly unwarranted and unstatesmanlike character, such as he is reported to have communicated to a representative of the *Daily Telegraph*. General Smuts does not consider that Indians are capable of colonising in Kenya 'without the supervision and direction of Europeans.' Left alone, Indian colonists, says General Smuts, would not be able to 'control' the native population. If by 'colonisation' General Smuts means the ruthless exploitation of the 'natives' and their country in the interests of the coloniser and if by 'control' of the 'natives' he means keeping them in perpetual slavery or semi-slavery, as is being done by the white man in most of the countries he 'colonises,' then we agree that the Indians are bad colonisers and that they are also bad administrators of 'natives'' territories. But if by colonisation is meant peaceful human intercourse and the development of the resources of the country in the common interests of both the colonisers and the original inhabitants of the land, we certainly maintain that Indians are as good colonists as any to be found in the world. The past history of India records ample evidence of successful colonisation by Indians in Siam, Java, Ceylon and Central Asia, and even in East Africa itself; for hundreds of years before a white man set his foot on its soil Indians had settled down there and peacefully colonised the country. Their relations with the 'natives' of the soil were of the most amicable character. If now a section of these latter pretends to dislike Indians, it is solely due to the unholy incitements of the white settlers and their missionaries, who prostitute their sacred calling by preaching race-hatred instead of promoting the brotherhood of man."

Rájakáran (131), 7th Aug.

20. The persecution of Indians in East Africa is on the increase. It is openly said in the Legislative Council there that they should be deprived of the Municipal franchise and that they should even be shot dead if they do not agree to quit the country. East Africa was conquered by Indians and the land also has been developed by them. But their condition has become very grave since there is no one to befriend them. Is it surprising that we are treated as slaves in other lands since we are treated as such in our own country? If we desire that we should be treated as human beings in the British colonies, then the only remedy open to us is to non-co-operate with the Government here. We shall not regain our lost rights by merely fawning upon others. Why should we blame the East African whites if they shoot us so long as we continue to remain helpless? Will it be surprising if we have to die thus in foreign countries if we are unable to put a stop to the frequent shootings in our own country? If we want to live, we should cease to be effeminate and should be prepared even to die like brave men. At present the only remedy open to us is non-co-operation. The adoption of Swadeshi and the boycott of foreign cloth will automatically solve the problem of our independence.

Mr. Sastri's work in the Imperial Conference.
Indu Prakásh (44), 13th Aug.; *Sandesh* (135), 13th Aug.

21. The *Indu Prakásh* regrets that Mr. Sastri has failed to represent before the Imperial Conference the Indian view of the question of the position of Indians in the colonies as strongly as was expected of him. It remarks that the resolution passed by the Conference in the matter is so vague that it is difficult to understand its exact meaning and it does not think that the presence of Mr. Sastri or of the Maharao of Cutch at the Conference was at all necessary for the passing of such a resolution. In its opinion the Indian delegates ought to have demanded the instant repeal of all the colonial acts passed against Indians. At the same time the paper remarks that they could not apparently go any further than they did owing to their being the nominees of the Government of India. It, however, hopes that Mr. Sastri's coming visit to Canada, Australia and Fiji will help to secure full justice to Indians in those countries. [The *Sandesh* writes :—Mr. Sastri's visit to the Imperial Conference has not in any way benefited India. We are glad to note that other papers also share our opinion. During Mr. Sastri's stay in England it was announced only once that he had made a strong speech about the position of Indians in the colonies and people were wondering how this weak man could give expression to such strong language. Now this unfortunate man announces that he never expressed the views attributed to him by the news agency! What else are we to expect from a man like him?]

How racial inequality prevails throughout the British Empire.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Aug.

22. "In East Africa, Europeans do not want to give fair franchise to Indians. There is no racial equality there. In Fiji, the white settler by political artifice and the denial of equal rights to Indians, dominates in the Government and in the legislature. We do not know where, in the Dominions and 'Possessions', Britain ever stood for racial equality. The interests of the Whiteman's Booty, misnamed the Whiteman's Burden, appear to be the ruling characteristic of the Empire, inasmuch as other sections of the human race have been enthralled and yoked down with disabilities. A glance at Indian conditions shows the prevalence of the same practice, despite periodical attempts to hide its shame with rags of sentiment.......... In law, in national defence, in everyday administration, in trade and in the ordinary amenities of life, the white man enjoys superiority of treatment. Chapter XXXIII of the Criminal Procedure Code which prescribes special proceedings for the trial of European offenders has been virtually a charter of license and racial immunity.......... These invidious distinctions exist on the statute-book, and it is impossible to talk of racial equality in the eye of the law. A superficial show was made of doing away with the discrimination in the Arms Act, but we know how it was resurrected in the rules. Coming to service in the Army, the superior offices are reserved, a fact which is not discounted by the exceptions made in favour of a big man's nephew or a bigger man's son-in-law.......... In the railways, the Indian has no existence, and in the lower ranks a European guard gets pay and quarters which are an impertinence for an Indian doing the same duty to expect. In the larger fields of competition and commerce, Indian interests have to be constantly sacrificed.......... Dishonest Imperialists do not like to be reminded of the canker of racial discrimination which has been, materially and morally, devitalising the nation; but now that we talk of introducing the elements of racial equality and fairplay, let us at least realise the intense existence of the evil. No fresh pledges are needed; we have had enough and to spare since 1858. But Indian self-respect has not been so deadened, yet, as to accept the view that what remains is the 'placing of racial equality on a firmer basis', when the whole constitution and practice of the Empire has been to exalt a white oligarchy at the expense of races whose inexpiable sin it has been to lack a particular chromatic distinction."

The subject of women's franchise in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Sind Observer (10), 3rd and 4th Aug.

23. Referring to the discussion on women franchise in the Bombay Legislative Council and the hostile attitude towards it on the part of some non-official and official members, the *Sind Observer* remarks :—"It is an unholy combination this joining of hands of high placed officials with the orthodox and the ultra-orthodox. Bentinck, Grant and other high-minded Britishers who stopped *sati* and infancticide, who passed the Widow Marriage Act and the Civil Marriage Act must have turned in their graves and wondered greatly at the latter-day degeneration of their countrymen who now care more for 'safety' and vested interests than for justice and humanity......... The policy of some officials now is to befriend the orthodox as against the reformers, to champion vested interests as against those of the people. In one word, the policy is the policy of 'safety'. But these gentlemen forget woman is a conservative force in society and that she will not stand for revolutionary changes and it is in their interests to harness this mighty force on the side of steady and ordered progress. By denying them this right these officials would make a present of them to Mr. Gandhi. It is much better to interest them in the work of the Councils than to make them non-co-operators......... Mr. Gandhi wrote in his paper he would give the vote to women under his *swarâj*. And it is for officials not to estrange these educated ladies now who are like the leaven that leaveneth the whole mass of Indian women. We cannot be taken in by the sophistry of Messrs. Rothfeld Baker & Co. Mr. Rothfeld says 'from olden times the functions of the two sexes had been clearly defined' and 'it would be disastrous to upset the system.' But who has upset the system? Who introduced English education and western ideas? Who introduced the capitalistic-industrial system into India? Who introduced women's labour in the factories and on the plantations? Who is responsible for the congregation of millions of people in the cities? If the capitalist, the planter, the industrialist or the mine-owner, foreign or Indian, is permitted to exploit women's labour under the present system of Government, is it right, is it just to deny these women the right to protect their interests through the Councils by exercising their vote?......... Society as it existed during Manu's time no longer exists to-day; his laws are no longer observed, castes are crumbling, society is undergoing new transformation, the time spirit is at work and the new times demand new adjustments." [In the next issue the paper expresses satisfaction at the passing of the resolution recommending the grant of the vote to women.]

Comments on the Primary Education Committee appointed by Government.

Gujarâti Punch (17), 7th Aug., Eng. cols.

24. "So a Committee to go into the question of compulsory primary education has been an accomplished fact. Apparently Mr. Paranjpye has not gone beyond the 1916 stage when he wanted a Committee for the purpose......... On the contrary he has actually gone back one long step by including in its terms of reference the 'desirability' and 'practicability' of free and compulsory education. Even then, supposing that the Committee admits the 'desirability' and 'practicability' of it, there is to be no definiteness about a 'definite programme' which it is asked to submit as the 'various steps' that should be taken successively are to cover a 'certain definite period'. What that 'certain definite period' is we are kept blissfully ignorant of, and in view of Mr. Paranjpye's recognised quickness in forgetting old lessons and learning new ones, the 'certain definite period' may well cover a generation. However, there is no cause for undue pessimism and if, nothing else, at least Mr. Paranjpye's fear of ensuring 'continuity' for his programme will ensure against his taking too long a view of it. As regards the composition of the Committee, it is entirely composed of members of the Legislative Council 'as any legislative, administrative and financial measures must necessarily be considered by the Council before they are finally put into operation.' We cannot say whether any adverse effect which such a procedure must have on the quality and strength of the Committee will be made up by its mode of work as we are not aware of it. However, one thing is certain and it is that if a Committee were to be appointed to produce a colourless report a better one could not have been appointed. Any way, it is not very re-assuring and the public may be excused if it postpones the abandonment of the view that Committees are more meant for shelving than solving inconvenient questions till it has reported."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Aug.

25. "The recent debate in the local Legislative Council furnishes one more proof, if a proof were needed, of the fatuity of one of the terms of reference to the Primary Education Committee asking them to consider the 'desirability and practicability' of introducing free and compulsory education in the Presidency. It is too late in the day for any country claiming to be or aspiring to become civilised to raise such an issue. Free and compulsory education is an ideal which most of them have already carried out in practice. It would be childish for Indian educationists at this late hour to waste their time in discussing the *pros* and *cons* of this issue.......... Even the poorest villager is anxious to give a schooling to his children and it is only the question of fees and cost of slate, pencils and books that stand in the way of his doing so.......... We are sorry, in this connection, to note the shilly-shallying attitude of Mr. Paranjpye, in spite of his lengthy and laboured defence.......... It is obvious that the main task to which the Committee is expected to address itself is that of finding the ways and means, and the appointment of the Committee is only a dodge on the part of officialdom under the 'democratic' aegis to delay matters and shift the burden of making the scheme 'practicable' on the public themselves. We are amazed that a responsible Government and a responsible Minister like Mr. Paranjpye should have deemed such a task to be the legitimate function of a Committee of the nature appointed by them.......... We maintain that the duty of a Committee such as has been appointed by the Department of Education ought to cease with their drawing up of a scheme. The question of finance must be tackled separately by Government. We do not care how they do it.......... For ourselves, we are convinced that the limit of taxation of the people has been reached, and that any further burdens will impose serious hardship on them and give rise to bitter discontent. Instead of adding to the burdens of the tax-payer, the pruning knife should be applied to the extravagant Government establishment. If the Minister of Education and his colleagues are really anxious to find out new sources of revenue to finance educational reforms, they can easily find them in the huge salaries attached in their own posts as well as to those of their colleagues of the Executive Council, not to speak of the members of All-India services."

Comments on Government replies to certain interpellations in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 11th Aug.

26. The *Bombay Samáchár* discusses some of the interpellations asked at the recent meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council at Poona and expresses surprise that Government should be unaware that no waggons were supplied by the railways for the supply of fodder to the Kánara District. It expresses satisfaction at the reply with regard to the use of the Gandhi cap in schools. It considers the reply in respect of the adulteration of salt as unsatisfactory and regrets that Government do not intend to allow the middle class people in Bombay to benefit by the Back Bay reclamation scheme. In conclusion it expresses its surprise that European schools should not be placed under the Minister of Education and that extravagant expenditure should be incurred in respect of them when Government complain of lack of funds for opening primary schools in the districts.

Liquor prohibition in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 9th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 8th Aug.

27. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* disapproves of the advocacy by several members of the Bombay Legislative Council of total prohibition of liquor. The paper is of opinion that the resolution passed by the Council for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the question of the liquor and drug traffic is quite proper and adds that the aim should be to reduce the consumption of liquor gradually till it is stopped altogether. [The *Hindusthán*, on the other hand, while dealing with the discussion that took place in the Bombay Legislative Council at Poona on the subject of the liquor traffic, tries to refute the claim made by the Honourable Mr. Lawrence that Government had promoted the cause of temperance. It expresses dissatisfaction with the views expressed by the Minister in charge of the Excise Department and while wishing that the Council had taken some practical steps to check the evil of drink instead of appointing a committee, which in its opinion will involve waste of time and money, hopes that the committee will make a recommendation to Government for the total prohibition of the sale of liquor.]

Comments on the shooting incident at Dhárwár.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 9th Aug.

28. Government have not been so foolish as to disallow the resolution which was brought in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the appointment of an independent committee for investigation into the circumstances under which firing took place at Matiári in Sind. But why should Sind alone obtain this favour and

what has Dhárwár done that it should be denied the benefit of an impartial committee? It is not too late even now, and though Sir Narayan disallowed the resolution, the Government may of their own accord appoint a committee and suspend the trial of the accused pending the decision of this committee. If, however, Sir George Lloyd cannot see his way to appoint such a committee, then Lord Reading who has come out to this country to vindicate justice should move in the matter and get the committee appointed.

Comments on the Press Note issued by the Commissioner in Sind about Swami Krishnanand.

New Times (8), 8th Aug.

29. "The Commissioner's Press Note on Swami Krishnanand is a Confession! Not a frank one! We are told the District Magistrate 'of his own motion' called for the record of the Swami's case and on the 29th July referred it to the Court of the Judicial Commissioner of Sind for revision! So the District Magistrate realises that the sentence passed upon the Swami is unjust. We should have thought better of the local administration if we had been frankly told that 'revision' was asked for in response to public opinion rather than of 'his own motion'. But foolish notions of 'prestige' are still cherished by the bureaucracy in this benighted Province; and it is thought 'prestige' demands defiance of, or indifference to, public opinion....... And every act of injustice is a blow given to that prestige which the bureaucracy so dearly love; the Swami's incarceration has given their 'prestige' a big blow; the people are saying:—'The Swami is innocent; the *sirkar* felt nervous at his anti-liquor campaign, and clapped him into jail.' The Press Note talks of the 'antecedents' of Swami Krishnanand. Does the Commissioner in Sind know of them? Does he know of his work in the Arya Samaj? Does he know of his services to the neglected *bhangi* class in Karáchi? Does he know of his life of simplicity and sacrifice? The Press Note gives extracts from reports of the Swami's speeches. There are passages in these 'reports' which we would not endorse. But the questions are:—(1) Are these extracts 'reports' or *mis*-reports? The Press Note says their 'correctness' is 'not open to doubt'. Not open to the *sirkar's* doubt—we can well understand. But what about the public? The people know how often the C. I. D. men pervert passages in taking them down and afterwards translating them.......... (2) Do these 'extracts' indicate that the Swami's speeches incited to violence? No one of them, indeed, indicates that the Swami believed in or preached non-violence............ (3) If the political speeches of the Swami were of a seditious character, why did not they prosecute him under a charge of sedition? Why? The local bureaucracy's case against the Swami was weak; the Governor in Council's sanction is necessary before a man can be tried for sedition. The Press Note confesses that the Swami's political speeches were not likely to 'create disaffection against Government' 'among decent people.' (4) What have the Swami's political speeches to do with the matter under public discussion? The question is:—Did the Swami commit the offence for which the Magistrate has sent him to jail? Did he make an assault upon a policeman? Did he prevent any policeman from discharging his lawful duty? No,—is the emphatic answer of the public. The Indian public regards him as innocent. He committed no offence under section 353. And it is foolish to suggest as the Press Note does:—But he committed an offence under section 124-A! It reminds one of the fable of the lion and the lamb!......... What have the Swami's supposed 'seditious' speeches to do with the question of his innocence or guilt in the matter of his anti-liquor campaign? The only revision consistent with justice is the Swami's acquittal."

Sind Observer (10), 8th Aug.

30. Commenting on the Commissioner in Sind's communiqué regarding Swami Krishnanand, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"We are pleased to learn the District Magistrate of Karáchi is moving the Judicial Commissioner of Sind for revision of this sentence. Khan Bahadur Nabi Bux will do well to mark, note and inwardly digest the significance of the step taken by the District Magistrate in moving the Judicial Commissioner. Neither the Government nor the people are satisfied with the heavy sentence inflicted by him. We are

afraid the Commissioner's communiqué is not well-timed. It says the District Magistrate has moved the Judicial Commissioner in the matter. So the matter is almost *sub-judice*. Therefore, the communiqué is bound to create prejudice against the prisoner. We would have been more happy if the Commissioner had issued his communiqué after the Judicial Commissioner had disposed of the case. Now that the case is undergoing revision we suggest, in view of the prisoner being a non-co-operator who will not defend himself, to appoint an *Amicus Curii* to defend the case on his behalf. It will be very graceful on the part of the Government to do so. We also suggest the name of Mr. Rewachand Thadani, B.A., LL.B., to defend the Swami as the former is taking some interest in cases of this nature. It is said the City Magistrate has not given a copy of his judgment to the Arya Samaj when applied for. The Swami is a *sanyasi* and as such is expected to have no relations in the world. The religious institution to which he belongs is his only relation. The Magistrate may be unaware of this, not being a Hindu. When the Arya Samaj applies for a copy of the judgment it must be taken as his nearest relative interested in him and as such is entitled for a copy of the judgment.

Comments on the sentence of imprisonment passed on Swami Krishnanand.

Hindu (158), 29th July; *Pársi-Sansár* (27), 6th Aug.

31. Mr. Nabi Bakhsh, the City Magistrate of Karáchi, seems to be a queer person altogether. Not satisfied with passing a barbarous sentence of imprisonment against Fazul Karim and two other non-co-operators, he has now sentenced Swami Krishnanand to 12 months' imprisonment for the alleged offence of causing some policemen to be beaten by his men. We believe the man who brought the charge against the Swami must have felt terribly nervous about it. But this Magistrate accepted it as true and after a mock-trial sent away the poor Swami to jail. Oh God, when will you lead such persons to the path of Truth and Justice? [The *Pársi-Sansár* writes :—We cannot but say that the hurried trial of Swami Krishnanand's case was improper and the punishment meted out to him very harsh. The head of the Government may be very sympathetic, but if the subordinate officials lose their balance of mind in times of excitement Government as a whole are blamed as in this case. If the reference which is made to the High Court by the Collector, Mr. Smart, results either in the reduction of the sentence or in the Swami's discharge with a warning, it will create very good impression on the political atmosphere. Government should be very careful on such occasions. We hope very urgent orders will be issued to all subordinate officials to the effect that they should as far as possible avoid coming into friction with a crowd of people and act with a cool mind in all circumstances.]

Comments on the withdrawal of the charges against two of the accused in the munitions scandal case.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Aug.

32. "An amazing end has been put to the case against Rai Bahadur Shuklal Karnani, I. C. Bannerji and H. Stringer, who together with C. A. Waite, now in England, were charged in connection with alleged munitions scandal. The Advocate-General withdrew the charges against all the accused except Waite, the case against whom was postponed *sine die*. Withdrawals of criminal cases are not uncommon. But what was uncommon in this particular case was the ground on which the Advocate-General submitted his application for withdrawal......... If, as the Government of India are convinced, Karnani and Bannerji are guilty, it follows that those Swadeshi commercial undertakings with which they are connected and in regard to whose fate Government affect to be concerned, are involved in shady and dishonest transactions. The inference is inevitable and implies a gross imputation against Swadeshi enterprise. If the imputation is true, Government instead of taking the right course of bringing the offenders to book are deliberately seeking to encourage them in their nefarious ways and thus to lower commercial morality, the level of which it should be their constant duty to raise. The pretext that thereby they are seeking to prevent innocent people suffering loss is merely adding insult to injury.......... In the circumstance, it becomes the duty of the Indian commercial community, whose reputation has thus been publicly besmirched, to bestir themselves and either secure the withdrawal of the imputation or insist on the retrial of the case. Already the rumour has been set afloat that the real motive for the withdrawal of the case is the desire to save certain past or present high officials of the Munitions Department who, it is suggested, are also involved in the frauds. We do not know how far, if at all, the rumour is based on facts. But the action of the Government of India is not calculated to dispel such rumours. The Government, therefore, owe it not only to the Indian commercial community, but also to their officers, whose reputation is at stake, to reverse the decision."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 14th Aug.

***33.** "There can be no doubt that the cynical reason which the Advocate-General of Bengal, under instruction of course, gave for withdrawing the prosecution of three persons who stood charged, before the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta, for offences connected with the so-called 'Munitions Scandal' was dictated by a malignant hatred of the Swadeshi movement......... The Advocate-General said he was prepared to prove the case against the accused persons to the hilt, but that the Government of India were informed from various sources that if the prosecutions were proceeded with, widespraad commercial and industrial interests would seriously be affected by reason of the association of the accused with many business undertakings many which were of a Swadeshi character. This apparent solicitude for the Swadeshi movement, bordering almost on the criminal, is really a stab in its back administered by persons who have not the courage openly to avow their hostility to it. India does not want Swadeshi industries based on fraud, and we earnestly trust that every effort will be made in the Legislative Assembly, when it meets in September, to expose the real character of this subtly poisonous attack on the true Swadeshi movement."

The Dhárwár Magisterial inquiry.
Kesari (111), 9th Aug.

34. The history of the arrest and the discharge of Mr. Mudvedkar, one of the accused, clearly shows what value one is to attach to the evidence adduced in this case. Mr. Mudvedkar was arrested by the police as about a score of witnesses deposed during the preliminary inquiry that he took part in the riots. But the police subsequently discovered that according to the information supplied by their own reporter, Mr. Mudvedkar was 21 miles away from Dhárwár when the riots took place! After this discovery they took steps to exculpate the aforesaid witnesses from the charge of perjury and then obtained the discharge of Mr. Mudvedkar to avert the suspicion that all the cases were got up. This incident is quite enough to show that the whole evidence tendered before the court is absolutely unreliable.

Comments on the Government of India's announcement regarding the formation of a Territorial Force for India.
Mahrátta (7), 14th Aug.

***35.** "Those who are supposed to have the power of shaping the destinies of India, we mean the British statesmen in India and England, woefully lack the sense of doing a thing at its proper time.......... When the whole country demanded the opening of the military ranks to all Indians without any distinction of caste and creed the demands were disregarded with the supercilious pride of the conquerors. And this arrogant attitude of the supermen generated heat and friction which promises to develop into a conflagration. And at this time the Government of India have announced the formation of a territorial force in India.......... The rules make it clear that the ranks of the Territorial Force are open to all who answer the necessary requirements without distinction of caste or creed......... The scheme of building up this force has undoubtedly come too late to receive any enthusiastic response. Out of hopelessness, the people have resorted to non-co-operation and very little enthusiasm is left in the people to join the Territorial Force. We know that the bureaucracy will interpret this reluctance as unfitness to bear arms and magnify it as India's loss of manhood and consequent unfitness for self-defence. But these tactics have now lost their sting."

Comments on the proceeding of the All-India Congress Committee.

Gujarâti Punch (17), 7th Aug., Eng. cols.

36. "One of the most outstanding results of the All-India Congress Committee's deliberations at Bombay is the postponement of the civil disobedience movement which some provinces were anxious to inaugurate. .... We have been agreeably surprised, and it is Mr. Gandhi who has been found to be strongly against its immediate inauguration.......... Another outstanding feature of the meeting was the clear emergence of parties in the camp and the strong divergence of opinion on important subjects for consideration. The exact nature of that divergence and the strength of the parties venting it will, however, be gauged from the fact that Mr. Gandhi had to give in in important matters—to adopt compromise resolutions to please both sides—and had even to threaten severing all connection with the Congress if his 'behests' were not carried out. The result was that an appeal clause to the Working Committee in case any province feels the need of resorting to civil disobedience in the interval, and the phrase 'as far as possible' in connection with starting spinning and weaving classes in national institutions had to be inserted. However, an open breach has, for the present at least, been avoided, although, looking to the nature of the differences, it is problematical whether the same result could be expected at subsequent meetings. Whatever that may be, the divergence of opinion is most significant and we shall be very much mistaken if it does not lead to unforeseen results in the near future."

Praja Bandhu (28), 7th Aug., Eng. cols.

37. "The nation is marching towards *swarâj* with rapid strides...... The All-India Congress Committee that recently met at Bombay has recommended the postponement of civil disobedience and the complete boycott of foreign cloth by the 30th of September. We have no doubt if the people discard all foreign cloth and manufacture Swadeshi cloth sufficient for their needs, *swarâj* will be practically attained. England or any other country wants to rule over India because they want to capture our vast markets. Once these markets are closed, there will be little inducement for foreign countries to keep us under their subjection. Hence it is at present being emphasised from the Press and the platform all over the country that the key to *swarâj* is Swadeshi. We hope the people will readily grasp this elementary truth of politics, and without delay take to the spinning-wheel and the hand-loom, so that the Swadeshi of our time may not be a mere pious platitude like the Swadeshi of 15 years ago. Our mills may or may not manufacture all the cloth we need. We cannot wait till that consummation takes place. We have to revive our time-honoured indigenous industry—hand-spinning and hand-weaving—and make it the *kamdhenu* it once was. This done, we shall be within the gates of the Promised Land, and it may not even be necessary to wield the extreme weapons of civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes. Such is the potency of Swadeshi, the simple weapon of a conquered country, which Mahatma Gandhi has discovered more than any other leader, and which the nation should wield within the next two months with all its zeal and energy, if it wants to achieve its salvation during the current year."

Gramya Swarâjya (63), 9th Aug.; *Gujarâti* (15), 7th Aug.

38. Commenting upon the resolutions of the All-India Congress Committee, the *Gramya Swarâjya* writes:—It was natural on the part of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to have opposed the resolution about boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales as he is a member of the Reception Committee appointed by the Government of India to welcome the Prince. The Congress Committee have done well in passing the resolution about boycotting the Prince. We agree with Mr. Patel in his opposition to the suggestion of burning foreign cloth. Mr. Gandhi in his advocacy of burning foreign cloth is going against the wishes of the people in general. [Elsewhere the paper writes:—The Committee has acted wisely in resolving to postpone the question of civil disobedience. We feel serious apprehensions with regard to the powers given to the Working Committee to allow any province to adopt civil disobedience if the Provincial Committee makes a recommendation to that effect. It seems some provinces are in favour of starting civil disobedience and this portion of the resolution of the Congress Committee serves to placate them. [The *Gujarâti* dwells upon the hardships that cloth merchants will have to face in carrying out the boycott resolution and expresses fear that the agitation of the Lancashire manufacturers against import duties on foreign piece-goods at a time when all India is eager not only to boycott but even to burn foreign cloth is likely to add fuel to the fire of public excitement in this country. It supports the picketing of liquor-shops and asks liquor-shop-keepers to give serious consideration to the question of giving up their profession in view of the strong public opinion and tries to impress upon Government the necessity of effecting economy all round in their administration and reducing the salaries of high-paid officials to meet the loss of revenue involved in adopting the policy of total prohibition.]

Views on civil disobedience.

Raj Hansa (86), 10th Aug.

39. Referring to the question of civil disobedience, the *Raj Hansa* says that all those laws which invest the bureaucracy with unrestricted powers over the destinies of the people and furnish them with the instruments of tyranny and domination are wicked laws and that it is the duty of every brave man to break them. The paper adds that such laws are enacted by shrewd men for the purpose of tightening their grip over a weak nation and that the Press Act, the Rowlatt Act and other enactments of that type furnish examples of these wicked laws.

Sind Observer (10), 2nd Aug.

40. "Mr. Gandhi has stoutly opposed civil disobedience at present. He says his friends must make a success or failure of foreign cloth boycott. The acid test of the country's fitness for civil disobedience in his view is the burning of all foreign cloth. How would people who burn and boycott foreign cloth by exhibiting feelings, which are the reverse of love, become fit to offer civil disobedience which requires non-violence and the banishing of hate in thought and action? It only proves there is absolutely no logic in Mr. Gandhi's words and actions and that he acts on whims. We are relieved to know that civil disobedience is dropped for the present......... The moderates are already gone out of the Congress; if the Malaviya-Achariar-Kelkar-Pal party also leaves it, Mr. Gandhi will be the head of a party of immature young men and raw school boys. There is nothing like a democratic Congress now. Gandhi is Congress, Congress is Gandhi. 'Get on with Mr. Gandhi or get out' is the ultimatum to all present-day Congressmen. It is a dictatorship and how long it will continue or must continue depends upon the Viceroy and his advisers. The leaders coming out of the present Congress must find there is something for which they can stand and fight. And that could only be offered by Lord Reading."

Comments on the Government of India's Press Note regarding the interviews between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy.

Sind Observer (10), 1st Aug.

41. Commenting on the Government of India's Press Note regarding the interviews between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy, the *Sind Observer* remarks :—" Before preparing the statement for the Brothers it can be presumed Mr. Gandhi read their speeches in full at his residence from which the Viceroy had read out some objectionable passages. At the time of writing a public statement to be issued by the Brothers, Mr. Gandhi was also writing in his paper there was nothing wrong in the speeches, though he himself agreed with the Viceroy that certain passages were capable of bearing the Viceregal interpretation. At the time of assuring his readers in *Young India* there was nothing wrong with the speeches why was he preparing a public apology on behalf of the Brothers? Why did he not tell the Viceroy that though some passages might be considered by some to be objectionable the general tenor was unexceptionable and, therefore, the Brothers owed no apology to anybody—neither to the public nor to the Government, and which was in fact the idea conveyed to the readers of *Young India*?......... Now in the ordinary course of things it is for Mr. Gandhi to advise the Brothers and it is for them to write out and issue their statement. They are not uneducated people but most highly educated ones. Why did

Mr. Gandhi undertake the gratuitous duty of preparing the statement himself? His business was to render advice and not to prepare the statement.......... The sentence with regard to refraining in future from speeches inciting to violence was expressly inserted at the wish of the Viceroy. How was it, one might ask, a part of the duty of Mr. Gandhi to prepare a statement behind the back of the Ali Brothers, to show it to the Viceroy, to accept his alterations and suggestions and then go and confront the Brothers and place the statement before them for signature and issue or to court prosecution?......... It is clear the statement was prepared by Mr. Gandhi to suit the Viceroy's wishes and that the Brothers in their loyalty to Mr. Gandhi had to accept their leader's advice. If they had refused his advice, they knew greater interests than their personal safety were involved in the whole affair, for instance, Hindu-Muslim unity and the leadership of Mr. Gandhi of the non-co-operation movement itself. It is now plain that the Brothers issued the apology not to save their skins but in larger national interests, as it seemed to them. But that cannot prevent us from criticising Mr. Gandhi for taking more liberties with the Ali Brothers than he ought to. He was outmanœuvred at every step by a great diplomatist Viceroy, after Mr. Gandhi had confessed to him about the nature of certain passages. And now we can well understand why other non-co-operation leaders refused to go to Simla for fear of being caught in the clever spider's nest who weaves magic incantations. 'The Viceroy added that after the publication of the statement Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali could give any explanation by means of speeches provided they did not infringe the law.' This sentence is a very important one. It means the Viceroy permitted the Brothers to say to the world that the explanation was not intended for Government but for friends. And how was Mr. Mahomed Ali wrong then when he said at Karáchi that the apology was intended for Pandit Malaviya and not for Government? It comes to this: the diplomat Viceroy says to the Ali Brothers through their leader 'you can give the apology but you can tell all people that it is not intended for the *sirkar*. I will take it as being intended for Government and drop the prosecutions. You are saved from prison: and I am saved from the evil consequences of sending you to prison.' His Excellency claimed a victory for Government for having wrung an apology from the Brothers at the Chelmsford Club dinner in pursuance of this bargain (although the agreed statement says there was no bargain). And the Brothers are also right in going about the country proclaiming that they offered no apology to the Government because it is their part of the bargain to say so, as agreed to with the Viceroy. This is very clever diplomacy. It saved the face of Government and it saved the face of the Ali Brothers and we will not, for our part, say hereafter that the Brothers have apologised to the Government. Having permitted the Brothers 'to give any explanation by means of speeches' would not the Viceroy think now that his Chelmsford Club dinner speech in reference to the Brothers was an indiscretion? By diplomacy the Viceroy gained his end. He gave full permission to the Brothers to say that the apology was not intended for Government and they now come out unscathed out of the ordeal. It is poor Mr. Gandhi who went to see the Viceroy at Simla who will be blamed now after the publication of this 'agreed statement' for laying his cards so badly."

Gujaráti (16), 7th Aug.; *Hind Mitra* (18), 7th Aug.; *Praja Bandhu* (28), 7th Aug.

42. A Press Note has been issued by the Government of India in the matter of the Gandhi-Reading interview and the much-talked-of 'apology' of the Ali Brothers. It is worthy of note that the word 'apology' has nowhere been used in the Press Note and it has been referred to as the 'statement' of the Ali Brothers. The Press Note makes it clear that neither party is to be blamed for the misunderstandings prevailing among the people in the matter of the interview and that no spirit of bargaining was displayed either by Mr. Gandhi or Lord Reading in connection with the apology of the Ali Brothers. [The *Hind Mitra* also declares that the Press Note makes it clear that the Ali Brothers had not submitted an 'apology' to Government and that Mr. Gandhi had not bargained for the statement issued by the Ali Brothers which was honourable to themselves as well as to Government. The *Praja Bandhu* writes:—The Press Note makes it clear that the allegations made about Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers in connection with the statement issued by them were groundless. The interview has not in any way compromised the position of Mr. Gandhi or the Ali Brothers. The Ali Brothers did not publish their statement with a view to avert a prosecution. Still Government, in their Press Note, have tried to show that they had the upper hand in the matter by stating that the idea of the prosecution was given up consequent upon the publication of the statement! They have, moreover, given a warning to the Ali Brothers to be true to their promise! The part played by Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers in the matter does credit to them as leaders of non-violent non-co-operation.]

New Times (8), 2nd Aug.

43. "The agreed statement of the Gandhi-Reading interview issued by Government does not tell us much more than what we knew already.......... The interview has not, apparently, produced any good result; it has been followed by a more rigorous repression; it has encouraged local Governments to ask of political workers apologies couched, in some cases, in phrases similar to those used in the Ali Brothers' apology. But His Excellency admits that there was no desire to bargain.......... The Viceroy also admits that Pandit Malaviya 'in writing to Mr. Gandhi to Simla did not refer to the contemplated proceedings against Mr. Shaukat Ali and Mr. Mahomed Ali'. It is, therefore, idle to suggest that Mahatma Gandhi asked for an interview to rescue the Ali Brothers, or that the Ali Brothers signed the statement because they were anxious to escape criminal proceedings which Government had originally proposed to institute against them. It is equally incorrect to say that the statement was not an apology. It expressed regret; it promised to refrain from making such speeches as long as they were associated with the movement of non-co-operation; but it did this on the honourable ground that they must do nothing to harm the movement and that they must be loyal to their pledge of non-violence. And the Ali Brothers' statement, as we have always urged, was an apology to the public......... The Ali Brothers, as every one knows, have never been afraid of going to jail; but, as they themselves pointed out, they must not go to jail on a false issue. And in agreeing to sign the statement given them by Mahatma Gandhi they showed a beautiful loyalty to their Chief."

Mr. Gandhi's justification of the non-co-operation movement.

Young India (12), 11th Aug.

44. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I have never believed and I do not now believe that the end justifies the means. On the contrary it is my firm conviction that there is an intimate connection between the end and the means so much so that you cannot achieve a good end by bad means. And I am not aware of having resorted to a departure by a hair's breadth from the strictest truth and right as I know them. Indeed I am sure that I would long ago have stood discredited had I compromised truth for a single second. I am fully aware that I am trying a most dangerous experiment—that of inducing thousands of Mussalmans, and for that matter Hindus too, to become and remain strictly non-violent although their final creed permits them to resort to violence under given conditions. It has been my misfortune to be misunderstood whenever I have taken up a new cause. Friends and adversaries alike have been startled by the new and (for them) unexpected applications of some ancient truth. I was accused of fomenting trouble in South Africa to such an extent that I was often in danger of losing my best friends. The majority of them as also my adversaries afterwards came to acknowledge that I was right and they had not understood the implications of the doctrine I was trying to illustrate in practical life. And so I feel it is with non-co-operation. I consider it to be one of the gentlest practices of ethical conduct. It and it alone can pave the way for a genuine understanding between Englishmen and Indians; it and it alone can promote, if anything can, real friendship between the East and the West. It and it alone can enable India to realise the full height of her own unique culture. In spite of many appearances to the contrary, I see the day coming when Englishmen and Indians will come to regard one another as friends and fellow-workers."

Appreciation of the cause of Swadeshi.
Frontier Gazette (157), 23rd July.

45. We are glad to see that non-co-operators have after all realised that Swadeshi is the remedy for all India's troubles. Had Mahatma devoted the last twelve months to the cause of Swadeshi, the country would have been nearer the goal of *swardj* than it is at present. There was much disagreement on his programme of Council and School boycott, abandonment of titles and boycott of Courts. But there will be none on Swadeshi, provided of course, this step is based on love and not on hatred, and the question of the existing stocks of foreign cloth receives due consideration. In this connection Mahatma's direction, that only such cloth is Swadeshi which is made from handspun yarn appears to be rather hard and unworkable. It will be a long time before the entire country's requirements can be satisfied from such cloth alone. Hence for the present, cloth made in Indian Mills should also be considered Swadeshi. We would also suggest that foreign clothes should be given away to the poor naked people of India, instead of sending them over to Smyrna or burning them as has been proposed. There is one other thing which non-co-operators may well bear in mind. They should give up hating any one and should strictly follow Mahatma who is an embodiment of love. Moulana Ajmir Niwasi's suggestion made at Shikárpur, that menials should non-co-operate with Europeans, is simply childish and not in accordance with Mahatma Gandhi's principles.

Success of the foreign-cloth boycott movement.
Lokamdnya (115), 13th Aug.

46. The *Lokamdnya* refers to the complaints of the Manchester cotton manufacturers about the serious decrease in their exports to India and says:—Mr. Gandhi's propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth is growing stronger every day throughout the country and though the bigger cloth merchants have not all joined the movement, the retail shop-keepers have come in with all their heart, and by and by the former too are sure to be brought round as, as a matter of fact, they do sympathise with the movement. Under these circumstances it can well be said that the Manchester cotton imports which have now decreased by half, will, by the end of September, be reduced almost to nothing and thus the boycott movement could be said to have been completely carried out within the space of two months. The confusion caused by the exchange situation has also helped the movement and even moderate papers like the *Leader* of Allahabad are requesting Government to intercede between Manchester and the Indian importers. It is the duty, therefore, of Indians to stick to the boycott movement and make it completely successful.

Justification of the burning of foreign clothes.
Young India (12), 11th Aug.

47. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"If anybody had any doubt as to the necessity and the practical value of burning foreign clothes, those who witnessed the ceremony at Mr. Sobani's yard in Parel must have had their doubts set at rest. It was a most inspiring sight witnessed by thousands of spectators. And as the flame leapt up and enveloped the whole pyramid, there was a shout of joy resounding through the air. It was as if our shackles had been broken asunder. A glow of freedom passed through that vast concourse. It was a noble act nobly performed. It has, I am sure, struck the imagination of the people as nothing else could have so far as Swadeshi is concerned. And it was as well that it was not rags that were burned but some of the finest *sadis*, shirts and jackets were consigned to the flames. I know that in some cases choicest silks kept by mothers for their daughters' wedding were given up for burning. The value consisted in destroying such costly things. Not less than one lakh and a half pieces were burnt including material worth several hundred rupees each. I am sure it was all for the good of the country. It would have been a crime to have given such things to the poor. Just imagine the poor people wearing the richest silks. To say the least it would have been highly inartistic and incongruous. The fact is that the majority of the articles burnt had no correspondence with the life of the poor. The dress of the middle classes had undergone such a transformation that it was not fit to be given to the poor people. It would have been like giving discarded costly toilet brushes to them.

I hope, therefore, that the burning process will continue and spread from one end of India to the other and not stop till every article of foreign clothing had been reduced to ashes or sent out of India."

48. "No one in India possesses a softer heart than is possessed by Mr. Gandhi himself. He is the first man to feel for the wants of the poor and he is also the first to cry out against any kind of wanton waste. He may not be a born economist but he is a practical man enough to understand that even foreign cloth costs money and that the destruction of so much cloth meant waste of so much money which poor India could ill afford. And yet with all these elementary facts before his eyes he did an act which seemingly is incongruous and plausibly unjustifiable. But we think Mr. Gandhi was justified in the action that he took.......... Economy is good, but morality is better and Mr. Gandhi's action comes within the sacred domain of morality. By preserving the clothes and distributing them amongst the poor and the needy, dictates of economy and humanity might have been served, but a high moral purpose might have been frustrated.......... If the thing was a pollution for the rich it was equally an abomination and a curse for the poor. If it harmed the rich, it was bound to harm the poor as well, and therefore, logically, according to the mass-mentality Mr. Gandhi's action from the mass point of view was a perfectly justifiable one. Thus to our mind it appears, that if the Mahatma had preserved the clothes he might have gained from the economic point of view but he might surely have lost immensely from the point of view of what we might say mass-morality. The candle that was lit in England on the funeral pyre of Latimer and Ridley and other martyrs, still burns gloriously all the world over. The funeral pyre of foreign clothes set ablaze by Mr. Gandhi will yet lit the whole of India with the true fervour of Swadeshi, which leads the way for *swarâj* for India."

Sânj Vartamân (31), 12th Aug., Eng. cols.

49. Non-co-operators would do well to remember that the Swadeshi movement as such can have no connection whatever with non-co-operation. If, however, such a connection is introduced, the movement is sure to defeat its own ends and involve the country in ruin. Non-co-operation is after all a temporary measure adopted for the purpose of achieving a definite object and when that object is achieved, the movement will have no legs to stand upon. The Swadeshi movement which flourished at the time of the Bengal partition agitation is a case in point. The movement made a great noise so long as the causes which brought the movement into existence continued to operate. But when the partition was cancelled, the noise subsided and nothing more was heard of that movement. So, if the present movement is undertaken in a spirit of hostility to Government and if it is intended to be the means of intimidating the Government or of obstructing it in the legitimate exercise of its function, it is doomed to failure. The movement will only succeed when it is divorced from all political considerations and is based on an honest desire to further the interests of the country economically and industrially and when care is taken to develop the movement on constructive lines. Burning foreign clothes and making a fuss over it is not the right way of carrying on the Swadeshi movement. It is also highly undesirable that the country should be called upon to undergo such huge losses at a time of great economic depression. [In another place the paper, referring to the bonfire of foreign clothes said to have been organized by some students at the Dhárwár Training College, says that it is surprised that this objectionable practice of burning clothes was allowed within the precincts of the college. The paper observes that the students receive scholarships from Government and that it is a shameless thing on their part to declare so openly their sympathy with the movement. The paper says that it understands that the Principal of the college is giving attention to this matter and hopes that steps will be taken to ensure that such things are not allowed in future. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that the first fruits of the feelings of hatred and anger against the foreign rulers prevalent among the non-co-operators has been the burning of foreign clothes. This involves loss of property to the

Karnátak Times (36), 5th Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 9th Aug.; *Dharma Vir* (156), 30th July.

non-co-operators themselves worth lakhs of rupees, but it does not appear to have done any harm to the British Government. If this feeling of hatred against the present foreign government gains a decisive victory, the paper fears that in case the Hindus seize the reins of government in their own hands under an independent *swarâj*, there is no guarantee that they will not also treat their Mussalman brothers similarly as foreigners. The *Dharma Vir* approves of the boycott movement but thinks that clothes made of foreign cloth should not be burnt but should be given to the poor.]

Protest against the bonfire of foreign cloth at Poona.
Lokasangraha (115), 10th Aug.

50. The *Lokasangraha* takes the enthusiasts who burnt other people's caps and turbans against their will on the occasion of Lala Lajpatrai's visit to Poona severely to task and remarks that conduct such as theirs will not fail to ruin the cause they have at heart. It tells them that the bonfires of foreign cloth are incapable of achieving any good in themselves and that they must get rid of the mental and economic slavery which the use of such cloth implies.

Exhortation to Mussalmans not to celebrate the Tilak anniversary.
Mufid-e-Rozgâr (170), 7th Aug.

51. The *Mufid-e-Rozgâr* declares that among religions Islam is the first to teach patriotism, and adds that it is part of the faith of Mussalmans to encourage Swadeshi goods. It, however, asserts that to burn foreign clothes on the anniversary of an infidel is not in keeping with the spirit of Islam. The paper says that Mr. Tilak was an infidel and the Mussalmans suffered a great deal through his utterances; hence it is not lawful to celebrate his anniversary. It says that there is a world of difference between Tilak and Gandhi. It advises the Mussalmans to send on their foreign clothes to Smyrna in aid of those people who have actually sacrificed their lives for Islam. The paper warns the Mussalmans not to commit a sin by burning their foreign clothes on the 1st of August. [Elsewhere the paper taunts the Mussalmans for not celebrating the anniversary of either Sultan Abdul Hamid or Sultan Reshad, and adds that they should in no case celebrate the anniversary of an idolator. It regrets that the *swarâjya* movement has got the upperhand and that the Khilafat movement is getting weaker and weaker.]

Comments on the hostility of the United Provinces authorities against the Gandhi cap.
Young India (8), 11th Aug.

52. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" The wearing of white caps by Government servants has been officially regarded as a crime in the Central Provinces, and the decision has been publicly endorsed in the Central Provinces Council. The doctrine laid down by that Government is most servile and dangerous. If the white cap is the badge of the non-co-operation party, the use of *khadi* may be equally regarded as such and penalised. And thus may Swadeshi become a sin in the Government dictionary. Foreign cloth was forced upon India two hundred years ago. The attempt has now commenced forcibly to prevent India from reverting to Swadeshi. Any well-meaning Government sensitive to public opinion would have encouraged the use of *khadi* by its servants. I deny that the use of the white cap is any sign of non-co-operation. I know many who are averse to non-co-operation and yet have adopted the white *khadi* cap as a convenience and as a symbol of Swadeshi. The Congress has not yet invited Government servants to throw up their employment, but I do expect of them to have courage enough to wear what dress they like and retain freedom of action even at the risk of losing their employment. If Government servants will but take concerted action, they will find that the Government is powerless to punish them. But whether that is possible or not, I do hope for the sake of themselves that individuals will be found even among Government servants who will not hesitate to wear the white cap."

Repression in Sind.
New Times (8), 5th Aug.

53. "Recent happenings in Sind show that the administration has launched a new and more vigorous campaign of repression. Is it possible for any administration to achieve anything, in the long run, by the adoption of repressive measures? When a nation is determined, how long can repression work? When did repression succeed in the 20th century? An administration can only live by the good-will of the people; and no honest man but must meet repression with opposition. Why this show of armed police on the Tilak Day? There may be a few foolish or mischievous persons who, on their own initiative or at the instance of some C. I. D. people, indulge in the folly of pelting stones; but does that justify the appearance of armed men in front of and behind a peaceful popular procession? It is significant that while the bureaucracy mistrust the people, it has infinite faith in the C. I. D. men.......... We know it for a fact that the popular belief is the C. I. D. men hire some bazar loafers to pelt stones only to bring the people to trouble."

Swaráj ( ), 26th and 27th July.

54. Finding no other way of destroying the non-co-operation movement, Government has now taken to firing on its adherents. Along with some other places in India, the small village of Matiári in Sind has also received a taste of it. The idea seems to be to terrorize the people. But the effect produced on them is quite the opposite. How does firing on and killing people fit in with the boast of Government that it is its duty to protect life and property? Is it not hypocrisy? This Government is haughty and heartless. It has no value at all for the lives of Indians. Could any thing be more inhuman than firing on people and then refusing medical aid to them? The Moderates said that the incidents like that of the Jallianwalla Bagh would not happen after the Reforms. The Matiári incident however shows that things have not improved at all. Our countrymen therefore should push on with non-co-operation, should give up liquor and should boycott foreign cloth, so that India may attain *swaráj* very soon. [Under the heading "The martyrs have today raised our country in the estimation of others", the paper writes in its next issue:—Our congratulations to Sind on the Matiári incident. The courage, patience and self-control shown by the people of that village prove that our country is now awakened. Those who have been wounded, the young and the old, are happy with the thought of having got an opportunity of suffering for their country. We welcome this attitude of mind. It shows that the day of our country's freedom is fast approaching.]

Evil effects of the policy of repression alleged to have been adopted by Government.

Karnátak Mitra (35), 4th Aug.

55. In Russia, repression reached a limit scarcely ever surpassed in the history of the world. The Russian Government conducted the experiment on an unprecedented scale and the lessons which it taught are well worth the consideration of and will serve as an eye-opener to those who carry on repression in this country. Was not America lost to the British on account of their unnatural and absurd attempts to stifle by force of arms the flame of national consciousness in a newly awakened country? Has not the same policy brought them to the verge of ruin in Ireland? Should they persist in their campaign of repression in this country, they may rest assured that they will meet with the same fate here which overtook them in America. The whole of the nationalist party in India has been proclaiming this truth from the house tops. But the Government have turned a deaf ear to this friendly admonition and have launched on a campaign of repression in every province. India is pledged to a policy of non-violent non-co-operation and is therefore meeting this repression in a peaceful way. But we confess to a feeling of apprehension that the policy of reckless repression on which the Government has embarked may lead to an outburst of popular indignation and involve the country in disaster. Even Mr. Jinnah has predicted that if this repression continues for some time longer, India is sure to adopt the course of revolution. And what exaggeration is there in this prediction? It would be as foolish for the British people to try to prove themselves in the right by means of repression, as to dash their heads against a rock. It is surprising that Lord Reading should still delude himself into the belief that his administration is based on justice and equity. But probably His Lordship's notions of justice have no reference whatever to the injustice arising out of this regimé of repression. While repression

is being practised even in the remotest villages of the country and while the people are being deprived of their most elementary rights of citizenship, it is a mystery how Lord Reading does not realize the injustice which is being done to the people in his name. But the people are suffering themselves to be deprived of their rights peacefully, and we challenge Government to show a single instance where they have done otherwise. For instance, let us look to the shooting incident at Dhárwár. The police opened fire upon the people, when they were picketing peacefully in accordance with the principles of non-co-operation. Under such circumstances, would it have been a difficult thing for a crowd of about two thousand people to fall upon the police and kill them? It would be enough if every man threw a stone. The police-station itself would be buried under the heap of stones. Even in such a crisis the people kept their heads and turned back. Who were in the wrong in this case, the police or the people? Ask any democratic country in the world and its verdict is sure to be that Shivalingappa deserves to be hanged.

Appeal to non-co-operators not to boycott the Matiari . Inquiry Committee.
Bhárátwasi (155), 3rd Aug.

56. We are very sorry to learn that Mahatma Gandhi has advised non-co-operators not to appear and give evidence before the Matiári Commission. A very good opportunity of proving the blindness of Sind officials and the tyranny of Government subordinates will be lost if this advice is followed. The reputation of the Sind Police already shaken by the Sinjhoro occurrence can be completely wrecked now provided all facts are placed before the Inquiry Commission. Moreover, this Commission is not a court, which should be shunned by non-co-operators. But several leading non-co-operators like Messrs. Moti Lal Nehru and Kelkar have not boycotted courts altogether. Even Mahatma from his recent declarations at Poona does not appear to be very much concerned about court and school boycott. Hence non-co-operators should appear before the Commission and expose the Police and complete the already half won victory.

Comments on the non-official committees appointed to inquire into disturbances.
Indu Prakásh (44), 12th Aug.

57. The *Indu Prakásh* says that one of the off-shoots of the non-co-operation movement, which has been kicking up a good deal of dust without doing anything practically useful, has been the appointment of non-official committees to inquire into incidentss like riots, etc. It refers to the many such committees hitherto appointed and inquires as to where members for such committees are to be found in the future when there is a likelihood of the multiplication of such committees in view of the many disturbances that are sure to take place so long as the non-co-operation movement goes on. It then adversely comments on the methods adopted by the committee appointed by the Maharastra Conference on the Málegaon riots and declares that its report does nothing more than confirm the position taken up by Government that the riots were caused not by the doings of the Police Sub-Inspector but by the misconduct of the local Khilafat agitators. It also points out that the members of the committee ought to have known that it was against the law to comment on matters that are *sub judice.* It refers to a notice recently issued by the High Court against the editor of a Dhárwár newspaper for contempt of court and says that the notice is likely to give a quietus to the activities of the non-official committee appointed to inquire into the Dhárwár disturbances.

Appeal to Muhammadans not to sacrifice cows on the Bakri-Id.
Sundesh (135), 12th Aug.

58. The *Sandesh* expresses its conviction that the Muhammadans will not sacrifice cows on the Bakri-Id holiday to strengthen the unity between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. It tells the Hindus to persuade and to entreat the Muhammadans to refrain from cow-killing and to eschew all idea of violence which would only spoil their cause. In its opinion it is the duty of the Hindus to suffer in the cause of the Khilafat and to be prepared even to lay down their lives to get that wrong redressed. The paper exhorts the Muhammadans not to wound the feelings of the Hindus by sacrificing cows and to give up cow-killing for the nation, for *swarájya* and for unity.

Advice to Moslems about *Kurbani* on the Bakri-Id.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 7th Aug.

59. Writing about the forthcoming Id-uz-Zuha, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* advises that well-to-do persons should, as far as possible, sacrifice goats, while poor people should sacrifice cows in their own houses. It makes it clear that the Mussalmans do not sacrifice these animals to injure the feelings of others, and adds that they are great lovers of peace. The paper says that it has tendered its advise lest some sentimental persons may play mischief.

The jail is the only place for a self-respecting Indian.
Young India (12), 11th Aug.

60. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" Mr. Venkatappaya wires expressing his deep regret that he has been set free whilst his comrades are still in custody. I share his sorrow. Presently the gaol will be the only fit place for a self-respecting Indian. Everybody in Aligarh envies Maulana Sherwani his lot. Mrs. Khwaja tells me she is cut up to find that her husband is free whilst her husband's companion in work is in prison. It is the true spirit. And *swaráj* is possible during this year only if our men and women consider it their good fortune to be in gaol striving for freedom. Evidently the right spirit pervades the people of Guntur, for Mr. Prakasham, who ran post haste to Guntur on hearing of the arrests, wires that several pleaders have suspended practice and that the people are preparing more strenuously than before to carry out the Congress programme of non-co-operation. When we work outside the gaols with a free sense of responsibility, we shall not be long being imprisoned and whilst we are not, we have faith that we are not idling away the nation's time."

Swarájya (145), 3rd Aug.

61. Indians have now to show how far they bear in mind Lokamanya's sacrifices and trials. Yesterday was the anniversary of Lokamanya Tilak, and a voice from above said : "Oh Indians, is Bharatmata still in bondage? Twelve months have passed away since the departure of Lokamanya Tilak. Have you forgotten his labours for India's freedom and his hardships in jail. How long still will you keep India a slave ? " Countrymen ! on the one hand you have this voice of Lokamanya Tilak and on the other you have the oppression of Government. Every day some two or three patriots are sent to jail. There is a move now against ladies also. In Bengal Sávtri Devi has been gagged under section 144. There are frequent reports of firing. Will Indians remain asleep even under such a state of things? Oh Sindhis! wake up and do the nation's appointed work. Drive out foreign cloth so that the day of victory may come near. How can this dress of slavery suit us ?

The Thána District Magistrate's order against picketing.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Aug.

62. " We draw the attention of our readers to the mass meeting which was held at Thána on Tuesday last to protest against the order of the District Magistrate of Thána, virtually prohibiting picketing throughout the district.......... The order is ostensibly made in the interests of ' Law and Order, ' though in no single case has there been any violence on the part of the pickets. What then is the motive inspiring this amazing act of official high-handedness ? Some idea of it is given in a ' note ' circulated by the District Magistrate to his subordinate officers, which we publish elsewhere and in which we are told that ' it is hardly wise or safe to stop a man who is accustomed to a taste for something at the very moment when he is about to attain his object ' and that ' some of the present methods infringe even the God-given freedom of the individual, ' presumably, the freedom to get drunk, which our enlightened Government, with the support of ' popular ' Ministers, are determined jealously to safeguard. The attitude of the Government, as reflected in their tacit support of the Collector's order, is as reprehensible as it is amazing. Public opinion is vehemently calling for prohibition. The Minister has, indeed, agreed to a resolution for the appointment of a committee to consider the question. Meanwhile, Section 144, more drastic than some of the provisions of the repressive laws the abolition of which is in contemplation, is pressed into service to mock the growth of local self-government and to bring home to the people their helplessness as against the might of the *sirkar*. And all this in the 'New Era,' with 'popular' Ministers and members of the Executive Council exerting their influence over the administration!"

Government based on force and terrorization must be destroyed.
Swarâj ( ), 27th July.

63. As soon as we took to the study of politics, we realized that it was a great humiliation for 33 crores of Indians to be governed by 3 lakhs of foreigners. And this thought also troubled us that this foreign rule had made India poor and unhappy. We had, however, no idea of the extent of its injustice and oppression until we visited and travelled through the villages. There we found that force and terrorization were the basis of this rule. Villagers fear the officials as they would a monster or a wild animal. The fear of losing their property, life and honour is ever present in their minds. The accounts of police and other officials' *zulum* are simply heart-rending. But Government uses its vast authority in silencing any one complaining of *zulum*. Any man can be asked to furnish security for good behaviour; but if that fails in its object, he can be charged with sedition or promoting enmity between classes. Again unarmed people are fired upon, and bombs are thrown upon them from aeroplanes. All this shows the wickedness of this Government. It should, therefore, be destroyed soon, and we shall try to do that by non-violent non-co-operation.

Shubhodaya (88), 4th Aug.

64. Nations like America and Hungary had to overcome insurmountable difficulties before they could free themselves from the tyranny of their rulers. Those who are watching the trend of events in this country cannot fail to observe that India is passing through similar critical times at present. At first, Englishmen took advantage of the divisions which had grown up amongst the people in this country and fostered all kinds of animosities among them. By these means they swallowed up the country bit by bit and, by a show of military force, commenced a rule of oppression, calculated to stifle the aspirations of the people. They suppressed indigenous industries and by depriving the people of their means of livelihood made them weak and helpless. They made laws calculated to prevent the advancement of the country. When, however, the people awoke to a consciousness of their own helplessness and dependence and desired to free themselves from the fetters which were imposed upon them, the Englishmen forged new fetters for them. Indians have been trying in various ways to escape from their present condition of bondage and helplessness. One cannot but feel indignant at the attempts which the Government is making to throw obstacles in their way. It must be admitted that the discontent which was thus caused among the people resulted at first in a feeling of hatred. But when the people realized that a struggle for freedom undertaken in a spirit of hatred would lead to undesirable consequences, they adopted the policy of non-violent non-co-operation. But the bureaucracy is trying to suppress even this peaceful movement by means of repression which cannot fail to arouse a feeling of indignation in the hearts of all true patriots. Why should these people be jealous if we strive to be happy and self-reliant? Why do they not openly declare that the British Empire is based upon the enforced slavery of the Indian people, instead of pretending to give us self-government step by step?

Exhortations to the Indians to be prepared for greater sacrifices.
Swarâj ( ), 5th Aug.

65. Day by day, times will become harder and our difficulties and troubles will become innumerable as we get nearer and nearer to our goal. The Government which has been thriving on India's money, the officials who have indulged in luxuries by harassing the poor, and the bureaucracy which has placed the load of slavery on all Indians, will all try their level best not to allow Indians to get away from their clutches. Who cares for the law? As Chatranjan Das has said, this Government makes laws at its pleasure and breaks them also at its pleasure. Hence Indians should be ready at any time for the tyranny of Government to fall on them. There should be no hope of justice. The Government which does not hesitate in giving false accounts (of events) as is

illustrated by Government communiqués about Matiari and other places, the Government which adopts low and mean methods of suppressing political agitation as is seen from *garriwalas* at Ubauro being prohibited from carrying non-co-operators, the Government which consigns innocent persons to jail after a mock-trial as is proved from the trial of Swami Krishnanand, and the Government which is ready to ruin the people by giving them intoxicating drinks and send the volunteers to jail on idle pretexts, may be expected to resort to any sort of repression to put down the national movement. Hence we should be firm as steel. Every patriot should be ready to take upon his shoulders the responsibility of national work. Competent leaders may at any time be incarcerated. Others should be ready to take up their burden. If this Government is to be uprooted, and *swárdj* established, then every one should be ready to be a martyr for the nation, whether that martyrdom consists of drudgery of work, or endurance of hardships in jail or death resulting from bullets.

Young men of India must be prepared to lay down their lives for their oppressed mother-land.
Lokashdhi (119), 8th Aug.

66. Young men of India! Have you any idea as to the great peril that has overtaken our mother-country? Like Draupadi at the court of the Kauravas, she is being persecuted by the officials who are taking every opportunity to disgrace her. Should you not feel ashamed at the insults being offered to her, at old and rusty weapons like section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code being used to harass her, and at the sight of respectable people in the United Provinces being thrown into prison? The rigour of Government's repressive measures is increasing as the non-co-operation movement is becoming more and more successful day by day. Whether you commit any offence or not, you are being fired on and killed, charged with false accusations and sentenced on the strength of got-up evidence! Spirited youths of India! Is it not your duty to remove the shameful stain of dependence attaching to the forehead of your dear mother-country? True daughters of Aryas? Is it not a disgrace to you that your motherland should be subjected to *zulum* by the alien rulers? So many insults have been heaped upon India since the sepoy mutiny and during the Punjáb martial law regimé. Stark naked white soldiers danced before an harassed woman and black-hearted officers like Bosworth Smith vilely abused them and even spat on their faces! Some fiends even—oh horrible to mention—even thrust sticks into the secret organs of our mothers and sisters! And yet our Government, which punishes cart-drivers for cruelty even to bullocks, never cared to redress the grievances of our mothers, daughters and sisters who were thus heartlessly dishonoured! Young men of India, how would the world look upon us Indians who have borne all these insults! Is it not disgraceful to our young men that our vast country containing thirty-three crores of inhabitants should be ruled—and ruled in such a heartless manner—by a few lakhs of strangers coming from somewhere! Young men of India! How long are you going to live such a disgraceful life? Are you waiting for a repetition of the Jallianwalla horrors and other disgraceful incidents? Your mother-land is bitterly weeping, being oppressed by foreigners, and appealing to her children for help. Will her sons, who valiantly fought in France to save other people's mother-land from dishonour, fear to die for the sake of their own mother-land which is being disgraced by aliens? Young men of India! Speak. We feel sure that every true son of India will come forword and say that he is prepared to lay down his life for his mother-land.

Liquor-shop-keepers ought to be compensated for the loss incurred by them.
Kesari (111), 9th Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 11th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (21), 12th Aug.

67. Government seem to be unwilling to make good the loss of the liquor-shop-keepers. Is it not right that they should refund the license fees received from the liquor vendors in view of the total extinction of the liquor trade? How can the Government, who paid nine lakhs of rupees to Messrs. Carew and Company on the ground of rise in prices, justly refuse relief to the liquor-shop-keepers when their business has practically disappeared? But in this respect our local Legislative Council has unwisely complicated the

question still further. They accepted the proposal to appoint a committee to suggest measures to abolish the drink traffic but rejected the motion for the appointment of a committee to consider the question of giving compensation to the liquor-shop-keepers! It is not at all possible that Government themselves will offer compensation to these men if the Council disclaims all liability in the matter. These wise councillors have thus put an obstacle in the way of the temperance movement. This instance is quite enough to disprove the representative character of the present Councils. The decision has no doubt made the task of the temperance workers a little more difficult. We trust, however, that people will not mind such obstacles but will solve the problem of prohibition themselves. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the application made by the liquor and toddy licensees to Government for protection against the temperance movement. The paper asks Government whether it would not be advisable to take steps before any breach of the peace actually takes place. It hopes that Government will give mature consideration to the appeal of the licensees to put a stop to picketing. The *Hindusthán* indulges in strong criticism of the above article in the *Jám-e-Jamshed* and declares that there is no political motive behind the picketing movement as maliciously alleged in the memorial and expresses hope that Government will pay no heed to it.]

Enforcement of drink prohibition in India will lead to a decrease in criminality.

Lokamánya (115), 11th Aug.

68. The *Lokamánya* gives figures about the remarkable decrease in criminal offences in Great Britain owing to the prohibition of drink during the war and declares that if prohibition be enforced in India which has all along been opposed to drink there is bound to take place here even a more remarkable decrease in criminality. It admits that immediate prohibition will no doubt result in the sacrifice of Government's liquor revenue, but declares that if Government determines to forego it, ways and means of making it up will suggest themselves to the authorities. The decrease of criminality, it points out, will automatically effect a good deal of saving in many of the Government departments.

Thána District Local Board and picketing of liquor-shops.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 13th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (21), 12th Aug.

69. The *Bombay Samáchár* deplores the indifference shown by Government towards the evil wrought by the vice of drink. It is of the opinion that it was this attitude of Government that drove people to take to the movement of picketing liquor-shops. It thinks that there was nothing wrong on the part of the Thána District Local Board in taking up the picketing movement and considers it a short-sighted policy on the part of the District Magistrate to prohibit picketing. It, however, disapproves of the action of the Board in deciding to resort to civil disobedience and wishes that it had obeyed the order of the Magistrate, however wrong it may think it to be, and had appealed to Government and finally to the High Court to get the order annulled. [The *Hindusthán*, however, lends its support to the resolutions passed at the public meeting recently held at Thána to protest against the order of the District Magistrate prohibiting picketing of liquor-shops. It is afraid Government are trying to safeguard the interests of the liquor-licensees by offering opposition to the temperance movement through their officials.]

Suggestion for a deputation to the United States to study how prohibition works there.

Servant of India (9), 11th Aug.

70. "In India, where the popular and religious sentiment is, and has always been, strongly in favour of prohibition, this measure will naturally meet with far greater success in putting a stop to the curse than in America and other countries where for generations people have been addicted to drinking and regard it as a matter of right. There are no grounds, therefore, for scepticism so far as this country is concerned; but since doubts are entertained and it is right to resolve them, we would suggest that one or two competent persons should be deputed to the U. S. A. and Australia to ascertain how prohibition works there in fact. By the time the Committee is inquiring into this problem in India, this deputation should have finished their investigation in foreign countries. The deputation can also advise as to how the administrative difficulties to which Mr. Mehta referred are surmounted there."

Manchester and cotton duties.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 10th Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 12th Aug.; **Mahráttá* (7), 14th Aug.

71. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* thinks that Manchester has now realised that Parliament cannot interfere in the matter of the import duties on cotton piece-goods and that consequently it is now trying to induce the Cabinet to bring pressure to bear upon the Viceroy to increase the Excise duty on cotton. In view of the great influence wielded by Manchester in English politics, the paper urges the Indian public and the members of Councils to do all in their power to strengthen the hands of the Viceroy so that he may not succumb to any indirect pressure from the British Ministers in this matter. At the same time the paper advises Indians that if they want *swarāj* early, they should not irritate the British merchants and manufacturers by the cry of boycott of foreign goods but should try to placate them by contriving to fill their pockets, at least till such time that India can start a sufficient number of mills and be able to stand on its own legs. The paper thinks that if the British public is kept pleased it will of its own accord insist upon *swarāj* being granted to India. [The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the agitation started by the mill-owners of Manchester against the increase in the import duties on cotton piece-goods and declares that these merchants want to deal a blow to the Swadeshi movement by trying to influence the Government of India to effect a similar increase in the excise duty on cotton piece-goods produced in this country. It is of the opinion that the anxiety shown by the merchants of Manchester is a clear indication of the assured success of the boycott movement and exhorts the Indians to follow Mr. Gandhi's advice in the matter of Swadeshi and boycott foreign cloth and thus prepare the way to *swarāj.* The *Mahráttá* writes :—" The agitators allege that the Lancashire industry is suffering from heavy depression and its staple industry is seriously menaced. None in India could appreciate this logic of the Lancashire people. The duties on Lancashire goods are levied both for revenue and protective purposes, and even granting that they were levied for revenue but result in protection, what wrong is done even then? India is said to have been given full fiscal freedom and this freedom is now to be put to the test. The Lancashire people built their own industry by high import duties and they cannot blow hot and cold in the same breath."]

Comments on the Government of India's letter to local Governments regarding compensation to labourers for injuries received.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 11th Aug.

72. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the action taken by the Government of India in forwarding to local governments a letter on the subject of legislation for compensation to workmen for injuries received by them in the discharge of their duty. It is of opinion that legislation on the lines suggested by the Government of India is highly necessary and asks local governments to submit their opinion to the Government of India after consulting employers of labourers and representatives of labourers.

Comments on the report on deaths due to wild beasts and snakes in the Bombay Presidency for the year 1920.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 11th Aug.

73. The *Bombay Samáchár* deals with the report about the number of deaths that occurred in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1920 through the depredations of wild beasts and through snake bites and suggests that licenses for the use of firearms should be more freely given and the rate of rewards for killing wild beasts be increased and that steps should be taken to encourage the use of the Brunton lancet.

Comments on the unconditional release of McKeown by the British Government.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Aug.; *Lokamánya* (115), 12th Aug.

74. "The offer to release forthwith, unconditionally, all the members of the Dail Eireann who are now under detention, is eloquent indication of the extent to which the Lloyd George Cabinet seems prepared to go with a view to arrive at a solution of the perplexing Irish question......... Would that the Government of India took a lesson from the example set by His Majesty's Government! The Government of India defeated the beneficial results of the Royal Amnesty of 1919 first by circumscribing its scope and later by launching into a fresh campaign of hunting down 'agitators,' so that at the present day, we are afraid, there are more political prisoners than there were when the Amnesty was proclaimed. And yet, the Government of India expect that a 'calm atmosphere' will prevail for the smooth working of the 'Reforms'! The Government do not see that one example is worth tens of precepts and that the only way to bring about a 'calm atmosphere' is to remove the cause for unrest and one of the most potent of these causes is the incarceration of political leaders." [The *Lokamánya* makes similar remarks and appeals to the Government of India to release the Punjáb Martial Law prisoners still in jail and the Sávarkar Brothers.]

Mavalas of Mulshi determined not to accept Tata Company's terms.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Aug.

75. "We understand that the Mavalas of Mulshi Petha have finally resolved not to accept the terms which the Tata Power Company have offered to them as compensation for the lands from which they will be evicted, if the hydro-electric power scheme which the Company have in view is carried through. The decision of the Mavalas, though it may be considered regrettable in some quarters, does not come as a surprise nor can it be regarded as unnatural. The Mavalas, like most other Indian peasants, are deeply attached to their ancestral homelands. Moreover, having a history of their own, they have come to entertain a peculiar affection for the land they till. It is land rendered holy by the dust of the feet of saints like Tukaram and Ramdas and by the glorious exploits of Sivaji, Tanaji and other heroes of Maháráshtra, exploits in which the ancestors of the present Mavalas took no mean part.......... Even if the Government are able to find lands in other districts on which to settle these evicted Mavalas—which they are still unable to do—we doubt very much whether these peasants would take kindly to the offer and proceed to places distant from their homes. We are afraid they will drift back to Mulshi and will finally merge in that non-descript crowd, who live in semi-starvation, known as the day labourers. Such a consummation would be most regrettable, for it would mean the irreparable ruin of a once prosperous, contented and industrious peasantry.......... As the Tatas as well as Government must now realise, it is mainly a question of sentiment with the Mavalas which prevents them from accepting the compensation offered to them in exchange for their lands, but let us not forget that it is impolitic as well as cruel not to respect sentiment when it springs from the inmost heart, as undoubtedly is the case with the Mavalas. We sincerely hope that no attempt will be made by Government to coerce the Mavalas to give up their lands. The consequences of any such folly are bound to be disastrous. We cannot believe that Sir George Lloyd's Government will be so inhuman as to use violence to carry out the project they and the Tatas have in view. It would be far more to the interest of the country that the scheme should be abandoned without more ado than that misery should be brought to thousands of families—and helpless families—by obstinacy on both sides."

Comments on Mr. Moysey's speech as President of the Sátára League of Peace.

Lokamánya (115), 11th Aug.

76. The *Lokamánya* strongly criticises the speech recently delivered by Mr. Moysey, Collector of Sátára, as President of the local League of Peace, and says:—Mr. Moysey declared that Indians would get *swarájya* within ten or fifteen years if they refused to be led by Mr. Gandhi. Looking to the fact that only two years back the bureaucracy had refused to admit that India can have *swarájya* within a generation, this revolution in its way of thinking is remarkable. The credit is all due to Mr. Gandhi's agitation. If the Swadeshi and boycott agitation is carried on with firmness and unity, we feel convinced that by the time of the meeting of the Ahmedabad Congress the question of India's *swarájya* will come up for compromise just like that of Ireland. If that is becoming clear, why should Indians wait for ten or fifteen years for *swarájya* as desired by Mr. Moysey? He characterises Mr. Gandhi's movement as Bolshevik, destined to destroy India's happiness. This is all a pretence meant to deceive those who are demanding grant of *swarájya*. The real meaning of Mr. Moysey's words is that if the people did not desist from demanding immediate *swarájya* the bureaucracy would not hesitate to launch Bolshevic operations in this country, and he has already given a taste of his intentions to the higher classes in the Sátára District who have favoured the Gandhi movement. If the Bolsheviks in Russia annihilated the 'bourgeois' class in that country, Mr. Moysey is trying to follow a similar policy in the Sátára District in a different way. But even if some people turn Bolsheviks in this country we can say with confidence that the present stability of Indian society is in no way in danger, and thus the threats of Mr. Moysey can well be disregarded. Outrages of the Bolshevik type may take place at a few places in Sátára in consequence of Mr. Moysey's policy, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the people will be terrorised thereby, and instead of calling Mr. Moysey a Bolshevist, apply the appellation to a saint like Mr. Gandhi. It is, indeed, strange that the bureaucracy should think that the people of Sátára have not got the common sense to see that Mr. Moysey has been calling Mr. Gandhi a Bolshevist only through selfish motives and nothing else.

Government and the non-Brahmins in the Presidency.

Swarájya (145), 11th Aug.

77. The *Swarájya* attributes the visits of His Excellency the Governor to Sátára and Belgaum to his desire to give encouragement to the Satya Shoddaks and the non-Brahmins in their activities against the Brahmins. It remarks that since the determined attacks of the non-co-operators on the worn-out ramparts of the bureaucratic fortress, the authorities have been trying to secure new recruits to their side to help to repel them. It further observes that the speeches made by the Governor at the two places clearly reveal his partiality for the non-Brahmins. It then writes:—The authorities must not forget that the non-Brahmins too are Indians; nay, they are Indians first and non-Brahmins afterwards. The Muhammadans already disappointed the Government in this respect. They asked for and obtained from them several concessions on the ground of their backwardness. But what is their attitude now? The non-Brahmins will surely walk one day in the footsteps of the Muhammadans. It is unthinkable that the descendants of Shivaji, Sindhia and Holkar will keep away for long from national movements. Therefore, Government should not rely on such people for moral or material support but should deal out equal justice to all.

How Government can allay the present discontent.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 12th Aug.

78. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the speech delivered by Mr. A. P. Sen as president of the reception committee of the United Provinces Liberal Conference, and it is of opinion that every thoughtful Indian will agree with his views. The paper remarks that the demand of Mr. Sen, on behalf of India, for the dismissal of the guilty officials of the Punjáb and for the stopping of the payment of their pensions from the Indian treasury is quite just, adding that as this is one of the chief causes of discontent in India, the Viceroy should find out some way of removing it. It urges upon the Viceroy to remove all distinctions of colour within the Empire and thus satisfy the Indian people. The paper hopes that the Government of India will adopt such a policy before the arrival of the Prince of Wales as will remove all the main grievances of the people.

Neither modification nor repeal of repressive laws will do any good.

Swarájya (145), 29th July.

79. Government has appointed a Committee to advise it on the question of modifying or repealing the existing repressive laws. We are, however, of opinion, that neither modification nor repeal of repressive laws will do any good, so long as the bureaucracy maintains its proud and haughty attitude. The Indian Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code contain several sections which enable it to exercise its madness on the people. So we should not be deceived by the information that repressive laws are going to be repealed. It is impossible for the Government to improve so long as its obstinacy does not disappear.

Necessity of removing distinctions between Europeans and Indians in Indian law.

Lokamánya (115), 13th Aug.

80. The *Lokamdnya* refers to the report of a circular being issued by the Government of India to the Local Governments asking their opinion as to the advisability of removing the distinction made between Europeans and Indians in the laws in force in India and expresses the hope that the Local Governments will favour the proposal, as the removal of the distinction is sure to remove one of the principal causes of the discontent prevailing in India and also act as check on the conduct of the Europeans in the country.

Hollowness of the fears of an Afghan invasion.

Hindusthán (20), 11th Aug.

81. The *Hindusthán* quotes a passage from the *Afghan Aman* of Cabul in which it is stated that the Afghans have no desire to interfere in the struggle of the Indians for *swarâj* and that all rumours to the effect that they entertain ambitions about invading and conquering India have as much truth in them as stories told to frighten children. The paper feels sure that, after reading this passage, Government, those siding with them and all other Indians affected with similar weakness of mind, whom the bogey of an Afghan invasion had been keeping awake of nights, will now be satisfied that there was no truth in such stories and that they were invented to keep the people quiet.

Comments on the Committee appointed by the Bombay Government to inquire into the Matiari shooting incident.

New Times (8), 6th Aug.; *Sind Observer* (10), 4th Aug.

82. "The Government of Bombay have appointed a Committee to inquire into the Matiary tragedy. Will the inquiry be careful? Will it be independent? And will the guilty ones be punished? The Note issued by the Commissioner in Sind tried to whitewash the whole affair. It seemed to exonerate the Matiari officials. The Commissioner's Press Note blames no official for not sending immediate medical aid for the wounded; it says that of the wounded no one received severe injury! What is a 'serious injury', we ask? There were at least 3 of the wounded,—a Muslim and his two sons,—laid up on their cots; what did the Mukhtiarkar do to relieve their distress? On the face of it, it is impossible to justify police firing upon the crowd. The crowd was not armed; the crowd was under control of the Pir Sahib and his comrades; and in a small village, such as Matiari, the taking of life by firing upon the crowd is a matter which demands the most serious inquiry. The result of an impartial inquiry can only be, as far as we can see, at present emphatic condemnation of the official conduct." [The *Sind Observer* on the other hand writes:—"This Committee is an immensely better one than the Committee previously talked of and it contains no European official (Mr. Raymond is a Goan), which omission is indeed creditable to Government. But we are perfectly sure official interests, if there are any, will not suffer at the hands of these three sober and moderate men.......... We cannot speak for the non-co-operators, but we are sure that a better committee could not have been selected in Sind and it will inspire confidence in all reasonable people."

Comments on the Matiári shooting incident.

Hindu (158), 29th July.

83. We have read the Government Press Note on the Matiári incident again and again. It is a record of small and big lies. A gentleman who attended the Aman Sabha at Matiári is just now here in our office. He denies that the attitude of the crowd collected outside the Public Works Department compound was at all 'menacing,' or that any stones or brickbats were thrown by it. We offer no other comment on the Press Note, except that the officials who have manufactured this tale of lies must be devils or even worse, and that this bureaucracy will never improve. This should not, however, discourage or dishearten our countrymen. Let them face difficulties and disappointments patiently and the victory will be theirs ultimately.

84. In a contributed article the *Sindhi* writes:—The Matiári incident reminds us of the happenings of April 1919 and will awaken Sind, just as the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre awakened India. It is on a par with the incidents of Dhárwár, Aligarh and Chandapur. The young men and children shot at Matiari have shown to the British that Indians fear not their guns or aeroplanes and are ready to be slaughtered. Let co-operators bow, if they like, to this worthless system of Government. But we are not afraid of it and we are determined to secure *swaráj* soon with the help of the principle of non-violence.

Sindhi (165), 3rd Aug.

85. The unfortunate incident which happened at Matiári does not reflect credit on the local officials. It appears that a small incident was exaggerated into importance and attempts were made to frighten a crowd of people by unnecessarily firing upon them. The Government Press Note clearly shows that the Sub-Inspector wrongly took the law into his own hands and the Mukhtiarkár was seriously negligent in the performance of his duty. It will not only be difficult for Government to carry on the administration but they will also lose their staunchest supporters if subordinate officials lose their balance of mind on such occasions and continue to misuse their power in this manner.

Parsi Sánsár (27), 6th Aug.

86. In the course of a contributed article headed "Neglected Sind," Mr. E. L. Price writes in the *Sind Observer*:—"The Sukkur Barrage has been under consideration for more than a generation. At least 12 years ago a scheme was cut and dried. But even now the project is still in the consideration stage, and not a sod has been cut. Meanwhile all agricultural development in Sind is arrested, the life giving waters slip past us to the sea, and how often for want of that same water, poor Sind has suffered from scarcity, even famine! We have now as Governor of Bombay the fairest Governor to Sind we ever had. Half his term of office has been fulfilled and yet we are not nearer to the beginning of the work on the Sukkur Barrage than we were before. If we do not get the Sukkur Barrage started before His Excellency Sir George Lloyd leaves us, we shall never get it at all under the present Bombay constitution, and we must struggle to relieve ourselves of an entanglement with Bombay that only holds Sind back. Let Bombay brains and money give us the Sukkur Barrage and we are bound to Bombay not only by financial obligations but by the stronger bonds of gratitude, for ever. Let Bombay deny us this great necessity, and we know our fortunes are not safe with her, we must look out for ourselves apart from her. Here is the test."

Importance of the Sukkur Barrage for the prosperity of Sind.
Sind Observer (10), 6th Aug.

87. Mr. Sadashiv Ramchandra Dharap of Mahád (District Kolába), writing to the *Kolába Samáchár*, refers to the recent heavy floods at the place and the consequent damage caused to the property of the people and to agriculture. He requests the Collector of the District to institute an inquiry to ascertain the extent of the damage caused to agriculture and urges upon Government the necessity of remitting this year's assessment on the lands affected. He requests Government and the local Municipality to take such steps as would prevent the recurrence of such floods and thus save the town, which is located between two rivers, from similar disasters in the future and suggests that some portion of the town should be compulsorily vacated, the people dishoused being given lands elsewhere. He concludes with a request to the Collector to personally visit the place to see for himself the lamentable condition to which the town has been reduced.

Heavy loss caused at Mahád (Kolába) by the recent floods.
Kolába Samáchár (113), 6th Aug.

88. The *Lokamánya* refers to an incident in the Punjáb in which an undergraduate of the Punjáb University wishing to go to America to prosecute his studies was refused passport by the Deputy Commissioner simply on the ground that he was dressed in Swadeshi cloth, though he had performed meritorious military service during the war on the Indian frontier, and says:— Lord Reading has been asking the people to forget and forgive, but how can they do so while high-handedness like the above continues to be

Alleged high-handedness of a Punjáb Deputy Commissioner.
Lokamánya (115), 13th Aug.

practised by the bureaucracy? The incident shows that the Punjáb bureaucracy is still inspired by its old arrogance. An officer who dislikes to see Indians dressed not in *khadi* but even in ordinary Swadeshi cloth indeed does not deserve to be fed on the Indian taxpayer's money. We hope Lala Harkishan Lal, one of the ministers of the Punjáb Government who has worn pure Swadeshi cloth for several years past, will take steps to pull the said Deputy Commissioner by his ears.

Approval of the work of the new Councils done so far.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 10th Aug.

89. The *Bombay Samáchár* takes a rapid review of the working of the Councils under the Reform Scheme and declares that work accomplished so far can be said to be very satisfactory on the whole and believes that it must have convinced Government that India possesses some men who by themselves can carry on the administration of the country. It expresses gratification that members of the Civil Service have shown their willingness to work out the Reforms and have thus greatly reduced the bitterness that was felt against them by the general public. It refers to the committee appointed by Government to visit the North-West Frontier with a view to taking the public into confidence in the matter of their military policy and declares that it goes to prove that Government's angle of vision has undergone a decided change.

Failure of diarchy.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 14th Aug.

***90.** "Mr. Patro, the newly appointed Minister in Madras, remarked in a recent speech that even as regards transferred subjects, Ministers can do nothing unless their proposals had the approval of the Members of the Executive Council. Mr. Patro is opposed to 'diarchy' in principle, and his short experience would seem to have confirmed him in his view. In Bombay, the Ministers of Education and Excise have virtually admitted their incapacity to give effect to their views, though the Poona Liberals continue to be loud in their praises of 'diarchy' and the success of the reform scheme. The difference between Madras and Bombay is that while the Ministers in the former province represent a strong, well-organised party, the Bombay Ministers have no such backing. The result is instructive: the Madras Ministerial party is in open revolt against the Executive half of the provincial Government, while in Bombay the two Ministers are indistinguishable from the latter. On resolutions relating to 'reserved' subjects, Government have been repeatedly defeated in the last session of the Madras Legislative Council, Ministers in some instances remaining neutral. A motion recommending the reduction of the number of members of the Executive Council to three was passed by a majority of 68 against 16, in the teeth of Government opposition, 10 members remaining neutral including the Minister, Mr. Patro......... A candid observer of the events cannot fail to conclude that the Reforms have failed most of all in the provinces where 'diarchy' was expected to improve the administration. Ministers are powerless in their own departments and the only thing they can freely do is to appoint Committees to consider, report and recommend on various schemes that are in the air......... If there is to be any real improvement, we must go ahead and during the next one or two years replace 'diarchy' in the provinces by some more workable plan and make the Government of India completely responsive to the intellect, conscience and enterprise of India."

The Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 12th Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 11th Aug.

91. The *Bombay Samáchár* endorses the objections urged against the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau and asks Government to give the people of Bombay some guarantee about carrying out their other housing schemes since the Reclamation cannot be given up as costly machinery has already been purhased for it. It then asks Government to make the Development Board more representative and sees no reason why the Development Department should not be placed under a Minister. It expresses fear that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd will lose the sympathy of the popular representatives in the Legislative Council and of the people in general if he persists in including the Development Department among the Reserved Subjects. [The *Sánj Vartamán* protests against the exclusion of representatives of the Press from the meeting held by His Excellency the Governor in the

Secretariat to answer the objections raised by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau against the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme. The paper then proceeds to endorse the objections of the Chamber against the scheme.]

Comments on the report on the administration of forests in the Bombay Presidency for 1919-1920.

Sind Vasi (167), 28th July.

92. The report on the forests of the Bombay Presidency for the year ending March 1920 is out only now. It shows the revenue to be 71 lakhs and expenditure only 42 lakhs. The revenue for Sind is 7 lakhs and expenditure 2 lakhs. Government is pleased with these figures, and talks of making improvements for increasing the forest produce and revenues still more. But considering the fertility and vastness of Indian forests, wonderful results could be obtained from them, only if Government were as progressive and liberal-minded as the German and American Governments are. How can any improvements be expected from small schemes, narrow ideas, and ease-loving and mediocre-brained officials? Several suggestions for improvements were made to the Industrial Commission which sat under Sir Thomas Holland. But till now very little has been done to carry them out. Let us see what the new Indian Ministry of Industries is going to do, and how far it is going to receive monetary help. It will of course require years to accomplish something substantial. But a beginning can at least be made now.

Comments on the Press Note regarding pensions of primary school teachers in the Presidency.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 12th Aug.

93. The *Dnyán Prakásh* refers with satisfaction to the Press Note conveying the Secretary of State's decision in the matter of grant of pensions to primary school teachers in the Bombay Presidency but regrets that it should have taken nearly two years for Government to come to a decision since the passing of Mr. Upasani's resolution in the matter in the Bombay Legislative Council in July 1919. It contrasts this delay with the speed with which questions about the pay and pensions of the Indian Civil Service are usually decided and says that the state of things does not reflect credit on Government.

The two additional posts of District Judges should be conferred on members of the backward classes.

Rashtra Veer (133), 7th Aug.

94. When two more posts of District Judges were sanctioned by the present session of the Bombay Legislative Council, Rao Bahadur Kale moved a resolution to the effect that experienced and eligible vakils should be appointed on the posts. But the motion was rejected. Of the 18 or 19 posts of District Judges in the Bombay Presidency seven are held by Indians. The proportion is indeed very unsatisfactory, but a more lamentable fact is that none of these seven posts is held by one belonging to the backward classes. Justice, therefore, requires that members of those classes should be appointed to the new posts of District Judges if Government be at all anxious to remove the discontent prevailing among those classes. We have here to point out that the president of the Council did not allow Messrs. Nimbalkar and Ligade to speak on the motion brought forward by Rao Bahadur Kale, fearing perhaps that they would seize that opportunity to press for the claims of the non-Brahmin classes. It is certainly amazing and a matter for regret that the president should not have magnanimity enough to allow even a few minutes to the said members! It is most insulting that this should have happened in the Legislative Council. Whether the ideas of the non-Brahmin Councillors be progressive or otherwise, it is the duty of the president to listen to them, for the non-Brahmins form a distinct party in the Council and they ought to be given a hearing.

Houses of ill-fame in Bombay City.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 8th Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 12th Aug.; **Kaiser-i-Hind* (23), 14th Aug., Eng. cols.

95. The *Sánj Vartamán* endorses the memorial recently submitted to Government by some of the citizens of Bombay in the matter of houses of ill-fame in the city and appeals to Government to introduce a Bill in the Legislative Council at an early date to stamp out the evil which, in its opinion, is a blot on the fair fame of Bombay. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* refers to the resolution on the subject of suppression of houses of ill-fame which is to

be moved by Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas in the September Session of the Bombay Legislative Council and hopes that it will be passed unanimously. It is of opinion that the chief cause of the spread of prostitution is liquor and that the Council should, therefore, try to put an end to the liquor traffic. Referring to the memorial to Government on the subject of houses of ill-fame in Bombay, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes :—" Very little check is exercised by the Police and the Health authorities on these places, with the result that they have become the hot-beds of disease and crime. There is a growing feeling that this evil ought to be checked by removing the inmates of these houses to some distant locality and keeping a proper supervision over them. There is also a growing feeling that some special law ought to be passed in order to give the police and legal authorities the power to save the unfortunate women who fall into the clutches of brutal brothel-keepers from ill-treatment and a life of compulsory slavery. An appeal, signed by numerous leading citizens, has been forwarded to His Excellency the Governor.......... The matter ought not to be allowed to drop till some practical steps have been taken."]

Appeal to Government to secure a just settlement of the Turkish question.
Al-Haq (154), 23rd July.

96. There is a general opinion in the country that the proceedings of the All-India Khilafat Conference, Karáchi, a summary of which we published last week, revealed the existence of a deep and genuine feeling among Muhammadans on the Turkish question. There are many people in England as well as in India who wish very much for a satisfactory settlement of this question. So far, however, this wish has not been gratified, though of course, efforts are still going on in that direction. We are convinced that the agitation now prevailing in India and some other Eastern countries will cease as soon as England gives her support to Angora. None will deny that nothing weighs so much with Muhammedans as their religion. Hence their hearts can be won only by satisfying the demands of their co-religionists of Turkey. We appeal to all local Governments to join hands with Lord Reading in securing a just settlement of the Turkish question at an early date.

What the victorious advance of the Greeks means to the Turks.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Aug.

97. " If Greek occupation, as we know it does, involves the systematic spoliation and 'reduction' of the Muslim population, what is implied by the victorious advance of Greeks ? We hear on all hands, and have seen in 1912, that it means wholesale massacre, the destruction of Islamic monuments, the ploughing up of Muslim graveyards—in other words, 'the destruction of Islam in Anatolia'—a phrase occurring in a Turkish telegram which brought upon us one of those official denials that have done more than anything to disgust Indian opinion, since in each case, within a few days of their publication, their hypocrisy has been disclosed by the whole Press of Europe. As a matter of course, we shall be told that we are stirring up unrest by calling attention to a matter which might otherwise have passed unnoticed by the Indian Mussalmans. We are prepared by long experience for such a charge. In the present instance it is utterly untrue, for the whole Muslim world was quite convinced that England had supplied the poison-gas and flame throwers to Greece, before we called attention to that tell-tale passage in the *Outlook* of July 2; hoping that the Government of India would take the matter up at last in deadly earnest, since the Government of India has been slighted and deceived in this matter, no less than the people of India. The honour of Turkey and of Asia, in this matter, is intact; it is the honour of England which is badly tarnished, and it is the patriotic duty of every Englishman who talks about 'prestige' or cares a rap for 'King and country' or for 'British Justice' to do his best to cleanse his country's scutcheon of this and several other ugly stains."

Meagreness of the reparation share allotted to India.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Aug.

98. "It would be interesting to discover by what standard the Imperial Conference has agreed to apportion the reparations receipts among the various members of the Empire in the manner announced in Reuter's message published to-day. It is but right, of course, that the major portion of the receipts should go to Britain, the chief sufferer from the war, from whatever point

of view we consider the fact. But how is India entitled to receive only 1·20 per cent. of the total receipts, while Canada and Australia and even New Zealand are to receive much more? If the damages are calculated in terms of casualties sustained and actual war expenditure, certainly none of these Dominions suffered greater losses than India. If the reparations are calculated on the basis of the losses in men and money, as well as damage to territory actually sustained, we shall find that the other Dominions have suffered no more than India. In these circumstances it remains a mystery how the apportionment has been arrived at and how our 'representatives' in the Conference have agreed to the arrangement."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 14th Aug.

***99.** "In the distribution of the reparations amount to be collected from Germany, India has again been treated in an invidious manner......... It is really astonishing that India should get less than Canada and Australia and even less than New Zealand.......... One does not know by what criterion they assigned a place to India even inferior to that of New Zealand. Whereas Australia has benefitted by her being placed in possession of the former German colonies in the Pacific and South Africa has quietly occupied the whole of German South West Africa, India has not only been assigned no tract of German land but her previous rights in East Africa are sought to be curtailed and she is also told that she might give up any claims to East Africa altogether, as the machiavelian suggestion of General Smuts shows. India's share in the spoils of the war is so grudgingly and meanly given, but the English War Office has no hesitation in mulcting India to the tune of another £6,500,000 as Persian expenditure....... In this connection it may be asked whether 1·20 per cent. is all that India's representative could get for her in the Imperial Conference. The reparations question must be raised in the coming session of the Legislature at Delhi and a resolution should be moved asking that India's share should be increased, and that it should, if recovered, be credited to India and not to Mesopotamia."

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Honourable Mr. Mahomed Shafi's reply to the deputation of the Anglo-Indian Educational Conference.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 14th Aug.

***100.** "The Honourable Mr. Mahomed Shafi, Minister of Education in the Government of India, gave advice, which was as wise as it was patriotic, to the deputation which waited upon him from the Anglo-Indian Educational Conference which met the week before last at Simla. On one point, however, we rather differ from him. He told them that their idea of getting Anglo-Indian education made an Imperial subject, instead of a provincial one as at present, was not likely to succeed as the tendency was towards more, not less, decentralisation. We should have thought likewise a few weeks ago. But the activities of Ministers, whose energies being dammed from more fruitful channels for lack of funds tend in the direction of upsetting the existing system............lead us to expect a reaction in educational opinion at no distant date in favour of instituting some means of bringing and keeping provincial developments in close touch with one another......... For the rest, we agree with Mr. Shafi's sagacious advice that our Anglo-Indian countrymen would find their difficulties disappear and, indeed, turn to advantages, to the extent that they realise in their public life that they are Indians, that their home is India, and that their prosperity is bound up with the prosperity of the general population. Anglo-Indian schools are in some respects ahead of Indian schools......... The existence of well-managed Anglo-Indian schools is therefore a source of strength to the Indian educational system, and no Indian Minister, with a large view of the national problem, will grudge to give them sufficient grants, having, of course, due regard to the claims of the general population. Mr. Shafi's seggestion that Anglo-Indian schools should admit a large proportion of Indian students, if acted upon, will have the effect of providing a closer link between the Anglo-Indian and other Indian communities and of creating appreciation of their work in a larger circle of Indians."

MUNICIPALITIES.

House collapses in Bombay.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 10th Aug.

101. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the three house collapses with serious consequences that recently occurred in Bombay and dwells upon the necessity of a thorough inquiry into the causes of these collapses with a view to check their recurrence. It also considers it necessary to give compensation to the families of those who met their death through the accidents and punishments to those who are responsible for them. It asks Government to take early steps to amend, as suggested by the Bombay Municipality, the Bombay Municipal Act in respect of punishment of those who infringe its provisions.

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged high-handedness in the Dhrángadhra State.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Aug.

102. "For several days past the relations between the people of Dhrangadhra and the State have been much strained... ..... The authorities of the State have acted in a very high-handed manner in seeking to crush the spirit of the people......... The methods adopted by the State are not new to the people of Káthiáwád, who are accustomed to worse ways of autocracy. But Káthiáwád has not remained unaffected by the awakening throughout the country and the people of Dhrángadhra in common with their brethren in other Káthiáwád States are determined no longer meekly to submit to these ways. The extent and intensity of the awakening may be measured by the fact that the majority of the people of Dhrángadhra have expressed their readiness to inaugurate a campaign of Satyagraha if the authorities do not mend their ways. And the measure of dissatisfaction that exists throughout Káthiáwád with the actions of the Dhrángadhra State is indicated by the decision to summon an extraordinary session of the Káthiáwád Political Conference to consider the situation in Dhrángadhra and the advisability or otherwise of civil disobedience. The ruler of Dhrángadhra will, in the circumstances, be well advised to retrace the unwise steps which he has taken on the advice of his 'strong' Dewan and his entourage—before it is too late."

The non-co-operation movement and the Gwalior State.

Young India (12), 11th Aug.

103. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Passing through Gwalior, I was surprised to find that the people at the station were afraid of approaching our compartment. There was no sign of Swadeshi on the platform. Nobody offered us their foreign caps as at every other station. I soon learnt the reason. Non-co-operation is practically prohibited in this State. The wearing of the *khadi* cap and the possession of the spinning-wheel are regarded with disfavour if not as a crime. It is unthinkable that the Maharaja has himself such reactionary views. His Highness has my sympathy. The poisonous influence of the Government is nowwhere more apparent than in the Indian States which are powerless for making substantial reforms but are often made unwilling instruments for curtailment of the freedom of their subjects. What is more, the protecting wings of the sovereign power have made them like the rest of India emasculate and irresponsible. When, therefore, a prince is self-willed and intent upon oppression, he has certainly infinitely greater powers for mischief within his own State than the Viceroy himself. This is one of the greatest evils inherent in the existing system of Government."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 19th August 1921.

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For the week ending 20th August 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:

- Comments on the discussion in the — on the subject of temperance . 15
- Protest against His Excellency the Governor's too free use of his power to disallow resolutions before the — 14

British Rule:

- Appeal to Government not to acquire land adjoining a Jain temple in Bombay 31
- Approval of the appointment of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla as president of the Tariff Commission 20
- Approval of the personnel of the Matiári Inquiry Committee . . 24
- Brahmins have robbed the agriculturists of their lands 22
- Comments on the conferment of a Privy Councillorship on Mr. Sastri . 19
- Comments on the Government of India's proposal to legislate for compensation to workmen for injuries 27
- Comments on the meeting of the Provincial Board of the Agricultural Department 21
- Complaint that the Collector of Sátára is supporting the Satya Shodhaks against the Brahmins 23
- Government should define their policy with regard to firing on crowds. 25
- Lancashire manufacturers and the import duties on cotton piece-goods. 28 & 29
- Protest against the nature of some of the questions being asked by a Government Committee to sufferers from Jallianwala Bagh tragedy 26
- The proposed visit of the Lancashire Deputation to India . . . 30
- Development of Bombay: Comments on the Government reply to the memorial of the inhabitants of Trombay with regard to the acquisition of their lands by the Development Department 44

Excise:

- The Thána District Magistrate's order against picketing. . . . 37—39
- Question of reduction of liquor-shops in Bombay 40
- What should Government do to afford protection to liquor-shop-keepers against violence on the part of picketers . . . 41
- Why Englishmen do not appreciate Indians' demand for liquor prohibition 42
- Forest: Comments on the Administration Report of the — Department for 1919-20 43

His Excellency the Governor:

- **Comments on His Excellency the Governor's Convocation address . 1—7**

B 127—a Con

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—continued.

His Excellency the Governor—*concld.*

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's statement before the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau regarding the Bombay Development Board . . . 8—10
Comments on the policy of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd . . . 13
Comments on the reply of His Excellency the Governor to the address presented by the non-Brahmin Association of Belgaum . . . 11 & 12

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

Comments on Lahore Municipality's refusal to welcome the Prince of Wales . . . 17
Comments on the movement for the boycott of the Prince of Wales's visit . . . 16
How to make the Prince of Wales's visit to India popular . . . 18

Indians in the Colonies:

Comments on the Government of India's communiqué regarding Indians in Fiji . . . 45
Comments on the resolution regarding India's position in the Empire passed by the Imperial Conference . . . 49—55
Position of Indians in East Africa . . . 46 & 47
Position of Indians in Kenya and South Africa . . . 48
Irrigation: The Sukkur Barrage Scheme . . . 79
Judicial matters: Comments on the withdrawal of the Munitions Board case . . . 32—36

Non-co-operation:

Absurdity of the idea of establishing an Indian Republic . . . 57
Alleged high-handed actions of officials in the district of Bijápur against non-co-operators . . . 69
Comments on the boycott movement . . . 73
Comments on the District Magistrate of Dhárwár's circular about Swadeshi and boycott . . . 77 & 78
Comments on the Government of India's Press Note regarding the interviews between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy . . . 64
Even if all the repressive laws are repealed the measure will now come too late to please the people of India . . . 70
Evil effects of the — movement on boys . . . 56
Exhortation to revive Swadeshi industries and suppress foreign trade . 74—75
Government servants are traitors to their country. . . . 62
Government servants in the Central Provinces should wear *khadi* in spite of the local Government's order to the contrary . . . 63
How Government can allay the present discontent in India . . . 60
Indians should boycott not only foreign cloth but all foreign articles imported into India . . . 72
Indians should not be afraid of going to jail in their struggle for *swarâj*. 68
Mr. Gandhi's exhortation to Indian patriots to abandon all fear of death . . . 66
Mr. Gandhi's eyes now opened at the character of Indian crowds . 58
Mr. Gandhi's views on repression in the United Provinces . . . 67
Mr. Montagu is trying to put down Mr. Gandhi with the help of Mrs. Besant . . . 59
The anti-foreign cloth campaign . . . 76
The intimate connection between the fight of Indians for *swarâj* and the satisfactory solution of the Khilafat question . . . 65
The present movements not likely to win *swarâjya* for India . . 61
Without *swarâj*, life is a shame for Indians . . . 71

War:

Comments on Mr. Chhotani's message regarding England's attitude towards the — between Greece and Turkey . . . 81

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—concluded.

War—*concld.*

Comments on Mr. Lloyd George's remarks about Greece's victory over Turkey . . . . 83 & 84
England's position in the Græco-Turkish — 80
England should drive Greeks out of Smyrna 82

EDUCATION—

People must be prepared to bear additional burdens for the sake of compulsory primary education 85

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the Surat Municipality's non-co-operation with Government in the matter of education 86
Question of renewing the license of the Bombay Telephone Company . . 87

RAILWAYS—

Evils of Company management of Railways in India 88
Strike on the Gondal Railway 89

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the unrest prevailing among the subjects of the Native States in Káthiáwár 90

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's Convocation address.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 19th Aug.; Eng. cols.

1. "Though politics are generally out of place in educational institutions the address of Sir George Lloyd at the Convocation of the Bombay University can scarcely be condemned on the score of inappropriateness.......... It was comparatively a very short speech, and is remarkable for the complete absence of the usual exhortation, with which addresses of this kind over-flow. We believe in both respects the departure was an advantage. Nor is the text of the present address so very remote from the legitimate concerns of a University as for instance, the text of a previous address, *viz.*, the influence of Sea-power. One of the chief functions of a University is the promotion of intellectual liberty, which is itself the necessary condition of religious, social and political liberty.......... It was perhaps from a suspicion that men of education had not been discharging their time function of independent thinking that the Chancellor considered it necessary to restate the essentials of true liberty.......... His Excellency spoke in general terms throughout when he discussed the true meaning and essentials of political liberty. But the application which he intended was obvious. Referring to the history of France and Russia, he indicated how an attempt to change the form of Government at one step had ended in disaster. Mr. Gandhi, when he talks of a *swardjya* in nine months, is aiming at such a dramatic step which in the light of history has always led to anarchy. The Chancellor also illustrated by reference to the growth of English liberty.......... It is for India to consider how far the lessons of foreign history are applicable to her present condition. It is obvious whom Sir George Lloyd meant by 'ephemeral leaders,' and to what he referred when he spoke of 'autocratic and vindicative methods'. He is an Englishman, and from the nationalist standpoint, the head of the bureaucracy. He is, therefore, an interested party, and his discussion of abstract principles, and his description of men and things, will not command general acceptance and will even rouse resentment. But history is history, and it cannot be created to suit one's purposes. The whole course of history is against lawlessness, and dramatic or catastrophic changes. Sir George naturally went to European history for his illustrations. We do not know if, in the fever of Swadeshism, his audience would not be persuaded to reject even foreign history as false and misleading."

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 21st Aug.; Eng. cols.

*2. "The learned and eloquent address which His Excellency Sir George Lloyd delivered at the annual convocation of the Bombay University last Tuesday was, though academic, appropriate to the times, inasmuch as it dealt with a subject more or less uppermost in the minds of men in these days.......... It is well, therefore, that His Excellency took this opportunity to counsel his youthful hearers that they should first of all make sure that they thoroughly know what liberty means.......... The main purpose of the address was to arrive at an intelligible definition of liberty by a study of the lessons of history, and to contrast the liberty, which is gained by violence and degenerates into license, with the liberty which is gained by employing constitutional means and which is maintained by a spirit of discipline and respect for constituted authority.......... We take this opportunity to draw a few inferences from the remarks His Excellency made about the Anglo-Saxon race. Englishmen, we are often told, are proud of their heritage of freedom, especially because it is freedom gained by centuries of struggle and sacrifice. Englishmen, we are told, have more experience and knowledge in this matter than any other race. And it is just for this reason that we expect Englishmen to be more generous and more mindful of the rights of others to enjoy freedom than any other race. They whose ancestors made such great sacrifices at the altar of freedom, they who guard their freedom so zealously, should certainly not be backward in allowing freedom to others.......... Must we also perforce go through the fire to gain that which a little timely tact and generosity could give us without depriving us of our self-respect? A boon given too late may lose half of its value and even be rejected; whereas were it given in time it would prove thrice blessed."

Gujaráti (15), 21st Aug.; Eng. cols.

***3.** "His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, as Chancellor, delivered a thoughtful address at the annual convocation of the Bombay University on a theme which was evidently suggested by the present agitation in India. It was more suited to the academic atmosphere of the University both in the choice of its theme as well as in its tone and conception than the one he delivered two years ago. His present theme was the true meaning of liberty. .... In his exposition of the true meaning of liberty he has drawn upon the thoughts of Roman and Greek writers, modern historians and that very illustrious statesman of profound wisdom whose writings the Chancellor was disposed to depreciate in his former address. We mean Edmund Burke......... If His Excellency's diagnosis of the present situation is correct, it presents the greatest problem for anxious consideration at the hands of all thoughtful, farseeing, responsible and truly patriotic Indians. His Excellency's general treatment of the subject is not open to much criticism.......... His Excellency's convocation address is unexceptionable in its general tenor and line of treatment on the whole and deserves to be read and even studied with care, especially by the younger generation of students and budding politicians. Though he has refrained from mentioning the non-co-operation movement and Mr. Gandhi, he had them in his mind throughout. The address has, therefore, a political complexion and is not purely of academic interest.......... His Excellency illustrated the dangers of license by referring to the tragedies of the French Revolution and the dreadful drama of crime and inhumanity that is still being enacted in Russia. The theme that His Excellency discussed is only one aspect of the larger problem of human progress. What brought about these terrible upheavals and why unfettered license and brutal violence usurped the place of disciplined liberty? Whether one approves or not of the non-co-operation programme and Mr. Gandhi's views and methods, the question still remains—why did this movement come into existence and what is the true significance of the enormous influence exercised by its leader upon the people at large? Unless all these questions are discussed and satisfactorily answered side by side with the exposition of the true meaning of liberty, the Chancellor's address, we are afraid, will not have the desired effect in the present political atmosphere of India. Englishmen may have understood the true meaning of liberty earlier and better than any other people. We are not interested in challenging the validity of such a claim. But the Punjáb tragedy viewed in the light of the attitude taken up by the Home Government, the House of Lords and His Excellency's countrymen in India, some of the despotic and repressive laws enacted and enforced in this country and the treatment meted out to His Majesty's law-abiding Indian subjects in British Protectorates and Crown Colonies do not justify the high credentials the Chancellor so readily accorded to the descendants of those Anglo-Saxons, who won the Magna Charta and of those who achieved the bloodless revolution of 1688 in England. The question is not whether Englishmen have worked out the principles of true liberty and equality in their own affairs, but of those of other people subject to their rule. In the first place, if they had really grasped and respected the sacredness of those principles, there would not have been to-day any such things as British India, and the Irish or Egyptian problem. Secondly, it is not a sound political doctrine to preach that because Englishmen have had to go through very laborious stages of political evolution, therefore, India or other subject nations too must go through geologic eras of development under modern conditions. We do not mean to suggest that it is at all safe in the long run to hasten political advance with railway speed. But such a contingency is impossible in the circumstances of this country. On the contrary there is the great danger of misapplying the doctrine *festina lente* with disastrous consequences. That danger has been realized in the case of Ireland, Egypt and British India and there is not the slightest doubt in our mind that England, though she might have grasped and practised true liberty in working out her own destiny, has not proved successful in shaping those of the three countries we have mentioned. Why are they alone in the whole Empire discontented, uneasy and unhappy? The Chancellor of the Bombay University has got to tackle this question of questions. We quite realise the supreme value of the lesson he desired to impress upon the rising generation of students and the public outside. But such exhortation will not be enough. There are priceless lessons which the 'constituted authorities' themselves have to learn and we are not sure if His Excellency's address shows that in responsible quarters they have been fully appreciated. From the very nature of the Chancellor's position his selection of the subject-matter of his address was bound to be restricted in its scope. That is an inevitable drawback. But the intelligent public at large, who will be disposed to agree, on the whole, with the Chancellor in his views regarding the true meaning of liberty, cannot be blamed, if they feel that the address cannot and does not assist them in solving the very difficult, complex and pressing problems they are called upon to face at the present moment."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 18th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 19th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 18th Aug; *Bharat Seva* (14), 19th Aug.

4. The address delivered by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd on liberty at the annual convocation was very appropriate to the occasion in the present state of the country. It should be noted that political and semi-political subjects are being freely discussed by the Chancellor in his convocation addresses, while in former times such subjects were considered *taboo.* Students in this Presidency and other parts of India are seen to be behaving in an unbecoming manner in the name of liberty, but the responsibility in the matter rests with the Government officials who give them no opportuntties to think on political subjects. Let us hope that His Excellency will secure the credit of devising steps to save the students from the plight into which they have fallen. In our opinion the inability of the students to think for themselves on political questions is due to the removal of history and political economy from the list of compulsory subjects for the B.A. examination. [The *Bombay Samáchár* considers His Excellency's convocation address as very thoughtful and deserving of careful consideration by the people of India. It then proceeds to differentiate between liberty and license and dilates upon the duty of Government to adopt timely and generous measures to satisfy the aspirations of the people for self-government. While admitting that every free man is the slave of law, it adds that such a man is the slave of such laws as have been framed by the people themselves. It asks the student world to bear in mind His Excellency's advice in the matter of obedience to government constituted by law and the application of his warning about Russia to Indian conditions. The *Hindusthán*, on the other hand, considers His Excellency's convocation address as disappointing and a mere collection of quotations from Latin, Greek and other languages. It then proceeds to examine His Excellency's definition of liberty and opines that people should obey only those laws which are framed in their own interests and should offer civil disobedience to those that are oppressive and opposed to public interests. It then refers to His Excellency's warning with respect to the fate of France and Russia and his advocacy of slow progress and asks whether the acquisition of independence by the Phillipine Islands within twenty years can be called slow progress and deplores the present slow progress of India which has not received the rights of self-determination at the hands of the British after their rule of hundred and fifty years. The *Bhart Seva* writes :—It is true that true liberty consists in obeying the laws of the country, but it is equally true that these laws should be framed by the representatives of the people in the interests of the country. Those laws, therefore, that encroach upon the liberty of the people should be removed from the Statute Book as early as possible with a view to giving an opportunity to the people to respect the laws of the country. The address His Excellency delivered at the convocation of the Bombay University was quite suited to the occasion. Our young men should join political agitation after giving due consideration to the question as to what constitutes true liberty and what is the safest way of acquiring it.]

Indian Social Reformer (6), 21st Aug.

*5. "A less obvious application of His Excellency's reminder—but not less intended, we are sure—concerns the bureaucracy which first invented and perfected non-co-operation as a political and administrative method. If the best and only safeguard of liberty is law, laws which disregard the principle of liberty of the subject, are no laws in the only sense of the term that deserves respect. If law is essential to liberty, liberty is essential to law. A law which promulgated slavery would be no law, because the sanctity of law arises from its protection of liberty, and a law which put an end to liberty, can have no claim to such sanctity. The historical and political examples with which His Excellency illustrated his thesis, may convey other lessons besides—and, perhaps, different from—those deduced by him, but as regards the utter soundness of the main theme of it there can be no two opinions. That Sir George Lloyd did not exclude from his purview the official non-co-operators whom it is his duty to control, is a fair inference from the restrained policy which his Government has followed, and which has earned the praise of the whole country, amidst exciting conditions. The Chancellor of the University was evidently expounding the principle actuating his policy as Governer of the Presidency."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Aug.

6. "If the Convocation address, which Sir George Lloyd delivered in 1919, in the course of which he lectured to Indians about the benefits of British Navy, was an unhappy one, the address which he delivered on Tuesday, though a great improvement on the former, in some respects, was hardly less so. Considered merely as an academic pronouncement, the speech was, undoubtedly, very eloquent and contained many observations and sentiments with which every right-minded person must agree. But having regard to the fact that the speech was intended by the Chancellor to apply to present conditions in India, it was absolutely the wrong speech to be delivered on an occasion like this. Sir George Lloyd, in fact, delivered a sermon on liberty and told us in effect that the liberty which the non-co-operation movement is calculated to win will not be true liberty but anarchy......... His main contention was that liberty is a growth of centuries of hard struggle and he was against what Lord Chelmsford called 'catastrophic change'. In fact, he wanted India to be content with the stages laid down by Britain for 'progressive realisation of self-government.'......... He pointed to the French and the Russian Revolutions to warn us against dreadful catastrophes. We do not wish to minimise the bloodshed that was the outcome of the French Revolution nor the atrocities that have been perpetrated by the Bolsheviks. But it must be said that the bloodshed and the atrocities were largely the inevitable outcome of the reactionary regimes preceding the Revolutions and we have no doubt that as impartial verdict has pronounced the French Revolution to have been the greatest event that happened in history till then, a similar verdict will be passed on the Russian Revolution. Apart from that, Sir George Lloyd, we are afraid, has succumbed to the common temptation of indulging in false analogy. There is no parallel in history to the case of India. Neither is the example of England nor the warning from the experience of France and Russia, even supposing Sir George's reading of the events to be correct, applicable to India. Not one of these countries had to fight against foreign rule—against foreign domination; not one of them was a subject nation.......... The true lesson of history was expressed by Lincoln when he said that no nation, however great, is fit to govern another—and, as a good Englishman said, good government can never be a substitute for government by the people. Sir George Lloyd does not realise this, because he has never *felt* as a member of a subject nation, never *lived* as a member of a subject nation. By drawing our attention to the lesson of English history he asks us to be content with leaving the destiny of our country in the fostering care of just, impartial and liberty-loving England. Ireland and Egypt no less than India have known what the domination by England has meant to them.......... She will listen to no reformer, to no philosopher, to no preacher, until she is free—until she regains her natural right of self-government. And the only reply to those Englishmen who question the wisdom of her determination is to ask them if they would themselves like their affairs in England to be managed by Indians as they wish to manage India's affairs. Sir George Lloyd emphasised the need for the inculcation of a spirit of discipline and a strong respect for constituted authority, implying that the non-co-operation movement is a negation of all this and that if it succeeds, it will lead to nothing but anarchy

and disorder. Nothing can be further from the truth. The 'constituted authority' which the non-co-operation movement seeks to destroy is that which is based, in the ultimate analysis, on military coercion by a foreign Power, and not that which is based on the consent of the people. And the process of destruction is to be carried on strictly by non-violent method. No non-co-operator wants the transition to authority based on the consent of the people to be too sudden. He is conscious of the need for internal and external defence and for safeguarding the vested interests of British Capitalism and Services. These are matters which can be settled by mutual arrangement. What is essential, however, is that the settlement must be made on terms of equality as between Britain and the accredited representatives of India."

Mahrátta (7), 21st Aug.

*7. "Our 'liberal-minded' Governor treated his audience to a homily on true liberty on the occasion of the annual convocation last Tuesday. He tried to convince the assembly by historical instances, that true liberty could be won only by respecting law and constituted authority; and that won otherwise leads only to bloodshed, anarchy and poverty. In the first category he puts the Anglo-Saxon struggle for liberty, and in the other French and Russian revolutions. His only contention appears to be that non-co-operation, the fiat of an ephemeral leader, can never win the desired liberty for Indians (though he does not express it in so many words); because non-co-operation thwarts law and order, is 'buttressed by intimidation' and 'supported by clamour'. Of course the Governor has full liberty to give non-co-operation bad name and hang it. His Excellency is welcome to his opinion that 'the Anglo-Saxon struggle for liberty contains hardly a crime that can be pilloried at the bar of history,' and as its first victory he instances the Great Charter. But really speaking was not the Great Charter forced out by coercion, 'buttressed by intimidation' and based upon disrespect of Royalty, the fountain-head of law and order? In his opinion the Anglo-Saxons accepted negotiation when they could and fought only when they must. Indians too have patiently and perseveringly passed through this stage of negotiation—which practically means dictation in India and have begun to fight a battle, not a bloody like the Anglo-Saxon's, but a bloodless one. His Excellency depicts the French and the Russian revolutions as results of the very high fever for free Government, ending in disaster. But the French and the Russians had fully waited to see the rise of full freedom in their nation, upto the farthest limit when an attempt to wrest it, even though accompanied by temporary disorder, had to be made. So none of these instances applies to India, and besides they were struggles against one's own rulers, whereas in India it is against foreign domination. By the way, why does His Excellency conveniently forget the American War of Independence? What was their foremost war-cry of liberty, but 'No representation, No taxation'? What is it but in essence a form of non-co-operation? Our present war-cry similarly is non-co-operation or for the matter of that 'No Co-operation, No Co-operation,' meaning thereby that if the foreign domination refuses to act in co-operation and attempts dictation, it is the inherent right of a slave nation to refuse co-operation, and thwart subjugation. It is all very well to speak of liberty in terms of respect for law, established order and constituted authority, but it reduces to a practical proposition only under *swarájya* that is best, *i. e.*, that has to govern least. His Excellency has called to his succour many authors of note, and summarises his meaning of liberty by quoting a Greek statesman's definition, *viz.*, 'Every free man is a slave to one thing only—the Law.' The definition well shows the materialistic trend of Western civilisation. We Indians, however, have the safest guide in Bhagwadgita. It calls upon us to be slaves' to no body except Lord Shrikrishna, *i. e.*, God Almighty."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's statement before the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau regarding the Bombay Development Board.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Aug.

8. "The members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau who waited on his Excellency the Governor on Wednesday must have been deeply disappointed at the lecture Sir George Lloyd delivered to them. The Governor's statement, lengthy though it is, leaves unanswered the majority of the points raised, and where an explanation has been given it appears debatable or unconvincing...... In his preliminary speech Mr. Lalji Naranji, Chairman of the Chamber, had requested His Excellency to note that the Chamber required

information 'mainly on the following five points':—(*a*) Further information regarding figures of major heads by which the total of Rs. 8 crores and fifty lakhs is reached. (*b*) Causes which are responsible for the original estimate of Rs. 4 crores given by the Honourable Sir C. Setalvad having increased to Rs. 8 crores and fifty lakhs. (*c*) Grounds in details on which in the opinion of the Government Development cannot be made a Transferred Subject. (*d*) Reasons for not having a governing body for the Development Department instead of the present Advisory Committee. (*e*) Whether the Government can give assurance that there is no conflict of engineering opinion with regard to the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme. The Governor promised to supply the Chamber that very day the information they asked under the head (*a*) and (*b*); so no doubt the Chamber is now in possession of the information. Sir George Lloyd, however, would have done well to take the public, the taxpayers and the investors in the Development loan, as well as the Chamber, into his confidence for they are not less anxious to be enlightened than the Chamber. We hope the Director of Information will take the earliest opportunity to inform the public. Sir George Lloyd undertook to deal with the points raised under the heads (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*), but his explanation, lengthy though it is, does not cover all these points. He has only dealt with the question why Development has not been made a Transferred Subject......... His Excellency seems to be afraid of trusting Indians with the financial interests that are involved in the scheme and he wishes that the Indian Ministers should be spared the charges of corruption and the like, which, in his opinion, are likely to be levelled at those who are engaged in administering the Land Acquisition Act. If this is Sir George's considered opinion, no better condemnation of the entire Reform Scheme can there be than this. We wonder how the Indian Ministers especially and the 'Co-operators' in general, appreciate the suggestion that they will not be able either to rise above the temptations of large financial control or to withstand the whispers of corruption or favouritism that may be blown against them. But may we ask, whether equally large financial interests are not involved in the administration of the Education, Public Works Department, Forests, and Local Self-Government Departments? If, however, Sir George or the Secretary of State wished to keep the control of the land acquisition operations as a reserved subject, they were welcome to do so, without infringing on the right of the Indian Minister to control the development side of the scheme. Why was not such an arrangement made?...... ... Sir George Lloyd's Government have absolutely ignored the people's right to a real control over the disposal of their money and the future of their City. That only ten minutes were vouchsafed to the scheme during the budget discussion in March is an eloquent testimony to this fact......... No, autocracy has been doomed. If Sir George Lloyd is anxious to convince these people of the immediate necessity of the Reclamation Scheme, he must satisfy them by giving their representatives leave to examine the project in all its ramifications."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 17th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 15th Aug.

9. We are constrained to say that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has failed in his attempt to carry conviction to the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau by the address he recently delivered before them in the matter of the Back Bay Scheme owing to his omission to supply the necessary facts, figures and expert opinions. We still wish that the scheme which is likely to spell disaster to the city will be given up and maintain that it is unsound from the financial point of view. Government have no doubt appointed an Advisory Board, but it is not representative and it does not command the confidence of the public as it is practically powerless. It is strange that Sir George Lloyd who is a staunch advocate of liberty should refuse to entertain the suggestion of making the Development Department a Transferred Subject. Let us hope that His Excellency who has gained the reputation of being a sympathetic and tactful ruler will not tarnish his fair fame by pushing forward the Back Bay Scheme in spite of popular opposition. [The *Bombay Samáchár* is also of the opinion that His Excellency's speech does not give a satisfactory reply to the objections urged by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau. It, however, hopes that the question of providing housing accommodation for the poor will be taken in hand simultaneously with the pushing up of the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme.]

10. In the first instalment of an article headed "The Back Bay Apologia", the *Sanj Vartaman* writes:—"It will be generally agreed that the speech delivered by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay when he had an interview with the members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to discuss the Bombay Development Schemes, though it did much to dispel the existing darkness prevailing on the whole subject, yet there was still a good deal kept in the dark upon which a little more light would have been considered by the general public as most welcome and beneficial. As it was natural, His Excellency did his best to give as glowing a description of his pet schemes, and more notably about the Back Bay Reclamation, as was possible in his power to do, but while fully appreciating Sir George Lloyd's powerful zeal and enthusiasm in the matter, we are constrained to say that the general public—who after all is most concerned in the matter—will not be satisfied at all at the laboured apologia that His Excellency tendered at so great a length. Now we need hardly say that we have read the Governor's speech very carefully as it fully deserved and we have come to the conclusion that even His Excellency in spite of his cheery exposition of his schemes is not fully satisfied with certain loose pieces that they contain. To mention only one is the question of control, and on this point Sir George frankly admitted that he could not satisfy his hearers nor on the question of development being made a reserved subject......... We have no hesitation in saying that this is not only the most objectionable part of His Excellency's speech, but the particular question therein threshed out the most objectionable in the whole development scheme. Sir George Lloyd proceeding further tries to justify this method of procedure but to us it appears that every word of it goes to confirm the popular contention that the whole scheme should be made a transferred one and that the voice of the public should be the potent one in its proper shaping......... Let us say most respectfully that we most emphatically beg to lodge our dissent to the confidential assertion so powerfully put forward by His Excellency. We think that because these development schemes 'are financially the most important matters which any local Government in India have ever handled', they ought to be within the control of the public. The latter has every right to know how far its commitments go, what are its future liabilities, what burden (if any) there is going to be in the shape of taxes and so on and the future chances of success. If the schemes are a success the public will never get an ounce of credit, but if they fail, then the burden will fall upon the shoulders of the public. Will the Local Government, or the Secretary of State, come forward to help the public in the latter unfortunate contingency? Every rupee that will be spent belongs to the public and the latter has every right to see and to know beforehand how that rupee is to be spent."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 19th Aug.; Eng. cols.

11. Referring to the reply of His Excellency the Governor to the address presented by the non-Brahmin Association of Belgaum, the *Karnátak Vaibhav* says that His Excellency, in giving vent to his wrath against the editors of newspapers and throwing upon them the whole blame for the atrocities which happened at different places, had failed to grasp the secret of the situation and to view it impartially. The paper admits that the Governor of Bombay being more patient than the rest of the Governors has a better right to caution newspaper editors and other people; but it asks how it was that His Excellency failed to administer at the same time any reprimands to his officials who were mainly responsible for the atrocities.

Comments on the reply of His Excellency the Governor to the address presented by the non-Brahmin Association of Belgaum.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 16th Aug.

12. Commenting upon His Excellency the Governor's speech in reply to the address presented to him by the Karnátak non-Brahmin League, the *Gramya Swarájya* remarks:—Clouds are gathering on the Bombay Presidency also. The Government of Sir George Lloyd will not fail to rise to the occasion. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement have also received a warning from His Excellency to be very cautions in future. It

Gramya Swarájya (63), 16th Aug.

seems that the officials will now begin to use their power more and more and the deadly weapon of repression will be resorted to here. [The paper then reproduces a part of His Excellency's speech and adds:—] Are not these words of His Excellency a foreboding of the impending repressive policy? What else can be the object of Government in launching this policy except to put down the non-co-operation movement? A repressive policy, which is nothing else but the exercise of brute force, cannot harm a nation which depends upon the priceless principle of non-violence. Even attempts to put down a struggle based on violence by means of brute force have proved futile, and we have got a living instance of this in Ireland. Can it be said that Europe has secured peace by means of brute force and by wading through rivers of blood shed in the last great war? The lesson of non-violence has been so well taught in this Presidency, that even young children who indulge in ordinary mischief stop of their accord from going too far in it. Perhaps His Excellency has observed silence so far, because he has had no opportunity to use his power. Government perhaps want to pursue a repressive policy in order to lead the people astray. It seems from His Excellency's words that he probably wants to put down the non-co-operation movement out of a feeling of revenge. Should not the aim of a repressive policy be to prevent the people from breaking the law and fomenting sedition, and not to satisfy a feeling of vengeance? But still the people should listen to His Excellency's warning. Just as the *Chatak* bird fishes out only the pearl from the salt sea, so also should people eliminate the saltiness in the speech of His Excellency, and profit by the warning conveyed to them. Both the leaders and their followers should observe the strictest non-violence.

Comments on the policy of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd.
Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 13th Aug.

13. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* writes a short paragraph about the policy of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay, in which it remarks that since the inception of the non-co-operation movement many of the popular leaders have been sent to jail in the various provinces of India except Bombay, where no non-co-operator has been arrested, neither is any leader gagged nor is security demanded from any one. It adds that the secret of this policy is given out by the Governor in his recent speech, which perfectly makes it clear that this is all due to the royal clemency; otherwise Bombay too would have been in mourning.

Protest against His Excellency the Governor's too free use of his power to disallow resolutions before the Bombay Legislative Council.
Servant of India (9), 18th Aug.

14. "We are afraid the Governor of Bombay is using his special powers of disallowance in regard to resolutions rather too freely. He is understood to have disallowed a resolution seeking to express the Council's opinion in favour of the abolition of the three Revenue Commissionerships in the presidency on the strange ground that the matter was not primarily a concern of the local Government. His ruling is clearly erroneous in view of the fact that a similar motion was allowed to be discussed only recently in the Central Provinces Council. Another resolution proposing a reduction of the present strength of the Executive Council by one-half, of which due notice was given before the March session of the Bombay Council, is also reported to have been disallowed, while Lord Willingdon's Government saw no objection to the same being discussed in the Madras Council."

Comments on the discussion in the Bombay Legislative Council on the subject of temperance.
Gujaráti (15), 14th Aug.

15. The *Gujaráti* refers to the discussion that took place in the Bombay Legislative Council at its recent meeting at Poona on the question of the temperance movement. It is of the opinion that it would be absurd to think that education in the Presidency would suffer if liquor was totally prohibited. It holds Government responsible for driving the temperance reformers to the picketing of liquor-shops and approves of the determination of the people of the Thána District to resort to Satyagraha in the matter of the order of the District Magistrate against picketing. It declares that license-

holders have no claim on Government for compensation and expresses confidence that picketing will not stop till the liquor-shops are closed.

Comments on the movement for the boycott of the Prince of Wales's visit.

Karnátak Times (36), 12th Aug.

16. Referring to the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales, the *Karnátak Times* says that the resolution is not salutary inasmuch as it is the duty of leaders of all shades of opinion to give a cordial welcome to the Prince, for whom they can have no feeling of personal ill-will. The paper condemns the resolution and says that the proper course for the leaders to follow is to place their grievances before the Prince and suggest remedies for their redress.

Comments on Lahore Municipality's refusal to welcome the Prince of Wales.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Aug.

17. "All India will congratulate the municipal councillors of Lahore on the courage they have shown in calling a spade a spade and refusing on their own behalf as well as on behalf of the citizens to participate in the ceremonies connected with the Prince of Wales' visit.......... Those who expect the citizens of Lahore or Amritsar to put on smiling faces and join in the rejoicings on the occasion of the Prince's visit, while yet the wound in their heart is unhealed, must be either hypocrites or extremely callous. The city fathers of Lahore have frankly told the world the reasons why they and those whom they represent feel unable to participate in the welcome to the Prince and the ceremonies connected therewith.......... The *Civil and Military Gazette*, the mouthpiece of the local bureaucracy, which is grinding its teeth and tearing its hair in uncontrollable fury at the decision of the Lahore Municipal Committee, remarks that the Prince had no more to do with the policy of the Punjáb Government in 1919 than a visitor from Mars. Let us admit that this is so, but if the *Gazette* believes that the evil effects of that policy still persist, and that the present Government too refuse to heal the wound, are not the people of the Punjáb justified in refusing to join in the celebrations in honour of the Prince's visit, when they are so sore at heart? If the Prince's visit is truly non-political, why can it not be postponed to more propitious times; and why does the bureaucracy persist in 'fiddling while Rome is burning'?......... The *Gazette*, in its wrath, has suggested to Government to take steps to suppress the Lahore Municipality—which it is pleased to describe as a 'soviet in disguise'. We do not suppose that the Punjáb Government will, for a moment, listen to this counsel of madness. Lahore has set an example to the cities of the land."

How to make the Prince of Wales's visit to India popular.

Hindusthán (21), 15th Aug.

18. The *Hindusthán* declares that since His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught has already done what His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was to have done, there is no real justification for the visit of the latter to India and for the expenditure of enormous sums which such a visit will involve. The paper points out that the new Reforms have done nothing towards making India self-dependent in the matter of self-defence and that there can be no real *swarāj* without the ability to defend oneself against foreign aggression. If, adds the paper, the Prince of Wales when he comes to India were to accept the principle that self-protection is an essential for *swarāj* and to announce a new and satisfactory policy for India in this direction, his visit would to some extent be considered timely and desirable.

Comments on the conferment of a Privy Councillorship on Mr. Sastri.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 21st Aug.

***19.** "We heartily congratulate Mr. Srinivas Sastri on his Privy Councillorship conferred on him. He richly deserves that and the other honours he has received. It was an act of real sacrifice on his part to have given up his profession and joined the Servants of India Society and it is always cheering to feel that the self-sacrifice such as his gets its reward sometimes even in this world. We are also sure that he has by his thoughtfulness, culture and dignity produced an excellent impression not only of himself but of his countrymen in general upon those, British and Colonials alike, who came in contact with him. He is obviously destined for higher and wider sphere of public activity and we have every confidence that he will acquit himself in a manner to bring credit to himself in any position in which he may be placed."

Approval of the appointment of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah as president of the Tariff Commission.
Indian Social Reformer (6), 21st Aug.

*20. "We are glad to learn that the difficulties raised in the way have been overcome and that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah will be the Chairman of the Commission to investigate the advantages and disadvantages of a policy of preference in inter-Imperial tariffs in India. He is one of the few men whose selection to such a position will inspire public confidence, and we are pleased that he has accepted the responsibility."

Comments on the meeting of the Provincial Board of the Agricultural Department.
Kesari (111), 16th Aug.

21. The *Kesari** refers to the meeting of the Provincial Board of the Agricultural Department and welcomes its decision to appoint a Joint Board consisting of the Director of Agriculture, the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and three non-official members appointed by each of these two officers to co-ordinate the duties of the Agricultural and Co-operative Departments. It, however, doubts whether the authorities who are accustomed to wield autocratic powers will give effect to this resolution. It also apprehends that the non-official members will not be men of independent views since they will be selected by the officials.

Brahmins have robbed the agriculturists of their lands.
Vijayi Maráthá (149), 13th Aug.

22. The *Kesari* is very anxious as to what would happen to the Brahmins if the non-Brahmins refuse to cultivate their lands. But what does it mean by the lands of the Brahmins? If, as is proved by evidence, they have come from Persia and Egypt, whence have they brought their lands? The fact is, they have robbed the agriculturists of their lands by methods worse than those employed by the Marwarees. There are numerous examples of Kulkarnis having quietly transferred *khatas* of agriculturists to the names of Brahmins and of Brahmins having appropriated extensive lands of agriculturists by advancing to them a few bushels of corn. Who can feel any respect for such ownership? It is simply owing to the peaceful nature of the agriculturists that the Brahmins have been able to retain their ill-gotten land. Why should these Brahmin thieves of our lands expect that we should cultivate them without demanding due return for our labours? The *Kesari* has threatened Government with dire consequences if the present state of things is allowed to continue and Government, alien as it is, may be terrified by these threats. But we who know the Brahmins by a long and close association are not at all afraid of them. We tell them to their face that all the disturbances at Dhárwár, Nágpur and Málegaon were due to their instigation, though non-Brahmins alone have been the victims. The Brahmins' continuance in this country is dependent upon their good conduct. If they fall foul of others and call names to people who are really their masters, it will result in harm not to Government but to themselves.

Complaint that the Collector of Sátára is supporting the Satya Shodhaks against the Brahmins.
Lokasháhi (119), 15th Aug.

23. Mr. Moysey, the Collector of Sátára, is to a great extent responsible for the aggravation of the conflict between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in that district. He takes pride in putting forward excuses for the persecution of the Brahmins by the Satya Shodhaks and in safeguarding the interests of the latter by harassing the former. Such district officers who are trying to poison Indian politics by widening the gulf between Brahmins and non-Brahmins are committing an offence punishable under section 153-A. of the Penal Code. Mr. Moysey, in order to win over the non-Brahmins, has not forgotten, in the course of his speech as president of the League of Peace and Order, to announce Government's intention of giving *swaráj* to India within ten or fifteen years! But such false promises of Mr. Moysey are not worth a pie.

Approval of the personnel of the Matiári Inquiry Committee.

Sind Vasi (167), 5th Aug.

24. Mr. Bhojsing wires from Poona that the Matiári Committee is to consist of Messrs. Raymond, Harchandrai and Ghulam Hussain Kasim. We consider this personnel to be quite satisfactory. Instead of an executive officer, as was originally proposed, we have now a judicial officer as its Chairman. Mr. Harchandrai is a pleader, and one can rarely find in Sind a person so cool-headed and impartial as he is. Mr. Ghulam Hussain Kasim's appointment is also to be commended. We therefore congratulate the Government and the people on the composition of this committee.

Government should define their policy with regard to firing on crowds.

Sind Vasi (167), 4th Aug.

25. The debate in the Bombay Council on the Matiári incident is given in detail in the Bombay papers. It was declared on behalf of Government that it had already been decided to appoint a Committee of Enquiry. No reply, however, was given to the enquiry by several members as to the limits of the authority of the Police to open fire on popular crowds. We feel that Government has committed a blunder in not defining its policy in this respect. Let the Government of India take up and settle this question once for all. Otherwise we shall have firing every now and then.

Protest against the nature of some of the questions being asked by a Government Committee to sufferers from the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Aug.

26. "If what a correspondent of the *Tribune* says is true, the Committee which has been appointed by the Punjáb Government to ascertain the claims to compensation of sufferers from the Jallianwala Bagh tragedy has a strange notion of its mission of mercy.......... The widow of a villager who lost his life at Jallianwala Bagh was asked whether she was sure her husband had not come to Amritsar in connection with an intended theft, while the father of a ten-year old boy, who had been killed on the occasion, was asked what the loss to him had been by the death of his son who was not an earning member of the family! Could anything be more monstrous and inhuman than these questions addressed to people who came there only because they were invited to come and who have been suffering all along for no fault of theirs? No 'compensation' that the Government can give will be adequate for the loss and misery they have suffered these two years and more. It is heartless cruelty to add insult to their injury in the manner the Committee is reported to be doing."

Comments on the Government of India's proposal to legislate for compensation to workmen for injuries.

Praja Bandhu (28), 14th Aug.; Eng. cols.

27. Referring to the Government of India's letter to Local Governments on the subject of legislation for compensation to workmen for injuries received in the course of their duties, the *Praja Bandhu* writes:—"Regarding the scope of the Act it proposes to widen the definition of factories so as to include all industrial establishments using mechanical power and those which carry on work of a hazardous nature (*e. g.*, those involving processes dangerous to health) whether they use mechanical power or not. This is as it should be. But it also proposes to limit compensatory benefits to manual industrial workers only. Agricultural workers, domestic servants, and those who are not manual workers are excluded from its provisions. We think this is not just or proper. The legislation that is meant for 'those who are unable, by reason of the smallness of their earnings, to make provision for incapacity resulting from accidents' should not be thus restricted in its operation. It is not to be supposed that industrial manual workers are the only persons whose earnings are small and who are liable to accidents. Numerous instances can be cited of domestic servants, agricultural workers, and those engaged as clerks, whose wages are scandalously low and who are frequently liable to injuries due to the exhausting and exacting if not 'dangerous' nature of their employment. All these should be included in the operation of the Act. The best thing is to fix the limit, as in England and elsewhere, of the wages of those to whom the Act should be applicable. The Government of India commit the same kind of blunder in allotting the burden of compensation. In their anxiety to throw the whole cost on the employer they see nothing wrong in his insuring his own risks. No doubt they admit that if insurance were prohibited employers would be much more careful to prevent accidents, but at the same time they want to save the small employer who might be ruined by a serious accident if it is uninsured. This can better be done by Government themselves sharing his ruin to an extent which may not lessen his anxiety for safety precautions. But on no account should this anxiety be totally removed from his mind or that of his more oppulent brethren......... Employers should, therefore, be made ever vigilant by imposing upon them the burden of accidents, and where it is crushing the State should share it rather than permit it to be insured. The most difficult question is the question of fixing the scale of compensation. This fixed scale of compensation makes no provisions for diseases which result in 'permanent partial disability' and which are included among 'injuries' for which compensation is to be paid. We hope this is due to oversight, and local Governments will provide for them on the principle of the percentage of wage-earning capacity lost which has been accepted in fixing scales for total and partial disability."

Lancashire manufacturers and the import duties on cotton piece-goods.

Sind Observer (10), 13th Aug.

28. "We are not surprised at the agitation now kicked up in Lancashire against the import duties imposed last March on account of budget exigencies.......... So sensible a paper as the *Manchester Guardian* takes up the cudgels on behalf of its country and envies the prosperity of Bombay millowners. It calls attention to the decline of Lancashire's cotton imports into India for the month of May by nearly one-half. The reasons or this decrease are many and not the duties alone. The manipulation of the exchange has ruined Indian merchants and they are unable yet to recover from the blow inflicted on India with a view to clear off some crores of debt owing to India by a stroke of the pen. And there are goods worth crores uncleared. The spread of Swadeshi is also bound to affect Manchester trade. India is not made for Manchester and the old mentality of Manchester magnates that India is created, in the dispensations of economic imperialism, to be the dumping ground for Manchester goods must change now.......... The naked selfishness of the plea that Indian millowners must be made to pay the same tax as the Lancashire manufacturers is so palpable that no Indian Legislative Assembly, worth its salt, will countenance it for one minute. It is India's business to arrange her own fiscal policy in her own interests and she will not tolerate any dictation from outside.......... The Lancashire outcry can only strengthen the hands of the Gandhists who will exploit to the fullest this ill-advised move on the part of Manchester. It will result in throwing the Bombay and Ahmedabad moderate millowners, who have not subscribed a single pie to the 'One crore fund' into the bosom of Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi will easily raise another crore by their help before the year is out. It will result in killing the moderate party in India if Lancashire is to succeed in her selfish cry? The Government in this country has enough evil to cope with at present and why add to its difficulties by making enemies of the powerful millowners. There is not one Indian who is not a protectionist as pointed out by Mr. Montagu. There is not one European in this country who will not side with the Bombay millowners. In fact, it is a European non-official member, Mr. R. A. Spence, who moved in the Legislative Assembly on March 19th that the import duty be raised from 7½ to 12½ per cent. and not from 7½ to 11 per cent. only as proposed by the Finance Minister. The amendment was defeated; but the duty was fixed at 11 per cent., every European member whole-heartedly supporting it. It will thus be seen the Europeans living in this country will not join Manchester in the cry now set up. The excise on Indian mill made cloth is an iniquitous duty imposed in the autocratic days of the Secretaries of State to please their masters of Manchester.......... The Manchester agitation must also be met by a counter-agitation in India to do away entirely with the excise duties on Indian mill-made cloth. We want to tell Lancashire that the days of lording it over India are gone for ever."

Gujarâti (15), 14th Aug.

29. The *Gujarâti* refers to the agitation that is being engineered by Manchester to get the excise duty on Indian piece goods increased to 11 per cent. with a view to placing Manchester piece-goods on an equal footing in India. It does not think that the recently enhanced import duty could have influenced exports from Manchester so soon and ascribes the depression in the Manchester market to high prices and the depreciation of the rupee in exchange. It asks the people of India to reply to the Manchester agitation by vows of Swadeshi and boycott, as also by bonfires of foreign cloth, especially when the Manchester Deputation visits India to discuss matters with the Government of India and Indian mercantile interests.

The proposed visit of the Lancashire Deputation to India.

Kesari (111), 16th Aug.

30. Commenting upon the proposed deputation of Lancashire cotton manufacturers to the Government of India to discuss with them the question of the import duty of 11 per cent. on cotton goods, the *Kesari* writes:—India has levied this duty to make up her deficit. If there will be a deficit again this year, and we have no doubt there will be, then what can the Government of India do if a dozen such deputations visit India? These people cannot discover new sources of revenue. At the most they will spitefully suggest that a corresponding excise duty should be levied on Indian manufactures. But the injustice of 1894 and 1896 cannot possibly be repeated again. This incident is of importance in one respect. Upto this time Indians had to go to England to get a wrong redressed, but now an English deputation has to come to India with that object in view. The spectacle is no doubt very instructive.

Appeal to Government not to acquire land adjoining a Jain temple in Bombay.

Bombay Samâchâr (57), 20th Aug.

31. The *Bombay Samâchâr* expresses hope that Government will revise their decision about acquiring the land adjoining the Jain temple situated at Byculla (Bombay) and handing it over to the Bombay Improvement Trust, in view of the strong protest made by the Jains of Bombay in a recent public meeting and the decision they have arrived at to build fourteen chawls for the Jains on that plot.

Comments on the withdrawal of the Munitions Board case.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th and 20th Aug.

32. "Lord Reading has issued a press communiqué which goes to show that he had no hand whatever in the sorry business and that he came to know of it only after the withdrawal of the case had actually taken place. But a mere disclaimer of this nature will not suffice. Every one in the country is anxious to know what Lord Reading, who came for the express purpose of vindicating the purity as well as majesty of justice, will do to rescue that unfortunate Goddess from the mire into which she has been dragged in the full view of the world.......... The Advocate-General told the Court that the 'Government of India' had been informed from various sources that if the prosecution were proceeded with, 'widespread commercial and industrial interests would be severely affected' and that the 'Government of India' had come to the conclusion that 'in the interests of the public' it is not 'advisable' to proceed with the prosecution. Who are this 'Government of India' that disposed of the matter with so easy a conscience, without troubling to consult or even inform Lord Reading, its own head? Is it true that Sir Thomas Holland, Member, Board of Industries, is entirely responsible for the instructions given to the Government Counsel to withdraw the charges? What other members of the 'Government of India' did Sir Thomas Holland consult before he decided to instruct the prosecution in this manner? Did he take into confidence the Law Member of the Government of India? If he did not, was Sir Thomas Holland within his rights in proceeding in the matter in manner he did?......... All these questions must be satisfactorily answered if the public of this country, in whose alleged interest this open compounding with felony has been tolerated, are to be convinced that the thing has not been done with a view to shield from justice some other 'highly connected' personages too." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"Mr. Montagu's reply to questions put to him in the House of Commons on the subject of the munitions trial at Calcutta leaves no doubt whatever in the public mind that Sir Thomas Holland authorised the withdrawal of the case 'on his own responsibility.'......... Even if it was quite within his competence to authorise the dropping of the prosecution—which we do not believe it was—we think it was clearly the duty of Sir Thomas Holland, having regard to the gravity of the issues involved in the step he was taking, to consult all his colleagues, and his chief the Viceroy......... It is reassuring to find that Mr. Montagu at least realises the seriousness of the situation. But the communiqué issued by Lord Reading is very disappointing.......... Lord Reading can hardly expect the public seriously to consider the excuse that Sir Thomas Holland has been over-worked. Drastic measures must be taken against those who have tarnished the name of the country in the eyes of the world. Merely to dispense with the services of those responsible for this atrocious scandal is too mild a measure. They deserve to be impeached."]

Indian Social Reformer (6), 21st Aug.

***33.** "Our first duty is to apologise to His Excellency the Viceroy for implying in our comment last week that he might have been accessary to the decision. Our only excuse is that it was impossible for us to imagine that division of work in the Government of India had been carried to such a point of disintegration that a decision so serious could be taken without the head of the Government being at least informed of it. His Excellency, however, seems to have been victimised, whether deliberately or not, it remains to be seen. Those who had any hand in this business, if they were actuated at all by any motive as regards His Excellency's administration, could not have been actuated by a friendly motive. Most probably the seriousness of their action and its probable effect on Government did not strike them. In that case, the only conclusion possible is that they are unworthy of their position, whatever it is, in the Government......... How low the prestige of Government had been brought by this incident is shown by the fact reported on Friday, that four other accused in similar cases being offered on behalf of Government that the cases against them would be withdrawn on their admitting that their prosecution was justified, refused the offer."

Mahrátta (7), 21st Aug.

***34.** "From what appears in press it is crystal clear that, in connection with the Munitions Board case, there is somewhere a skeleton rumbling in governmental cupboard. The memory of the Control Department with all its overt and covert scandals deepens such a conviction. The charges against the two Indian accused were withdrawn on the specious ground that interests of Swadeshi industries were involved. God forbid! whence such a profuse overflow of anxious care for the development of Indian industries!......... The terms offered to Billinghurst for the withdrawal of the case against him, if true as reported, expose the ins and outs of the British justice so much bruited abroad. 'Show me the man and I will show you the law.' This was the mediæval principle of justice, but that seems to be operative to-day in the British *raj*. Justice cannot be a toy in the hands of Government. On its splendid isolation and independence rests the reign of law. Lord Reading is a great jurist and we trust that he will bring to light 'the dirty linen' in the Munitions case. All manner of suspicions are arising and are likely to arise still more and they must be falsified or removed. That cannot be done by bungling and burking, but by an open exposition in broad daylight."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 16th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 20th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 19th Aug.

35. The *Sánj Vartamán* condemns in strong terms the action taken by Government in withdrawing the Munitions Board case and characterises it as the murder of justice. It calls upon Government to place their reasons for withdrawing the case before the public. It endorses the protest made by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce in the matter and declares that the withdrawal of the case will tend to strengthen the suspicion entertained by the public that high officials were involved in it and asks Government to renew the prosecution against the accused in the interest of justice. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* also criticises the withdrawal of the Munitions Board case. The paper blames Sir Thomas Holland for allowing the case to be withdrawn on his own authority and without previously consulting the Viceroy in the matter. The paper thinks it strange that the Viceroy should have been totally ignorant of the matter till the case was actually withdrawn. The paper remarks that it will anxiously await the explanation which Mr. Montagu has called for from the Government of India, and adds that in the absence of any satisfactory explanation, all sorts of alarmist rumours are being spread which are creditable neither to Government nor to the Munitions Board. The *Hindusthán* ridicules the attitude assumed by Government in the Munitions Board case and praises the courage shown by one of the accused in asking Government whether they were selling justice by asking him to subscribe to certain conditions for allowing the case standing against him to be withdrawn. The paper declares that Government have lowered the prestige of justice and that there is no course open to the Indians but to resort to non-co-operation.]

Swarájya (145), 18th Aug.

36. Commenting upon the withdrawal of the Munitions Board case, the *Swarájya* writes:—India does not want Swadeshi concerns based on fraud. She wants only those that are in the hands of honest men. Why should the sacred name of Swadeshi be thus stained? While talking of giving justice, why adopt a course calculated to harm Swadeshi? We are told that British rule in India is based on justice. If the people do not get justice then that rule will not fail to be in danger. There were rumours afloat that some high personages in Simla were involved in this affair. Is that the reason why the Government of India withdrew the case? If so, then it must be said the blind Goddess of Justice is after all able to see a good deal!

The Thána District Magistrate's order against picketing.

Indu Prakásh (44), 16th Aug.

37. The *Indu Prakásh* protests against the use at present being made of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and says:—While great hopes have been raised in the country by the sittings of the committee appointed to consider the repeal of the several repressive enactments in force in India, the bureaucracy has vigorously launched a campaign of repression in the country, and as if to spite the committee now sitting at Simla, not one of the Acts being considered by it for repeal is being made use of anywhere in the campaign. The bureaucracy is as it were saying that even if all the repressive Acts be repealed, its powers would not be affected at all, as the ordinary laws in force in the country contain plenty of provisions useful for repression, such as sections 121, 121-A, 124-A and 153-A of the Penal Code and sections 107 and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code. But as the enforcement of these sections gives Government an amount of trouble, such as regular proceedings before District Magistrates and district Judges and the appointment of juries, etc., the bureaucracy has taken out a new weapon in the shape of section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and it is being put into use throughout India. Though the section has never been used to suppress political agitation, it is now being so misused against political speakers and the District Magistrate of Thána has gone a step further and used it against picketing of liquor-shops throughout the district. Many lawyers are of opinion that the section cannot be used in this way, and a movement has been set on foot in the Thána District for disobeying that illegal order. Mr. V. J. Patel has taken a lead in the matter and we hope that he will soon put his words into practice. We think that if Mr. Patel himself takes to picketing and goes to Court to test the legality of the District Magistrate's order, the question would be properly solved. It is of no use only to abuse the bureaucracy in public speeches. Why wait for the Congress Committee's order for civil disobedience? No movement can be successful so long as its leaders indulge only in vaunting and back out when the time of real trial comes. The non-co-operation movement has got many daring followers and they are silently undergoing incarceration, but the leaders by their shirking attitude are exposing the whole movement to ridicule.

Lokashdhi (119), 15th Aug.; *Nireekshaka* (47), 15th Aug.

38. Meetings having been held at various places in the Thána District to protest against the order issued by Mr. Campbell against picketing and many young men having expressed their readiness to disobey the order, this rousing of public opinion has apparently brought the Collector round and he now pleads that his order was not against picketing, but was intended to prevent breach of the peace. In our opinion this explanation amounts to a bureaucratic surrender to public opinion. But this does not mean that it is no longer necessary for the Thána people to resort to Satyagraha. For, unless and until the Collector withdraws his order it will be wrong to bow down to it. Therefore, so long as this sinful order, is not withdrawn everyone must prepare himself for Satyagraha. [The *Nireekshaka* remarks that the only thing the Collector's explanation of his order proves is that the order was utterly uncalled for.]

Kesari (111), 16th Aug.

39. The *Kesari* blames the Bombay Legislative Council for not following the example of the Central Provinces Legislative Council and passing a resolution that the drink traffic should be abolished as early as possible. It asks Government to abandon its unjust policy and to take steps to eradicate the drink evil at an early date. It strongly objects to the orders issued by the Collector of Thána in connection with picketing and expresses its belief that the people of Thána will continue to discharge their duty disregarding such orders. It refers to the prosecution and conviction of three picketers at Bhusával under section 61 of the Police Act and congratulates them on their decision to go to jail rather than pay fine. The authorities will realise, it declares, if they have not finally parted company with reason, that they cannot kill the temperance movement by acts of repression.

Question of reduction of liquor-shops in Bombay.
Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 21st Aug, Eng. cols.

*40. "There are rumours current in certain circles that the Abkari Department intends from next year to launch a policy of gradual reduction of the number of liquor-shops of all kinds in Bombay. Any reasonable steps that the Department may take to reduce the consumption of alcoholic spirits are certainly worthy of support; but we doubt the wisdom and effectiveness of this method of reducing a few shops at a time in particular localities. Actual experience in this matter must have shown the Abkari officials that the closing of a few shops in one locality has very little effect in reducing the consumption of liquor. As a rule the effect of such a measure is to drive the drinkers of one locality to another, and thus to increase the income of one shopkeeper at the expense of another.......... We are rather surprised that the *personnel* of the committee which is to be appointed to investigate into excise matters, in accordance with the resolution passed at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, is not as yet announced. We think this committee ought to be set to work as early as possible, and that the Abkari Department would do well not to take any hasty or ill-advised step before the whole question of the future excise policy is considered in all its aspects."

What should Government do to afford protection to liquor-shop-keepers against violence on the part of picketers.
Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 14th Aug.

41. Commenting upon the memorial submitted by the Bombay Licensed Victuallers' Association to His Excellency the Governor in Council praying for compensation to liquor-shop-keepers for loss due to picketing, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—We neither hold any brief for the liquor-shop-keepers nor are we against the temperance movement if it is conducted in a proper manner. We repeat, what we have been saying all along, that the methods of picketing adopted by the Congress Committee with a view to put an end entirely to the liquor traffic in a few months are absolutely impracticable, ineffective, and calculated to cause harm to the person and property of people and deprive them of their freedom of moving about as they like. The only question which need be considered is whether Government should give to the liquor-shop-keepers the protection which they have asked for. The Government of Bombay have adopted a far-sighted policy in this matter and have observed neutrality

so far. This seems to have been misunderstood and taken to mean weakness. Hence Government should appoint a representative committee at an early date to thoroughly inquire into this matter and then declare its future policy regarding it. In the meanwhile, they should take stringent measures to protect those people whose lives and property are in danger.

Why Englishmen do not appreciate Indians' demand for liquor prohibition.

Lokamánya (115), 20th Aug.

42. Among the people in the world who consider drinking liquor a refinement the English hold the foremost place. Russians or Frenchmen may consider the habit a vice, but not so Englishmen. Thoughtful Englishmen seeing America go dry, have no doubt come a little to think that England is going somewhat wrong, but the generality of the English people are of opinion that the prohibition in America will not be of long duration. The recent discussion on the Licensing Bill in Parliament shows how reluctant Englishmen are to place restrictions on drinking. Mr. Bottomley objected to the adjective 'intoxicating' applied to liquor in the Bill, and declared that it was one of 'God's greatest gifts'. Under these circumstances, how can Englishmen appreciate the Indian standpoint as regards liquor prohibition? Nothing can be so regrettable as the fact that the authority to close the liquor-shops in India should have been placed by God in the hands of a nation that so shamelessly offers its homage to liquor. The British Government could secure Parliament's sanction to the reduction of the hours during which the liquor-shops are to be kept open, only on the ground that the women of England were opposed to their being kept open day and night as they have to suffer much at the hands of the male drunkards. Drink has entered into the very physical constitution of Englishmen and so they are unable to understand how it can come in the way of domestic happiness. Some Collectors in India like Mr. Campbell of Thána do not drink liquor, but even they are unable to understand the point that the very physical constitution of Indians favours total prohibition. The mental attitudes of the British nation and the Indian nation in the matter of drink being thus as the poles asunder, Indians should not waste time in finding out how the Governor, or the Commissioner or the Magistrates view the question of liquor prohibition but should carry on the picketing movement with straightforwardness and in a peaceful manner.

Comments on the Administration Report of the Forest Department for 1919-20.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 16th Aug.

43. Commenting on the Report of the Forest Department for 1919-20, the *Karnátak Vaibhav* says that the minister has failed to carry out any reforms in the administration of the Forest Department and fulfil the high expectations of the people about him. The paper adds that nothing has been yet heard of the commission which was to be appointed and calls upon the minister to introduce the necessary reforms without waiting for the commission. The paper severely criticizes the policy of appointing Europeans to all the higher posts in the department on the plea that the forest climate does not suit Indians and asks whether the climate does not affect all those low-paid Indians by whom the department is in reality worked and whether the question of climate applies only to the higher posts in the department.

Comments on the Government reply to the memorial of the inhabitants of Trombay with regard to the acquisition of their lands by the Development Department.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 18th Aug.

44. The reply received by certain landowners of Trombay to the memorial submitted by them to His Excellency the Governor against the acquisition of their lands by the Development Department fails to give any satisfaction with regard to the objections urged by the memorialists. The plans about the development of the island should have been prepared by the Development Department long since, but it is to be regretted that the Department still pleads its inability to furnish the same to the public and thus adds to the distrust of the people against it. The reply moreover states that the Development Department is not quite certain that any of the cultivators residing in the different villages will be compelled to evacuate their lands. This means that there is a grave uncertainty about the plans of the Department. No reply is given to many of the objections urged in the memorial and we would, therefore, ask the inhabitants of Trombay to submit another memorial to Government or send a deputation to wait upon His Excellency the Governor to discuss the matter with him.

Comments on the Government of India's communiqué regarding Indians in Fiji.
Bombay Samáchár (57), 16th and 20th Aug.

45. The *Bombay Samáchár* considers the communiqué published by the Government of India about the strike of the Indians in Fiji as highly coloured and likely to create the impression that there is nothing wrong with the Indians in Fiji and that they were wrong in resorting to strikes. It expects the Committee appointed by the Government of India with Mr. Sastri on it to throw light on the question and present it in its true colours. [In a subsequent issue the paper sounds a note of warning against the attempts that are being made to secure Indian labourers for Fiji and asks the people of India to secure guarantees for the good treatment of, and the grant of equal political rights and educational facilities to, Indians before despatching labourers to Fiji or any other colony.]

Position of Indians in East Africa.
Gujaráti (15), 21st Aug., Eng. cols.

***46.** "The present state of affairs in East Africa is anything but satisfactory. Racial feeling runs high and the European settlers are now on the war path. We published last week the resolutions which were recently passed by the Convention of Europeans, and our readers must have noticed the spirit of defiance and the attitude of racial exclusiveness which they have adopted with a view to keep down Indians under their lordship. The speakers at the meeting, which was held last week under the auspices of the Parsi Rajkiya Sabha, gave emphatic expression to the feelings entertained in India on the subject. As was rightly observed by Mr. Natrajan who presided at the meeting, the European settlers have been attempting to reduce Indians to the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the white men. It would be an eternal shame and disgrace if they succeeded in this unrighteous campaign. The question is considered so grave that the Governor of the Colony has now gone to London to confer with the Colonial Secretary. There were two (Indian ?) nominated members of the Kenya Legislative Council but they have resigned as a protest against the illiberal and narrow-minded policy of the Kenya Government. The Legislative Council was to have discussed the Indian question last week. But as yet nothing is known regarding the decision arrived at by that assembly which is now exclusively European in its composition. On the advice of the Government of India the Indians have refrained from taking action on the resolution of the East African Indian Congress to refuse to pay the newly-imposed income-tax if their grievances were not removed......... The demand of European settlers for special rights and privileges to the exclusion of Indians is outrageously unjust and ought not to be tolerated or encouraged by the Colonial Office and the Home Government if they have any regard for the principles of elementary justice and fair play, and we join Mr. Natrajan in his hope that the Colonial Secretary will not give the go-bye to what he has himself put on record and yield to the selfish and dishonest clamour raised by the Europeans of Kenya against Indians."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Aug.

47. "Affairs in East Africa are taking a turn which will necessitate the exercise of the greatest possible vigilance on the part of Indian leaders in this country. A deputation of East African Indians is reported to have waited on Mr. Churchill on the 9th instant, but, if the London correspondent of the *Hindu* is to be believed, the result of the interview with Mr. Churchill does not appear to have been quite satisfactory to the members of the deputation. One need not wonder at that, for the pledges of His Majesty's Ministers, even of the highest of them, have, in the eyes of Indians, come to lose the sanctity which in days gone by used to attach to them. Indians will not at all be surprised to be told that whatever pledges were given to their countrymen in East Africa in the past cannot hold good in the 'new circumstances' that have arisen in that colony. We note that the European settlers of Kenya have invited Mr. Churchill to pay a visit to the colony. The Indians also seem to be anxious that Mr. Churchill should investigate the problem on the spot. If Mr. Churchill means to accede to the request, the Secretary of State for India would do well to depute Sir Sankaran Nair along with him in accordance with the suggestion of the mass meeting of Indians held at Nairobi last month."

Position of Indians in Kenya and South Africa.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Aug.

48. "Mr. Montagu appears to recognise that Kenya is really the key of the whole situation regarding the position of Indians in the Dominions and Crown Colonies. But we doubt if he realises that a solution adverse to Indian claims will spell the doom of the Imperial idea so far as India is concerned.......... The 'Empire' will exist or cease to be for Indians as their right to equal citizenship is given or denied to them by His Majesty's Government. Regarding South Africa, Mr. Montagu's regret that that country could not see its way to recognise the right of Indians to equal status with the Whites, must appear to be genuine. In the reference of the question to settlement by direct negotiations between the two countries Mr. Montagu, like ourselves, recognises that this course is an improvement on the method hitherto followed. We realise that the new course implies, in a way, that His Majesty's Government are either unwilling or unable themselves to redress the grievances of the people of this country. But we are firmly convinced that if the Government of India are true to themselves and to the people, they can, and should be able to, maintain their ground against the South African Union. It is our sincere conviction that but for the weak-kneed policy of the Government of India hitherto, a satisfactory solution of the problem would have been arrived at long ago."

Comments on the resolution regarding India's position in the Empire passed by the Imperial Conference.

New Times (8), 10th Aug.

49. "The Imperial Conference placed it on record that it was desirable that the right of British Indians to citizenship in the Dominions be recognised. But representatives of South Africa refused to accept this resolution! The reason! Exceptional circumstances of South Africa! It is a reminder to Indians of their real status in the Empire! India, we are told, is an equal member of the British Empire, an original member, too, of the League of Nations; but Indians domiciled in the Dominions continue to suffer under cruel disabilities. Indians are not considered the equals of the Whites in South Africa! Are they regarded equals of European residents in India? Mr. Srinivasa Sastri receives Freedom of the City of London; he has the rights and liberties of a British citizen; but he cannot exercise them if he goes to the Dominions or during the time he is in India! A unique honour, they said, was conferred upon Mr. Sastri when he received the Freedom of the City of London! A unique honour, when he and his countrymen do not enjoy freedom in India or the Dominions.......... The Dominions exclude Indian immigrants. Exceptional circumstances—is the reason assigned for this strange conduct! The real reason is, untouchability partly and economic greed partly. Yet in what respect are the Indians inferior to the European residents? Their past is more glorious; their habits are simpler; and several of them have proved successful businessmen. There is much talk of the 'empire'. Indians have no reasons to feel proud of an 'empire' that does not protect their rights in the Dominions and Colonies.......... The sober truth is, the British Empire has not crossed the color-line; it is not an Empire of the free; no Empire has been. Yet another simple point—one, however, often forgotten—is that Indians should not expect to be free abroad until first they are free in their own country."

Sind Observer (10), 10th Aug.

50. "The South African representatives could not commit themselves to any part of the resolution in 'view of the exceptional circumstances of the greater part of the Union'. The great General Smuts, the Premier of South Africa, speaks with two tongues. 'Let there be peace and good-will amongst mankind' he declares in London, in Dublin, in Paris, at the Peace

Conference, at the Imperial Cabinet, and he draws up covenants for the League of Nations. But on the question of Indians in South Africa he is as the Great Moghul. Exceptional difficulties appear on the horizon. His idealism vanishes into thin air and his vision of a united humanity gets blurred......... He is a Christian in Europe but an Imperialist in South Africa. Christian Smuts may be a greater man than Politician Smuts, but to us Indians it is a small consolation. Barring South Africa, it is something to be thankful for if the other Dominions bestow on Indians living there equal rights of citizenship. Granting that the Dominion Government must have the power to regulate immigration into their territories, India also must possess the same powers. The Legislative Assembly must move in the matter and prevent the immigration of Colonials into this country. They should not be employed in any capacity in the service of the State and, if necessary, they must also be repatriated. The feeling on this question in India is very bitter and the Government of India should take note of it. The present resolution of the Imperial Conference is only a makeshift arrangement. Great questions are looming on the horizon. When India obtains *swarâj*—and it will not be many years before she will get it—the question of Asiatic immigration into European preserves in Africa, in Australia and elsewhere will assume first class significance. It is a question on which the future of the whole Empire would be staked. Japan, China and India with their teeming millions cannot for ever be cribbed, cabined and confined within the four walls of Southern and Eastern Asia. They will long for the fleshpots of Australia, New Zealand and of the African preserves."

Gujarâti Punch (17), 14th Aug.; Eng. cols.

51. "It will be seen from the above that the Resolution, though halting and belated, is an advance upon the old Reciprocity Resolution of 1917, inasmuch as it secures citizen rights for Indians already domiciled in the other parts of the Empire. However, we fear, it will not finally solve the Indian problem. South Africa, the crux of the question, remains practically unaffected by it and although there is the loophole of direct negotiations, it would be too premature to expect much from it. The attitude of the Government of India has, no doubt, undergone, in recent years, a welcome change towards the question of Indians abroad, but we cannot say whether it will go the length of taking any drastic steps to secure citizen rights for Indians in South Africa. And the fact that such steps would be necessary would be seen from the failure of even an Imperial Conference resolution to move General Smuts from his position by so much as even an hair's breadth......... And General Smuts's attitude is not wholly unintelligible. Raging and unscrupulous propaganda has made public opinion in South Africa almost irreconcilable to the just claims of Indians and he would be a bold statesman who would abruptly go against a determined populace in such a vital matter. However, India cannot be a silent spectator of the process of gradual extermination of the Indian element in South Africa and it must, through the Government of India, cry halt to it. To do it is, however, no easy task and unless the Government of India is prepared to take such steps as would make the arrogant South African Whites realize that an irreconcilable and unreasonable attitude does not pay, the sufferings of Indians in South Africa would not abate. Will the Government of India do it? If it does, we may well look forward to a near, though not an immediate, solution of an old question." [Elsewhere, in criticising General Smuts's views about Indian immigration to the Colonies, the paper remarks:—"All the while General Smuts seems to have played the impostor, else he had no business to follow his Imperial Conference speeches, so refreshingly outspoken, with practically an ejection warrant on Indians in Africa......... General Smuts had, really speaking, no business to dabble with the question of Indians in East Africa, the more so at a time when the whole question is being thoroughly reconsidered by the Colonial Secretary and yet he goes out of his way to say that Indians are not capable of colonizing Kenya without the 'supervision' and 'direction' of Europeans........ British Empire or the Commonwealth of Nations, as it has been the fashion to call it, nowadays, has no meaning for India if it cannot secure for her sons and daughters equal and free citizenship even in those parts of the world where the British flag flies and not all the armies and navies of the Empire will enable it to live against the parochialism of Empire 'statesmen' of the Smuts brand. The Colonial Secretary and the British Cabinet will do well to bear it in mind before they put their seal on any decision in connection with the question of Indians in East Africa."]

Servant of India (9), 18th Aug.

52. "Just now a veritable storm of anti-Indian agitation has broken out among the Europeans of Kenya, and it supplies a searching test of the practical utility, to Indians, of the principle embodied in the Imperial Conference's resolution. As Kenya is the crucial question in regard to Crown Colonies so is South Africa in regard to self-governing Dominions, and with South Africa outside the scope of the resolution, the latter has little immediate interest to Indians in so far as the Dominions are concerned.......... The refusal of General Smuts to agree to the resolution passed by the Imperial Cabinet in regard to the position of Indians raises the question as to how South Africa can be made to deal out justice to India. Direct negotiations are suggested between the Indian and the South African Governments, but what power lies behind the pleading of the Government of India that will compel a less truculent and more considerate attitude in the Union Government? Or is the Government of India powerless in the matter?......... We must find out whether the power which India now possesses of raising a tariff wall against any country will not bring South Africa to her knees. This and other means of retaliation must now be tried, and the Tariff Commission must be directed to investigate this problem."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 19th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 20th Aug.

53. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that evidence of the excellent services rendered by the representatives of India at the Imperial Conference is now before the public, and that the views expressed by Mr. Montagu in his interview with the correspondent of the *Statesman* ought to give a quietus to all carping criticism. It declares that the resolution adopted by the Imperial Conference concerning the status of Indians in the colonies constitutes one more step in the right direction. It tells the people that they cannot now demand the right of free entry into the colonies since Mr. Gandhi himself consented to forego this right by his agreement with General Smuts in 1914. It recognises the right of the colonies to determine the composition of their population and remarks that it is open to India to retaliate by forbidding the colonies from coming into this country. In the opinion of the paper it is not practical politics to claim the right of unrestricted immigration into each and every colony of the Empire. [The *Indu Prakásh* remarks that if what the London correspondent of the *Hindu* has said about the attitude of the Colonial Office towards Indians in Kenya Colony be true, the resolution passed by the Imperial Conference about the status of Indians in the Empire will turn out to be worthless, as also the high terms in which Mr. Montagu has recently spoken about the resolution to the correspondents of the *Statesman* and the *Daily Telegraph*. It declares that if Mr. Churchill takes it into his head to destroy the rights of the Indians in the colony, it will go against the interests of the Empire.]

Bombay Samáchár (57), 17th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 19th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 17th Aug.

54. The *Bombay Samáchár* ascribes the failure of Mr. Sastri to make his influence felt in the Imperial Conference to the apathy of the Indian public in the matter of strengthening his hand by re-echoing his demands at public meetings and in other ways and, while referring to what it considers as the inadequate share of the German indemnity given to India, exhorts the Indian public and the Moderates in particular to move the Government of India to ask for such an allotment of the indemnity as would be considered commensurate with the sacrifices made by her during the war and would enable her to meet the demands of education without depending on the excise revenue. [The *Hindusthán* blames Mr. Sastri for not doing his duty towards India in a manly manner and for being a tool in the hands of the bureaucracy. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the interview of Mr. Montagu with a representative of the *Statesman* in England and remarks that the Indian representatives on the Imperial Conference have achieved

real success with regard to the question of the status of Indians in the British Colonies. It thinks that the adoption of a resolution by the Imperial Conference empowering the Government of India to correspond directly with the South African Union on the subject of the status of Indians there is in itself a great victory.]

Sind Observer (10), 1st Aug.; *Gujaráti* (15), 14th Aug.

55. "General Smuts expressed the opinion that Indians were incapable of colonising Kenya without the supervision and direction of Europeans and left alone Indians would not be able to control the native population.......... We are opposed to the Indian colonisation of Kenya on different grounds.......... Thank God we have a great country to support our population and we need not cast covetous eyes over other peoples' lands. The genius of India is against imperialistic expansion. When we are told we are unable to control the native population we will not take it as a disgrace but as a compliment knowing fully well from experience what it is to occupy other peoples' countries and keep them under subjection. What we claim, as God's creatures, is equality of opportunity wherever our countrymen settle in the pursuit of peaceful occupations. We have no taste for dominion. In the fullness of time India's mission to the world will be quite a new one; it will be a message of peace and good-will, not occupation and domination. On the same ground we strongly object to General Smuts' gratuitous advice that Mesopotamia will be a better outlet for Indian emigration. We do not want the Arab's country. Let him have it for himself. The Indian is in bad odour in Mid Asia on account of his fighting against the inhabitants in the late war. The relations between the Arab and the Indian can never be happy for the Arab always carries the grievance that the Indian has been the instrument of the deprivation of his liberty. But supposing India must find an outlet for her surplus population it is no use sending Indians abroad until Home Rule is established in this country. The Indian will then go as a denizen of a free country whose long arms will protect him if he is in trouble and not as a helpless cooly as at present." [The *Gujaráti* refers to what it considers as the high-sounding platitudes indulged in by General Smuts after the conclusion of the war about the rights of Indians and the specious promises he gave of treating the Indian question 'in the largest human sense' and considers it a disgraceful somersault on his part not to have voted in favour of Mr. Sastri's motion in the Imperial Conference for the recognition of the rights of Indians as British citizens in the colonies and to have suggested that Mesopotamia would afford a better field for the colonisation of Indians than Africa.]

Evil effects of the non-co-operation movement on boys.

Sind Vasi (167), 9th Aug.

56. We notice from the accounts of the incidents at Matiári and other places that our boys have become extremely disrespectful and unmannerly as the result of the non-co-operation movement. Their conduct in crying "Iho, Iho" to respectful and elderly persons going to the Aman Sabha at Matiári is very regrettable. But what is more painful is that non-co-operators are absolutely indifferent about it. They should, however, know that boys once spoiled can with difficulty be improved again. It is absurd to think that they can be restored to discipline after *swaráj* is attained. We, therefore, appeal to our friends to proceed with caution and foresight. Else, none can say what may be the fate of this unhappy and long suffering country.

Absurdity of the idea of establishing an Indian Republic.

Gujaráti (15), 14th Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 17th Aug.

57. The *Gujaráti*, while recognising the success gained by Mr. Gandhi in collecting a crore of rupees for the Swaráj Fund, securing a crore of subscribers for the Congress organisation and popularising the spinning-wheel, expresses scepticism about the fulfilment of his hope of securing *swaráj* by the end of this year. It refers to the speech delivered by Mr. Mahomed Ali at the Khilafat Conference recently held at Karáchi and the resolutions passed thereat and wonders why it was resolved that a republic would be declared in India at the next sessions of the Congress if Britain fought against Angora and why the words "at the next sessions of the Khilafat Conference" were not substituted in it and raises the question whether the Congress has become so lifeless as to be dictated to by the Khilafat Conference. It also ridicules Mr. Mahomed Ali for indulging in such high sounding boasts as his determination of driving the English out of India "without bag and baggage", etc. The paper votes the idea of declaring a republic in India as very preposterous. It wonders whether Mr. Gandhi would, during the next five months, lose the confidence which he now feels about bringing pressure to bear upon the British by the Swadeshi movement and to make them do justice in the Khilafat and Punjáb affairs and so arrive at some compromise in the matter of giving *swaráj* to India before the end of this year. It then dwells upon the absurdity of the proposed Congress resolution about the Indian republic and the practical difficulties in the way of putting it into force and asks those who are not prepared to follow the lead of Mr. Gandhi to take a warning from such foolish antics on the part of the non-co-operators. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also protests against the desire expressed by some of the leading non-co-operators to establish an Indian Republic, and remarks that the period within which the goal for which they are struggling is to be achieved will only be prolonged by the formulation of such an aim. It fears that the determination to continue the movement without caring as to whether rivers of blood are made to flow or lakhs of people die through being fired upon will not yield any good results. It requests the non-co-operators to give up playing with fire and adopt more simple and safe methods for the attainment of *swaráj*. The paper adds that it is in favour of *swaráj* for India within the British Empire, and that the idea of a republic is not acceptable to the bulk of the people.]

Mr. Gandhi's eyes now opened at the character of Indian crowds.

Indu Prakásh (44), 17th Aug.

58. The *Indu Prakásh* dwells on what Mr. Gandhi has said in *Young India* about the want of discipline exhibited by Indian crowds and the incendiarism and other offences committed by them at Dhárwár, Málegaon and other places and expresses its pleasure that his eyes have at last been opened to the real state of things. It, however, declares that mere condemnation of such acts in newspapers will not remedy matters, but care must be taken not to create a state of things that gives rise to such incidents. The paper also refers to the complaint made by Mr. Gandhi about the trouble caused to him by people coming to take his *darshan* as if he were the incarnation of some deity, and declares that it is all due to Mr. Gandhi's own policy in investing his political propaganda with the religious aspect of self-purification and to his raising preposterous hopes in the minds of the people about the immediate achievement of *swarájya*. It remarks that the time has now come to take stock of what has been achieved by one year of non-co-operation and declares that the results will be found to be most disappointing.

Mr. Montagu is trying to put down Mr. Gandhi with the help of Mrs. Besant.

Lokamánya (115), 20th Aug.

59. The *Lokamánya* refers to the Conference to be held at Bombay on the 29th instant under the presidency of Mrs. Besant, for protesting against the non-co-operation movement and for holding up the Reforms to public approval, and remarks that as all the Ministers of the Bombay Government are reported to be going to take part in the Conference, the people will be justified in thinking that it is Mr. Montagu himself who is playing this game for getting up an organised movement for putting down Mr. Gandhi with the help of Mrs. Besant.

How Government can allay the present discontent in India.

Akhbár-e-Islám, (54), 19th and 20th Aug.

60. Referring to the non-co-operation movement started by Mr. Gandhi, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* declares that the agitation now prevailing in the country may be the outcome of discontent but is not due to disloyalty and that Mr. Gandhi's assurance that the non-co-operation movement is not based on disloyalty should be accepted. It requests Government to encourage the people in it, and direct it in such a way that they may be satisfied and their discontent removed. It further asks Government to take the people of India into confidence by announcing beforehand the boons which are to be conferred upon them on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. [Continuing the subject in its next issue, the paper urges Government to settle the Turkish question in accordance with the Muslim demands. It declares that to the Muslims a just settlement of the Turkish question would mean more that even the grant of the most unrestricted *swarάj*; hence it asks Government to satisfy them on this point. It also requests the Imperial Government to issue such a press note in connection with the message of Mr. Chhotani on the subject of the attitude of Britain towards the war between Greece and the Turks as will serve to reassure the hearts of the Indian Muhammadans and remove the suspicions with regard to the supply of munitions to Greece which have obtained a strong hold on their minds.]

The present movements not likely to win *swarάjya* for India.

Rάjakάran (131), 14th Aug.

61. The *Rάjakάran* doubts very much whether the different movements in which the people are engaged at present will help them to win *swarάj*. It points out that the history of the whole world does not provide a single instance of a subject people attaining independence by means such as these. It dwells on the might of England and remarks that she has become wealthy by draining this country of its vast resources. In its opinion the present activities will only pave the way for a further step and that the nation will have to adopt more manly means to shake the foundations of the present alien rule. It tells the people that they will have to carry on the struggle for *swarάjya* for several years more and that the fight will become more and more bitter with the passage of time.

Government servants are traitors to their country.

Loka Bandhu (85), 14th Aug.

62. It is true that before our conquest by the British, we had been conquered on various occasions by foreign kings. But in conquering us they did not destroy our manliness. Our benign British Government has, on the other hand, destroyed our man liness and reduced us to the position of brutes. We shall never find in any other part of the world men like our own people who fight and conquer their own country in order that foreigners might establish their hold over it. The kind-hearted Britishers have taken care to produce only such men in our country. The first thing they taught our people was treason. They took our fighting races into their service and taught them to misuse their bravery. They also taught their Indian subjects a little of reading and writing, so that they may be able to serve efficiently their English masters. Is it not true therefore that all those who are in the service of Government are traitors? What necessity is there to quote instances of treason from history, when these servants are all leading day and night a life of treason. Besides these servants who practise treason for small salaries and paltry promotions and favours, there are others who adopt that course for the sake of obtaining posts of chairmen, presidents and vice-presidents. Thus treason, which is like a contagious desease, has been spread all over India by the British, who profess themselves our friends, and it would be impossible to say exactly how many lakhs of our people have fallen victims to this disease.

Government servants in the Central Provinces should wear *khadi* in spite of the local Government's order to the contrary.

Lokashάhi (119), 15th Aug.

63. The wearing of the *khadi* cap by Government servants has been considered to be crime by the Government of Central Provinces, and this attitude of Government was approved by the local Legislative Council. Though this attitude may be disgraceful, there is nothing in it that is inconsistent with the pranks of a 'satanic' Government. But the blockheads sitting in the Council as representatives of the people have, by giving their approval to the Government view, clearly turned false to their electors, and nothing will atone for this sin of theirs. Were Government not 'satanic' it would have encouraged indigenous industry by directing that all Government uniforms should be made of *khadi*. We have to tell all people, officials as well as non-officials, that this Government is not ours and that it does not look to our interests but is selfish. Though it may be the government established by law, the National Congress alone constitutes the truly representative governing body in existence in India. The minds of the people should ever be ready to accept the mandates of the National Congress even though their bodies may be wasting and rotting in Government service. The mandate of the National Congress being that all should wear *khadi*, let officials as well as non-officials wear it. We feel confident that God will not allow the 'satanic' Government to punish those who wear *khadi* and thus set at naught its *zulum*.

Comments on the Government of India's Press Note regarding the interviews between Mr. Gandhi and the Viceroy.

Hindu (158), 4th Aug.; *Sind Vasi* (167), 4th Aug.

64. An agreed statement reproducing the substance of the Reading-Gandhi interviews, referring mostly to the apology of the Ali Brothers, has now been published under the authority of the Viceroy. As it entirely corroborates Mr. Gandhi's oft-repeated declarations about the circumstances under which the apology in question was given, we hope it will give a quietus to all who have persisted in believing that the Ali Brothers expressed regret in order to avoid a prosecution. [The *Sind Vasi*, on the other hand, remarks:—The agreed statement mostly refers to the apology of the Ali Brothers and shows how vain is Mahomed Ali's attempt to explain it away. It is quite plain now that the Ali Brothers knew that a criminal prosecution was hanging on them. Their statement would certainly have been worded differently had the fear of prosecution not been present before their minds.]

The intimate connection between the fight of Indians for *swarâj* and the satisfactory solution of the Khilafat question.

Young India (12), 18th Aug.

65. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"At Lucknow I found natural impatience on the part of the Mussalmans regarding the Khilafat. Moulvi Salamatulla voiced in moderate language the public feeling regarding the position of the Angora Government when he said that the British attitude was becoming unbearable. There is no doubt about the growing distrust of the British declaration about friendliness towards the Turks. Nobody believes either that the British declarations are genuine or that the British Government is powerless to afford relief. In their impatient anger the Mussalmans ask for more energetic and more prompt action by the Congress and Khilafat organisations. To the Mussalmans *swarâj* means, as it must mean, India's ability to deal effectively with the Khilafat question. The Mussalmans, therefore, decline to wait if the attainment of *swarâj* means indefinite delay or a programme that may require the Mussalmans of India to become impotent witnesses of the extinction of Turkey in European waters. It is impossible not to sympathise with this attitude. I would gladly recommend immediate action if I could think of any effective course. I would gladly ask for postponement of *swarâj* activity if thereby we could advance the interest of the Khilafat. I would gladly take up measures outside non-co-operation, if I could think of any in order to assuage the pain caused to the millions of Mussalmans. But in my humble opinion attainment of *swarâj* is the quickest method of righting the Khilafat wrong. Hence it is that for me the solution of the Khilafat question is attainment of *swarâj* and *vice versâ*. The only way to help the afflicted Turks is for India to generate sufficient power to be able to assert herself. If she cannot develop that power in time, there is no way out for India and she must resign herself to the inevitable. Mere ignorant, thoughtless and angry outburst of violence may give vent to pent-up rage but can bring no relief to Turkey. Nor can it increase the power of India to assert herself. And the measures taken to put down violence may well lessen the speed with which we are marching to our goal. But there is no cause whatsoever for despair. The whole of the Congress programme has been framed, and measures are being adopted to meet the Khilafat crisis. There is no doubt that two months for finishing the Swadeshi work is a most intensive measure calculated to bring the best out of the nation. And if India completes the boycott by September and comes to her own in October, surely it must satisfy the most sanguine temperament and the most impatient and ardent Khilafatist as I claim myself to be.

The fact is that all the workers are not convinced of the possibility of completing the Swadeshi programme during the time fixed, or of its power to effect all that is claimed for it.......... Does not this doubting of India's ability to go through the Swadeshi programme show, if the doubt is justified, that India has really no interest in the Khilafat or it has no desire to sacrifice anything for it? Is it a big sacrifice for every Hindu and Mussalman to discard all foreign cloth and to use only *khadi*? And if India is not to have that ability, will it not also be proof that India is unfit for any higher sacrifice and, therefore, unfit for helping Turkey? Let us all work for complete boycott of foreign cloth and the manufacture of the required quantity of *khadi* and we shall be in sight of the heaven. A suggestion was seriously put forth at Lucknow that we should boycott Ralli Bros., a Greek firm, and avenge ourselves against the Greeks and should invite the labourers to stop work on the export cargo. The suggestions, it seems to me, are as absurd as they are impossible to carry out.......... Theirs is a world trade. And it is more difficult to deal with their trade than with Swdeshi. Any such attempt, apart from its inherent wrong, can only expose us to well-deserved ridicule. Interference with the labourers working on export cargo is equally fantastic. If we had such absolute control over the masses, we should have won our battle long ago. To stop the export of cargo requires not only a permanent or an indefinitely long stoppage of work by the existing labourers, but it presupposes our ability to stop any replacement of withdrawn labour. I fear we are not organised enough for the work. Any such attempt can only end in failure if not worse. The only feasible suggestion is the immediate taking up of civil disobedience. I am convinced that the country is not ready for its adoption on an extensive scale. It can be safely and successfully adopted, if the country evinces sufficient organising ability, resourcefulness and discipline necessary for bringing the eminently practical Swadeshi enterprise to a successful end. Let us hope and pray that the country will."

Mr. Gandhi's exhortation to Indian patriots to abandon all fear of death.

Navjivan (70), 14th Aug.

66. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes as follows in the course of an article in the *Navjivan* headed "Fear of death":—I have been making a collection of the various definitions of *swardj*. Among others, *swardj* also means "the abandonment of the fear of death". That nation which is afraid of death can neither attain *swardj* nor retain it. The English go about with death in their pockets; the Arabs and Pathans look upon it as an ordinary ailment. Boer women do not know what fear of death is. All these kill and die. But what about those who do not kill and still die? The world worships such. It is through such that a country becomes prosperous. The fear of death which we have been trying to abandon is a holy sacrifice and we hope to attain great success by means of it in a short time. Many of us will either have abandoned the fear of death when we attain *swardj* or fail altogether to attain it! Hitherto, for the most part, only young boys have died. All those who died at Aligarh were below the age of twenty-one. No one knew them. If Government still want to fire, I certainly expect the sacrifice of men of first-rate merit. If we want to attain *swardj* and be worthy of it after having won it, we must absolutely give up the fear of death. He who gives up the fear of death will not at all be afraid of imprisonment. On careful thinking it will be found that the delay on our part in attaining *swardj* is due only to the fear of death and the absence in us of the strength to endure other lesser sufferings. The more innocent men become prepared knowingly to face death, the more will others be saved and thus there will be less suffering on the whole. I have been compelled to write on this subject at the present moment because if we want to attain *swardj* within this year, we must also meditate on the problem of death. Those who are prepared beforehand are many times saved from accidents; let the like happen to us. It is my firm belief that Swadeshi is such a preparation. I believe that if we succeed in our Swadeshi campaign, then neither Government nor any one else will want to test us any further. Still it is also necessary on our part not to labour under a delusion. Authority is blind and deaf. It can neither see the events which are happening near it nor can it hear the warning voices falling on its ears. It cannot, therefore, be said what a government which is overshadowed by the intoxication of power will do. Hence I felt that the patriots should be prepared to welcome death, imprisonment and such other evils as their friends. Just as a hero welcomes death with a smiling face, so also does he remain on his guard. Negligence has no place in a non-violent struggle. We do not want to be either imprisoned or hanged for committing a crime against morality. What we want is to be hanged while opposing the oppressive laws of Government.

Mr. Gandhi's views on repression in the United Provinces.

Young India (12), 18th Aug.

67. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" During my travels in the United Provinces, I have come across extraordinary tales of repression. For the present I propose only to deal with two cases of prosecution which I do not hesitate to consider venomous. Messrs. Mohansinh Darmal and Shambhunath, a Zamindar of Sitapur and *ex*-Tahsildar, were called upon to show cause why they should not file security for an offence described thus in the summons. [Here follows the text of the summons.] On the face of it, the summons discloses no offence. But the painful humour of the situation is accentuated upon reading the Patvari's statement. It refers to the accused having paid the collections to Pandit Motilal Nehru and having been found in the company of such a confirmed non-co-operator as Pandit Nehru (sen.) in a place like Ramgadha sanatorium. It is true, the magistrate has not the courage to mention this very relevant fact, but as the second accused made it abundantly clear in his statement, his being with and having served Panditji was the sole offence. The accused is a well-known man in his district. He is known also to be a consumptive in the last stages. His right lung is almost gone, and his bowels are badly affected. He has not taken any active part in any political work for many months. He had not made any speeches. He was in Ramgadh like Panditji himself recouping his health. Thus there was absolutely no excuse for the magistrate to arrest the accused or to go on with his trial after the arrest. The fact is, the magistrate's idea was evidently to terrorise all those who had anything to do with non-co-operation even to the extent of collecting subscriptions or helping non-co-operation in villages. It may be said that such things are really an exception and that their importance need not be exaggerated. I am unable to subscribe to the doctrine. The magistrate in the instances quoted may have adopted an original method of acting, but my observation of the United Provinces leads me to the conclusion that there is subtle terrorism going on in the United Provinces as nowhere else except perhaps in Sind, designed solely to kill non-co-operation activities, no matter how non-violent and otherwise innocent they might be. A most unscrupulous use is being made of the statement of regrets issued by the Brothers. The users know the manner and the method of the Brothers' apology. But for them distortion of a brave act is the least wicked among the wickednesses that they resort to for the sake of bending non-co-operators and weaning others from their ways. I am satisfied that the poorer people who dare to accept the banner of non-co-operation are molested in order to prevent them from joining Congress Committees, and they are by equally questionable methods made to join the so-called peace-promoting organisations which are as a matter of fact anarchical in the sense, that the methods adopted for promoting them are both illegal and immoral. The United Provinces Government are doing in a clever and cowardly manner what Sir Michael O'Dwyer's Government did in an honest blunt manner. He followed up the logic of his policy and had the courage to arrest all the leaders and to create an atmosphere for an open Jalianwalla.......... The United Provinces Government will not arrest leaders of the front rank except in isolated cases like Mr. Sherwani's. They have arrested Mr. Ranga Iyer. They have not as yet touched Pandit Jawahirlal Nehru or Mr. Joseph, though all the three issued their challenge simultaneously. I have taken the trouble of reducing to writing the results of my observations in the United Provinces, because I saw Mr. Chintamani's speech energetically defending the measures of his Government, and because I was pressed to encourage ministers who were working out the reforms to the point of complete responsible government. In my humble opinion the Reforms and the Reforms ministers are being used, wherever possible, for sustaining the clever but unscrupulous bureaucracy. That the ministers are unconscious and unwilling instruments, does not lessen the evil of the policy, though it is an extenuating circumstance in favour of the ministers. I am loth to believe that Raja Saheb Mahmudabad and Mr. Chintamani know what they are doing. I am inclined to think that they are irresistibly drawn into the bureaucratic net, and the plausibilities put before them induce them to excuse what they would otherwise condemn without any hesitation. The Raja of Mahmudabad is stated by the *Independent* to have defended the action of a District Judge who suspended an acting munsarim in East Badaun for failing to produce a written declaration of loyalty by his son who had been served with a notice under section 144.......... I have no doubt that the Rajasaheb of three years ago would have written and spoken far more energetically against such wicked demoralisation of officials and their families than I am doing. What is, however, still more to the purpose than the drawing of attention to the fact that ministers are being made tools in unscrupulous hands, is that non-co-operators must not be disheartened over the illegalities and the immoralities referred to here, but that they should realise that such repression and even worse must be expected by us and cheerfully accepted as the lot of reformers all the world over. The persecutors really believe that we are in the wrong, that we are harming the country and that means do not matter so long as the movement for which we stand is crushed. Repression, therefore, must be treated by us as a prelude to victory and must, therefore, be welcomed and be utilised by us for making our determination still more rigid."

Indians should not be afraid of going to jail in their struggle for *swarâj*.
Swarâj (new), 10th Aug.

68. The sky is still cloudy. Clouds are still gathering. What storm, however, will blow over us, we cannot foresee at present. But this much may be admitted by all, that this gigantic war waged by us with such a *zabardast* Govenment will not terminate quite easily. As long as the present system of Government, based on irreligion, wickednees and injustice, is not destroyed, we shall continue this religious war and shall not fear the threats of the Viceroys and Governors. Recently Sir George Lloyd, the blessed Governor of the Bombay Presidency who is regarded as a liberal-minded gentleman, has said many strange things in his speech and given a warning that if non-co-operators do not cease propagating sedition, Government will be obliged to devise means for safeguarding the lives and property of the people. Every one knows what means will be devised. Non-co-operators will be sent to jail, that is to say, they will be given a *darshan* (a look into) of the temple of *swarâj*. But we are not afraid of these things, because the present system has already destroyed our manhood. Not only that, but most of us have become slaves of money, have lost our religion and have turned sympathisers of this irreligious system. It should be borne in mind that this system has been secretly destroying our civilization for the last century and a half, and sucking our blood by means of foreign cloth. As long as this system is not destroyed, it is a great sin to sit quiet. Oh Indians, get ready now, and by boycotting foreign cloth, strengthen your country, so that we may be able to face the fast approaching storm. Let this bureaucracy practise injustice and oppression to any extent. It is a fact that even a dying man moves about his limbs forcibly, but is not able to do anything by that and those sitting by his side only pity his helplessness. Similarly this dying bureaucracy has been moving its limbs of injustice and oppression very forcibly and will yet continue to do that. If, however, we face calamities patiently and fearlessly, the sting of oppression will become ineffective and the bureaucracy will breathe its last.

Alleged high-handed actions of officials in the district of Bijâpur against non-co-operators.
Karnâtak Vaibhav (83), 16th Aug.

69. It seems that the officials in the Bijápur District of all ranks, high and low, have entered into a competition for crushing the non-co-operation movement. Only a few days ago, one of these officials made an exhibition of his silliness by issuing a notice that to enrol oneself as a member of the Congress Committee was an act of disloyalty. The action of this official had the effect of raising a spirit of emulation among the other officials in the district who are now vying with one another to obtain the foremost place among the fighters against non-co-operation. A correspondent writes to us that one of these officials condemned the Gandhi cap as being only fit for a monkey. Another informs us that the Mamlatdar of Indi has been asking the people not to allow non-co-operators to come within the limits of the town or to lodge at their homes. This is evidently a move on the part of the officials to avenge themselves on non-co-operators for their efforts to stop *begar*. There is no doubt that these officials are dancing to the tune of their masters, but it is a matter for deep regret that these Indian officials who live and die in this country should have lost their common sense and their power of independent thinking.

Even if all the repressive laws are repealed the measure will now come too late to please the people of India.
Mahrátta (7), 21st Aug.

*70. Referring to the memoranda submitted to the Repressive Laws Committee by the Deccan Sabha and Mr. G. A. Natesan of Madras, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"For our part, we believe that this evil brood of liberty-restricting Acts constitutes the severest indictment of the system of government. They are peculiar to India, of all civilised nations. Indians have grown sharply intolerant of them all. The major part of the deep discontent smouldering in the country is directly engendered by them and the remaining indirectly. Perhaps the Committee will see its way to recommend their total excision from the Statute Book. And that will give due credit to the altered circumstances which made the continuance of the Acts an impossibility. The Moderates will have little to be proud of, far less will the Government. No nation has ever got its liberty by mendicancy, nor as an eleemosynary gift. If these Acts are expunged Government will have done its bounden and the most elementary duty. But that will not satisfy the people fully. A time was when such a repeal would have sent a wave of joy the whole country through. But now the popular mind is in the grip of a crescent impatience and growing determination which is begotten of hopes deferred, wishes unfulfilled and right reforms unseasonably delayed. A right thing done at the right moment does credit to the doer and the then circumstances, like the olive extolling the season and the tree that bore it. If the Repressive Acts are repealed, as most probably they will be, the healing measure will have come when it cannot heal......... Our Government has no reputation for understanding the feelings of its subjects and doing the right by them in proper season. Such a tinkering reform will be of no purpose at all. *Swarájya* and nothing else can hereafter please the people of India."

Without *swaráj*, life is a shame for Indians.
Swaráj (new), 9th Aug.

71. Our country has been ruined through years of slavery. The bureaucracy has destroyed her respect, wealth and courage and has been enjoying itself on her weakness. Seeing us weak and helpless, it has been practising injustice and oppression on us. This slavery has caused the people to forget patriotism, humanity and self-respect. This system of administration works in such a perverted manner, that any one who comes under its influence partially loses his humanity. We have to hang down our heads through shame on seeing the actions of Indian officers and subordinates of Government. It comes as a painful surprise to us to note that this foreign rule has rendered us mean enough to prosecute our own countrymen only to win the smiles of our superiors. The crookedness and cruelty of Mukhtiarkars, Deputy Collectors and other Government servants create this desire in our hearts that this worthless bureaucracy should be ended soon. Otherwise the religion of Indians will be spoiled and the country also ruined. Mahatma Gandhi has truly said that under this perverted system of administration, Indians have not even a particle of land in their hands, and that their body and soul are also out of their control. If our nation and our civilization are to be saved from being ruined, and if we have to gain respect and dignity, then *swaráj* should be established in a short time. Without *swaráj*, life is a shame.

Indians should boycott not only foreign cloth but all foreign articles imported into India.
Mahrátta (7), 21st Aug.

***72.** "Swadeshi propaganda—and we include boycott into it in so far as boycott is Swadeshi carried forward—is spreading throughout the length and breadth of India with a persistence that nothing can withstand. Every day bonfires of foreign cloth are taking place and the flames surging therefrom are kindling a fire of patriotism in the hearts of Indian people that must overwhelm and engulf, sooner rather than later, the British domination in India. Government is in no mood to treat these demonstrations as something more than an ebullition of rabid National pride. Other critics think them as frightful. But they are neither the one, nor the other. They point to one and only one thing, that the people of India want *swarájya* without any sort of shilly-shallying and that they are bent upon forcing it out of the hands of Britishers by all means, fair and forcible. For forty and more long years we have been fighting and fighting, but with no avail. It is now that the people have lost their over-tried and over-strained patience and they are making their last and strongest bid for *swarájya* by the wholesale acceptance of Swadeshi....... For the last hundred and fifty years we have been sufficiently harried by the 'Nation of shopkeepers'. The problem of Swadeshi and *swarájya*, looked the other way about, resolves itself into the problem of foreign exploitation and foreign administration......... Renowned historians, even British, bear testimony to the fact that a deliberate and systematic effort was made to put out far-famed Indian industries, by foulest means too, in the days of the Company. .... Yet is the process of denudation not over. British administration over here is through and through riddled by exploitation of India. Since these white people planted their ill-starred foot on Indian soil, not an act have they done which had not sordid selfishness behind it. If some good was done to us it was incidental and ancillary. Industrially, we have reached the deepest depth of degradation. Beyond food, which fortunately we can still produce ourselves, we depend for every small thing on foreign products. Agriculturally our peasantry has sunk to a terrible depth. Socially, we have been reduced to a huge chaos by the policy of *divide et impera* which our rulers have made their own. Morally, we have been flung into a cess-pool by means of the so-called instruments of popular education. Economically, we are rendered poorest of the poor. This, in brief, has been the phenomenal result of the *Tagdi* which these our teachers of Western civilisation brought with them and by dint of which they have consolidated themselves here. India's ruthless exploitation feeds the British Government and it is ten to one that if we succeed in drying up this source, the administration must come down of its own accord. If we glance at the items of our import trade we really must feel ashamed of ourselves. We have to import bangles from other countries worth so many lakhs. Is it not the greatest misfortune that our women have to look to foreign countries for their very essentials? But here too the sorry tale does not end. For the purchase of toys of different sorts we have got to send a big sum to countries like Japan. Is it inevitable that for these trifles even, poor India should be made to lose money?......... We come now to wine and tobacco. Surely without these luxuries, and very injurious at that, life cannot be an intolerable blessing......... We do not mean to exhaust the whole import list. We only want to prove that, apart from cloth, there are numberless items in our import manifests which can easily be deleted and the extinction of which will dam the flow of money to foreign countries which, in part at least, will go to fertilise India in various ways. When we say 'Swadeshi means *swarájya*' we look at Swadeshi from the broader point of view. Everybody must resolve that he shall never wear anything that is not produced in this country.......... We earnestly appeal to all to make serious endeavour to put this doctrine of greater Swadeshi in practice, to make it their own so thoroughly as to form part and parcel of their daily life.......... Let us say an emphatic 'No' to all foreign imports from this moment and be Swadeshi in spirit, Swadeshi in heart, Swadeshi in conduct, and Swadeshi in every thing."

Comments on the boycott movement.

Karnátak Times (36), 12th Aug.

73. Referring to the boycott movement, the *Karnátak Times* says that if the boycott is carried out, it is sure to result in an unprecedented rise of prices, due to the operation of the immutable economic laws of supply and demand. The paper is convinced that it is impossible that the merchants and mill-owners will ever yield to the wishes of Mr. Gandhi or carry out his behests in practice. India is a vast country consisting of innumerable villages and towns which obtain their supplies of cloth in various ways, and to lay down rules and restrictions for its sale at a fixed price throughout the country is quite impracticable. The paper adds that no industry which is undertaken in a purely sentimental spirit without regarding it primarily as a means of subsistence will flourish, and that every such industry is bound to fail sooner or later. Concluding, the

paper points out that the only proper way of promoting Swadeshi is to collect a huge sum of money and start mills which would be able to compete successfully with foreign markets.

Exhortation to revive Swadeshi industries and suppress foreign trade.
Karnátak Mitra (35), 11th Aug.

74. To-day, the burden of foreign trade has become more intolerable fo us than the burden of foreign rule. As foreign rule in our country is intimately connected with foreign trade, and as trade is the principal means by which we are kept in subjection to our rulers, we should endeavour by all means in our power to suppress it. It is absurd to speak against foreign rule, before we take a vow to wear only Swadeshi clothes and thus destroy the citadel of foreign trade on which the power of our rulers rests. If we recall to our minds the industrial prosperity of our country in bygone days and make up our minds to revive those industries, we shall save 60 crores of rupees which are at present going out of the country. How can we be accused of being actuated by motives of hatred, if we throw off the simple-mindedness which cost us our industries and follow the same methods which were adopted by the British for encouraging their industries at the expense of ours? Fortunately for us, in order to rehabilatate our industries, we need not commit all those sins which were committed by the British. We need not force weavers to cut off their fingers; we need not kill the trade of British merchants; we need not lay heavy duties on silk and cotton goods imported from England; and, finally, we need not squeeze the throats of those Britishers who do not obey our orders.

Gujaráti Punch (17), 14th Aug.

75. The *Gujaráti Punch* lays special stress upon the necessity of preserving the country's independence in the matter of food, clothing and knowledge as urged by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his recent lecture on Swadeshi at Poona and remarks:—It must be remembered that there can be no Swadeshi without patriotism and that there can be no patriotism without Swadeshi. Many men and women of India have given expression to their patriotism by donning *khadi* from the 1st of August. But patriotism does not merely consist in making an external show with a view to securing popular applause. We should not confine our love of Swadeshi to cloth alone but should try to be patriotic by doing away with those articles of everyday use that are not produced in our country and making use of Swadeshi goods as far as possible. We can lay claim to be patriots only when we are imbued with the spirit of Swadeshi.

The anti-foreign cloth campaign.
Indu Prakásh (44), 20th Aug.

76. Mr. Gandhi made a bonfire of foreign cloth on the 31st July at Elphinstone Road. It was first intended to have it at the Back Bay on the spot where Mr. Tilak was cremated, but as that could not be done without the permission of the authorities, the plan was wisely abandoned, but on the next day a veritable campaign of abuse of the British Government was held there. This campaign of abuse is going on throughout the country and it is not known how long it is to continue or whether rivers of blood are to be made to flow as predicted by Mr. Gandhi. Several lakhs worth of foreign clothing must have been burnt by this time throughout India by Mr. Gandhi's followers. Economists are asking what benefit would accrue to India by this campaign of burning and we do not think that the Gandhiists have not the sense to understand and that it means only loss to India. But what can logic do before the sentiment of hatred? It is doubtless a fact that these bonfires are being made to show hatred for the alien rule and to disseminate that sentiment far and wide. These flames of hatred are being spread all over the country in the name of non-violent non-co-operation! This is indeed a suicidal procedure. These bonfires are being encouraged by several millowners and their agents in the hope that the prices of the cloth they manufacture will thereby go up. *Khadi* which could formerly be had at four or five annas a yard has now gone up to a rupee or a rupee and a half. Mr. Gandhi has thus benefited the millowners and therefore it is no wonder that they should have subscribed about thirty or forty lakhs to the Swarájya Fund. Mr. Gandhi has tried to defend the burning of foreign

cloth, but in doing so he has merely thrown dust into the eyes of the people. It appears he is not speaking from his heart. Mr. Gandhi has also asked that foreign clothes should be sent to the poor people of Smyrna instead of being given to the poor in India. We do not understand how to characterise the patriotism that seeks to clothe the Smyrna poor while keeping the Indian poor naked. If Mr. Gandhi opens his Swarájya Fund for the benefit of the poor, it will do more good to the country than giving it interest-free to his own henchmen for opening *khadi* shops or for manufacturing *charkhas.*

Comments on the District Magistrate of Dhárwár's circular about Swadeshi and boycott.
Swarájya (145), 18th Aug.

77. Commenting upon the circular issued by Mr. Painter, Collector and District Magistrate of Dhárwár, on the subject of Swadeshi and boycott, the *Swarájya* says that the real object of Mr. Painter in issuing the circular is to prevent his countrymen in England from being deprived of their means of livelihood. It accuses him of hypocrisy and remarks that his professed sympathy for the people, to which he has given expression in his circular, is not real. The paper asks Mr. Painter where his love for the people was when they were fired upon at Dhárwár.

Hindusthán (20), 7th Aug.; *Bharat Seva* (14), 10th Aug.

78. The *Hindusthán* reproduces the circular issued by Mr. Painter, Collector of Dhárwár, in the matter of boycott of foreign cloth and remarks:—The circular goes to expose Mr. Painter's profound ignorance of economics and shows to what lengths Government can go for causing a split among the people by holding before them inducements of promotions and honours. Mr. Painter has, moreover, reserved two of his working hours every day to interviewing merchants! This means to say that he will receive salary from the overtaxed poor Indian without devoting all his working hours to the proper discharge of his duties. [The *Bharat Seva* also expresses disapproval of the circular.]

The Sukkur Barrage Scheme.
Sind Observer (10), 12th, 10th and 16th Aug.

79. "What is the purpose of the questions put in Parliament about the Sukkur Barrage? Some say it should be abandoned and new plans drawn up by new engineers. Others say the financial outlay is so great that the scheme cannot be taken up with advantage at this time of financial stringency. In favour of the scheme are the Governor of Bombay, the leaders of Sind, Indian and European, and the whole of the Sindhi press and public. Against it are a few old fossils enjoying comfortable obscurity in the House of Lords. The attitude of the members of Bombay Legislative Council may be taken for the present as neutral. Would the engineers in India who have bridged mighty rivers and constructed great barrages across the Ganges, the Godavari, the Krishna, the Kaveri, and across other rivers in the Punjáb whose irrigation system is the wonder of India and of the world, be so deficient in engineering skill as to propose a wild cat scheme at Sukkur for the barrage across the Indus? The idea is so preposterous that it is useless to discuss it. Moreover, the plans have been drawn up, examined and re-examined by Bombay, Delhi and Whitehall with a throughness and minuteness of detail which a scheme of this magnitude fully deserves. Would the engineers throw away 20 crores of rupees into the waters of the Indus, the barrage proving a tremendous failure? Does past Indian engineering experience warrant such an assumption? Emphatically no......... We do not know with what face members of council hailing from Presidency proper would object to the barrage scheme. The money will be raised by loans and the loans paid for from the revenues received under the barrage scheme. Granting for a moment the scheme will be financed from current revenues, Bombay proper has no business even then to grumble knowing, as the senior partner, it is looting the revenues of Sind for its own purposes for years. If the barrage scheme is defeated by the Bombay Legislative Council, we promise such an agitation in Sind will be raised as it will have to be set up as a separate province at once freed from the Octopuslike grip of Bombay. As the scheme will pay its way, Sind only wants that the credit of the senior partner should stand her in good stead at a time of need. That is the least that Sind expects of Bombay."

[In its issue, dated the 10th August, the paper publishes a contributed article by the Honourable Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas in the course of which he remarks :—"*Apropos* of the concluding portion of Mr. Price's letter to you on the above subject [*vide* paragraph 86 of W. R. No. 33 of 1921] allow me to state from personal knowledge that none of us members of the Central and Local Councils has displayed greater interest or taken more active measures to have the Sukkur Barrage scheme pushed through than the present Governor of Bombay, Sir George Lloyd. The scheme was in eminent peril of being indefinitely shelved. And it was Sir George who by his persevering effort and prompt action saved it from that peril. And the recent Parliamentary announcements are the outcome of that action. It is but natural that at the crisis of the acutest financial stringency that has ever occurred during the memory of man, those responsible for administering the finances of the country should look askance at the project which some may not regard as of pressing urgency. That was why the question was about to be shelved. But His Excellency has got more than one financial solution up his sleeves and is about to see the financial problem through. And consequently the reservation as to finance in the Parliamentary announcements need not cause alarm. Should, however, for any mishap—and that must be an extraordinary mishap—the scheme fall through it will not be due to any lack of endeavour on His Excellency's part. I join with Mr. Price in urging upon the non-Sindhi members of the Bombay Legislative Council to rise above narrow parochial considerations and in a spirit of broad-minded brotherhood sanction the annual grant that will be demanded of them by Government.......... As to the history of the Sukkur Barrage, it was in about 1909-10 that a mixed committee of Revenue and Public Works Department Officers under the chairmanship of the then Commissioner, Mr. Lucas, sat and threshed out the *pros* and *cons* of the whole subject more specially they successfully refuted the views of the champion opponent, Dr. Summers. And after they were thoroughly satisfied the chairman shut himself up in Government House (where no visitors were permitted) for about three weeks and brought forth a most able and convincing report which was through the usual channels passed on to the final authority, the Secretary of State, since which it had been going through the game of shuttle-cock and battledoor between the Secretary of State and the Government of India, inspite of the repeated hammerings at it by the Sind members of the Bombay Legislative Council and the Karáchi Chamber of Commerce. And it was only when it came under the master hands of Sir George Lloyd (who has been faithfully carrying out his promise to make the affairs of Sind his particular care) that it received the serious turn of marching towards accomplishment." In its issue, dated the 16th August, the paper writes :—"We are very much pleased to note that the question of the Sukkur Barrage is attracting very wide attention in Sind amongst both Europeans and Indians.......... We have been hearing of this grand scheme ever since we were at school, but somehow it is getting postponed on some pretext or other.......... We attribute this to the lukewarmness of the Bombay Government before Sir George Lloyd's time and the criminal neglect of Sind members of the Bombay Legislative Council—honourable exceptions like Mr. Harchandrai notwithstanding......... An agitation from one end of Sind to the other in favour of the barrage at the present time will result in the project being taken up much sooner than expected.......... Above all advocates of the scheme is our great Governor, Sir George Lloyd, who is as anxious as any Sindhi to see the scheme through. Mr. Lawrence will also help us and we hope in the next session of the Provincial and Imperial Councils the question will be taken up and settled once for all. We are not given to indulge in heroics, but if the scheme meets with an adverse fate once again we shall certainly have to reconsider whether it is worthwhile for Sind to continue to occupy the position of the Cinderella of the Bombay Presidency."]

England's position in the Græco-Turkish war.
Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th and 19th Aug.

80. "Mr. Lloyd George's quotation of the words of M. Briand who had said, when the Turks held the advantage, that the victor should not be deprived of the results of victory, though no doubt apt and excellent, regarded as a piece of repartee, gives us the measure of the man's frivolity ; for it is evident that he regards the

whole vast Eastern question as a subject for jocularity, a small affair between himself and M. Briand, in which his object is to 'score off' the French statesman.......... Once more we ask: What does the Government of India,, insulted no less than the Indian people, think about it? What does it intend to do to vindicate its honour, and assert the justice and extreme importance of the cause it pleads, when on the success of its pleading must depend the continuance of friendly relations between England and all Asiatic people?......... A learned Asiatic once described to us the present state of England as a monkey riding a lion. Asia does not mind the lion, but she loathes the ape, and is determined to have no connection with it. Will the Government of India be the servant of the lion or the ape—of England's honour or of England's shame? That is the question upon which depends the future of the British Empire in the East." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"'In the House of Commons', we read yesterday, 'Mr. Chamberlain said that no restrictions were placed on the types of munitions which British firms may supply to the Greek and Turkish armies, but Government intended to prohibit the export of poisonous shells to either belligerent.' This is shutting the stable-door after the horse is stolen with a vengeance, considering that the Greek victories are generally known both in England and on the continent of Europe to be the result of poisonous shells supplied from England for the Greek troops operating in Turkey.......... Everybody in the House of Commons knows the Government to be dishonest, knows that certain of its members are indebted to a certain gentleman of Greek extraction and enormous wealth who is the head of a great armament firm in close touch with Government, yet they are so lost to all sense of national honour and of decency, have so completely cast off the tradition which made England great and free, that, far from calling for the impeachment of the Cabinet, they accept its known corruption and duplicity as necessary evils and content themselves with cries of 'Shame' and 'good old armament ring.'"

Comments on Mr. Chhotani's message regarding England's attitude towards the war between Greece and Turkey.

Akhbár-e-Islám (54), 18th Aug.

81. Commenting upon Mr. Chhotani's message regarding the attitude of England towards Turkey, the *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks:—This message clearly shows that the approval expressed by the Allied Conference at Paris in the matter of the supply of munitions by private individuals to both Turkey and Greece, which was chiefly brought about at the suggestion of Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon, was only an empty pretext to help the Greeks. In spite of the so-called neutrality, the Greeks had been receiving help all the time. Such events will only serve to force the Muhammadans to decide to put into full force the programme of non-co-operation. All the Muhammadan members of the Legislative Councils should resign their seats as a protest against this declaration of policy on the part of the Allies, for which the British Government is mainly responsible. Those Muhammadans who co-operate with Government and at the same time support all the demands made with regard to the Khilafat will now see how their susceptibilities are being flouted. There cannot be a more suitable occasion for the Muhammadans to resign their seats in the Legislative Councils as a mark of emphatic protest than this. As a result of the new policy enunciated by the Prime Minister, every Muhammadan, be he rich or poor, will consider himself absolved from the duty of abstaining from helping Turkey in the war with Greece.

England should drive the Greeks out of Smyrna.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 13th Aug.

82. Commenting on the British decision to defend Constantinople if attacked by the Greek forces, the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* characterises it as a bold one, but it urges England to drive the Greeks out of Smyrna and Thrace as it was England herself which first put the Greeks there. The paper concludes by remarking that they should be driven out specially as the whole Islamic world and the European Powers are inflamed. [In another place the paper asks the Indian Mussalmans to help their co-religionists of Smyrna as much as they can, for they are the victims of oppression.]

Comments on Mr. Lloyd George's remarks about Greece's victory over Turkey.
Sind Observer (10), 17th Aug.

83. “Mr. Lloyd George states that the Treaty of Sevres has been torn away at the instigation of Turkey and, on M. Briand's principle, the victor must have the spoils of war. In other words, the British Premier is not sorry for Greek victory and Greek imperialism has therefore his support. The British Premier is a first rate opportunist and accepts the inevitability of settled facts with the alacrity of a Lieutenant obeying his Colonel's commands......... The Premier has also said that the Governments of the allied countries are neutral in this war but their munition firms are free to supply fodder for the guns of Greek or Turk. Of course, it is business; it is the disposal of some old stores rotting in France and England. Cannot the League of Nations prevent the sale of munitions of war which bring money to neutral countries and death to those engaged in the conflict? We believe the theory that the victor must have the spoils of war is a negation of all the principles professed by the allies in the late war. That is enthroning again brute force to the position of arbiter of the destinies of mankind. In that case, Britain cannot raise a moral protest in the world against the conspiracies of Pan-Islamists and Bolshevists against the British Empire. The Greek victories have only aggravated the disease prevailing in the Islamic world. The Premier's words are like an arrow shot into the hearts of Indian Muslims. They will make our own settlement with Afghanistan through the Dobbs Mission more difficult.”

Mahrátta (7), 21st Aug.

***84.** “A stronger person shows his strength upon a weaker one, and if the latter complains, alleges that it was not himself, but his hand that beat. It is just this sort of argument upon which appears to be based the Supreme Council's decision that the Allied Governments will not intervene, in the Turko-Hellenic War, with any form of assistance, but freedom of private trade will not be interfered with, specially as it seems upon the insistence of Mr. Lloyd George. It is doubtful whether such a distinction can be drawn between one's own Government and its people, to support the so-called allied neutrality towards the belligerents. It was quite an open secret how Britain happened to help Greece in spite of its alleged neutrality. But if anybody had doubts, they may be cleared by this new Lloyd Georgian invention. Addressing the Supreme Council Mr. Lloyd George said that the Treaty of Sevres had been torn by the Allies, and the Greeks were, therefore, entitled to proceed on the assumption that the treaty no longer existed. Well then, why do not the Allied Governments proceed similarly, and officially wage war on Turkey.......... How could they at all allow Greece, an old ally of theirs, to do so, themselves keeping aloof? It is like blowing hot and cold in the same breath, just the sort of Lloyd Georgian diplomacy. As a result of the Supreme Council's decision, the Greeks are receiving enormous supplies, as Shet Chhotani cables from London, and even Mr. Chamberlain declared in Parliament that there was no sort of restriction on the sending of supplies except for poisonous shells. It is undeniable that this attitude of Britain has not even a shred of the so-called neutrality, as even a few Britishers suggested by their greeting Mr. Chamberlain with cries of ‘shame’ ‘shame’ when he maintained it in the House of Commons.”

EDUCATION.

People must be prepared to bear additional burdens for the sake of compulsory primary education.
Jágaruk (45), 13th Aug.

85. In order to meet the requirements of compulsory primary education the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye has suggested two means of raising additional revenue, *viz.*, succession duties and extra land assessment. The agriculturists would not object to either of these imposts, but if the representatives of the people in the Legislative Council object to them, it would be the duty of the Educational Minister and the rayats themselves to rouse them to a sense of their duty. As a matter of fact it is the duty of the Council and the Minister of Education to obtain money for education from the people even though they be unwilling to pay; for the Ministers and the Councillors have not at all hesitated to sanction even against the wishes of the people extra expenditure for the luxury of the bureaucracy and the high salaries of the ministers. We feel that the backward classes must be prepared to bear additional burdens for the sake of universal compulsory education. The leaders and representatives of the people must on no account put forth the people's poverty as an excuse for their inability to bear the burden and thus show themselves off as great sympathisers of the people. If these men raise such objections and thus come in the way of the cause of public education, they would be considered not the people's well-wishers but their enemies.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the Surat Municipality's non-co-operation with Government in the matter of education.

Surya Prakdsh (76), 13th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Praja Mitra and Pdrsi* (29), 16th Aug.

86. "We are gratified to note that Government have at last thought it fit to take decisive action in connection with the muddle which the Surat Municipality has created in regard to its educational affairs. A month ago our Municipal Board passed a resolution repudiating Government inspection and control of the Municipal primary schools, and, quite recently, notified to Government their intention to dispense with the services of 43 of its trained and highly paid teachers. These acts naturally precipitated matters and brought about the visit of Mr. Lory, the present Director of Public Instruction, to this city......... As we hear, he has officially informed the Municipality that in view of the attitude taken up by the Municipality towards the Educational Department in general and towards its teachers in particular, he has decided to withdraw immediately from Municipal service all the teachers, trained and untrained, who choose to revert to Government service. This decision is fateful in that it involves the withdrawal of about 400 teachers at once. The withdrawal of so many teachers immediately can have, so far as we can imagine, only one effect, *viz.*, of paralysing all the Municipal primary schools in the city. If this happens, as it inevitably must, the people who deliberately returned the present non-co-operating members to the Municipality at the last election will soon begin to realize what it means for the city to 'non-co-operate' with Government with regard to any branch of public business......... We congratulate also Mr. Lory, the Director of Public Instruction, on the bold and decisive step he has taken. What was needed in the present case was not vascillation but prompt action, and this the Head of the Educational Department has taken, not only bringing credit to himself but reinstating Government prestige in an atmosphere which was heavily surcharged with the non-co-operation current." [The *Praja Mitra and Pdrsi* refers to the decision of the Surat Municipality to non-co-operate with Government in the matter of education and to the tussle between the authorities and the Municipality regarding the question of education and remarks that the non-co-operators in the Municipality should take warning from the course which Government are preparing to take in this matter and hopes that they will show their public spirit by trying to preserve the prestige of the body to which they belong. It remarks that Government will not fail to make use of their powers of suspension if the Surat Municipality will not be amenable to reason, and if it should fail in its duty to make adequate provision for imparting education within the Municipal limits.]

Question of renewing the license of the Bombay Telephone Company.

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 21st Aug., Eng. cols.

*87. "According to information published by the *Times of India*, the Bombay Telephone Company is to receive a new lease of life from the Government of India as soon as the period of its present license expires. We hope that before the Government give their sanction to the renewal of the license they will give due consideration to the heaps of complaints that have been made by public bodies, business houses and private individuals regarding the scandalously inefficient manner in which the service is conducted. It is no use trying to mollify an exasperated public by promises of improvement at some future date; but the Government should insist upon the Company giving a definite undertaking that all causes of complaint will be removed with due promptitude. We agree with the suggestion made by our contemporary the *Bombay Chronicle* that the Municipal Corporation of Bombay should be empowered to appoint their nominees on the Board of the Company to watch over and safeguard the interests of the subscribers. A public utility service ought to be efficiently managed in accordance with public needs but that cannot be done if there is no public control over it."

RAILWAYS.

Evils of company management of Railways in India.
Mahrátta (7), 21st Aug.

*88. An anonymous correspondent writes in the *Mahrátta*:—"The British exploiters of India always try to cover their acts with religion, the talk of conferring the benefits of civilisation on the Indians, and the boast of their being specially appointed by Providence to safeguard the interests of the Indian masses from supposed encroachments by the educated classes. But hypocrites that they are, they continue to grab all they can lay their hands on just the same. It was this hypocrisy which led the representatives of the railway companies to make so many glaringly false statements before the Railway Committee, one of which was to the effect that State management of railways does not succeed in democratic countries. The following extract from *Australia* by Professor J. W. Gregory of the University of Glasgow will show how very false the statement is......... I would not be at all surprised if the report of the Railway Committee is not submitted to the Indian Legislative Assembly, but disposed of out and out by the Secretary of State and the most harmful and detestable system of Company management is given a new lease of life, as according to the philosophy of the British exploiters, such an action would also be in the interests of India."

Strike on the Gondal Railway.
Sánj Vartamán (31), 15th Aug.

89. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the recent strike on the Gondal Railway and blames the Maharaja of Gondal and his Dewan for what it considers as the obstinate attitude they have assumed towards the Railway staff. It also blames the Maharaja of Morvi for lending his men to Gondal and thus helping in breaking the strike and throwing about one hundred men out of employment. It is of the opinion that if the employees of all the railways in Káthiáwár formed themselves into a union they would be able to meet the high-handedness of the Chiefs of the province in an effective manner.

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the unrest prevailing among the subjects of the Native States in Káthiáwár.
Sánj Vartamán (31), 15th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 17th Aug.

90. The *Sánj Vartamán* writes at great length on the high-handed manner in which the Indian Chiefs in Káthiáwár are carrying on their administration and endorses the protest made at the public meeting held on Sunday last at the Morarji Hall in Bombay against the doings of the Dhrángadra State. It praises the determination of the people of Dhrángadra to persist in their struggle and calls upon the people of Bombay to give them all possible help. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the disturbed state of affairs in Káthiáwár and requests the people there not to resort to any hasty steps and asks them to appeal first to the Chamber of Princes to intervene on their behalf and do justice to them.]

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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For the week ending 27th August 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian matters:

- Appeal to the Agricultural Department to promote fruit-growing in Gujarát . . . 78
- The Bombay Provincial Agricultural Conference at Poona . . . 77

British Rule:

- Anglo-Indians should not show hostility to Indian aspirations . . . 62
- Boycott of cloth has already influenced political opinion in England . . . 60
- Comments on the Cattle Census Report . . . 65
- Comments on the constitution of the Fiscal Commission . . . 61
- Comments on the installation of Emir Feisul as King of Mesopotamia . . . 64
- Comments on Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire Deputation . . . 58
- Scarcity of wheat in the Punjáb . . . 66
- The Manchester agitation against the import duties on cotton goods . . . 59
- The Moplah disturbances in Malabár . . . 49—57
- The situation in Ireland . . . 63

Co-operative Societies: The Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference at Poona . . . 67

Development of Bombay:

- Comments on the programme of work in connection with provision of chawls for the poor published by the Bombay Development Department . . . 16
- The Bombay Grant Road Terminal Station Scheme . . . 17

Excise:

- Comments on the District Magistrate of Thána's withdrawal of his anti-picketing order . . . 18—21
- Disapproval of the Congress Committee's decision to resume picketing of liquor-shops . . . 23
- The Honourable Mr. C. V. Mehta and the drink traffic . . . 22

His Excellency the Governor:

- Comments on His Excellency the Governor's Convocation address . . . 5—13
- Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the address of the Karnátak non-Brahmin Association at Belgaum . . . 14
- Comments on His Excellency the Governor's statement before the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau regarding the Bombay Development Board . . . 15

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

- Comments on the resolution of the Lahore Municipality to boycott the Prince of Wales's visit . . . 1—3
- His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's visit and the Bombay Corporation . . . 4

H 139—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Indian Reforms :
- Alleged failure of the new Reforms . . . . 24 & 25
- How advantage can be taken of the bankruptcy to which Government are reduced by extravagant expenditure under the new Reforms to compel them to grant *swarāj* to India 26

Indians in the Colonies :
- Comments on Mr. Montagu's interview with the representative of the *Statesman* 27
- Comments on the Standing Joint Committee's Report on Kenya . . 28
- How India can bring the South African Government to its senses . 30
- The London *Daily Telegraph* and the rights of Indian settlers in Kenya 29

Irrigation : Appeal to Government to take up earnestly the question of—works in Gujarat 79

Judicial matters :
- Comments on sentences passed on picketers in Karáchi 75
- Comments on the withdrawal of the Munitions Board Case . . . 68—74
- Swami Krishnanand's case in revision in the court of the Judicial Commissioner in Sind 76

Non-co-operation :
- Bolshevik agents have found entrance in the — camp 42
- Comments on the alleged disappointment of the Khilafat delegation to England 43
- Comments on the boycott movement . . . . 38 & 39
- Comments on the circulars against boycott of foreign cloth issued by the District Magistrate of Dhárwár and the Madras Government . 35 & 36
- Comments on the reported intention of some of the accused in the Dhárwár case to offer defence 48
- Condemnation of Mr. Gandhi's eagerness to burn foreign clothes .
- Condemnation of the decision of non-co-operators not to appear before the Matiári Inquiry Committee 33
- Condemnation of the tone of certain speeches delivered by non-co-operators in Karáchi 32
- India will have to resort to civil disabedience to gain *swarājya* . . 45
- Mr. Gandhi's appeal to the Marwari community to help in the—movement 44
- Mr. Ghandhi's condemnation of the violence of the mob at Karáchi on the occasion of the trial and conviction of Swami Krishnanand . 31
- Mr. Ghandhi should be more careful in starting new propagandas . 40 & 41
- Mrs. Besant and her advocacy of the new Reforms 47
- Revolution a dangerous expedient for securing *swarāj* 46
- *Swarājya* cannot be obtained by boycott of foreign cloth . . . 34

Police : Comments on the memorial to Government against the alarming increase of brothels in Bombay 80

Publice Service :
- Comments on the revision of the over-sea allowances of the Imperial services 83
- Experienced pleaders should be appointed as District Judges . . 81
- Protest against the rejection of Indian degrees by the British Medical Council 84
- Suggestion for the abolition of the posts of Assistants and Deputy Collectors rather than those of Commissioners 82

Sind : Disappointment at the attitude of the Indian members of the Matiári Commission 85

War : Comments on the declaration of neutrality by the Allies in connection with the Græco-Turkish — 86

PARAGRAPHS.

EDUCATION—

Comments on the action of the Director of Public Instruction in withdrawing the services of primary teachers lent to the Surat Municipality . 88

The Minister of Education and compulsory education 87

MUNICIPALITIES—

Approval of the Corporation's rejection of the proposal to prolong its existence pending the settlement of its new constitution 89

RAILWAYS—

Strike of the G. I. P. Railway Workshop operatives in Bombay 90

Protest against the delay in the construction of Badin Railway in Sind . 91

NATIVE STATES—

Alleged pollution of the image of a goddess at Kolhápur by non-Brahmins . 94

Appeal to the British Government to intervene on behalf of the subjects of Native States in Káthiáwár 92

The political situation in the Native States in Káthiáwár 93

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the resolution of the Lahore Municipality to boycott the Prince of Wales's visit.

New Times (8), 11th Aug; *Hindusthán* (21), 20th Aug.

1. "The resolution of the Lahore Municipality has, however, given alarm to the *Civil and Military Gazette*, which now imagines that the Municipality is a 'Soviet' consisting of men 'frankly disloyal'. The Anglo-Indian paper asks Government to appoint a commission to enquire why the powers of the Municipality be not curtailed and the Committee superseded by a Commissioner with absolute powers. We are thankful to our contemporary for not suggesting martial law at this stage! We wonder if our contemporary still dreams of jackboots stamping the streets of Lahore to stamp out this 'Bolshevism' which it imagines has seized the capital of the Punjáb! Bolshevism as a theory of government may appeal to some, may not appeal to others; but the Bolshevism of blood and iron was taught the Punjáb quite recently by the guns of Dyer and the iron rule of O'Dwyer." [The *Hindusthán* congratulates the Láhore Municipality on the courage shown by it in refusing to present an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales and expresses hope that other Municipalities will follow its example.]

Lokasangraha (116), 22nd Aug.; *Rájakáran* (131), 21st Aug.

2. The bureaucracy seem determined to take the Prince of Wales through the principal cities of India in the teeth of popular opposition. We wonder what they expect to gain by exposing the Prince to the same treatment that was accorded to the Duke of Cannaught. We congratulate the Lahore Municipality on being more courageous than similiar bodies at Bombay and Calcutta. Nothing will be lost if the Punjáb Government accept the suggestion of the *Civil and Military Gazette* and suppress the Lahore Municipality. If the Municipalities cannot be assured of an honourable existence, then they had better not exist at all. [The *Rájakáran* says that the Lahore Municipality has set an excellent example to other Municipalities and it trusts that they will follow it and completely boycott the Prince's visit.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 23rd Aug., Eng. cols.

3. "It would not be safe or just to say that the people of the Punjáb are of the same opinion as that of the Municipal Councillors of Láhore with regard to the Prince's visit. It may be taken that all Punjáb, and for the matter of that all India, are at one with the Láhore Municipality with regard to the resentment that is felt over the tragedy of the Punjáb. But it is questionable if the sense of grievance and resentment over that great wrong would take the form which the Láhore Municipality have thought fit to give to them. Appreciating the natural feeling of the Punjáb over that unhappy affair as we do, we doubt if most people would approve of the vindictive and ungracious turn which is sought to be given to it. How are national honour and dignity hurt if a courteous welcome is extended to a distinguished visitor? The people may not be called upon to rejoice because their hearts are sore. The people may not be expected to be cordial or enthusiastic in the circumstances of the case. But there is no reason and no wisdom in being rude. The resolution of the Láhore Municipality appears to us to be petty-minded. Whatever the sins or the schemes of the bureaucracy, in this matter we have to deal with the King's son, who is to be our future sovereign. It is suggested that the Prince's visit will be exploited by the bureaucracy for their political ends, and therefore it is impossible to exclude political considerations from the affair. But even then it would be no fault of the Prince, unless he knowingly lends himself to such exploitation. Besides, it must be remembered that the Prince of Wales comes out to India in accordance with what is now a well-established and approved precedent. He would have come, whether the Jhallianwalla Bagh massacre occurred or not.......... It is true that the time is not the most propitious for his visit and for pageants and rejoicings. He might have come under happier circumstances. But then, it must be borne in mind that the Prince's visit has already been postponed once, and that

there is no knowing when the unrest and agitation would disappear.......... Does anybody deny that, whatever the political calculations of the bureaucracy, these visits of the reigning King or the heir-apparent have their value for the general good of the people......... The impressions which the Prince would carry from a personal view of men and things would be ineffaceable... ..... If the present visit of the Prince of Wales is to be discouraged, it may happen that he might not get another chance. We believe both wisdom and good manners demand that we should now accept the Prince's visit as a settled fact, and make no difficulty over it. We do not think the Lahore Municipality has set a worthy example, which the other towns of India will follow.......... We hope India will yet, and always, show a higher and nobler kind of patriotism than a show of petty-minded and vindictive resentment towards the King's son, who has had no hand in the misgovernment of India."

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's visit and the Bombay Corporation.

Sandesh (135), 23rd Aug.

4. The *Sandesh* refers to the voting of an address to the Prince of Wales by the Bombay Corporation and says that the Bombay Municipality is ever ready like a prostitute to put on a fine garb to welcome any one who happens to come to this country. It tells the Municipality that if it has a plethora of money it should devote it to improving the sanitation and the water supply of the city rather than spend it on the welcome to the Prince. It tells the people that the Prince cannot possibly give them anything and that they should welcome him only if he undertakes to give them *swarájya.* It asks the Municipality to respect the resolution of the Congress and urges the people to oppose the Municipality if it persists in giving a welcome to the Prince.

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's Convocation address.

Hindusthán (21), 21st Aug., Eng. cols.

5. "As an academic discourse on liberty His Excellency the Chancellor's dissertation on the same at the recent University Convocation may be considered a good attempt.......... His Excellency quoted a Greek statesman who said that every freeman was a slave to one thing only, the Law. The question, however, is, which law ?.......... There are different laws for different people and no Britisher or Frenchman would like to live under the German law even for a moment. It was in fact this desire for national freedom and national liberty and a national desire to proceed on one's own lines unfettered by foreign domination that the European war was brought about. How then are the Indian people expected to follow the law meaning British law and constitution ? Why should then attempts of emancipating themselves from foreign domination be regarded as violations of the law and of liberty and as anarchy ? His Excellency surely does not mean that attempts of European nations to achieve liberty should be acclaimed with joy but similar attempts on the part of subject nations, specially Asiatics, should be tabooed as anarchy, bolshevism, etc. His Excellency indulged in a veritable clap trap when he said that the individual was free to develop to the utmost in every phase of life and that liberty was only present in a state when every man realised that the only giver of his freedam was the Law. Again he says that the salvation of England and other countries lay in discipline and in the respect for constituted authority which discipline ensures. We cannot understand how such a shrewd observer of men and affairs as His Excellency can escape the observation that conditions in England and this country are entirely different. What is known as constituted authority in England is the authority of one's own people. What is known as constituted authority in this country is foreign domination which according to all canons of Justice and Equity has no place here. Foreign domination does not become sacrosanct by becoming constituted authority......... Our struggle is at present for freedom from foreign domination and for a complete self-government and nations who are secured in their liberty for centuries and who are now engaged in exploiting the subject notions can never appreciate the acute struggle and the keen yearning which we may have for liberty. His Excellency's sermon may well be sent to Mr. DeValera and to his Irish

Parliament who are now in the final stages of considering the reply to be sent to Mr. Lloyd George. It need not have been inflicted on the new graduates."

Indu Prakásh (44), 23rd Aug.

6. Though His Excellency the Governor in his Convocation address did not directly make mention of the non-co-operation movement, a perusal of it shows that it was mainly directed against it. The praise bestowed upon the English nation was fully deserved, and the principle which the address tried to drive home deserves consideration at the hands of all. The utterance has been adversely criticised in some quarters on the ground that India being under foreign rule, the instances of other nations mentioned by His Excellency are not applicable to it. But the fact is that His Excellency mainly dwelt upon the unquestioned doctrines of liberty which are applicable in all circumstances whether a country is under foreign domination or not. The adverse criticism of His Excellency's address has its origin in partizanship, in the tendency to disbelieve even unquestioned truths simply because given utterance to by those in power. His Excellency wanted to draw attention to a principle of politics which is being disregarded by our present-day leaders. Indians differ from European nations in being unorganised and made up of numerous castes and classes bound together by a foreign rule. It has not yet reached the status of a nation able to concentrate and give effect to national opinion. India, therefore, needs some outside power to control her and this power is law. Even Mr. Gandhi when launching his non-co-operation movement felt the necessity of having such a restraining power and, therefore, he has imposed the principle of non-violence on his followers. That principle has no doubt proved effective to a certain extent, but that is not sufficient for, though it has prevented excesses from taking place, it has not been able to stop other evil results of non-co-operation. Law is thus necessary to control liberty. It also controls those in power. It is needed for the good of society. The very fact that Mr. Gandhi has not yet sanctioned civil disobedience though pressed to do so from several quarters goes to show that he too recognizes that disobedience of the law will only end in disorder and anarchy.

Sind Observer (10), 24th Aug.

7. "Sir George Lloyd, we know, takes for granted that the State and the Law he is talking of are a good State and good laws. When the laws are not good and the State stands for vested interests and not for the good of all then it becomes necessary to offer disobedience not only in the interest of the individual, but of the State itself in the same way that social reformer members separate themselves from the orthodox family to enjoy a certain measure of freedom. As the Chancellor says law is necessary to liberty for without law it is anarchy and chaos. But liberty is also necessary to law for without liberty law becomes a lawless law—a law that enthrones autocracy and breeds slavery. The Tsar's laws might have been necessary for his State, but people revolted against them because they were not clothed with the sanctity of liberty and therefore the Tsar's State came to grief although its substitute is worse.......... Sir George Lloyd's thesis has its lessons not only to the non-co-operator, who would drive the country to the edge of a precipice, but also to the *zaburdusti* bureaucrat and the last ditcher possessing Tsarist mentality. If the autocratic bureaucrat comes out with the Rowlatt Act, the unreasoning Gandhist comes out with non-co-operation; if the economic exploiter confiscates other peoples' lands for oil, the Khilafatist comes out with the war-cry of religion in danger. When repressive laws are put in operation which have not about them the sanctity which a law should possess, the non-co-operator threatens civil disobedience. Therefore, the Chancellor comes to the right conclusions, when he says the sort of liberty that is wanted for this or any other country—"It is the liberty to think, to speak, teach, move and profess what we believe and hold, but always subject to laws whose structure rests on the experience of centuries and which are sealed by the sanction of civilised opinion all over the world." Because Sir George has the grasp of these essentials he is able to keep his Presidency for three years, though it is the storm centre, in a state of tranquility which has earned for him the encomiums of

this country and of England. Because Sir M. O'Dwyer had lost his compass, doubted his stars, and rushed headlong to grind the rocks he came to grief. In a State governed by such laws as Sir George Lloyd has in view there can be no conflict between the State and the subject because the one exists for the other."

Servant of India (9), 25th Aug.

8. "For his annual Convocation Address as Chancellor of the Bombay University, Sir George Lloyd chose the subject of Liberty as contrasted with Licence and in the course of it quoted the Greek tag that every free man is a slave to the law. He does not seem to have mentioned the word 'slave mentality,' but it is evident that he had it throughout in mind. The Bishop of Bombay in an address he gave the day before at Poona, not only implicitly, but explicitly, referred to the popular cry about slave mentality, which, somewhat petulantly he professed he did not understand.......... One might leave it at that if it was not as well to express the fallacy of the logic, both of His Excellency and of His Lordship. Nobody who talks of 'slave mentality' means that obedience is no longer needed to anybody. With a great disregard for consistency, the very same people, who declaim against the refusal to obey on the part of Extremists, also declaim usually against the slavish obedience to Mr. Gandhi. That which distinguishes a slave from a free man is not obedience: but the fact that one yields his obedience freely and the other compulsorily. That being so, it is no use girding at Indians, because they call it 'slave mentality' to obey unthinkingly, or even unknowingly. It is slave mentality, however much His Excellency the Governor or the Right Reverend the Bishop may demur. And that slave mentality no Indian has any use for, be he non-co-operator or Liberal. The only point that distinguishes the two is that the latter considers it best for India to obey the present Government and that the former does not consider it so to be. It is not a question, primarily, whether the Government is good or bad, but whether it is imposed on slaves or whether it is based on the consent of free people. I obey my music master because I have chosen him: and just because of that, I am not a slave, but his pupil. And so we Liberals, though we desire to remain for a little while yet pupils, emphatically refuse to be, for that reason, considered slaves."

Gujaráti (15), 21st Aug.

9. The *Gujaráti*, in commenting upon His Excellency the Governor's convocation address, remarks, it cannot describe it as a very good utterance. It declares it to be the utterance of a partisan. How could His Excellency, asks the paper, do full justice to his subject, when, owing to his position, he was not free to expound the full meaning of liberty? How can a master talk of liberty to his slaves? According to the paper, the upshot of what His Excellency says about constitutional agitation for rights and respect for Government by law established is that he wants Indians to accept the rule of foreigners which is hostile to the interests of the country, because they have established it by a law framed by themselves. As for the praises by His Excellency on the Englishmen's love of liberty, the paper remarks that it is in evidence when there is a question of freeing the countries subject to Germany, Austria or Russia, but not when there is a question of freeing the people of Egypt, Ireland or India who are subject to them. The paper concludes with the remark that in the present political and economic condition of India it does not become Englishmen to try and explain the meaning of liberty to Indians.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 22nd Aug.; *Hindusthán* (21), 22nd Aug.

10. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* describes the Convocation address of His Excellency the Governor as very instructive and remarks that those who are desirous of attaining *swaráj* within four or eight months by subverting the present Government established by law should ponder over the attempts made in Russia and France to win liberty by subverting the Government and the terrible state of affairs which resulted therefrom. The paper congratulates His Excellency on the fact that it is owing to the leniency and patience exercised by his Government that there have been so very few disturbances in this presidency compared with the other provinces of India. It blames the co-operators for giving up all political agitation outside the councils. It also holds Government in a way responsible for the creation of the extremist party. It considers that Government is making the path of the non-co-operators very easy by casting obstacles in the way of those leading co-operators who wish to serve the country. It urges Government to make the path of the co-operators smooth, to give up its repressive policy and try to satisfy the political aspirations of the people. [In criticising His Excellency's Convocation address the *Hindusthán* raises the question whether His Excellency means that people should be slaves to laws framed by tyrants and declares that no reasonable person would like to submit to the repressive laws that are allowed to remain on the Statute Book of the Government of India. It is of the opinion that the address is not likely to create a favourable impression on the public because His Excellency is the head of that very Government which has deprived Mr. Horniman of his liberty and deported him and that it will continue to regard His Excellency's pronouncements on liberty with suspicion and distrust as long as he does not atone for the wrong done to Mr. Horniman by restoring him his liberty.]

Gramya Swarájya (63), 23rd Aug.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (23), 21st Aug.

11. The convocation address of His Excellency the Governor affords an example of the teachings of slavery taught to our young men. Many of the fresh graduates must have been deluded by the glamour of the address. Sir George Lloyd has committed a serious blunder in comparing the present political agitation with the Bolshevist movement or the revolutionary movement in France. His Excellency boasted of the Englishman's fitness to appreciate liberty and declared that the Englishman secured his liberty by respecting the law. Did the Englishman respect the law by compelling James II to abdicate the throne? Was law respected in beheading Charles I? Were all the disturbances that took place about the time of the signing of the *Magna Charta* peaceful? Was America given independence without any effort on her part? Why is Ireland thirsting for blood? Why is the naval supremacy of England maintained and why are other nations crushed? The history of England consists of a series of horrible incidents. It does not afford an example of the evolution of liberty, but furnishes a tragedy in which other nations are forcibly crushed. Is such a nation competent to teach India the meaning of liberty? It is only India that can teach the world the meaning of liberty because its sages have given a true description of liberty. True liberty consists in taking mutual pains to give liberty to every individual. It is true that obedience to laws is conducive to progress. But of what use are the laws that retard progress? It is but natural that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd should exert himself to bind down the intellects of our young men, but India has made up her mind to secure *swaráj* and she will refuse to listen to any one who tries to come in her way. India has not adopted Lenin's ways nor has she adopted those of Ireland. She has pinned her faith to non-violence and means to secure *swaráj* through it. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind*, on the other hand, declares that the sound advice given by His Excellency should be laid to heart by every right-thinking man in the Presidency and should be pondered over by those who are the advocates of liberty.]

Karma Veer (82), 26th Aug.; *Shubhodaya* (88), 25th Aug; *Karnátak Mitra* (35), 25th Aug.; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (83), 23rd Aug.

12. From the lesson on liberty, which the Governor read, at the last convocation of the University of Bombay, it appears that His Excellency has forgotten his studies in history and needs to be reminded of them once more on the present occasion. There is still a difference of opinion about the French struggle for independence. But in the case of the Englishmen's struggle for liberty, His Excellency must have either perverted the facts altogether or forgotten the history of his own countrymen. Did they not in the very beginning of their struggle force King John to sign the *Magna Charta*? Was not Cromwell called the Protector, even though he flung away the King's sceptre of sovereignty? Was not Charles I beheaded? Why then should they boast that they obtained their rights without bloodshed? Is it not futile to offer this sort of advice to India, when nothing has happened indicative of similar attempts in India and when the whole movement of non-co-operation is made to depend strictly on non-violence? It would have been better if this rhetorical outburst had been addressed to the Irishmen who demand their rights at the point of the sword. His Excellency's advice that laws should be respected is no doubt acceptable to all in principle. But who made these laws and for whom were they made? Do they not consist of acts like Rowlatt and Press Acts which were enacted by foreigners for the people whom they conquered? Has not the Mahatma said that only those laws should be obeyed which have been enacted for the good of the people themselves? [The *Shubhodaya* says:—Did Sir George Lloyd imagine that he was speaking before an audience of British youths? How can His Excellency who is born and brought up in an atmosphere of liberty understand the sentiments of a conquered people? He cannot forget the principle that good government is no substitute for self-government. The non-co-operation movement lays down that that authority should be respected which is constituted by the consent of the people, and it is its avowed aim to resist the authority which is based on the fear of foreign troops. It is a wonder how His Excellency could see the seeds of anarchy in such a movement. The *Karndtak Mitra* says:—His Excellency does not seem to realize that anarchy is never the result of liberty or its aim but is the direct outcome of the attempts to suppress liberty. The *Karndtak Vaibhav* says:—The anarchic explosions in France and Russia were due above everything else to the harsh repression to which the people were subjected by the Governments of the time. The lessons of these revolutions are meant as much for the people as for the Governments themselves. Besides, Indians are by nature a very peaceful and law-abiding people and they do not need Sir George Lloyd to tell them about the benefits of law and order.]

Dnyan Prakásh (41), 21st Aug.; *Nireekshaka* (47), 22nd Aug.; *Swarájya* (145), 25th Aug.; *Chaitanya* (98), 22nd Aug.

13. The *Dnyán Prakásh* refers to the Convocation speech of His Excellency the Governor and writes:—Everybody will regard the speech made by His Excellency as a very important pronouncement. In her struggle for liberty England never took a step forward before she was ready for it. If people choose a contrary course they get anarchy instead of liberty they strive for, and the strong oppress their weaker brethren. Therefore, we should cautiously move forward to avert such a calamity. We have always argued thus even before the non-co-operation movement was launched and are, therefore, wholly in agreement with the views expressed by His Excellency in the course of his address. No one will dispute the fact that revolutionary movements more often than not end in disaster. The Chancellor drew a fine contrast between a revolutionary movement and an evolutionary one. But at the same time the reasons which prompt people to have recourse to a revolutionary movement must also be inquired into. Unless this is done any inquiry into this subject must prove to be faulty. Indeed in our opinion an inquiry into the ætiology of this problem is of greater importance than the attempt to solve it. People naturally love ease and only the indifference of the authorities make them lose all faith in peaceful means. There will be no unrest in the country if the rulers satisfy the legitimate desires of the people. As it is the duty of the people to respect the law, so also it is the duty of the Government not to abuse it. During the Satyagraha riots both Sir Michael O'Dwyer and Sir George Lloyd had to declare Martial Law. While the former abused it, the latter had recourse to it only as much as was absolutely necessary. Had there been another Sir George Lloyd in the Punjáb in 1919, the present situation would not have arisen. It will thus be seen who is really to blame for driving the people, who are naturally peace-loving, to adopt non-co-operation. [The *Nireekshaka* says that Indians are naturally law-abiding and that, therefore, the Governor need not tell them to be slaves to law. The *Swarájya* writes:—There is no similarity in the struggles of England and India for liberty. England has been free since the Romans left it. Foreigners did not go there to exploit it nor to claim high posts there. During the last several

centuries the English have not been under foreign domination like the Indians and all their differences were with their own kings. The *Chaitanya* asks the Government first to remove the discontent of the people and then to check the movement for liberty if it threatens to end in chaos.]

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's reply to the address of the Karnatak non-Brahmin Association at Belgaum.

Gujaráti Punch (17), 21st Aug., Eng. cols.

14. "The speech of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in reply to an address from the Karnatak non-Brahmin Association will be read with grave concern all over the Presidency. At first sight, it will appear to reflect the old attitude of relying on a counter public opinion for the failure of non-co-operation but a more closer reading will at once betray a mind that has lost patience over it and is anxious to tread the apparently easier path of repression.......... We may, however, assure Sir George Lloyd that a display of the iron fist will not only serve no useful purpose but will only aggravate the seriousness of the situation.......... The position of Provincial Satraps, in such times as these, is in all conscience, unenviable and we have our sympathy with them so long as they behave themselves properly. The Government of India does, over their heads, things which are likely to create serious disaffection in the land and then they are asked to fight it out. We strongly believe that the Provincial Governments ought not to do it. If anything they must impress on the Central Government the seriousness of the situation and the need for relief by removing the root-cause. In its absence, they may be responsible for only open breaches of peace. Such a line of policy on their part will, we believe, unravel many a tangled knot and make the situation far more easy. The irony of it, however, is that our Provincial Satraps, instead of adopting it, seize with avidity the remotest opportunity for a display of brute force under one form or another. Most of the Provinces have already done it with respect to the non-co-operation movement and if Bombay had not yet fallen in the line, the credit of it was, it was generally believed, due to Sir George Lloyd. His Belgaum speech, however, shows that he intends, if he has not quite decided, to launch on a different, if a more common policy. We very much wish Sir George Lloyd will yet avoid falling into the fatal line."

Comments on His Excellency the Governor's statement before the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau regarding the Bombay Development Board.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 22nd Aug., Eng. cols.

15. In the course of the second instalment of its article headed "The Back Bay Apologia" the *Sánj Vartamán* writes:—"The question of control is one of the weakest spots in the armour of the Government and though he tries his best to prop up a lame case, we are afraid the public is not at all satisfied with his laboured statement. From the beginning to the end the points put forward by Sir George Lloyd are flimsy and illogical. He says, 'First of all it has twice been ruled I think under the Act that this is a reserved subject, and as I have already pointed out to you the matter therefore does not lie with me.' This is simply begging the question. We need hardly point out to His Excellency that on this matter the public sentiment is very keen and the latter has every right to look up to the head of the Government to plead their case. If the matter, as he says, 'does not lie with me', that is perhaps the greater reason why he should take it up earnestly and see that the public voice is both heard and respected.......... Surely the Secretary of State is not an infallible person, nor are his dicta like laws of ancient Persian and Medes, unbreakable. Why should we take it for granted that if the case of the public were placed before him with force and proper arguments he would be so adamant as to persist in a position which the public considers to be unreasonable.......... In all parts of the world the saying holds good that he who pays the piper must call for the tune. But in India this does not hold good. With all due respect, we want to ask His Excellency, 'Is this fair? Is this equitable? Would he, if he were an Indian and had self-respect for himself and his country, tolerate for one moment such an unfair and transparently unjust state of

affairs ?' We need hardly point out that we the Indians are chiefly concerned in these developmental schemes.......... We declare that in Bombay's development, Bombay's citizens want to play a prominent and a principal part. They want to play second fiddle to no one. In these days of democracy, Bombay wants to yield its own rights to no one. The Secretary of State for India ought to be impressed with the fact that since the Act was passed—behind which His Excellency is inclined to shelter himself—the angle of vision in India has greatly changed and we think that it is His Excellency's obvious duty to point out to Mr. Montagu the real feelings of the people in this matter and bring him round. Even His Excellency has not as yet thoroughly grasped the depth of the feeling that the people have on this particular aspect—the financial control—of the Development Schemes."

Comments on the programme of work in connection with provision of chawls for the poor published by the Bombay Development Department.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 27th Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 27th Aug.

16. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the programme of its work published by the Development Department and believes that the lucid statement made by the Department in the matter of building tenements for the poor classes would go a long way in removing the complaint that the Back Bay Scheme was being pushed up to the detriment of the interests of the poor classes. The paper regrets that no attempts are made to represent Indians on the Development Board and to appoint competent Indian Engineers to fill responsible posts in the Department. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that the statement issued by the Director of Information regarding the building programme of the Development Department furnishes useful reading.]

The Bombay Grant Road Terminal Station Scheme.

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 28th Aug., Eng. cols.

***17.** " At the next sitting of the Bombay Legislative Council Mr. N. M. Dumasia is to bring forward a motion recommending the appointment of a committee to consider the alternative schemes that have been proposed with regard to the Grant Road Terminal Station. We hope Sir George Lloyd's sympathetic Government will consider this recommendation favourably. Although the matter was discussed at much length last year, and Government issued a press note definitely announcing their intention to sanction the original scheme put forward by the B. B. & C. I. Railway Authorities, the inhabitants of the locality still entertain earnest hopes that Government will not be so unkind as to render them homeless at a time when housing accommodation is so scarce and dear in Bombay. We submit that the alternative scheme proposed by the Parsi Engineers' Association together with various other suggestions were not considered as patiently as they might have been, and that the matter was disposed of rather too summarily. We are sure that if a committee of experts were to consider this subject with due care, they would certainly find out some way to modify the original scheme in such a manner as to put the smallest number of people to hardship and at the same time put the Railway Company to the least expense. Anyhow the acquisition of the properties involved in the scheme should be held in abeyance till the Legislative Council has had an opportunity to discuss fully Mr. Dumasia's recommendation."

Comments on the District Magistrate of Thana's withdrawal of his anti-picketing order.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Aug.

18. " The District Magistrate of Thána may be congratulated on his timely climb-down from the untenable position he chose to occupy during the last four weeks. He has sought to save his face by giving out in his present order that the object of the issue of his previous order has been served 'by indicating the particular forms of activity which tend to resentment, retaliation and local disturbance'. The Magistrate must be aware that what he now says is mere moonshine. If the issue of the order under section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, has served any purpose at all, it has served merely to demonstrate to the public the necessity of being prepared to see unscrupulous use made of the existing law by members of the bureaucracy.......... The Magistrate would do well to realise that it is not so much the activities of the temperance workers that 'tend to resentment, retaliation and local disturbance', as the illegal and utterly senseless orders which officials in their wrath against the non-co-operation movement are in the habit of issuing."

Mahrátta (7), 28th Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 20th Aug.

***19.** The *Mahrátta* describes the tussle between the District Local Board, Thána, and the District Magistrate, Thána, on the question of picketing of liquor-shops and remarks :—" Picketing was actually resumed in some places and the Collector had no other alternative but to withdraw his order or convert the whole district into a prison. Discretion was considered to be the better part of valour and the Collector gracefully climbed down and under the pretext of an assurance from respected leaders to avoid abuses and preseve peace, he rescinded his arbitrary order. We congratulate Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and the Thána District Congress Committee for their splendid courage and organisation and giving a lead to the country in the matter. We have also to congratulate Mr. Campbell, the Collector of Thána, for his moral courage in correcting a wrong and for not being enmeshed in the snare of prestige. Undoubtedly this withdrawal of the order has averted a struggle which bid fair to be a catastrophe. All Maháráshtra had determined to stand by their brothers in Thána and thousands would have willingly gone to jail in order to vindicate their inherent rights." [The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the good sense shown by the District Magistrate of Thána in withdrawing his order prohibiting picketing and considers it as a triumph of public opinion.]

Lokasangraha (116), 22nd Aug.; *Swarájya* (145), 25th Aug.

20. The firm determination of the people opened the eyes of Mr. Campbell and he cancelled his illegal order. It is very likely the Collector's later decision was inspired by the Government of Bombay. We congratulate the people of Thána on their victory over the bureaucracy. Bureaucracy will come to an end in no time if the people achieve unity. The victory of the people of Thána is very significant and we trust our people will draw the obvious conclusion from it. [The *Swarájya* says that all Local Boards and Municipalities should pass resolutions excluding liquor-shops from their areas.]

Lokamánya (115), 21st Aug.; *Kesari* (111), 23rd Aug.;
Indu Parkásh (44), 22nd Aug.

21. It is a matter for great satisfaction that the District Magistrate of Thána has withdrawn his anti-picketing order. It seems that the order had been hastily issued as false rumours of probable riots had reached his ears. Thereupon the popular leaders held meetings at various places in the district and not only protested against the order but prepared themselves to go to jail if necessary by carrying on picketing in contravention of it. They also saw the Magistrate and explained to him its illegality and told him of their readiness to go to jail by breaking it. The order was thus withdrawn. It is to be remembered that no disturbance has occurred at any place in the Thána District while the picketing was going on. Why then was the order issued? We suspect that the Magistrate, who is himself a teetotaler, issued it out of sympathy for certain influential Europeans of Bombay interested in the liquor trade. We, however, congratulate him upon his having repented and cancelled the order. We beg to point out that compared to other districts there is very little possibility of disturbances taking place in Thána in this connection as the wild tribes inhabiting the jungles had already given up liquor as soon as picketing began and it will be an easy matter to induce other lower classes to do the same. It is the false belief of the bureaucracy that the general public favours drinking. We congratulate the volunteers and leaders upon their having stuck to the good cause to the end and we hope that the whole Thána District like America will soon go dry. [The *Kesari* also refers to the withdrawal of his anti-picketing order by the District

Magistrare of Thána and remarks that it would have been better if he had clearly explained how it was that the position in Thána which was considered to be favourable for disturbances before the issue of the order had so suddenly changed for the better. The paper calls the Magistrate "a Lord Reading in miniature" who is mimicking His Excellency in trying to escape from a difficult position by speaking about assurances being given by respected leaders about their determination to carry on picketing in a peaceful manner. It hopes that picketing will now be vigorously resumed at Thána and says that the public will particularly watch how the District Local Board of Thána is going to proceed as the Collector has not yet cancelled his order against its resolution to spend Rs. 3,000 on the drink prohibition propaganda. The *Indu Prakásh* remarks that though as a matter of fact the Magistrate should thank the people for their having peacefully borne the trouble caused by his order, the times are such that the Magistrate has to be congratulated by the people upon having acknowledged his own ignorance by cancelling his illegal order.]

The Honourable Mr. C. V. Mehta and the drink traffic.

Swarájya (145), 25th Aug.

22. The *Swarájya* takes the Honourable Mr. C. V. Mehta, Minister of Excise, to task for not suppressing the drink traffic outright. It tells him that his fears that total prohibition would encourage illicit distillation are groundless. In its opinion Mr. Mehta should resign if he is unable to convince his colleagues in the Government of the desirability of eradicating the drink evil. Had there been Nationalists instead of Moderates in the Legislative Council, remarks the paper, they would long ago have passed a resolution prohibitting the drink traffic.

Disapproval of the Congress Committee's decision to resume picketing of liquor-shops.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 27th Aug.

23. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses regret at the Congress Committee's decision to resume the picketing of liquor-shops and doubts whether the step will bring about the desired end. The paper adds that as it has been universally acknowledged that the habit of drink is a curse to every country and as it is the duty of every far-sighted citizen to persuade drunkards to give up the evil habit by impressing upon their minds the consequences resulting from it, systematic picketing of liquor-shops is not at all necessary. The paper expresses fear that such picketing would disturb the peace and tranquility of the City and even lead to the shedding of innocent blood.

Alleged failure of the new Reforms.

New Times (8), 24th Aug.

24. "The one test of political 'Reforms' in India—as, indeed, of any other country in the world—should be:—how far do they make the life of the mass of the people better and happier? From this point of view, the 'Reforms' in India have been a failure. Have the masses of India been provided with better means of living since the "Reforms"? No. The conditions of life are harder; there are greater taxes to bear, because military expenditure has more than doubled, and there are huge salaries to be paid to imperial officers, to newly created ministers and for bigger establishments and new departments. These must ultimately be supported by the poor whether in agriculture or in industry. Is the lot of the peasant any the better after 'Reforms'? The *rasai* is not yet dead. And *Aman Sabha* becomes an additional security! A Zamindar thinks he has only to become a member and pay frequent *salams* in order to be immune from the petty tyrannies he may practice on his lands. Are there any better sanitary conditions of life for the great mass of the people after the 'Reforms'? The answer is in the negative. A few big bosses have got ministerial jobs and entered imperial service, but the masses remain where they are. Is there any greater sense of responsibility in the administration because of the 'Re forms'? Ruthless repression is the answer. In a way, the 'Reforms' have rather given better authority to Government, because they have made a certain section of our politicians apologists of the bureau cracy. In Sind, the shooting at Matiári and the conviction of Swam

Krishnanand would rather show that the Sind bureaucracy feels itself less responsible after the 'co-operation' of some leaders of the moderate party—with the result that we have to-day a bigger and stronger bureaucracy than before. Is there anything like a buoyant spirit among the people in the supposed 'New Era'? We notice only sullen resentment. If these be among the fruits of 'Reforms,' is there a remedy left except non-co-operation?"

Gujaráti Punch (17), 21st Aug.

25. Indians have been appointed to the high paid posts of Ministers as a result of the introduction of the new reforms, but the proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Council in the last two sessions go to convince every one, be he a co-operationist or a non-co-operationist, that the powers vested in the Ministers are a hollow show and that they have to pull on somehow like other Government officials owing to their lack of control over the finances of the presidency. Both the Education Minister and the Excise Minister have hinted at the lack of funds and the probability of the imposition of new taxes. The presidency is already over-taxed and if the Ministers are convinced that they cannot effect any reforms without resorting to fresh taxation, they should tender their resignations. The powers of the Ministers are limited and the powers of the members of the Legislative Council are equally limited. Members of the Legislative Council cannot ask any questions, neither can they move any resolutions they like. We are constrained to say that Government have sown the seeds of discontent in the hearts of the people by their disregard for public opinion. The new reforms have failed to satisfy the minimum demands of the Indian public and we are surprised to see that Mr. Whyte, President of the Legislative Assembly, should be so bold as to state that Indian legislature is in no way inferior to any other parliamentary system in the world. This is sheer flattery indulged in with a view to capture our imagination. We are convinced that the reforms are inadequate and they stand in need of a radical change. If Government want to pacify the hearts of the Indian people, they should introduce substantial reforms in our administration when the Prince of Wales comes to India in November next.

How advantage can be taken of the bankruptcy to which Government are reduced by extravagant expenditure under the new Reforms to compel them to grant *swaráj* to India.

Mahrátta (7), 28th Aug.

*26. "It is even now a debatable question whether what is signed and verified as that large and benevolent measure of Self-Government, granted to India, is worth at least a two-pence in the pound. For as a result of the Reforms Act, the Government has merely undergone not reformation but re—'formation' from bad to worse; the expenditure of the Provincial and Imperial Governments has reached the farthest limit, people have already begun to look aghast at further taxation; the wartime military expenditure has not come down to any appreciable extent, while the charges for the civil establishment, especially for the so-called upkeep of the Civil and Imperial services, have been again and again increasing; the chariot of the Goddess 'India' which could so long be drawn and that too easily by 2 to 4 fiery stalwarts, now requires, in spite of the weight being the same, the aid of 2 to 4 pairs of Executive Councillors and Ministers. The list can be extended to any length. Thus the expenditure happens to keeping still an upward march, retrenchment and economy being out of sight, out of mind. And what have we got to counterbalance all this extravagance? Nothing except the ridiculous reform here and there, and remorseless repression everywhere. The bankruptcy of the Indian Government under the Reforms Act seems therefore but a foregone conclusion!!! Let us, for the support of our contention, look a little into the finances of the Government of India a statement of which, for the first financial quarter, is published in the *Gazette of India*, August 6th, 1921.......... What is then the way to avert this headlong fall? Strict economy, or new taxation is the way, and bankruptcy or granting of *swarájya* the alternative. As to economy, if but the Government wish it, there are many ways to effect it. As for new taxation the consent of the people must be obtained; which, however, non-co-operating people cannot give until the causes of non-co-operation are removed, and *swardjya* granted. Thus economise the Government will not, introduce new taxation it cannot. The only alternative of bankruptcy or the granting of *swardjya* remains. At the present period of our agitation, it cannot be said with any certainty what way the choice of Goverument will take; but this much is certain that, as is usual with Britishers, our rulers will hold on till the last dire moment and refrain from giving us back our *swardjya*, till we make it impossible for them so to refrain. All the probabilities, therefore, point towards the bankruptcy of the Indian Government, which itself will bring the paralysing of the Government. For our part, therefore, we must help towards bringing about such an impossibility of the situation, that our rulers must grant us *swardjya* at once and immediately. We have already referred above to the way of bringing this about; and that is the boycott of foreign cloth. That will bring the Government of the country on its knees as nothing else can. Our advice, therefore, to our countrymen is so to intensify the boycott that not even the dirty linen of Lancashire or any foreign shire shall be imported into India. Our rulers will be compelled to bow only by the policy of 'hands off'. Thus while *swardjya* is the ideal, Swedeshi and boycott are the means to attain it. Let us, therefore, concentrate on propagating Swadeshi, and intensifying and maturing boycott of foreign cloth with all our heart, and all our energy and all our might, and 'trust in God and do the right'."

Comments on Mr. Montagu's interview with the representative of the *Statesman*.

New Times (8), 18th Aug.; *Gujaráti* (15), 21st Aug.

27. "The cabled report of the interview of the *Statesman's* London correspondent with Mr. Montagu was apparently meant for diplomatic effect on the Indian situation. The nationalist will not be misled by fine phrases. Mr. Montagu says without hesitation 'that there has been a most remarkable,—a most distinct advance in the position of Indians'. Yet he knows that the majority in the country have rejected the 'Reforms,' for most of the voters boycotted the Councils! Indians in this country are engaged in a mighty struggle for Freedom; they would not have rejected the 'Reforms' if there had been 'a most remarkable—a most distinct advance' in their position. The non-co-operation movement which Mr. Montagu has damned as a 'mischievous' movement is a protest against the present position of India. The national will is not respected by Government......... It is true some Indians have got big jobs, since the Reforms; but the Indian problem is not the problem of securing jobs for Indians. The Indian problem is essentially the problem of making Indians—their opinion and will and culture and civilization—respected. Until that respect for India is born in the heart of Government, there cannot be, as far as we can see, any hope of the present Government securing a real co-operation of the people. India is not respected—this expresses in brief also the situation of Indians abroad. Mr. Montagu speaks of the success of India at the Imperial 'Conference'! 'Success,' indeed, when the 'Imperial Conference' makes over India to the tender mercies of South Africa!......... India will not be respected until she has by self-organisation, self-reliance and self-sacrifice shown that she wants no 'charity' at the hands of other nations but has the power to achieve......... 'Boons' and 'favours' and 'petitions' have not helped India, will not help her; they have weakened her moral fibre; India must build up strength if she would be honoured as an equal among equals. And the secret of strength is self-purification and self-reliance." [Referring to the interview between Mr. Montagu and a representative of the *Statesman* regarding the work done at the Imperial Conference and Mr. Montagu's remarks therein about the improvement in India's status brought about by the conference, the *Gujaráti* declares that Indians will not now be pleased with such theatrical shows; what they now demand are actual solid realities.]

Comments on the Standing Joint Committee's Report on Kenya.

Servant of India (9), 25th Aug.

28. "The Standing Joint Committee's Report on Kenya recognises, in theory, the claim of Indians to equality of citizenship, but in its recommendations as to the specific measures whereby this principle is to be translated into a fact, it is very weak. Indeed, except for its definite pronouncement against the project of racial segregation which the Colonial Office under the headship of Lord Milner favoured, the report contains no precise conclusions on the questions at issue.......... The questions of franchise and the ownership of land, on which the Committee refrain from expressing any opinion, should be left, the Committee suggest, for a Royal Commission's decision, and even the question of segregation on which they have expressed a definite opinion is to be left to the Commission!......... It will thus be seen that the only distinct gain from the examination of this question which, according to Col. Wedgwood, is 'the test question' for the British Empire—as to whether the British people are hypocritical or sincere in their solicitude for non-white races—is that Indians have obtained an academical recognition of equality of status, which can be made a basis of their future agitation.......... The Joint Committee's remedy of Royal commission Mr. Churchill rejects, for he thinks it is the 'last remedy' to be applied 'if everything else fails', and he is ambitious to solve the problem himself. But we must confess that his references to the Kenya question in his speech on the Colonial Office Vote do fill one with grave misgivings that he will play off the Indian settlers and the natives against one another. If the Indian stood in the way of progress of the natives, we would cease to advocate the Indian cause.......... Enlightened Indian opinion will unhesitatingly condemn the exploitation of any foreign country by Indians at the cost of its rightful inhabitants.......... It will be observed that a new fact of the utmost significance has now been disclosed for the first time in the Joint Committee's Report in the matter of the restrictions on the purchase of land. The Committee say that 'the Colonial Office regards itself as bound by certain pledges in favour of European settlers'. With the utmost tenderness for the latter, the Committee further observes, that 'they have naturally no desire to suggest any breach of faith; but they have received evidence which would seem to justify further enquiry into the matter'. India is entitled to know what these pledges are, when they were made and how they came to be made. If they are based on no higher principle than that of race favouritism, they will have to go and there is nothing wrong in making such a demand although it may savour of a 'breach of faith'. It is, however, difficult to believe that any promises that may have been made will militate even against the modest request of the Government of India that there should be no prohibition of transfer of upland farms which were already in occupation. With regard to the Indian demand for a common electoral roll, it is objected that it would throw the majority of the votes into the lap of Indians, leaving the Europeans in a minority. One wonders what is there wrong in it, if Indians are in a majority.......... Why it should be always assumed that Europeans must be in a predominant position it is impossible to understand. If equality of citizenship which is now guaranteed has any meaning, such an assumption and all its implications must be swept off and the Europeans must be prepared to take a back seat if their relative numbers and standing measured in education and property do not justity any better."

The London *Daily Telegraph* and the rights of Indian settlers in Kenya.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Aug.

29. "The rally of a Jingo journal like the *Daily Telegraph* to the cause of the White settlers of Kenya comes as no surprise to Indians. All talk of 'Imperial brotherhood' and 'sympathy for the legitimate aspirations of Indians' in the mouth of these well-wishers of India vanishes the moment this 'brotherhood' and these 'aspirations' clash with the 'White brotherhood' and their aspirations. The journal's concern for the poor 'natives' of Kenya would be touching, but for the fact, which is ill-disguised, that these 'natives' are being made merely a pawn in the game of their White masters. Indians are described by these self-styled friends of the 'natives' as having 'reaped the benefit of English blood, toil and money expended'. For a corroboration of this historical fact they might appeal to Mr. Churchill of pre-Colonial Office days. The game of both the Whites of Kenya and their champions in the

English press is very clear. They are bent upon postponing the solution of the Kenya Indian question and upon frustrating the Indians' struggle for their enfranchisement. No amount of misrepresentation of their cause will prevent the Kenya Indians from asserting their birth-rights."

How India can bring the South African Government to its senses.

Gujarāti Punch (17), 21st Aug., Eng. cols.

30. "If India and South Africa are to be left to settle their differences as best as they can without Imperial interference, the situation would not be so hopeless as would appear at first sight. Superficially, self-governing South Africa may appear to be more than a match for India which, in spite of its enjoying Dominion status imperially, is, internally, on the road to self-government, but that she is not quite defenceless will be seen from the following observation of Sir T. J. Bennet.......... It would be seen from the above that India has got a powerful weapon in her power to raise a tariff wall against any country in the world and it behoves us to enquire minutely how far that can be made effectively applicable against South Africa. Besides, that is not all. We believe the Government of India ought to refuse to have anything to do with any general scheme of either Imperial Defence or Imperial Preference that has the remotest application to South Africa and if that were done, it will have one additional advantage in that it will induce the other parts of the Empire too to exert the full force of their moral pressure against South Africa. We wish the people and Government of this country would soon join hands in evolving some such plan to bring South Africa to her senses. South Africa has not the shadow of a right to mete out to Indians the treatment it does and now that the matter has been left entirely in the hands of the Government of India, we hope it will not be slow to act. Here is a chance for Lord Reading to do real service to India and to enlist public sympathy for his regime."

Mr. Gandhi's condemnation of the violence of the mob at Karachi on the occasion of the trial and conviction of Swami Krishnanand.

Young India (12), 25th Aug.

31. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes as follows in the course of an article in *Young India* on the subject of the violence of mob in Karáchi towards Europeans on the occasion of the trial of Swami Krishnanand:—"The crowd believed implicitly in the innocence of the Swami. And in its madness, it selected every European passer-by and everyone with a European hat for venting its wrath. Among the Europeans assaulted was Mr. Price, M. L. A. Whatever the provocation, however great the Swami's innocence and whatever his status, the crowd had no business to lose temper. Victory is impossible until we are able to keep our temper under the gravest provocation. Calmness under fire is a soldier's indispensable quality. A non-co-operator is nothing if he cannot remain calm and unperturbed under a fierce fire of provocation. We must lie on the bed chosen by us. We must not expect the Government to remain calm in all circumstances. It has its creed as we have ours. It is calm up to a point. It will sit still so long as we seem to play. Its creed is to strike terror immediately we are serious. The Swami and his following were serious, and the Government delivered the blow. It was at this stage that our creed was put upon its trial and we failed. It is true but it is irrelevant that Professor Vasvani and other staunch workers tried to curb the fury of the mob and even partly succeeded and prevented worse things from happening. The fact that matters very much is, that the crowd lost self-control at all. There was no occasion for it to gather. Having gathered it ought to have remained cool-humoured throughout. It was entitled to vent its anger by discarding all foreign cloth, by making up its mind to turn to weaving and picketing liquor-shops. That would have been a deathblow to the Government. As it was, its impotent rage was very near a deathblow to the movement for which the crowd ostensibly stood. There should be no mistake. There is no civil disobedience possible, until the crowds behave like disciplined soldiers. And we cannot resort to civil disobedience, unless we can assure every Englishman that he is as safe in India as he is in his own home. It is not

enough that we give the assurance. Every Englishman and Englishwoman must feel safe, not by reason of the bayonet at their disposal, but by reason of our living creed of non-violence. That is the condition not only of success, but our own ability to carry on the movement in its present form. There is no other way of conducting the campaign of non-co-operation. Let us bear the Swami's farewell message in mind: 'carry on the anti-liquor campaign and help the Bhangi.' He could not have delivered a better message. If we banish liquor and raise the Bhangi to our level, low as it is, we are very near *swarāj*. Of course the Sind authorities have lost their head. I see proclamations prohibiting people from walking where and as they like, from carrying anything but walking-sticks. The European residents too have lost self-control. I do not wonder. They are a handful in the midst of many. Professor Vasvani wrote a dignified letter of sympathy to Mr. Price, regretting the incident. He had met Mr. Price before. Mr. Price wrote a splenetic letter in reply. Professor Vasvani wrote again. Mr. Price was still angry. The lesson of the 'mock trial' as Professor Vasvani has truly called it and the aftermath, is that we must expect more mock trials as the heat of non-co-operation grows and the closing months approach, and that we must be prepared calmly to face the imprisonment of innocence without retaliation and fury, or we must be prepared to court well-deserved disaster. It will be a cruel pity, if, when we are so near the cherished goal, we should fall back by our inability to control crowds."

Condemnation of the tone of certain speeches delivered by non-co-operators in Karachi.

Sind Observer (10), 23rd Aug.

32. "We have been placed in possession of three English translations of speeches made by local non-co-operators at Jehangir Bagh on August 4th by the District Superintendent of Police, Sind C. I. D. .... One orator calls the British 'pimps' who have come to India not for her good but for her goods. Reynolds, Shakespeare and Macaulay in the opinion of this learned English scholar are just novels being named after the persons who edited them!; and '*Sharab* can be had through license from the *Shaitan*.' The two other speeches are on a par with the first. No decent man can read speeches like these without feeling a sense of shame and humiliation that some of his countrymen calling themselves non-violent non-co-operators should indulge in such silly twaddle. Non-violence in word and thought is entirely absent from these foolish speeches. We do not take these men seriously as they do not at all represent the average intelligence of the country. But we must ask the non-co-operationist party in Karáchi whether any purpose is served by putting on the platform men with no brains, no self-control and entirely ignorant of their own country's miserable condition before the advent of the British. We have our grievances under the British Government but can irresponsible oratory like this take us a single step in advance? If non-co-operators cannot speak on public platforms with a sense of decency and responsibility it is better in the interests of their very cause they should hold their tongues. That, we think, is the advice of the Mahatma also. Sensible people are getting sick of these effusions and it is to be hoped public opinion will put an end to this sort of nonsense before forcing Government to take action."

Condemnation of the decision of non-co-operators not to appear before the Matiari Inquiry Committee.

Sind Vasi (167), 12th Aug.

33. We learn that non-co-operators and Khilafatists have resolved not to appear before the Matiári Commission. This attitude of theirs shows that they are as much guilty of murdering truth as are the Police and other Government servants, now in trouble. This Commission is not a Court which can compel the attendance of any witnesses. If both sides of the question are not put before it, its conclusions may not be satisfactory. Then our non-co-operators, boasting always of their love for justice, will remark that their anticipations have come to be true. God alone can understand the sense and logic of these non-co-operators. They attend courts as witnesses on the

ground that they have not yet been asked to break laws, but they refuse to serve as assessors. Again, when they are prosecuted for any offence they submit their written statements, but offer no defence. It is these wiseacres and sham supporters of justice who claim that they will secure *swarâj* for India. But, we fear, that the moment they get it, they will create confusion in the country.

Swarâjya cannot be obtained by boycott of foreign cloth.

Lokasangraha (116), 22nd Aug.

34. The *Lokasangraha* says that Mr. Gandhi is exaggerating when he says that *swarâjya* can be attained before the end of the next month by completely boycotting English cotton goods. It remarks that the nation which spent millions of money on the war cannot be coerced into giving *swarâjya* by the boycott of its goods. In its opinion the boycott movement will benefit the country only if the people simultaneously take to Swadeshi.

Comments on the circulars against boycott of foreign cloth issued by the District Magistrate of Dharwar and the Madras Government.

Kesari (111), 23rd Aug.

35. The *Kesari* ridicules the circular issued by the District Magistrate of Dhárwár to counteract the boycott movement and challenges the "henchmen" of Mr. Painter to come forward in public meetings to speak in favour of foreign cloth. It, however, thinks that all the show about carrying on public discussions about Swadeshi and boycott is a mere pretence as Mr. Painter seems to place his chief reliance on his secret circular, dated 25th May, which it suspects contains some inducements which it says were apparently at the root of the acts of Dyerism recently committed by the Police at Dhárwár. The paper next refers to a similar circular issued by the Madras Government against the boycott movement and declares that in view of the fact that it is almost a copy of the Dhárwár circular, both appear to have their original at Simla. It declares that such circulars instead of killing Swadeshi will only convince the people that Government, instead of wishing to encourage indigenous industries, is only trying to save English cotton manufactures from boycott. It also declares that the concern now shown by Government as to how the poorer classes would get sufficient cloth to cover themselves is only feigned. It opines that such pretended sympathy for the masses on the part of a Government which is not ashamed even to fire on the people to ensure a supply of liquor for them would be valued at its true worth by the public which will treat such circulars with the contempt they deserve.

Navina Bhârat (37), 22nd Aug.

36. Last week, Mr. Painter, the Collector of Dhárwár, issued a circular to the effect that all the subordinate officials under him should take whatever steps they may find necessary for arresting the spread of the boycott movement and also hinted in that circular that the officials have before them at this moment favourable opportunities for enhancing their prestige with the Government. We had thought that Mr. Painter was the only man who was possessed by this evil spirit. But a cicular of the same type has been also issued by his venerable grandfather, the Governor of Madras. It is, therefore, plain that the officials are very keenly opposed to this Swadeshi movement also. No meaner act could possibly be conceived than this open hostility of the officials to the efforts of the people for producing their clothes in their own country. Nobody maintains that any kind of force should be resorted to in making the people use only Swadeshi clothes. If per chance any violence does take place, there are officials at every step to whom the aggrieved people can go and ask for redress. Mr. Painter, who in his circular has found a panacea for all evils, has advertized for anti-boycott agents, and even though the dose which he prescribes might be no better than poison, it is very likely that the ambitious nature of the advertizement may attract quite a number of agents ready to deceive their own people for some pecuniary gain. We trust, however, that the people will take warning and keep clear of these agents.

Condemnation of Mr. Gandhi's eagerness to burn foreign clothes.

Gujarati (15), 28th Aug., Eng. cols.

***37.** "Mr. C. F. Andrews has appealed through the press to Mr. Gandhi 'to refrain from advising the burning of foreign cloth in Bengal, while famine is raging in Khulna and women and children were almost going naked.'......... Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has publicly disapproved of this kind of boycott and so has Mr. V. J. Patel. But Mahatma Gandhi is inexorable in his demand upon the public in the sacred name of boycott! We are all in favour of promoting the cause of Swadeshi on sound lines. But it is impossible for many people to appreciate the logic of boycotters who preach the burning of foreign clothes or their export to Smyrna. It is difficult to understand how they can decently and consistently ask the inhabitants of Smyrna to accept the clothes which they themselves look upon as deserving of being thrown into a huge conflagration at Worlee and other places. Secondly, they feel perfectly justified in accepting lakhs of rupees from men who have thriven on the profits made out of the sales of foreign goods. In fact Mr. Gandhi publicly praised them for their splendid generosity and ardent patriotism. Foreign clothes are so intolerably tainted that bonfires must be made of them throughout the country. But the riches earned from their sales are most welcome in the form of handsome contributions in lakhs of rupees to the All-India Tilak Swarájya Fund! Schools and Colleges, whether private or otherwise, must not accept grants from Government, because such money is tainted money, but it is not tainted at all, if you receive it from such a tainted source like the wealthy importers of foreign clothes, who, according to Mr. Gandhi, are the greatest offenders against Swadeshi! Municipalities must not accept pecuniary contributions from Government, because they emanate from a tainted source. But it is perfectly legitimate for boycotters to get themselves elected and continue as members of these bodies in spite of the fact that the latter owe their very existence to a 'satanic' source......... It remains to be seen how far Mr. Andrews' appeal will induce him to change his views about the burning of foreign clothes. Several bonfires have hitherto been lighted in different parts of India. But they are not enough. On the 21st instant Mahatma Gandhi addressed a public meeting at Tejpur and lighted a bonfire of foreign clothes......... To us this kind of boycott is so very painful that we refrain from further criticism."

Comments on the boycott movement.

New Times (8), 22nd Aug.

38. "One thing is certain; the Englishman is practical and he pays attention to what presses upon him. Petitions amuse him; logical or emotional appeals influence him but little; he respects—in the long run—strength; and we are not surprised to find that the policy of economic boycott has already created some impression in England......... Whether it will compel England to come to terms with the National Movement will depend, in no small measure, on world-forces. There is, indeed, a connection more intimate than most may think of between Khilafat and *swarâj*. Each will help the other. And if we are to win *swarâj* at an early date—and by *swarâj* we mean the control of the political machinery of India—England must, as far as we can see, be a consenting party; and England will not consent except under pressure. Part,—but only part, as it seems to us,—of that presure will be supplied by economic boycott,—provided the boycott is supported by the entire country and is kept free from elements of race-hate and national egoism. In other words, we want the economic boycott to be not a weapon of revenge upon the 'stranger,' but a moral challenge to imperialism. It is true the British manufacturer, aided by State-action, crushed our home industries; but that is no reason why we should aim at doing harm to the British people. It is true, if we sustain the boycott to success, the British cloth industry will practically collapse. But our motive should be to make India, as far as possible, economically self-reliant not to inflict harm upon the British people."

Karnâtak Mitra (85), 25th Aug.; *Raj Hansa* (86), 22nd Aug.

39. Even British historians have to admit with shame that the British people built their Empire in India on the foundation of injustice after destroying all our indigenous industries and depriving crores of our people of their means of livelihood. In consequence of their possession of Indian money, their faces have become as red as their consciences have been dark. Their sins have been great and the time may come when these British merchants will have to eke out their livelihood from the spittle which the Hindus might throw at them. But we do not wish to take any revenge upon them and it would be better if they repented of their sins themselves. Self-interest need not necessarily mean the ruin of the interests of other people. At any rate, having suffered so long we must now be wise and try to put ourselves on our guard. We have no other course open to us than a voluntary boycott of foreign cloth. [The *Ráj Hansa* remarks:—The bureaucracy are actuated by a spirit of covetousness and they do not wish to return to us the jewel (India) which has fallen into their hands. They have taken up an attitude of obstinacy and in conformity with that attitude they have held their breath and closed their mouths. The Mahatma detected this disease of covetousness in the bureaucracy and with a view to cure the disease, he applied the remedy of non-violent non-co-operation. The first two or three doses have failed to produce any effect. But the Mahatma is now certain that he can make the bureaucracy open its mouth by pressing its nose, *i.e.*, British trade. The boycott of foreign cloth is therefore essential for the attainment of *swaráj*.]

Mr. Gandhi should be more careful in starting new propagandas.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 28th August.

*40. "In the last issue of his paper, *Young India*, the Mahatma writes an article headed 'Confessions' in which he prefaces his regret that the withdrawal of students from schools and colleges was made a part of the non-co-operation programme without first providing for the useful and active employment of those withdrawn in other ways, with a recapitulation of his previous mistake which he has had to deplore. He does not mince his words—he is far more stern to himself than he ever allows himself to be to others, especially those who may happen to differ from him. We are sure that at no distant date when the Mahatma is able to look at them in their right perspective, he will admit that the burning of foreign cloth and the evasion of the law of the Congress constitution were two other capital mistakes. One's admiration for this rare candour of the Mahatma would be unalloyed but for the fact that, unfortunately, the incidence of his mistakes is not limited to one or a few individuals but affect thousands of people......... Having regard to the widespread consequences of the Mahatma's mistakes and to the fact that there have been four such more or less 'Himalayan mistakes,' to use his own phrase, in less than two years, we venture to think that it is high time that the Mahatma took steps to avoid such mistakes and thus spare himself the proverbially useless pain of crying over spilt milk......... Our point here is this: these mistakes of the Mahatma were not unavoidable. He had ample warnings which he deliberately chose to ignore. 'Roaming about the streets' as an alternative to studying in schools for young students, should have been unthinkable. We ourselves repeatedly deprecated letting boys loaf about in the streets, and suggested that at least some definite provision should be made beforehand for every young man or woman asked or allowed to give up school or college. In view of his lofty patriotism the country has gladly put up with the consequences of the Mahatma's mistakes. But it is evidently most desirable as far as possible not to tax the endurance of the people who have much to endure in their daily lives."

Indu Prakásh (44), 24th and 25th Aug.

41. The *Indu Prakásh* refers to a handbill on *satyagraha* issued by Mr. P. M. Bapat of Poona and points out the inconsistencies contained in it. It regrets that while a great leader like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya is appealing to the people to maintain discipline and obey the law, 'patriots' like Mr. Bapat are asking them to offer civil disobedience and it asks Mr. Gandhi to publicly condemn such irresponsible productions. The paper also refers to the confession made according to it by Mr. Gandhi in the last issue of the *Navjivan* as to his mistake in calling upon students to leave

Government educational institutions. It says that it entertains the highest respect for Mr. Gandhi but at the same time asks the people to think twice before carrying out his behests. [In its next issue the paper again criticises Mr. Gandhi and referring to his regret about having induced students to leave Government schools, remarks that it is for the consideration of the people as to how far a leader who has to repeatedly regret the steps he takes deserves to be trusted. It points out that not only was Government not at all terrified by the withdrawal of students from their schools but now Mr. Gandhi himself has come to see that a good many of the boys have turned truant owing to his propaganda. It declares that there is no unanimity of opinion as to what national education consists of, and that Mr. Gandhi himself has not apparently gone deeply into the subject, his chief idea being that not to receive Government aid is national education. The main idea of the present-day national education, says the paper, is to teach a little of English, a little of cotton spinning and weaving and to wheedle stupid people into giving donations by making an exhibition of such half taught students before them. The subject of national education, the paper points out, is being brought into ridicule by being handled by half educated men who have been indulging in all sorts of unmeaning platitudes. It hopes that other leaders, too, will follow Mr. Gandhi's example in frankly acknowledging the mistake made by them in connection with the national education propaganda.]

Bolshevik agents have found entrance in the non-co-operation camp.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 24th Aug.

42. During the course of the last week we were orally informed by two very high officials that Bolshevik Agents have entered the non-co-operation camp in direct and indirect ways and that they are lavishly using money also in order to propagate their wicked ideas. Our informants believe that Mr. Gandhi himself does not know this fact and care has been taken to keep him ignorant in this matter. This is really a very serious matter and we wish that Mr. Gandhi will realise the necessity of investigating it very minutely without delay. We assure him that he will get all the necessary information in connection with this matter from high officials if he takes the trouble to see them. We believe he will come to know much on the subject if he sees His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief Lord Rawlinson, the Home Member Sir William Vincent and perhaps our Governor His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. We are confidently informed that those who talk that the days of striking terror by the bogey of the Russian and Afghan invasions are gone, are only building castles in the air and the authorities are ready to take them and the people generally into confidence in this matter unreservedly. Lord Rawlinson and other military officials have, by their experience of the last great war, come to realise that success really depends upon advancing further after taking the people into confidence unreservedly in all respects. As we have already told our informants, we cannot believe the terrible story which our informants have laid before us, but they assure us of having in their possession very reliable evidence for that and, therefore, we again earnestly request Mr. Gandhi that he should, in the interests of the purity of his movement, instead of keeping silence, request the higher authorities for interviews and take the trouble of getting from them all the necessary information in this matter.

Comments on the alleged disappointment of the Khilafat delegation to England.

Mahrátta (7), 28th Aug.

***43.** "Mr. Chhotani, the head of the Khilafat deputation to England, is reported to have declared, at a luncheon, that 'he and colleagues of the Khilafat deputation were returning to India completely disappointed..........' Mr. Chhotani has depicted the true picture of the mind, not only of the Khilafat deputation, but of the whole of India in the matter of getting justice done to their National demands. Disappointment breeds discontent which has such a driving power that even the greatest of the autocrats, who had based their empires on force and injustice, had to yield to it. The British statesmen declare in season and out of season that they would try their level best to uphold the rights of Islam. But the hollowness of such declarations is only equalled by their hypocrisy. If professions are divested from performances, there remain nothing but sound and fury. The responsibility of driving the Moslems to take extreme steps lies on the heads of the British statesmen and not the Muslims of India."

Mr. Gandhi's appeal to the Marwari community to help in the non-co-operation movement.

Hindi Navjiwan (new), 19th Aug.

44. Mr. M. K. Gandhi makes the following appeal to the Marwaris through the *Hindi Navjiwan*:—I have ventured to publish the *Hindi Navjiwan* in your interests. The Indian National Congress will not succeed in gaining *swarâj* without your co-operation. The Congress Committee has issued instructions for the institution of complete boycott by the end of 30th September next. I, therefore, appeal to you to help me in the national cause by boycotting foreign clothes and manufacturing *khadi.*

India will have to resort to civil disobedience to gain *swarâjya.*

Râjakâran (131), 21st Aug.

45. England is very close-fisted in conferring political rights upon others and, therefore, we must be prepared to go to jail in thousands and even to lay down our lives in our fight for freedom. Loss of life will be inevitable so long as the bureaucracy do not put a stop to events such as those at Dhârwâr, Aligarh, etc. Ireland has much to teach us in this respect. That country adopted various means to attain *swarâjya* and we, too, will have to do the same. Of course, Ireland has got arms and we have not got them. Therefore, we shall never be able to offer armed opposition as the Irish are doing. Still we can adopt measures which will prove equally effective. Mahatma Gandhi interpretes 'civil disobedience' as meaning 'a state of peaceful rebellion' and to this peaceful rebellion we shall be forced to have recourse one day.

Revolution a dangerous expedient for securing Swaraj.

Sind Vasi (167), 11th Aug.

46. When Russia proclaimed herself a republic, there was rejoicing in several countries. In India, especially, there was considerable enthusiasm over the event which was regarded as the termination of all Russia's troubles. Some Indians, hoping for a similar good fortune for their country, betook themselves to propagate Bolshevik doctrines. Bolsheviks came to be regarded as angels, an estimate falsified by subsequent events. Bolshevik doctrines have turned out to be monstrous. Russia, as reported by newspapers, is now in an absolutely wretched condition. Millions are dying there of hunger and have appealed for relief to other countries. France and Germany have, therefore, sent some food and clothing, along with some doctors to attend the sick, to that unhappy country. From the above, readers will see that revolution is a dangerous expedient for securing liberty, and that starvatian does not disappear through *swarâj* alone. In England herself there are many who are hungry and naked. Patriots and Reformers should, therefore, try to reduce hunger and misery as much as they can by finding out their real causes. It will not do to throw the entire blame for our misery on others.

Mrs. Besant and her advocacy of the new Reforms.

Hindusthân (21), 24th Aug.

47. The *Hindusthân* finds fault with Mrs. Besant for having stated at the dinner given by the Indian Parliamentary Committee that India would renew commercial relations with Lancashire if that country helped India to secure *swarâj.* The paper contends that India does not stand in need of any one to gain *swarâj* and that she is in a position to reach her political goal without extraneous help. The paper tries to ridicule Mrs. Besant for her advocacy of the new reforms and expresses confidence that she will not be able to secure an influential following on her return to India.

Comments on the reported intention of some of the accused in the Dharwar case to offer defence.

Shubhodaya (88), 18th Aug.

48. The *Shubhodaya* refers to a reported split among the accused in the Dhárwár shooting case and says that those who wish to put in any kind of defence at this stage are traitors to the country and to the cause which they wished to support. Those who want to escape the jail and come out to enjoy the comforts of their homes and fields would never be happy and would never be honoured by the people. Historians say, the paper remarks, that the failure of the last mutiny was due to the presence of such greedy people amongst the mutineers. It adds that its editor if it were possible would gladly exchange places with those who want to escape prison life and urges the accused to be firm and not to betray their country's cause.

The Moplah disturbances in Malabar.

Lokamánya (115), 25th Aug.

49. The *Lokamánya*, writing on the Moplah disturbances in Malabár, admits their serious character but refuses to believe that they amount to a rebellion simply because a couple of Europeans have been killed. It points out that as such disturbances do great harm to Mr. Gandhi's non-violent movements it is the duty of his followers to bear in mind his exhortations about refraining from violence. At the same time the paper asks the authorities to take a lesson from the Málegaon, Aligárh and Malabár disturbances and modify their policy in connection with arrests of popular leaders. In its opinion there was no pressing necessity to arrest the leaders in Malabár just now when the minds of Muhammadans have been upset as they were never before owing to England's attitude towards the Turco-Greek conflicts. The proper policy at such a time for Government, it thinks, is to allow the mental exasperation felt by the Muslims to find a safety-valve in speeches. It opines that if leaders like Messrs. Gandhi, Mahomed Ali and Yakub Hassan had been allowed to visit the Moplahs the present disturbances would have been prevented. It expresses the hope that after the guilty parties in the present disturbances have been duly punished the Madras authorities will refrain from coming between the Moplahs and the aforesaid leaders.

Sind Observer (10), 24th Aug.

50. Commenting on the Moplah riots, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"The Governor who is now in Madras will do well to visit the scene of occurrences instead of leaving all matters in the hands of the local officials and the military.......... We have often read in the Madras papers that the presence of Mr. Thomas, the District Collector, has anything but a pacifying effect in Malabár. He is credited with possessing some of the qualities of Sir M. O'Dwyer. Within six months two sensational events have occurred under his jurisdiction. Lord Willingdon by making enquiries on the spot will be able to know how far the presence of Mr. Thomas in Malabár has contributed to the unrest. Portions of Malabár are at present under a semi-military rule which, of course, cannot be avoided. We trust a copy of the new martial law code prepared by the Government of India, with the approval of the Secretary of State, is now in the hands of the Commanding Officer in Malabár for his information and guidance.......... The public of India hope to be assured as early as possible that the military have used only the minimum force necessary to stop the disturbances. The Moplah outbreak furnishes another example to show how non-violent non-co-operation cannot penetrate the ignorant mass of fanatical Muslims and the propaganda can only lead to riots and disasters. We do not know what the Ali Brothers will say about this: Mr. Gandhi will, of course, come out with a condemnation of the rioters. Has not the time come for the Congress and Khilafat leaders to re-consider the whole situation and to keep their unruly men under check by abandoning their wild and impracticable programmes? Non-violent non-co-operation may be an invincible thing but there is only one man in India who can practise it and that is Mr. Gandhi. The others not being saints, is there any use in preaching to the masses doctrines that can only be practised by saints but in the preaching of which all sorts of

appeals are made by unscrupulous men to rouse the passions of people to white heat? When passions are red hot a few sentences about the non-violent character of the struggle are added at the end and people are exhorted to be non-violent which is only like sprinkling a few drops of water on a burning furnace with absolutely no effect. The Government, too, must remove the grievances complained of for without grievances people will not be so uncompromising in their attitude."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th and 26th Aug.

51. "Every right-minded person will deeply deplore the outbreak of violence in parts of Malabár. No one will deplore it more keenly than those who are workers in the non-co-operation movement, the essential of which is non-violence. In the ordinary course of things, we should have refrained from making any comment on the unfortunate tragedy that has been and is being enacted in Malabár, until order had been restored. Unfortunately, neither the authorities in Madras nor their supporters in the Press have resisted the temptation to prejudge the issue and to make political capital out of the unfortunate tragedy......... The Madras Government communiqué which we published yesterday began with the statement that 'there have been indications for some time past that the agitators in Malabár have been working on the well-known religious fanaticism of the more ignorant class of Moplahs'. The *Madras Mail* is more explicit. It has jumped to the conclusion that the riots are 'the first fruits of the seeds of indiscipline and rebellion which Khilafat and non-co-operation propagandists have been scattering far and wide throughout the district'. [Here the paper gives extracts from the *Madras Mail* in the course of which the paper asks Government to take proceedings against the Ali Brothers. The paper proceeds :—] Could mad fury go further ? We do not think Lord Reading's Government are so devoid of statesmanship as to pay a moment's heed to this counsel of madness. We condemn violence of any sort, whether the offenders are Government officials or the mob. We have no wish to justify the riots that have taken place in Malabár. But before the Indian public is persuaded to believe that the Moplahs now 'in open rebellion' have resorted to violence merely for the fun of it and at the instigation of Khilafat 'agitators', they will, we have no doubt, want to be satisfied that the rioters were not goaded into breaking the law by the senseless and lawless actions of the local authorities. Having regard to the intense religious feelings of the Moplahs, of which the District Magistrate cannot be expected to be unaware, no more provocative action could be imagined than the surrounding of a mosque by a contingent of Reserve Police. It is not surprising that this news 'spread like wild fire all over the Moplah country,' the people of which had already had a taste of the repressive and high-handed policy of Mr. Thomas, the Collector, and his lieutenant, Mr. Hitchcock, the Superintendent of Police. In fact, while we have no desire to prejudge the issue while we condemn the outbreak of violence on the part of the people, under any conceivably strong provocation from the authorities, no right-minded person can ignore the provocation offered or fail to demand that those who offer it should be brought to book......... A policy of tolerance was never more needed than at a time like this when the hearts of Muslims are in agony as a result of the unholy war of aggression by the Greeks who have been perpetrating unheard of atrocities against the Turkish population......... In the circumstances, the question that is uppermost in the minds of the people is: What is Lord Reading going to do?......... We do not know if the local Government have asked the Government of India to place the whole of Malabár under martial law. Order, of course, must be restored. But we trust Lord Reading, while according every legitimate support to the local Government, will not give them or the military a blank cheque. The rising must be put down. But Lord Reading must immediately issue a declaration that as soon as order is restored, an impartial enquiry, commanding the confidence of the people, will be instituted to investigate into its causes and the methods adopted to suppress it. He must also issue a strict warning to the military authorities that order must be restored with the minimum use of force. And, we think, he will be well advised to proceed at once to Malabár." [In its next issue the paper writes :—" The *Madras Mail's* reference

to the Ali Brothers and expressed wish for their prosecution in connection with the Moplah rising, shows the gulf of misunderstanding which divides the supporters—we should say, misleaders—of the Government from the facts of the actual situation among Indian Muslims. That Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali have occasionally been unguarded in their public speeches in the past they have themselves admitted. It is certain that both feel as strongly as the younger speaks. But it is no less certain that the strongest speech Mahomed Ali ever made is not so strong as are the feelings of the Muslim rank and file, and that more temperate expressions would suffice to cast a doubt on his or any man's sincerity in the opinion of a Muslim audience at the present time.......... Theirs is the organised agitation, but there are, and have been, all along, unorganised agitators who, though preaching the defence of the Khilafat, as all Muslims must, are in opposition to the policy of the non-co-operation and Khilafat movements. Where the organised 'agitators' are not allowed to go, these hotheads who are to be found in every district and who give expression to the zeal of the uneducated Muslims, have had things all their own way. That has been the case in Malabár.......... But it is not about the Moplah rising that we wish to write. Our wish is to convey a general warning of a state of feeling in the multitude of Indian Muslims which is growing daily more embittered and less tractable, as the tragedy of Turkey's fate becomes more poignant. That is indeed a sword in every Muslim heart; and if the Government of India imagines that the Ali Brothers are the cause of danger, and that by arresting them it will avert the danger, it is hopelessly astray. The Ali Brothers, strongly though Mahomed Ali sometimes speaks, have been and are the chief restraining influence. The cause of danger is the anti-Turkish policy of England, and the danger can be averted only by the abolition of that policy."]

Sánj Vartamán (31), 25th Aug.

52. Every sane man will condemn the excesses committed by the Moplahs and will wish to have them suppressed immediately. Mr. Gandhi should forthwith proceed to Malabár as in our opinion his presence and that of other popular leaders at the scene of the riots will be more helpful in quelling them than military force. No official account of these riots has yet been published. The Indian Press has condemned the riots with one voice, but the Anglo-Indian Press has taken hold of the occasion to insult Indian public opinion by holding the *swaráj* and Khilafat agitators solely responsible for the riots. We would ask the Anglo-Indian Press not to indulge in any wild guesses at the causes of the riots till a mixed commission, which Lord Reading is expected to appoint, issues its report on the riots. We would earnestly request Lord Reading to repair to the scene of the riots and try to pacify the people by taking them into his confidence. The popular leaders, we feel sure, will gladly co-operate with Lord Reading if he asks for their help in the matter. We are staunch advocates of non-violent non-co-operation, but we have no sympathy with violent methods and would, therefore, ask the popular leaders of Malabár to exert their influence to quell the riots and would request Lord Reading to take care to see that the minimum amount of military force is used in putting down the riots.

Lokamánya (115), 26th Aug.

53. Commenting upon the Moplah riots, the *Lokamánya* writes:—The Government of India would not be well advised to accept the suggestion of the Anglo-Indian papers and to arrest the Ali Brothers and suppress Mahatma Gandhi's movement. No one disputes the fact that the riots must be suppressed and the offenders punished. It would be wrong, however, to take advantage of the riots and to resort to repression with increased vigour. We ask Government to leave the Hindus out of consideration and to remember that there are seven crores of Muhammadans in India of whom the Moplahs alone are not warlike. They should take note of the fact that the Turkish nation is threatened with annihilation and if this happens all the Muhammadans in the world will pass under subjection. Had the Ali Brothers not adopted Mahatma Gandhi's creed of non-violent non-co-operation, there would have been riots throughout the length and breadth of the country instead of at a few places only. It is sheer ingratitude, therefore, to suggest that the Ali Brothers should be arrested because of the riots.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 28th August.

***54.** "While we strongly condemn the endeavours in some quarters to make political capital of the serious outbreak reported from the Moplah district, we must deprecate equally strongly the tendency in others to make out that the occurrence of the outbreak should make no difference in the prosecution of political propaganda calculated to unnerve the hands of authority......... The first consideration for every one should be that the risings should be put down as quickly as possible and the people relieved of their risk and anxiety. This is not the time for criticism of Government or of any political party. We are sorry that the Madras Government refused the offer of Mr. Yakub Hasan to go to the scene of disturbances and to help to restore peace. We do not believe that Mr. Yakub Hasan's influence to do this is as great as he imagines it to be, but still Government would have done well to have given him the opportunity that he desired. We hope that Lord Willingdon's Government, which has the full support of the public in devising whatever measures may be necessary to restore order, will have the defects of the martial law administration in the Punjáb prominently in mind and that the work of pacification will be accomplished with a minimum of force and with the maximum of prudence and persuasion."

Lokamánya (115), 27th Aug.

55. The *Lokamánya* protests that the Moplah riots are being made use of to hold Mr. Gandhi responsible for them, and blames His Excellency Lord Willingdon for having rejected Mr. Yakub Hasan's offer to attempt to pacify the people and declares the refusal to be an insult to the Khilafat leaders. It remarks that it would have been statesmanlike to make use of men like the Ali Brothers and Mr. Yakub Hasan at the present juncture as they are devoted to Mr. Gandhi's non-violent principles, and regrets that Lord Willingdon influenced by papers like the *Madras Mail* should have failed to show such statesmanship.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 26th and 27th Aug.

56. Commenting upon the rising of the Moplahs in Malabár, the *Praja Mitra and Pársi* writes :—We hope that no party action will be taken on *a priori* suppositions as to the causes of the rising, but that after it has been quelled an independent commission will be immediately appointed to inquire into its causes with a view to its findings proving useful for future guidance. For the present we would only point out that the general public very much deplore this rising and will extend all moral support to any necessary measures Government might take to put it down with a strong hand. It has been sought to be proved that this rising is connected with the Khilafat agitation and that Mr. Gandhi's followers have a hand in instigating the Moplahs. There are no reliable grounds for believing this, and so long as it is not proved we are in justice bound not to believe it. But if the conclusion of the authorities is that the Khilafat question has been the exciting cause in this case, then it lends support to the belief that Bolshevist agents and Bolshevist gold have something to do with it, and that, as in other countries, so here in India, Bolshevists have very cleverly taken advantage of the unrest to make their way under a disguise in the non-co-operation camp and are working out their evil designs among the most excitable sections of people. If this belief is true, it gives cause for much anxiety for the future; and all classes of people will be very glad to give all possible help to Government in putting down the evil. At the same time we would ask Government to take the people more into confidence. If it is not safe at the present moment to publish all the facts on the subject, we would suggest that they should be communicated confidentially to the leaders of the people including Mr. Gandhi. We would here once more repeat our request to Mr. Gandhi that, with a view to preserving the purity of his movement, he should approach the authorities and ask them to take him into their confidence in this matter of Bolshevist activities in this country. [In the next issue, the paper approves of the action taken by the Khilafat and Congress Committees to express condemnation of the riots and to draw the attention of the rioters to the principle of non-violence, but expresses doubt whether this will have any effect on the excited Moplahs. The paper thinks that His Excellency Lord Willingdon has not done wisely in rejecting Mr. Yakub Hassan's offer of taking a mission to the scene of the riots with a view to pacifying the rioters. The paper points out that Mr. Yakub Hassan exercises much influence over the Moplahs and it fails to understand what harm would have resulted if he had been allowed to go on his proposed mission. It hopes the matter will still be reconsidered. From the fact that Hindu temples have been desecrated and Hindu houses looted, the paper concludes that the riots could not be due to the Khilafat question, for the Hindus have extended all possible help and sympathy to the Moslems in the matter of the Khilafat, and it is rather absurd to believe that the Moplahs should thus destroy the temples and loot the houses of those very people who sympathise with them. The paper here takes the opportunity to warn Mr. Gandhi and his assistants of the dangers of organising an enormous army of followers by enrolling as members of the Congress all persons who choose to pay the trivial sum of 4 annas, without any inquiry as to their antecedents and as to whether they are trustworthy or not. The paper does not wonder if under such an arrangement all sorts of *badmashes* and people who make it their business to spread unrest in the country should find entrance in the non-co-operation camp.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 28th Aug., Eng. cols.

***57.** "The Madras Government are undoubtedly faced with a most serious situation, and we are sure that public opinion in that Presidency will lend its full support to them in such proper steps as they may take to restore peace and order in the disturbed area. This is no time for parties to fling accusations at each other, to taunt each other or to quibble over verbal distinctions and niceties. When such events as this occur, they show that the time for philosophising has passed and the time for facing facts as they are has come. It is no use moralising any longer about 'non-violence,' 'self-purification' and so forth. Let all parties clear their minds of cant. It now becomes the duty both of Moderates and Extremists not only to express their abhorrence of such deeds of violence and lawlessness, but also to take steps, jointly and singly, to prevent such outbursts wherever they are liable to break out and to use their influence in every way to preserve law and order. It must by this time have become quite clear even to the most fervent believer in the non-co-operation doctrine that it is just as useless to expect non-violence from ignorant and undisciplined peoples as it is to throw lighted matches in a barrel of gunpowder and expect it not to explode. A telegram from Madras informs us that the whole of North Malabar has now been placed under martial law. The words 'martial law' arouse most painful memories of past troubles, and it is extremely to be regretted that the Madras Government should have had to take what should be the last step failing all others.......... The Government of India need not be reminded that the policy they have enunciated with regard to martial law is that the least amount of force is to be used according to the needs of the situation. We hope that Lord Reading will shortly pay a visit to the Madras Presidency, for the presence of the head of the Government on the spot cannot but create an impression favourable to the restoration of peace and order."

Comments on Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire Deputation.

Servant of India (9), 25th Aug.

58. "The manner in which Mr. Montagu has spoken to the deputation of the various sections of Lancashire cotton trade, when it recently waited upon the Lancashire members of the House of Commons, should remove all doubts from the minds of those Indians who are inclined to speak in disparaging terms of the convention laid down in the report of the Joint Select Committee regarding India's fiscal freedom. Mr. Montagu frankly declared that to retrace the steps by which India has been given fiscal independence would result in creating ill-will between India and Lancashire and impressed on the minds of the members of the deputation the fact that in fiscal matters India must be approached in the same manner as Australia, Canada or any other self-governing Dominion. It means that in the matter of imposition of tariff duties India will enjoy complete independence without any dictation from Whitehall.......... Henceforward the Dominion Governments and the Lancashire merchants will do well to appeal to India directly for the settlement of the policy of Imperial preference and similar concessions."

The Manchester agitation against the import duties on cotton goods.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 23rd and 27th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 24th and 25th Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 25th Aug.

59. The *Bombay Samáchár* deprecates the attempts that are being made by Manchester to get the import duty on foreign piece-goods reduced and refers to the questions recently asked in Parliament about the dividends paid by Indian Mills. These dividends, the paper thinks, have excited the envy of Manchester and it hopes that the Manchester Deputation that is shortly to visit India will realise that high dividends constitute a temporary phase in Indian industry and that the mill industry in India is more than sufficiently taxed. It expresses hope that Manchester will not be so blind as not to admit the reasonableness of India's attempts to develop its own industries and to stand on its own legs. [In a subsequent issue the paper expresses heartfelt gratification at the reply recently given by Mr. Montagu to the mill-owners of Lancashire and believes that the reply has had the desired effect on Lancashire as can be seen from its proposal of sending a deputation to India. The paper ascribes the present autonomous position of India in fiscal matters to the new reforms and to India being an independent member of the League of Nations. It is of the opinion that the Fiscal Commission is not likely to accept the recommendation of the Lancashire Deputation for a reduction in the import duties. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the recent reply given by Mr. Montagu to the Lancashire manufacturers on the subject of the import duties on cotton piece-goods throws further light on the subject of the privileges in fiscal matters secured by India under the Reform Scheme. The paper urges the popular members of the Fiscal Commission to do their work in such a far-sighted manner that India's opponents may not get any excuse for raising obstacles in the way of the necessary protection being afforded to Indian industries. In the next issue the paper remarks that the Secretary of State for India has shown very great tact in the reply which he gave to the Manchester manufacturers. The paper points out that Manchester has now had an awakening and is considering it necessary to inquire into the question of the injustice done to India and declares that the credit for this change of attitude is due to the new Reforms. The paper repeats what it has said before that if the Lancashire people are given to understand that their goods will be boycotted by India if they do not render any help in getting justice done to her, it would produce an electrifying influence upon them. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the agitation of the Lancashire manufacturers against the import duty on cotton piece-goods does not serve to create a good impression about them in India. The paper hopes that the Government of India and the members of the Legislative Assembly will remain firm and not take any step which will strangle the mill industry of India, at the suggestion of the Lancashire Deputation which is going to visit this country.]

Boycott of cloth has already influenced political opinion in England.

Lokamánya (115), 24th Aug.

60. The *Lokamánya* refers to the doubts expressed by Messrs. Chintamani and Surendranath Banerjee as to how Swadeshi and boycott movement could win *swarájya* for India and remarks that it is the official position as Ministers held by them that has made them blind to the fact as to how much the movement has affected political opinion in England. It refers to the complaint made by Manchester about the heavy decrease in the cotton exports to India and declares that but for the strength of the boycott movement Mr. Montagu would have run to Manchester's help. In its opinion the refusal of Mr. Montagu to interfere with the fiscal liberty of

India made in his reply to the Lancashire Deputation is an attempt to conciliate Indian public opinion. It, however, declares that India will not be deceived by such attempts. In its opinion if the Moderates throw the whole weight of their influence in favour of the boycott movement Mr. Montagu will be compelled to grant *swarájya* to India by December next.

Comments on the constitution of the Fiscal Commission.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Aug.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (41), 23rd Aug.

61. While expressing satisfaction at the appointment of the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahmitulla as chairman of the Fiscal Commission, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes:—"The public is still in the dark regarding the rest of the members, but rumour says the principle of an Indian majority has also been accepted. We must acknowledge that this is a master-stroke of diplomacy, which disarms criticism before it can well be formed. The Government of Lord Reading—by this one stroke of placing a strong man and an Indian in the chair—have obtained *carte blanche* for packing the rest of the Fiscal Commission, as the Simla Secretariat might desire. Lord Reading must be aware that a chairman of the commercial traditions and political ambitions of Sir Ibrahim is apt to compromise, being prone to please. The counterpoise, however slight, of an equally sound personnel in its entirety—cannot, therefore, be safely neglected. Most important is the choice of the Secretary. .... It is impossible to find among the hidebound Civilians the man to fill the Secretary's post. And Indian opinion will never welcome a Secretary of the yet unextinct Bell or Craddock type.......... If Lord Reading will not have his principle vitiated and made ineffective, he must make up his mind to disregard red-tape, over-rule precedent, ignore traditions in the choice of the Secretary and personnel of the commission, and be guided solely by the principle of looking to the interests of this country which can only really be safeguarded by her own sons. The terms of reference to the Commission are also not published, and Lord Reading will do well to realise that the manipulation of the terms constitutes no little danger to the success of the Commission.......... What the Commission must investigate is the possibility of a comprehensive scheme for all-round attention to the general industrial development of this country.......... Let us not repeat this time the mistake—to call it by no harsher term—of the Industrial Commission, and introduce an unnatural divorce between the consideration of the growth of industries and the consideration of the means to accomplish that growth. Sir Ibrahim with all his firmness and tact will be powerless, and the Indian majority with all its patriotic fervour will be helpless, if some obscure Pundit of the Simla Secretariat is allowed to use red-tape so as to circumscribe narrowly and unnecessarily the field of inquiry of this Commission." [The *Dnyán Prakásh* welcomes the appointment of the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla as Chairman of the Indian Fiscal Commission. The appointment is particularly gratifying, says the paper, since the Honourable Sir Ibrahim is able to command the confidence of the people and is a known champion of fiscal autonomy.

Anglo-Indians should not show hostility to Indian aspirations.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 25th Aug.

62. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the appeal made by the President of the South India Planters' Association, in his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Association, to its members to take an increasing interest in the political activities of the country and to make common cause with the Moderates. The paper expresses hope that Europeans in this country will lay the appeal to heart and will not show hostility towards the political aspirations of the Indians.

The situation in Ireland.

Kesari (111), 23rd Aug.

63. The *Kesari* comments on the situation in Ireland and referring to the negotiations between Mr. De Valera and the British Government declares that the offer of Dominion Home Rule to Ireland was worthless and showed only the cunning of England inasmuch as many of the important powers, such as the authority to have their own navy, to impose their own tariffs, etc., at present enjoyed by dominions like Canada are absent from the offer made to Ireland and prove the selfish motives that have inspired England in making the offer. It welcomes the fact that the Irish Parliament is at present engaged in examining the meaning of the term Dominion status inasmuch as the result of its deliberations will help India to understand its own position as the world is being misled into believing that India has been given such a status by being allowed to participate in the Imperial Conference and by being granted some trumpery reforms. The paper thinks that as the offer made by England to Ireland is not at all commensurate with the great self-sacrifice which the latter country has hitherto made and is prepared to make hereafter, it is likely to be rejected and the Irish patriots would continue the struggle as valiantly as before and allow no rest to England till real *swarájya* is won.

Comments on the installation of Emir Feisul as King of Mesopotamia.

Lokamánya (115), 27th Aug.

64. The *Lokamánya* refers to the installation of Emir Feisul as King of Mesopotamia and remarks that Mesopotamia has thus become one more kingdom in the British Empire just like the Native States of the Nizam, Sindia and Holkar. It declares that the Emir and his Ministers will exercise as much authority over the Police, Judicial and Army Departments of Mesopotamia as the Indian Princes exercise over those departments in their respective States, though the event will furnish an excuse to British statesmen to parade before the United States of America the British Government's anxiety to grant a free government to Mesopotamia. It says that the British have installed a useful puppet on the Mesopotamian throne.

Comments on the Cattle Census Report.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 25th Aug.

65. The *Bombay Samáchár* takes note of the Cattle Census Report recently published by the Government of India and while regretting that the information contained therein is not as full as it would wish it to be, it expresses gratification at the readiness with which Government have recognised the necessity of a Cattle Census and expresses hope that care would be taken to make the next report more illuminating. It believes that the figures contained in the Report would stimulate both Government and the people to direct more attention to cattle-breeding.

Scarcity of wheat in the Punjab.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 24th Aug.

66. The *Bombay Samáchár* draws a lurid picture of the effects of scarcity of wheat in the Punjáb and considers the communiqué published by the Government of India in the matter of export of wheat as unsatisfactory and unilluminating. It asks Government to investigate into the causes of the present scarcity and high prices of wheat. It expresses fear that the present state may be due to speculative cornering and calls upon Government to take the necessary steps to remedy the situation and to import wheat from Australia.

The Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference at Poona.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 25th Aug.

67. The *Bombay Samáchár* takes an appreciative note of the progress made by the co-operative movement in the Presidency as recorded in the annual report read at the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Conference which is holding its sessions at Poona and exhorts the people of the Presidency to make use of the Co-operative Banks to revive indigenous industries. The paper asks the people of Gujarát to ponder over the thoughtful speech delivered by His Excellency the Governor at the Conference and endorses the appeal made by His Excellency to them to derive the fullest advantage from the Co-operative movement by starting co-operative societies in their province.

Comments on the withdrawal of the Munitions Board Case.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 25th Aug., Eng. cols.

68. "Few people will be convinced of the morality or expediency of the withdrawal of the case against the four accused in what is known as the

Calcutta Munitions Case, by even the corrected version of the Government communiqué. Sir Thomas Holland has accepted entire responsibility for the action taken; but the attempts made to exonerate him of the responsibilty for an obviously wrong and unjustifiable course of action both by himself and others have not been successful. The excuses put forward through the press communiqué are very lame, and they betray a consciousness on the part of the apologist that they are lame. The whole affair bears the impress of a callous composition of a crime such as a mere man of business influenced by purely practical calculations would enter into, cynically indifferent to the moral and legal aspects of the matter. We know that morality is not admitted to any very influential extent in politics and public affairs. But it is otherwise with the administration of justice. The course of justice is never permitted to be interfered with from merely practical or prudential consideration. The power of withdrawing a prosecution which is given to the Advocate-General or the public prosecutor under the Code of the Criminal Procedure is never exercised, and has, to our knowledge, never been exercised on any such mixed considerations as have been put forward by Sir Thomas Holland.......... Sir Thomas Holland has not even the excuse of the case having a serious political complexion, such as might lead to serious difficulties and complications.......... We hope, for the purity of public justice now that public opinion of all shades has unequivocally condemned the course pursued, Government will order a re-trial, or if that is possible, the High Court of Calcutta will send for the record of the case and pass appropriate orders upon it."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd and 24th Aug.

69. "Every Indian and every Swadeshist will entirely repudiate the suggestion that any Swadeshi concerns stand in need of or would welcome such a protection from justice or rather the absence of justice as was offered to the Swadeshi concerns of Karnani and Banerjee. . The Indian public would rather see a thousand Swadeshi enterprises go to pot than that fraud and chicanery practised by those controlling these concerns should remain unpunished. The suggestion, whether it is made by Sir Thomas Holland or any of his 'advisors', that the Indian public entertain any other view on the subject, is an insult to India.......... But, apart from this so-called Swadeshi aspect of the question, there is another, and to our mind graver, consideration which should not be lost sight of in connection with this case. Throughout the proceedings of the last day of the trial, the Advocate-General spoke in the name of the Government of India.......... The Viceroy's statement, however, makes it clear that 'the terms of the statement made by the Advocate-General were not known to Government, who were not consulted about the withdrawal till they appeared in the press'. It is clear from this that Sir Thomas Holland is wholly responsible for the misleading instructions given to the Advocate-General and that he used the name of the Government of India and arrogated to himself its powers when he had no right to use that name or assume those powers. Sir Thomas Holland, in these circumstances, owes to himself as well as the Government of India and the public a satisfactory explanation of his action in the whole affair." [In a subsequent issue the paper says:—"We have no hesitation in saying that it has done more harm to the bureaucracy than even the Punjáb atrocities in this respect that it has for once united the British in India with the Indians in their anger and disgust.......... What becomes of the vaunted British reputation even for commercial honesty if gross irregularities, to say the least of it, are thus condoned simply on account of their magnitude? And what becomes of the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England's boast that he has come to India to do even-handed justice, if such a flagrant instance of contempt for justice on the part of high officialdom, under his very nose, can go unpunished?.......... What is His Excellency going to do to vindicate his right to be included in the term: 'The Government of India'? Will he give his countenance to the 'repression' of the non-co-operation and Khilafat movements; will he prosecute the Ali Brothers—who at any rate are honest men and not afraid of being prosecuted—thus throwing in his lot with the bureaucracy against the people of India? Or will he side with the opinion of the country, and put Sir Thomas Holland on his trial?"]

Sind Observer (10), 22nd Aug.

70. Commenting on the withdrawal of the Munitions Board Case, the *Sind Observer* remarks :—" We do not consider the course adopted is at all fair to the accused. They were first damned before the world as forgers and cheats ; and thus their reputation as men of honour has been damaged beyond repair. And then the case against them has been withdrawn on account of Government's great concern for Swadeshi enterprises. We would not have cared if all the Swadeshi enterprises of Bengal had perished on account of the conviction and punishment of the offenders. Justice should have been done though the heavens fell. But we are forced to the conclusion that Swadeshi enterprises have been dragged only as a red herring across the track......... It is said Government was swindled to the extent of nine crores of rupees.......... The case, if proceeded with, would have brought to light such gross incompetence on the part of the officers of the Munitions Board and reflected such discredit on the Government of India, a member of which was at the time the head of the Munitions Board, as it would have proved a worse scandal than the famous Mesopotamia revelations in which the reputation of Lord Hardinge himself was involved for neglect of duty. During the war Europeans and Indians who had the opportunity made hay while the sun shone. Some of them amassed colossal fortunes. When the Empire was engaged in a life and death struggle, when young men of patriotism were dying in thousands for the King and Country there were contractors battening on the blood of the flower of the youth of England and India. Their blood and the impoverished tax-payer call aloud for the punishment of the guilty men. We are sorry Sir Thomas has thought it fit to withdraw the only case in which, according to the Advocate General of Bengal, the guilt of the offenders could have been proved to the hilt. His motives may have been good, but his judgment is wrong."

Servant of India (9), 25th Aug.

71. " The official communiqué recently issued by the Government of India regarding the withdrawal of the Munitions case does not dispel but confirms and verifies the worst suspicions that have found expression in the public press.......... The Viceroy has promptly disclaimed any responsibility for this action, of which indeed he has expressed disapproval. The late Chief Justice of England could not be expected, even out of misplaced solicitude for the growth of Indian industries, to give his sanction to what amounts to a tampering with justice. The official statement protests that the prosecution withdrawal has no connection with the withdrawal of civil claims, but as it is, the whole transaction wears a look of sale of justice. If the Government of India has no better reason to advance than it has done, it is a grave scandal, and the Viceroy must take prompt action to restore public confidence."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 24th Aug.; *Nireekshaka* (47), 22nd Aug.;
Lokasangraha (116), 26th Aug.

72. Commenting upon the withdrawal of the Calcutta Munitions Board case the *Dnyán Prakásh* says :—The excuse that the case, if not withdrawn, would have an adverse effect on Swadeshi concerns is quite lame. There is no instance on record of Government's displaying so much solicitude for the success of Swadeshi undertakings. How is it then that Government's love for Swadeshi happens to be overflowing just at present ? Even supposing that this love is genuine, no self-respecting Indian would wish that Government should foster Indian industries by condoning frauds. The other reasons advanced by Government in support of the withdrawal of the case are also equally unconvincing. There were rumours afloat when the Legislative Assembly met last time that the case would be withdrawn, but in reply to an inquiry by Mr. Norton Sir Thomas Holland stated that there was no foundation for the rumours. The fact that the same official who gave this assurance should now give instructions for the withdrawal of the case appears to be very suspicious. The Viceroy is known to be justice-loving and we are sure that he will not rest satisfied until he thoroughly probes this matter. [The *Nireekshaka* writes :—Both Lord Reading and Mr. Montagu seem to have realised the importance of this case. Jallianwala caused a stain to attach to the British army in India and the present case promises to besmirch the

British civil administration in like manner. It is to be seen how the former Lord Chief Justice of England solves this question as the present Viceroy of India. The *Lokasangraha* writes:—It is true that if the case is allowed to proceed some officers will have to be sacrificed to the Goddess of Justice. But Lord Reading who has always been talking of justice must not mind that. He should not rest satisfied simply with repudiating Sir Thomas Holland's action but should order the case to be proceeded with We doubt very much, however, that he possesses so much moral courage, caught as he is in the net of the bureaucracy.]

Bombay Samáchár (57), 26th Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 22nd Aug.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 24th Aug.

73. The communiqué issued by the Government of India in the matter of the withdrawal of the Munitions Board case is an unsatisfactory document and we would ask His Excellency the Viceroy to re-institute legal proceedings against all those who are implicated in the fraud and to get them punished in the manner they deserve. The Viceroy was not consulted in withdrawing the case and the question naturally arises as to whether the action taken by any member of the Viceregal Executive Council without consulting the Viceroy and other members of the Council can be considered as the action of the Governor-General in Council. Be it as it may, Lord Reading who has come out to India with the avowed object of administering justice to Indians is expected to stand for justice being done in the matter of the Munitions Board scandal with a view to pacifying the public. [The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses dissatisfaction with the explanation published by the Government of India in the matter of the withdrawal of the Munitions Board case. It declares that the fact that Sir Thomas Holland could withdraw such a serious case without consulting the Viceroy goes to show that the constitution of the Government of India stands in need of radical change and that the new reforms are defective. It asks the Government of India to publish the details of the whole case in India before they are placed before the House of Commons and to ask Sir Thomas Holland to resign if he does not resign of his own accord. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* thinks that the explanation furnished to Parliament by the Government of India regarding the Munitions Board case will not satisfy the Indian people. The paper remarks that Sir Thomas Holland has committed a very serious blunder in not consulting His Excellency the Viceroy in such an important matter. It inquires as to why under the circumstances the benefit of doubt was not given to the accused from the beginning. It thinks that some officials of Government seem to be involved in this case and that their superior officers now try to shield them. It inquires whether there is one law for the rich capitalists and another for the poor people. The paper hopes that the Secretary of State for India will place before the public more detailed and reliable information regarding this matter.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 28th Aug., Eng. cols.

***74.** "The Government of India have exposed themselves to the severest criticism and even ridicule by the injudicious and blundering manner in which they have acted with regard to the much-discussed Munitions Case. Surely there must be something wrong in the state of Denmark when a high official like the Director-General of Industries withholds the law of the land from taking its ordinary course for the sake of sordid commercialism. Sir Thomas Holland has placed the Government of India in a most unpleasant predicament by his characteristically bureaucratic action; the more so because he took all the responsibility upon himself without consulting the Viceroy who is the head of the Government.......... So, on account of their solicitude for Indian industries, Government thought fit to withdraw the case. No wonder commercial bodies all over India have protested against this step as calculated more to injure Indian industries rather than safeguard them. Justice is justice, and even if a hundred Indian enterprises were ruined that is no reason why accused persons should be allowed to escape. Whatever Sir Thomas Holland may say about the matter, his action cannot but be condemned by every right-minded person. The press note that was issued by the Government of India to explain the reasons for the withdrawal only puts the matter in a worse light. It lays the Government open to the veering accusation of having sold or bartered justice."

Comments on sentences passed on picketers in Karachi.

New Times (8), 25th Aug.

75. "It seems the magistrates in Karáchi are vying with one another in inflicting heavy punishments on non-co-operators for picketing shops of that abominable thing dear to the bureaucracy for the income it yields. Swami Krishnanand's case was a notorious example. And yesterday Mr. Walimohmad Hussanali, to the surprise and indignation of the city, sentenced six persons—two volunteers and four shop-keepers—to six months' rigorous imprisonment each, a fine of Rs. 50 each and a bond for 100 each to be of good behaviour for six months more! Failure to pay fine would be visited by an additional two months' imprisonment! Government, of course, will affect an innocent's look. If asked, they will probably say: 'We have nothing to do with it. You have your Indian magistrates and they are punishing your rowdy fellows to maintain the "law", and peace and order.' If you ask the Commitsioner in Sind why an innocent Swami was convicted, he will cite you some C. I. D. versions of a political speech! The Swami was convicted on a baseless charge of having assaulted a policeman; and the Commissioner in Sind justifies it by giving 'quotations' from some of the Swami's political speeches. What a fine way this of supporting 'law and order'! The fact is, the 'law' in India is entirely in the hands of the executive. It can be turned and twisted as the bureaucracy may choose. Lord Reading's talk of 'justice' is illusory. There are, evidently, two codes of justice, one for ordinary crime, another for political 'crime' or patriotism. The Indian bureaucracy is only a child of the European and carries out quietly the executive will. There you have, in brief, the tragedy of the Indian situation. And we are in the struggle for Freedom to end the tragedy.......... We are not surprised that the bureaucracy, with the co-operation of our Indian magistrates, are out to fight this *swarāj* movement with ruthless repression. Will they win? Will they fail? Not hot speeches, but the character of the people must answer the question."

Swami Krishnanand's case in revision in the Court of the Judicial Commissioner in Sind.

New Times (8), 23rd Aug; *Sind Observer* (10), 23rd Aug.

76. "Several in the Judicial Commissioner's Court, yesterday, were saying that the proceedings in connection with the revision application by the Public Prosecutor in Swami Krishnanand's Case were a farce! The sentence remains *practically* what it was, since the Swami must, as a non-co-operator refuse to execute a bond of 'good behaviour' for six months. He cannot conscientiously accept a position which is false, and he will refuse to sign any kind of bond. Whatever the legal gloss the bureaucracy in Sind may choose to give Swami Krishnanand's case, the *fact* remains—and that *fact* is a better comment than any we can make—that we must not expect justice in a political trial. To incarcerate an innocent man is to murder the heart of justice. What was the motive of sending the Swami to Jail? Was it the safety of the drink traffic and revenue? Was it the breaking of the *morale* of the people? Will the *morale* stiffen on the side of non-co-operation? We understand that, even on the evidence submitted, the court could not legally frame a charge; we have not the means of testing this view: the evidence, as we observed on an earlier occasion, was inconsistent, inspite of the fact that the Swami offered no defence of any kind; and it is reported to us that the City Magistrate refused to supply copies of the proceedings and the judgment in the Swami's case. We know definitely that in the case of Fazul Karim and some others the City Magistrate successfully avoided giving us a copy of his judgment. These judgments are really a judgment upon him and the administration of which he is a servant,—not upon those sent to jail. The bureaucracy in Sind could wish for no happier position for themselves than to execute the repressive policy through an Indian—preferably a sworn enemy of Khilafat Movement. But is that the way, we earnestly ask, to administer justice? And are these the methods with which Government

would fight non-co-operation? We would ask every Englishman in the Province to answer the questions upon his conscience. The sentence inflicted on the Swami should carry the spirit of true non-co-operation to every street and house in Karáchi. All honest, patriotic citizens who feel the injustice done to a peaceful, unassuming religious-minded worker like the Swami should meet the *sircar's* challenge with moral strength by helping the boycott of cloth and liquor in all peaceful ways." [The *Sind Observer* remarks:—"The Judicial Commissioner reduced the sentence to six months but ordered the Swami to be bound down to keep the peace for six months after the release. The Swami being a non-co-operator will not bind himself to keep the peace and therefore he will serve the full term of 12 months in the jail.......... It is all the same whether the Swami gets 12 months without security or six months first and another six months afterwards for not giving security for good behaviour......... It is only Khan Bahadur Nabi Bux who will receive the decision of the J. C.'s Court with the utmost satisfaction and none else of the Indian community. If an *Amicus Curii* had been appointed he would have shown that the District Magistrate's intention was to get a sentence considered harsh to be reduced to six months and that by demanding from a non-co-operator a security for good behaviour after release the Judges would be indirectly confirming the sentence of the Lower Court. Because the accused is a non-co-operator and would not appeal to the High Court, therefore the District Magistrate had to move in the matter to get a harsher sentence reduced. The District Magistrate had to move in the matter because Indian public opinion including moderates was shocked at the sentence. These considerations have not carried any weight with the two Judges."]

The Bombay Provincial Agricultural Conference at Poona.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 27th Aug.

77. The *Bombay Samáchár* takes an appreciative note of the proceedings of the Bombay Provincial Agricultural Conference recently held at Poona and expresses hope that Government will take early steps to introduce labour-saving agricultural implements and open depôts for the sale of labour-saving implements and machinery at suitable centres in the Presidency as recommended by two of the resolutions passed at the Conference.

Appeal to the Agricultural Department to promote fruit-growing in Gujarat.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 22nd Aug.

78. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses appreciation of the work that is being done by the Agricultural Department in the matter of fruit cultivation in Sind and suggests that the Department should direct its attention to Gujarát which in its opinion is equally suitable for the cultivation of fruit. It is of the opinion that the work of spreading knowledge about agricultural improvements and fruit cultivation can be more effectively done by public lectures than by the circulation of leaflets, and asks the Department to pay more attention to the former method of popularising its work.

Appeal to Government to take up earnestly the question of irrigation works in Gujarat.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 27th Aug.

79. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* dwells on the liability of Gujarát to frequent famines owing to deficient rainfall and urges Government to take up in earnest the question of providing Gujarát with irrigation works as an insurance against famine. The paper points out that not only is there shortage of water for agricultural purposes but in many parts of the province the people cannot get even water to drink. While enormous sums are spent on irrigation works in Sind and the Deccan, the paper thinks it an injustice to Gujarát that nothing should be spent out of the general revenues for giving it relief in the matter of water-supply. The paper further suggests that while the question of irrigation schemes for Gujarát is being considered, steps should be taken to provide the province with wells to enable the people to carry on agricultural operations and to get water to drink even if the rains fail.

Comments on the memorial to Government against the alarming increase of brothels in Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Aug.

80. "A memorial signed by a number of influential citizens of Bombay has recently been addressed to the Government of Bombay, drawing the attention of the latter to the alarming increase in the number of brothels in the city and requesting Government, in the interests of public morals and public health, to take legislative steps to arrest the growth of the evil.......... To any one who has devoted any thought to the subject the conviction must have become irresistible that without recourse to legislation no effective curb will be placed on the spread of the evil in a modern city like Bombay.......... On a former occasion we referred to a movement started about a decade ago in this city with aims similar to those inspiring the new Social Purity League recently started in Bombay. If the efforts of the movement came to nothing, after a year's agitation, the main responsibility therefore must be laid at the doors of the Government of those days.......... Facts and figures were marshalled in the memorial to Government to show by what leaps and bounds brothels had been multiplying in Girgaum during the preceding decade and the memorial indicated the lines on which the Bombay Police Act should be modified with a view to secure more effective control of commercialised vice.......... After a year's agitation, the memorialists were simply told that 'Government do not intend to take any action in the matter'. We hope the present memorial will not evoke an identical reply and we trust that Sir George Lloyd's Government will display a higher sense of duty to the public than that shown by its predecessor in 1912. If Government have any doubt as to the desirability of legislative action, let a committee of influential citizens, with the help of the best legal talent available, be formed to thresh out the question in all its aspects."

Experienced pleaders should be appointed as District Judges.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 23rd Aug.

81. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that after an unconscionably long delay the Government of India accepted the recommendation made by the Public Services Commission that capable and experienced pleaders should be appointed District Judges. In its opinion the Provincial Government should have given immediate effect to the wishes of the Government of India in this respect and attributes their supposed unwillingness to the baneful influence of the Civil Servants. According to it the obvious inference is that the bureaucracy are unable to brook the presence of independent men as District Judges. It expresses its strong disapproval of the Honourable Mr. Hayward's opposition to Rao Bahadur Kale's resolution on this subject at the last meeting of the Legislative Council and considers the attitude of the Government of Bombay to be most exasperating. It points out that the Punjáb and United Provinces Governments have given effect to the above-mentioned recommendation of the Public Services Commission and urges the Government of Bombay to do the same. It tells them that failure to do so will be interpreted to mean that the bureaucracy still object to increasing the Indian element in the administration.

Suggestion for the abolition of the posts of Assistant and Deputy Collectors rather than those of Commissioners.

Sind Vasi (167), 10th Aug.

82. The Honourable Mr. Harchandrai is shortly to move a resolution in the Imperial Legislative Assembly that the posts of Divisional Commissioners should be abolished and that Collectors should be given Advisory Committees of non-officials to assist them in their work. We know Mr. Harchandrai has been thinking of this since a long time. The proposal is a good one. If carried out it, will improve matters and will facilitate speedy disposal of work. We, however, think that it would be much better if Assistant and Deputy Collectors' posts are abolished and not the Commissioners'. The Mukhtiarkars and Deputy Collectors may then be formed into one cadre consisting of three grades with a maximum salary of Rs. 1,000 for the last grade. This proposal will probably result in increasing the

number of Collectors, many of whom, however, will draw less salary than now. The system of having intermediate officials, *i.e.*, the Assistant and Deputy Collectors, between the Mukhtiarkars and the Collectors has given rise to some serious evils, *viz.*, frequent return of correspondences, delay in their disposal, mischief played by subordinates resulting in irresponsibility and confusion in taluka offices. According to our suggestion Mukhtiarkars will have greater responsibility thrown upon them and naturally, therefore, more competent men will have to be appointed. The whole scheme will require to be thought out carefully. The Honourable Mr. Harchandrai might, therefore, take up our suggestion also and confer on both with the Revenue officials.

Comments on the revision of the oversea allowances of the Imperial Services.

Lokamánya (115), 27th Aug.

83. The *Lokamánya* refers to the statement issued from Simla regarding the applications of the Imperial Services for increase of their salaries and expresses satisfaction that Mr. Montagu has not succumbed to the agitation set up by the services. He has declared in plain terms, the paper is glad to point out, that in the present economic condition of India there was no room for increase of their salaries. It however refers to the revision made in the oversea allowances and hopes that Government will let the public know how much additional burden will be thrown on the Indian treasury by the revision, inasmuch as any additional burden thus thrown on India will also be unjust.

Protest against the rejection of Indian degrees by the British Medical Council.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 26th Aug.

84. The *Sánj Vartamán* raises a protest against the decision of the Medical Council of England not to recognise the diploma of an Indian University from March 1922. It believes that in taking the step the Council has been actuated by a desire to defeat Mr. Montagu's intention of manning the Indian Medical Service by Indian medical graduates to the extent of 33 per cent., and suggests that the competitive examination for the Indian Medical Service should be held in India with a view to bringing the Medical Council to its senses.

Disappointment at the attitude of the Indian members of the Matiari Commission.

Hindu (158), 12th Aug.

85. The Committee appointed by Government to enquire into the Matiári occurrence is simply recording one-sided official statements. The witnesses fearing no contradiction, are excelling one another in making their statements. Messrs. Harchandrai and Ghulam Hussain Kassim are as good as no members at all. They rarely put any useful question. It looks as if they are ignorant of the facts of the occurrence, or do not realise their responsibility. Even some of our friends who had hopes in them feel now disappointed on seeing that they are quietly listening to the strange evidence. A little exercise of courage and sense on their part would at any rate keep the Government witnesses in awe. We are, however, indifferent. Let the Government witnesses say what they like. Our time will also come.

Comments on the declaration of neutrality by the Allies in connection with the Græco-Turkish War.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 21st Aug.

86. The *Sánj Vartamán* declares that the neutrality declared by the Allies in the Græco-Turkish War is a nominal one inasmuch as they have allowed commercial firms to send munitions to Greece and thus given help to Greece to hack Turkey to pieces. It reminds England of the spread of Bolshevism in Persia and Afghanistan and the harm done to British prestige thereby and wishes her to exert her influence to put an end to the destructive war going on between Greece and Turkey lest Bolshevism should find a suitable soil in India.

EDUCATION.

The Minister of Education and compulsory education.

Karnátak Times (36), 19th Aug.

87. The Minister or the Councillors have no reason to ask other people as to whence the money is to be brought for meeting the needs of primary education. When the people themselves are emphatic in their demands for compulsory primary education and when these demands have the approval and sympathy of the Minister, he must take it for granted that the people are willing to bear whatever reasonable burdens might be imposed upon them for the practical realization of their demands, because the people also can realize to a greater or less extent that the spread of education is impossible without the help of money. Besides, the people of their own accord have held meetings all over the presidency and passed resolutions to the effect that they are willing to help by giving money. The Minister, therefore, cannot plead, with propriety, his inability to meet the situation, on the score of money. The Minister seems to be at a loss to know what taxes should be levied and how they should be levied and he expects the people to solve all these difficulties for him. We are afraid that even if all these difficulties which have been raised are answered to the satisfaction of the Minister, new difficulties might crop up to embarass the Minister and his schemes might never be put into effect.

Comments on the action of the Director of Public Instruction in withdrawing the services of primary teachers lent to the Surat Municipality.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 20th Aug.

88. The *Sánj Vartamán* traces the history of what it considers as the establishment of *swaráj* in primary education at Surat and criticises the action taken by the Director of Public Instruction, during his visit to Surat on the 10th instant, in bringing pressure to bear upon the primary school teachers, whose services have been lent to the Municipality, to revert to Government service without giving the usual six months' notice to the Municipality and in opening a Government primary school at Surat without there being a general demand for the same. It believes that the unjust and arbitrary action taken by the Director will stimulate the Municipality to establish complete *swaráj* in primary education. It praises the patriotism shown by certain ladies and gentlemen in volunteering their services for taking up the duties of the primary teachers reverting to Government service.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Approval of the Corporation's rejection of the proposal to prolong its existence pending the settlement of its new constitution.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 22nd Aug.

89. "The Corporation, at its special meeting on Friday, respected popular wishes, by rejecting the proposal to prolong the period of its exisence pending the settlement of its constitution according to the proposed extended franchise.......... The attitude of the Commissioner seems to us rather inexplicable and unfortunate. We agree that even if the Bill extending the franchise is passed in the September session of the Council, considerable time must elapse before the revised electoral roll is prepared. But for the head of the Municipal Executive to say that he was perfectly satisfied that even if he was assured beforehand that the new franchise would be introduced, he could not prepare a satisfactory electoral roll so as to hold the elections in January, does not say much for the efficiency of Municipal administration......... It seems to us, however, that the main obstacle to the immediate enforcement of the proposed new constitution comes from Government circles which are afraid of the Corporation machinery being captured by non-co-operators......... However that may be, the Corporation has taken the right course in rejecting the resolution and has left it to Government to demonstrate the sincerity of their intention to introduce a democratic franchise without delay." [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the rejection by the Bombay Municipal Corporation of the resolution for the extension of its term of office, and urges that body to make all possible efforts to get its constitution settled as soon as possible, if it wishes that the charge of culpable indolence in the matter should not be brought against it. It also thinks that work of preparing the electoral roll need not take more than a month, and that there is no reason why the elections should not take place in January 1922 to enable the new corporation to come into office in the beginning of the next official year.]

RAILWAYS.

Strike of G. I. P. Railway Workshop operatives in Bombay.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 23rd and 25th Aug.

90. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* notes with regret that a dangerous element has found an entry in the labour movement and that if it is not completely rooted out it will put the lives and property of the people in jeopardy in future. The paper then alludes to the recent burning of the office of the time-keeper by the workmen of the G. I. P. Railway Workshop at Parel, who got excited over a trifling dispute. It wants to know what remedies the non-co-operators want to adopt to prevent such dangerous occurrences, and asks what right they have to give advice calculated to stir up people, if they cannot adopt effective measures to put a stop to such excesses. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes in approval of the resolution passed by the G. I. P. Railway Workshop Union condemning the attitude of those workmen who set fire to the time-keeper's office at Parel and hopes that the railway authorities will in turn favourably consider the grievances presented to them by the Union.]

Protest against the delay in the construction of Badin Railway in Sind.

Sind Vasi (167), 11th Aug.

91. Sleepers and rails not being available, it is doubtful if the Badin Railway reconstruction work can be taken up even this year. This is what we can make out from a reply given on behalf of Government in the Provincial Legislative Council. We wonder why the Railwy authorities are delaying to reconstruct this small line. There is no justification for the delay unless it be that the voice of Sind is too weak to be heard by the authorities. Let the Governor and the Viceroy use their influence in this matter and earn the grateful thanks of this province.

NATIVE STATES.

Appeal to the British Government to intervene on behalf of the subjects of Native States in Kathiawar.

Káthiáwár Opinion (24), 21st Aug., Eng. cols.

92. "A time was when in Káthiáwár people talked of the British Government as just and benign and regarded it as their strongest support against oppression. In those days the Rulers themselves wished their administrations to appear well before Government and the Political Officers had not become callous to people's woes by taking constant doses of non-intervention. Justice in those days was not made subservient to expediency nor was it controlled in the States by the individual will of the Ruler. The present doctrine of the Ruler being an absolute autocrat, sacrosanct and beyond criticism, who can discard his own laws and send persons to prison at his pleasure and use the state revenues to minister to his personal luxuries or his predilictions for trade or other hobbies was not even dreamt of by the Rulers of those days. A profound change has now come over the Province. What is it due to? Has Government ever cared to realize the change or investigate its causes from independent sources?......... There are many who believe the policy of non-intervention to be the root-cause of the utter irresponsibility which is to be seen nowadays in many of our Rulers.......... This is partially true. When the Province was settled, the British Government guaranteed its Rulers against external enemies and internal disorders.......... For a time there was check exercised by Government who used freely to interfere to prevent oppression or gross abuse of justice against individuals. Then came the non-intervention policy. The Rulers soon became conscious that there was no control over their actions. Their subjects had not to be conciliated. Any disorders on their part were impossible in view of the protecting hand of the British Government. The Political Officers were bound by the policy to take no notice of oppression or misrule so long as it affected the subjects of a state. With a dispirited and helpless people and with no outside control or even criticism it would be wonder if Rulers would not become absolute autocrats and do what they liked with their people and state's revenues. It is not meant to be conveyed that intervention is a sovereign remedy against injustice and oppression in States.......... Non-intervention is any day preferable to haphazard and one-sided interference. In other words, Government cannot help the Ruler as it did in Tonk and at the same time decline to listen to the people's grievances against their Ruler. There is another important factor which is equally, if not in a greater degree, responsible for the present state of things. It is the present-day education of the Rulers and the attitude of the Political Officers towards the Rulers and their entourage in contrast with that towards the people at large. It is a curious fact that more western the education of a Ruler or more close his touch with the west the greater autocrat is to be found in his person.......... Further, the attitude of the Political Officers confirms the Ruler in his autocracy. It may be that these officers are the victims of a policy. But what actually happens is that these officers mix only with the Rulers and their entourage and generally hold aloof from every class of non-official Indian. Hospitality reciprocated between the Rulers and officers may be a good thing in itself if confined to the mere social part. But it leads to the Political Officers getting only one side of the case when any action of the Ruler has to be judged by them.......... Add to this a Ruler, however oppressive, is immune and loses apparently no credit with the Government or its officers and it is not surprising that autocracy should rule unfettered in Káthiáwár. There are other causes for the present condition of things such as the pronounced concern of Government for the rights and privileges of the Rulers and no such concern for their subjects, the creation of the Chamber of Princes and the immunity of the Political Department from criticism in the Legislatures. They all emphasize the fact that the States have become what they are owing to the policy of the British Government. A heavy responsibility therefore rests on the Government in respect of the States' subjects. It is to be hoped that the British Government which, according to the declared word of His Excellency the Viceroy, wants to do justice all round would not be heedless to that article in the areas comprised in the Native States."

The political situation in the Native States in Kathiawar.

**Kaiser-i-Hind* (23), 28th Aug., Eng. cols.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 23rd Aug.

93. Referring to the speeches delivered by the Agent to the Governor in Káthiáwár and the Jam of Navánagar at the recent banquet at Dhrángadra, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—" All this shows that the Princes of Káthiáwár feel very keenly the unjust attacks that are being made upon them, and that they are resolved, with the aid of the Suzerain Power, to withstand such attacks. It is well-known that the Princes of Káthiáwár are in no way *persona grata* with a certain political party in this country; for the Princes have stood loyal to their past traditions of faithful adherence to the British *Raj* and have steadily refused to lend any direct or indirect support to their movements. Hence it is that these Princes are particularly singled out for rancorous and bitter attacks in different ways whilst no opportunity is lost to foment dissatisfaction and discontent amongst their subjects. It must however be borne in mind that the voice of the mischief-making agitator should not be confounded with the voice of the loyal subject who has some legitimate grievance to bring to the ears of his ruler......... The Princes must now wake up to the exigencies of the changing times. They must realise that the country has now entered into a new era, and with the people of British India having their first experience of democratic institutions it is but natural that the subjects of the Indian states also should wish to have a greater voice in the administration of their states. Purely autocratic rule, however benevolent, will not now satisfy the people. The Princes of Káthiáwár, therefore, ought to make their administration more conformable to the growing aspirations of their peoples, and by following such a policy they will in the end, we are sure, gain greater stability and prestige." [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* thinks that the fact that on the occasion of the dinner given by His Highness the Raja Saheb of Dhrangadhra to the Agent to the Governor, His Highness the Raja Saheb of Dhrangadhra, the Agent and His Highness the Jamsaheb felt the necessity of delivering speeches on the subject of the political agitation in Káthiáwár in general and Dhrangadhra in particular is a first step towards the improvement of the relations between the rulers of Káthiáwár and their people. The paper suggests it to His Highness the Raja Saheb of Dhrangadhra that with a view to strengthening his position in the future he should request His Excellency the Governor to appoint a commission of independent men to inquire into the complaints of his subjects and that he should give an assurance to his people that no one who gives evidence before this commission will suffer any harm at the hands of the State.]

Alleged pollution of the image of a goddess at Kolhapur by non-Brahmins.

Indu Prakásh (44), 22nd Aug.; *Kesari* (111), 23rd Aug.

94. The *Indu Prakásh* refers to an incident at Kolhápur on the last cocoanut day when a number of non-Brahmins were reported to have entered the local Ambabai temple and polluted the image of the goddess there by touching it. Another version, the paper says, attributes the report about the pollution of the image to the panic of somebody sitting in the temple. It has full trust in the Maharaja doing proper justice in the case, but regrets that while Mr. Gandhi is insisting upon treating the untouchables as equals, the *pujaris* of the Kolhápur temples are not prepared to give equal rights even to Kshatriyas like the Maráthas. [The *Kesari* also refers to the incident and expresses the hope that the Political Agent will do proper justice in the matter and take steps to prevent a repetition of the outrage, as the goddess is the titular deity of lakhs of people residing outside the Kolhápur State and their religious susceptibilities have been hurt by the incident.]

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 3rd September 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

Paragraphs.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:
- Comments on Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire deputation . . 48
- Comments on the Moplah riots in Malabár . . . . 24—33
- Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office. . 52
- Comments on the Reforms Conference held at Bombay . . . 35—40
- Comments on the Satyagraha movement at Mulshi 49
- Government should not allow the export of food-stuffs from India . 41 & 42
- How India is plundered in the matter of purchase of stores . . . 43
- Ireland and India 47
- Irishmen have rejected Mr. Lloyd George's offer as it does not give them real Dominion rule. . . . . 44—46
- Non-Brahmins should not fawn upon the bureaucracy 51
- Lord Reading's regime not likely to prove a success 34
- The tactics of the bureaucracy 50

Co-operative Societies: Comments on the Co-operative Conference at Poona 59

Excise:
- Alleged opposition of Government to the eradication of the drink evil . 53
- Welcome to Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson . . . . 54—56

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Comments on the resolution of the Lahore Municipality boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales . 3—5

His Excellency the Governor:
- His Excellency the Governor's convocation address 1
- His Excellency the Governor's visit to the Seva Sadan of Poona . . 2

Indians in the Colonies: Status of Indians in South Africa and East Africa. 57 & 58

Judicial matters:
- Comments on the sentence passed on Pandit Dwarkaprasad of Dadu (Sind) 12
- The withdrawal of the Munitions Board Case . . . . . . 6—11

Military matters: Comments on the Secretary of State's sanction to the employment of fifteen Indian battalions overseas 63

Non-co-operation:
- A Khilafat song 22
- Alleged hollowness of the Hindu-Moslem unity 18
- Alleged movement to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian Army . . 17

CENTRAL REGISTRY
5 OCT 1921
INDIA OFFICE

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation—*concluded.*

Comments on the anti — activities at Bijápur 16
Comments on the foreign cloth boycott movement. 23
Comments on prosecutions of non-co-operators in the Punjáb . . 13
Comments on the resolution on — with Government passed by the extraordinary session of the Hindu Sabha 20
Futility of launching civil disobedience 19
Government should come to terms with Mr. Gandhi's party and thus secure popular suport 21
Indians must boldly face the gallows and the gun 14
Reports of conspiracy among the Akali Sikhs and Lord Reading's duty. 15

Police: Complaint about dacoities of Berads and Ramoshis in the Sátára District 61

Press Act: Comments on the proscription of a book of *fatwas* published by the Bombay Khilafat Committee 60

Public Service: The office of the Director of Land Records can be safely abolished 62

War:

Comments on a book on England's relations with Turkey . . . 64
The Turko-Greek — . . . . , 65
Uselessness of sending Indian volunteers to assist the Turks in Anatolia 66

EDUCATION—

Education of the backward classes 68
The Surat Municipality and the Education Department 67

MUNICIPALITIES—

The military should give up the portions of the Esplanade occupied by them. 69

NATIVE STATES—

Alleged pollution of a temple in Kolhápur by non-Brahmins. . . . 70

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

His Excellency the Governor's convocation address.

Modvl (26), 21st Aug.; *Hind Mitra* (18), 28th Aug.

1. It is the good fortune of the Bombay Presidency to have a ruler of the type of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd. We cannot but praise his statesmanship and tact when we compare him with other provincial satraps. Except for the regrettable incidents at Dhárwár and Matiári his administration has proved on the whole successful. However it is our humble opinion that His Excellency's convocation address was quite unsuited to the occasion. No doubt some of his views deserve a careful consideration. There is, however, a world of difference between the French Revolution and the non-violent non-co-operation movement started by Mr. Gandhi. We are fully convinced that India will gain its independence without shedding a drop of blood under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi. [The *Hind Mitra* is also of the opinion that revolutionary France and Bolshevist Russia cannot be compared to India of the present day. It admits that every right thinking man is a slave of the law but the paper adds that the laws of India are not made by its representatives and that the Statute Book is full of repressive measures and considers it the duty of the Indian people to secure their independence like the Anglo-Saxon race.]

His Excellency the Governor's visit to the Seva Sadan of Poona.

Dnyán Prakásh (42), 3rd Sept.

2. The *Dnyán Prakásh* refers in its leader to the visit of His Excellency the Governor to the Seva Sadan, Poona, welcomes his expression of sympathy with the institution, and requests His Excellency to extend pecuniary help to it. It particularly draws the attention of the wellwishers of the institution to His Excellency's remark that now that the power of the purse is shared by the Legislative Council, they would do well to enlist the sympathy of that body in favour of their institution.

Comments on the resolution of the Lahore Municipality boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales.

Mahrátta (7), 4th Sept.

***3.** "The Lahore Municipality is setting an example to other municipalities in India in freedom from any subservience to official commands, in boldness of action and in representing the real thoughts and sentiments of the electors. It passed a resolution of boycotting the official visit of the Prince of Wales, which is being enforced upon India against the wishes of a large majority of the people. The Lahore Municipality is to be congratulated for its splendid work and especially for creating a healthy atmosphere of freedom."

Kesari (111), 30th Aug.

4. The *Kesari* refers to the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India and remarks that the persistent and ill-advised efforts being made by the bureaucracy in the matter of the Prince's reception must have convinced His Royal Highness himself and His Majesty the King of its folly. It declares that the plan of the bureaucracy to aggrandise itself by taking the Prince in procession throughout the country without in the least caring to redress the people's wrongs is bound to fail. Referring to the resolution for boycotting the Prince's reception passed by the Lahore Municipality and to what it calls the fiasco of the Calcutta public meeting under the presidency of Lord Ronaldshay organised to arrange for welcoming His Royal Highness to the city, the paper remarks that these incidents go clearly to show how little the country cares to welcome the Prince. The paper, therefore, asks the British Government, if it has any wisdom left in it, to consider these inauspicious signs of the times and postpone the Prince's visit till after a due announcement is made about the fulfilment of the people's aspirations. Otherwise, it says, the reception of the Prince will end in a fiasco wherever he goes.

Lokasángraha (116), 31st Aug. and 1st Sept.; *Swarájya* (145), 1st Sept.

5. A correspondent from Kolhápur writes in the *Lokasangraha*:—While resolutions are being passed everywhere that the Prince of Wales should be boycotted our Durbar is thinking of inviting him for *shikar*. It is estimated that this will entail an expenditure of eight or ten lakhs of rupees. The news has caused universal dejection here. God grant the Prince does not visit this State in these days of high prices. [In a subsequent issue the paper says that the bureaucracy's insistence upon bringing the Prince here in the teeth of popular opposition shows that they are fast taking leave of their common sense. The *Swarájya* comments with satisfaction on the decision of the Lahore Municipality not to welcome His Royal Highness.]

The withdrawal of the Munitions Board Case.

Indu Prakásh (44), 31st Aug.

6. The *Indu Prakásh* dwells upon the withdrawal of the Munitions Board Case against three of the accused and urges that the remaining two accused should be proceeded against and duly punished. It also suggests the appointment of a mixed commission to inquire into the whole matter inasmuch as the total frauds are reported to amount to nearly nine crores of rupees. Referring to the resignation of Sir T. Holland it says that the other two Councillors concerned in the withdrawal should also resign, and that an Indian like Sir Vishweshwar Aya or Sir T. Mukerjee should be appointed in Sir T. Holland's place as the Industries Department is meant for the advance of Indian and not British industries.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 31st Aug., Eng. cols.

7. "We have already declared that we place no credence on the defence so generously put forward by the Viceroy that Sir Thomas Holland was over-taxed with a heavy burden of work and that it was presumably owing to this distraction that he omitted to consult his chief.......... All India believes—and believes rightly too—that there was something more sinisterly mysterious that has been kept in the background and which is the real cause of causes which prevented the Minister of Industries to consult the Viceroy. If the truth were told without any personal insinuations it might be said that Sir Thomas was absolutely convinced in his mind that he had a rotten case to deal with and that in this same case his Department was guiltily implicated and that under such circumstances it would be futile to consult the Viceroy—with all his high sense and ideal about justice.......... Already the judicial prestige of the Government of India is damaged and even the judicial reputation of the Viceroy, or at any rate his solicitude for the upholding of justice in India, is having a rude shock and all India is eagerly watching the Viceroy about his next move in the matter."

Mahrátta (7), 4th Sept.

***8.** Referring to the latest Press Note issued by the Government of India with regard to the Calcutta Munitions Board Case, the *Mahrátta* remarks:—"A hue and cry was raised against the withdrawal with the result that although the withdrawal remains intact, Sir Thomas Holland is officially censured and he had to resign his post. What strikes us most is that with all the love of justice, exhibited to great advantage in the Government communiqué, justice remains unvindicated. The false impression that the withdrawal was advised owing to the solicitude for Swadeshi concerns still continues and no effort is made to correct it. Secondly, if Sir Thomas Holland is censured and had to resign, what of the other two members of the Council, who had consented to this withdrawal? They owe it to their colleague and to the public to give an explanation in the matter. The general public draws only one inference and it is that the efficiency of these various departments cannot stand a serious scrutiny."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 4th Sept.

***9.** "Sir Thomas Holland seems to have been long under the impression that the case would be disposed of by the Magistrate. When he came to know that it would have to go to the High Court Sessions, he felt some uncertainty about the issue, his economic conscience was aroused, and he felt the need of consulting two of his colleagues in the Government. The names of these two gentlemen are withheld in the statement on the ground of constitutional practice. We venture to think that these grounds do not apply to the present case where not the action of Government as a whole but the conduct of an individual member of it in relation to two others is concerned. Both these men 'agreed to the withdrawal' though for different reasons, and neither of them suggested to Sir Thomas Holland the advisability of consulting the Viceroy on a matter so seriously calculated to involve the power and prestige of his Government. These gentlemen cannot be acquitted, to put it at the lowest, of having exhibited an insufficient appreciation of the seriousness of the matter and of their responsibility to the Viceroy. His Excellency in his generosity may condone the slight consideration to himself, but the public cannot trust the judgment of these two gentlemen who in a matter of such moment were so completely oblivious of its bearing on the principles of Government and its certain effect on public opinion here and in England. We, therefore, think that they must share in the blame which has rendered Sir Thomas Holland's resignation imperative, and if they choose to regard themselves as vicariously absolved from it, it is necessary to point out that their position is really in some respects even more blameworthy, in that, having been approached for advice by a colleague in perplexity, they gave him wrong advice which has led to the ruin of his official career. As usual, the refusal to give their names has not prevented more or less shrewd surmises at probabilities, and we suggest that, in the interests of the whole Government, which are far more important than those of any two individuals, the constitutional practice, if it does require the omission, may be waived in this exceptional case. To our mind, there is not the least doubt that Sir Thomas Holland should be accompanied by these two gentlemen, whoever they may be and whatever thay may be, into retirement."

Gujaráti (15), 28th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 27th Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 2nd Sept., *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 30th Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 31st Aug.

10. The *Gujaráti* subjects to scathing criticism the various grounds urged by Government in justification of the withdrawal of the Munitions Board Case. In professing to feel a tender regard for *swadeshi* enterprize, the paper thinks that Government have made an exhibition of their hypocrisy. It is also hard to believe, adds the paper, that they should stand in such mortal dread of political agitation, that they should be prepared to abandon the path of justice in order to avoid the fomentation of such agitation. As for the other grounds for withdrawing the case, the paper thinks that they are an insult to the high sense of morality of the Indians. In the opinion of the paper, the attitude of the Anglo-Indian press and European Chambers of Commerce towards this matter is also characterised by hypocrisy. When gross injustice is being done to Indians in the matter of the Punjab wrongs and in cases between Europeans and Indians, these Anglo-Indian papers and bodies assume total silence. Although crores of rupees were lost to India through the sale of reverse councils and crores are being drained away in the shape of pay and pensions of European officials and exchange compensation, etc., they have nothing to say against it. But now that these Indians have cheated Government of a sum of a lakh and a half, they raise a loud outcry against Government and accuse them of impeding the course of justice and allowing the Indian treasury to be looted. The paper declares that Indians can never believe that the hearts of the European Chambers of Commerce are thus overflowing with feelings of justice and morality towards India, and that the real object is to bring Indians into disrepute and cause harm to exactly 10 dozen Swadeshi concerns under the shelter of justice, morality and honesty. [The *Hindusthán* dwells at great length upon the protests that are being made in all quarters against the withdrawal of the Munitions Board Case by Sir Thomas Holland without the knowledge or consent of Lord Reading. It is of the opinion that Sir Thomas has forfeited the confidence of the Indian people and so he does not deserve to be on the Executive Council of the Government of India. In conclusion, the paper appeals to Lord Reading to take such bold measures as would tend to re-establish the prestige of British justice in India. The *Sánj Vartamán* congratulates His Excellency Lord Reading on the courage he has shown in publishing the second communiqué in the matter of the Munitions Board Case and openly disapproving of the action of Sir Thomas Holland. It however considers it a weakness on the part of Lord Reading to pass over Sir Thomas Holland's mistake as an "error of judgment" and not to take him seriously to task for it. It refers to rumours about corruption prevailing in the Munitions Board and Sir Thomas himself being implicated in it along with certain other high officials and calls upon the Viceroy to ask Sir Thomas to resign and to appoint a mixed Commission to inquire and report upon the working of the Munitions Board. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the lengthy explanation issued by the Government of India in their recent communiqué regarding the Munitions Board Case furnishes the public with an instructive example of the terrible consequences resulting from attempts to preserve official prestige. The paper does not understand why the names of those bodies who pressed Sir Thomas Holland to withdraw the case should not be published with a view to exposing them to public censure. The paper endorses the suggestion made by the *Pioneer* for the appointment of a committee consisting of one Judge and two commercial men to go into the case confidentially to make a public report about the working of the Bengal Branch of the Munitions Board. The *Bombay Samáchár* hopes that the Viceroy will appoint a Commission to inquire into the working of the Calcutta Munitions Board as suggested by the *Pioneer*.]

Sind Observer (10), 30th Aug.

11. "Rai Bahadur Karnani gave lakhs for war charities; and several Europeans who have made collossal fortunes out of the war contracts, being Europeans should not be exposed for, then the 'prestige' of the European in a subject country like India would be gone! So the great affection displayed for 120 Swadeshi concerns which would go to rack and ruin on account of Mr. Karnani's prosecution is a mere feint. Nine crores were swindled in Calcutta alone, but it matters not, the impending exposures should be avoided at all costs! .... If the public press is so very bitter about the withdrawal of this case it is because it feels very strongly that no one has been punished yet for fattening on the blood of the heroic dead. The only case in which some culprits could have been made a public example of has been withdrawn. Public indignation, European and Indian, is thus at white heat. We urge upon the Government of India the absolute necessity of appointing an impartial committee to go into this matter of swindling."

Comments on the sentence passed on Pandit Dwarkaprasad of Dadu (Sind).

New Times (8), 29th and 30th Aug.

12. "That fearless non-co-operator of Dadu—Pandit Dwarkaprasad—has been sent to jail. He refused to give a 'security.' When non-co-operators prefer to go to jail rather than give security, does it occur to Government to pause for a moment and ask why it has lost moral authority over the people? How long can Government run the system without the people's moral support? Repression was never a remedy of unrest." [In the next issue the paper remarks:—"The Magistrate, we are told, found Pandit Dwarkaprasad guilty and sentenced him to 12 months rigorous! What was the sin of the Pandit? He carried the Congress Message from place to place in the Dadu taluka; he spoke fearlessly and a good number of people came all the way to Warah to be by him when his trial was on. They were put to much trouble on the way, some of the ordinary conveniences being denied them during their travel in that official-ridden area. But they put up with all troubles in a quiet way. The true non-co-operator is not to retaliate. The magistrate gave his judgment early in the morning at six! When the non-co-operators addressed meetings in the evening they found that the people were very responsive to the message. The sentence passed upon the Pandit and the troubles inflicted upon the non-co-operators evidently did their work, the official-ridden area was converted to non-co-operation!"]

Comments on prosecutions of non-co-operators in the Punjab.

Young India (12), 1st Sept.

13. Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Maulvi Saiyad Habib has been sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for three years, avowedly for his writings in his paper, the *Siasat*, but in reality for the influence he exercises over the Musalmans. Mr. Zafaralikhan's son, Mr. Akhtaralikhan, and his cousin, Mr. Gulamkadar, are under trial. The conclusion is foregone. Thus every Musalman and every Sikh non-co-operator of note are to be put 'out of arm's way.' They would not apologise, they would not withdraw anything for there was nothing to withdraw. Disaffection in their writings certainly there was. But a non-co-operation journal to be worthy of the name has to preach disaffection. I, therefore, congratulate these gentlemen upon their well-earned honour. I can only hope that the Musalmans and the Sikhs will appreciate the Government action by completing their part of the Swadeshi programme. The people will have deserved these trials and convictions, if they generate enough power to be able to discharge these friends from gaols long before their period is over."

Indians must boldly face the gallows and the gun.

Hindusthán (21), 1st Sept.

14. The *Hindusthán* lays stress on the salient points of the lecture recently delivered by Mr. Vithalbhai J. Patel at Surat on *swaráj* and endorses the views expressed by him to the effect that Indians would be able to secure *swaráj* within a year only when they resort to civil disobedience and are prepared to face boldly the gallows and the gun. The paper declares that it is only after securing *swaráj* by means of non-co-operation that the Indians would be able to preach internationalism, so dear to Mr. Rabindranath Tagore and to evolve a new form of civilisation that would be the result of the happy blending of the civilisations of the East and the West.

Reports of conspiracy among the Akali Sikhs and Lord Reading's duty.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Sept.

15. "Signs are not wanting to show that the enemies of Indian progress, here as well as in England, are busy exploiting the opportunity afforded to them by the Moplah outbreak to create a panicky atmosphere in official circles and to stampede the Powers-that-be into more vigorous and general repressive action against the 'agitators'.......... In the wake of the conflagration in Malabár comes the sinister report from the Punjáb that the C. I. D. there have unearthed a 'conspiracy' among the Akali Sikhs 'to overthrow the British Government and to assassinate some Europeans and non-European officials and others'. We are told that the Sikhs already arrested in connection with this 'conspiracy' will shortly be placed on their trial. During the last few months the Punjáb Government have been issuing manifestoes after manifestoes to persuade the people of the Province, and particularly the Sikh community, to believe that they are not engaged in any campaign of general repression against the Akali section of the Sikhs. The Akalis are composed of the more advanced, religiously as well as politically, elements of the Sikhs. But the official assurances have failed to achieve their object for the simple reason that the professions of Punjáb officialdom have not kept pace with the hunt that goes on in the province, in the name of 'peace and order,' for the heads of the leaders of the Akali Sikhs. In face of the savage sentences passed on leaders like Sardar Sardul Singh and Sardar Jhabbar Singh, the Sikhs find it difficult to believe that the Government of the Punjáb are not engaged in a general repression of their aspirations....... If any additional proof of Sikh scepticism regarding the professions of the local Government were needed, it is furnished by the dignified protest addressed to Government by Sardar Mehtab Singh, Deputy President of the Punjab Council and the Public Prosecutor of the province, who has also sent in his resignation of membership of the Council. That such a trusted friend of Government as Sardar Mehtab Singh should have deemed it obligatory to take the extreme step he has taken, shows that something is radically wrong with the Punjab Government. The policy of conciliaton-cum-repression which has found favour with Sir Edward Maclagan is now seen to have signally failed to heal the wounds of the Punjab. There are only two alternatives before the Government—either real conciliation or downright repression. Which of the alternatives are the Punjab Government going to adopt? It is, perhaps, superfluous to put the question to the Punjab Government, for the tendency they have been betraying more and more of late is towards unmitigated repression. It is to the Central Government that one must look for an answer. Is Lord Reading prepared to give a free hand to Sir Edward Maclagan as did His Excellency's predecessor to Sir Edward's predecessor to deal with the people of the Punjab? Already the evil results of the *carte blanche* given to Lord Willingdon and Sir Harcourt Butler are sufficient unto the day. Is Lord Reading going to permit the reckless plunging of the Punjab once more into general turmoil and suffering, before the wounds of the people of that province have had time to heal? If he does not cry 'halt', not only in the Punjab, but everywhere in this country, then good-bye to peace and contentment in India for a long time to come."

Comments on the anti-non-co-operation activities at Bijapur.

Kesari (111), 30th Aug.

16. The *Kesari* refers to certain incidents at Bijápur where a meeting of the local League of Peace and Order held by the Collector, Mr. Henderson, ended, according to the paper, in disorder owing to Mr. Kothari, the editor of the *Jágaruk*, who was specially invited to the meeting as a loyalist, having advised the non-Brahmins to oppose the bureaucracy instead of being mere puppets in its hands. It also refers to another meeting held the next day to denounce the League of Peace and to protest against the anti-picketing orders of Mr. Henderson and expresses pleasure that the public of Bijápur is awakening to the fact of the bureaucracy's attempts to enslave the public politically in the name of these Leagues.

Alleged movement to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian Army.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 29th Aug.

17. The *Sánj Vartamán* refuses to believe that there is any truth in the allegation made in high military quarters that certain non-co-operationist leaders are trying to tamper with the loyalty of the army without the knowledge or consent of Mr. Gandhi. The paper suggests that Government should proceed to take legal steps against any non-co-operationist leader or leaders whom they consider guilty of tampering with the loyalty of the army. The paper proceeds to describe the non-violent character of the non-co-operation movement and dwells upon the harm that would be done to the movement by stirring up the troops who would not fail to resort to violence. The paper exhorts the non-co-operationists to leave the army alone in the true interests of the cause they have espoused and asks Mr. Gandhi to denounce the movement, if there be any, for tampering with the loyalty of the Indian troops.

Alleged hollowness of the Hindu-Moslem unity.

Muslim Herald (171), 26th Aug.

18. "Mahatma Gandhi has published an article in *Young India* some sentences of which deserve the full attention of the Musalmans. Mahatmaji says that the nation cannot progress without Hindu-Moslem unity, and adds that the cement which is consolidating both these communities is still wet and soft and that even now there exists a mutual lack of trust. The Mahatmaji feels sorry that the Musalmans do not believe in the necessity of *swaráj* as much as the Hindus do. But, he admits, that a year ago the Musalmans took very little interest in the affairs of the Congress, while now they are becoming its members in thousands. We are wonderstruck to find that Mahatmaji, in spite of his high intellectual powers, has not been able to fathom the whole affair. There is no nation in the world so grateful as the Muhammadans. They become ready to sacrifice their life and property in recognition of a small act of kindness. We also admit that there exists lack of trust in the hearts of the Musalmans in respect of the Hindus. But do not the facts justify this spirit of distrust? The Musalmans alone are conscious of the difficulties which they are facing in their campaign of stopping cow-killing, although it is regarded as anti-Islamic. The Ulemas of Islam are issuing *fatwas* against the *farmans* (commandments) of the Khilafat Committee, and the Muhammadan leaders are putting up with this abuse only for the sake of the Hindus. Notwithstanding this, the Moslems find that the Hindus are trying to stop cow-killing by means of legislation in the Councils. They also find that their own schools and colleges were closed with a view to change the present system of education, but, on the contrary, not a single institution of Hindus was closed. The Musalmans also know how they were made homeless through the device of *hijrat*, when they had to sell their homes and landed property at a very nominal price. And in many cases the Hindus reaped the benefit. The Musalmans also see that in Government and private offices wherever the Hindus form the majority and wherever they are powerful, the condition of the Musalmans is pitiable. In many Hindu States the Musalman officials have been dismissed from service. As regards the membership of the Congress it is necessary that one should possess money. The Musalmans have no money, and only those who can afford to become members, have got their names registered. But the majority cannot afford to become members. Mahatma will see that the reason why the Musalmans are suspicious of the Hindus is all due only to the actions of the Hindus. If the Hindus make an effort to win the hearts of the Musalmans by kindness and truthfulness, everything will immediately take a favourable turn, otherwise things will happen which are destined to take place.

Futility of launching civil disobedience.

Indu Prakásh (44), 3rd Sept.

19. The *Indu Prakásh* dwells upon the history and the evil results of Mr. Gandhi's Satyagraha movement of 1919, and his subsequent throwing up of it. It says that later on Mr. Gandhi launched the non-co-operation movement which has proved to be very agreeable to the lazy and do-nothing nature of the Indians and so has secured many adherents, for under it the wearing of a Gandhi cap and *khadi* shirt suffices for a man to be a patriot without any self-sacrifice. It says that this movement has failed to daunt the authorities at all who on the contrary have launched a campaign against it. The paper goes on:—Seeing the fruitlessness of the non-violent non-co-operation campaign many of Mr. Gandhi's followers are after him to launch civil disobedience, but his hands having been singed two years back he has refused to give his sanction. But the flames of hatred of Government have been so much fanned by the non-co-operation movement that it is feared that they would prove to be uncontrollable both by the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi and other leaders may not be prepared to break the law themselves, but they having sanctioned the principle the responsibility for excesses on the part of the people rests directly or indirectly on their shoulders. The Gandhi party must learn from the Moplah outbreak how dangerous it is to teach the people to break the laws, and it is hoped that it would cease to play with fire any longer and act with a sense of responsibility. It is a mistake to imagine that Government would be terrified into granting Indian demands by simply proclaiming civil disobedience. So long as Government has its army, its ammunitions and machine guns, and its railways and telegraphs, nothing will daunt them. Civil disobedience will only hurt our own people and not Government. The threat of civil disobedience given in the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee has not daunted the bureaucracy at all but only made the Congress party a laughing stock.

Comments on the resolution on non-co-operation with Government passed by the extraordinary session of the Hindu Sabha.

Lokamánya (115), 3rd Sept.

20. The *Lokamánya*, referring to the resolution passed at the extraordinary session of the All-India Hindu Sabha held at Brindaban under the presidency of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, calling upon the entire Hindu community not to co-operate with the cow-killing British Government, in spite of the advice to the contrary of the Pandit and other elderly Hindu leaders, says that there appears to be nothing in the resolution which Hindus like the Pandit taking pride in their religion need take objection to. The Hindus have, it says, already joined the non-co-operation movement along with the Muhammadans as a political measure, and the only thing that the session of the Hindu Sabha has done is to add the slaughter of cows as an additional *raison d'etre* for the movement. It further points out that the Moslems have mostly refrained from cow-slaughter during the last Bakr-Id in spite of incitements to the contrary, and thus falsified the predictions of the Anglo-Indians in England that the Hindu-Moslem unity was bound to be wrecked on the rock of cow-protection. It also refers to the presence of Mr. Andrews at the Sabha's session and to the promise he gave to agitate about the question in the Christian community and declares that if the community considers the matter from all points of view, it will not be a difficult matter to secure its support to the cow-protection movement. In the opinion of the paper the question of cow-protection will be practically solved if Government puts a stop to the slaughter of cows for its English soldiers.

Government should come to terms with Mr. Gandhi's party and thus secure popular support.

Lokamánya (115), 1st Sept.

21. The *Lokamánya* refers to the remark made by the London *Daily Telegraph* that the Government of India had not the support of Indian public opinion and says:—The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced to secure the support of the public for the administration, but Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement was launched just at the time of the elections. The bureaucracy believed for a time that the reforms and the ministers appointed under them had the support of the public, but it was soon undeceived. It then tried to escape from the position by various means but has failed and the bubble has burst in England too where the Indian bureaucracy has been condemned as being without support of public opinion. All people now know that none of the ministers have been able to influence public opinion in favour of the bureaucracy or to counteract Mr. Gandhi's propaganda, as has been proved by the recent incidents in Bengal, the United Provinces and in Bombay. The rayats' support of Government ought to be voluntary; mere silence out of threats or weakness is no support. Attempts are being made in Madras and Bombay by means of *gulam sabhas* to secure the people's support for Government but they are bound to fail as was evidenced by the fiasco of the meeting of agriculturists and Patils recently convened by the Collector of Bijápur. There was a similar fiasco in the Madras Presidency of an agriculturists' meeting held by the Collector of the Godávari District at Ramchandrapuram which ended with the cries of 'Gandhi Maharaj ki jaya', and a bonfire of foreign clothes. The experience of the Collectors of Bijápur and Godávari has thus proved that all attempts on the part of the bureaucracy to win over the rayats by deceitful means only proved disastrous failures. Under these circumstances if the British statesmen wish for popular support for the Government of India, is it not necessary for them to come to terms with Mr. Gandhi's party?

A Khilafat song.

Vijaya (90), 1st Sept.

22. The *Vijaya* publishes a Hindustani poem with its purport in Kanarese in the course of which it says:—Let us give up even our lives for the protection of our religion. If we are doomed to die, let us at least die doing something. Let us sacrifice our intellects and our wealth for defending the cause of the Khilafat. Let us not be frightened by the treacheries perpetrated by our enemies. The merciful God will take compassion on us. We draw all our inspiration from him. Without fear of any kind, let us walk in the path of righteousness and let us at least sacrifice our heads. Our salvation lies only in this. Let us die in the cause of righteousness and be blessed. Let us struggle for righteousness and then be victorious heroes. Let us discard the courts, where justice does not exist, and boycott liquor and foreign cloth. Oh, wise men, do not be afraid; the days will come very soon when your enemies will have to repent for all the sins they are committing at present.

Comments on the foreign cloth boycott movement.

Lokamánya (115), 2nd Sept.

23. The *Lokamánya* declares that the foreign cloth boycott movement has been eminently successful already and that by the end of September the victory will be complete notwithstanding all the jeers of Mrs. Besant and the *Times of India*. It remarks that even the moderates do not appear to have relished the indecent jokes indulged in by an old woman like Mrs. Besant in the course of her address at the Reforms Conference at the expense of Mr. Gandhi's wife. In its opinion Mrs. Besant is indulging in sarcasm against Mr. Gandhi at the instigation of Simla which has commanded the launching of a crusade against the boycott movement. It declares that the hope entertained by the Government of India that it will be able to kill the movement with the assistance of the Marwari merchants is bound to be disappointed as many of them in Bombay, Nagpur, etc., have already joined Mr. Gandhi and the rest in Northern India and Bengal are strongly supporting his movement during his present tour in that part of the country. It admits that the Marwaris are not prepared to burn their stock of foreign cloth but points out that they are taking oaths not to place any orders till January next. The paper also asks Government to bear in mind that it should not expect much assistance from the Moderates in its crusade against the boycott movement, as they too fully recognise at heart the importance of Swadeshi, though many of them are obliged out of circumstances to follow the lead of the bureaucracy.

Comments on the Moplah riots in Malabar.

New Times (8), 29th and 30th Aug.

24. "The serious Moplah outbreak will be condemned by every one who believes in non-violence.......... Harsh measures will not cure the Moplah of his fanaticism. And violence on the part of the people will only postpone the day of *swarāj*. The terrible tragedy has given an opportunity to some to denounce the movement of non-co-operation. The Madras Government's communiqué says that 'agitators' in Malabár had been working on the fanaticism of the Moplahs.......... Government and Anglo-Indian papers smell non-co-operation in every trouble. There is need of an impartial inquiry into the causes of this terrible tragedy; and it is not fair to prejudge the matter and throw the blame upon the non-co-operators.......... Lord Willingdon regards non-co-operation as 'unconstitutional' and evidently holds the view that the movement must be suppressed by Government.......... The Government of India, according to a London cable, have decided to institute proceedings against the Ali Brothers. The Government blunder badly if they think that by sending the Ali Brothers to jail they will end the present unrest. There are some who would like to see even Mahatma Gandhi arrested! The Mahatma's arrest will not arrest a nation-wide movement. And to declare this peaceful, non-violent movement illegal, will not help Government. It will only drive the unrest deeper." [In its next issue the paper writes:—"What was the immediate cause of the outbreak?......... It would seem the Collector attempted to arrest a *Pir* whom the Moplahs hold in great reverence and who was in a mosque. The Moplahs regarded this as a sacrilege; their blood was up.......... The bureaucrat is not usually a student of human psychology; Mr. Thomas is not; he was evidently out to combat the Khilafat movement; and he provoked the strong Muslim susceptibilities of the Moplah.......... Mr. Thomas could have brought round the Moplahs in a quiet, peaceful way. But Mr. Thomas is a bureaucrat; Mr. Thomas trusted physical force and the long arm of 'authority'.......... But provocation is not a justification. Provocations we must expect; and we must refuse to be provoked to any act of violence.......... The Moplah riot does not dim our faith in non-co-operation, nor does it make us less hopeful of Hindu-Muslim unity. But it gives added strength to our belief that the country is not yet ready for mass civil disobedience."]

Sind Observer (10), 25th and 29th Aug.

25. Commenting on the Moplah riots, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"Malabár affords an illustration on a smaller scale as to what will happen if

the masses of India one day break out into open rebellion and the Crown forces are unable to control the excited millions. No Brahman, no Bania, no rich Muslim, no Indian Christian and no European will escape suffering. Thôse who are inoculating the masses with wild doctrines must pause and consider. If the worst happens the Government will gather all the European population in the forts of the cities of India or send them away by sea. But what will be the fate of the higher and richer classes of the Indian community? What will be the fate of their women and children?......... But we do not at the same time suggest that the masses of our country should be exploited in the interests of the Indian and foreign exploiters. They have to be educated slowly as to their rights, liberties and responsibilities till they can take care of themselves. Indoctrinating them with revolutionary doctrines at this stage will only end in the discomfiture of those who are stirring them up." [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"The public of India and of England must know what are the causes that have led to these disturbances to apportion the blame properly on the men concerned. A conflagration of this nature would not have occurred without some deep discontent. The Government of Madras attributes it to the Khilafat agitation which has turned the mind of the Moplahs mad......... It is permissible to ask, of the 70 millions of Musalmans of India, why have the Moplahs of Malabár alone become so lawless and so fanatical? We hold the view that while the conduct of the Moplahs deserves the severest reprobation and censure, the conduct of the local officials with regard to the Khilafat agitation in Malabár requires to be thoroughly gone into........ Since the arrest and punishment of Mr. Yakub Hassan in Calicut six months ago, the District Magistrate and the Madras Government knew what has been passing in the Moplah mind. What steps have been taken to allay the unrest? Instead of allaying it, has anything been done to exacerbate feelings? This can only be known by appointing an impartial committee of investigation after peace has been restored......... Let the whole plot of the Khilafatists be exposed and let the story of official repression be made public......... In this connection we cannot join the *Madras Mail* which seems to favour the prosecution of the Ali Brothers now talked of in London. That will only add fuel to the fire and will set Muhammadan India aflame in the present state of feeling. We feel sure the statesmanship of Lord Reading will prevent such an ill-advised action which will mar the rejoicings in connection with the Prince's visit."]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 30th Aug.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 31st Aug.

26. The news of the Moplah rising in Malabár will not fail to give pain to every man who has the welfare of his country at heart. The Moderates who aspire to bring about the regeneration of their country by peaceful and constitutional means will no doubt look upon the Moplah rising as an obstacle in their path. But the non-co-operators too who honestly believe that they can make the British rulers submit to their will by Satyagraha and non-violent means, will have to hang down their heads in shame at the cruelties practised by the Moplahs. They knew that the Moplahs were fanatics and that it was very difficult to control them when their passions were excited, but they do not seem to have profited by their knowledge. It can safely be said that those who were aware of the true nature of the Moplah temperament, and failed to take note of it, are indirectly responsible for the present rising. No doubt keen discontent, due to the attitude of the authorities, is at the bottom of the disturbances. But no sensible man would justify violence on that account. Everyone has the right to criticize the acts of the bureaucracy, but we should aim at getting our wrongs redressed only by peaceful and constitutional means. We now clearly see what disastrous consequences ensue from the preaching of non-violent non-co-operation to ignorant people like the Moplahs. The non-co-operators may not be legally responsible for the disorders, but it is evident from the events at Málegaon, Aligarh and now in Malabár, that their teachings produce a pernicious effect on the masses. The Malabar riots have conclusively proved that the non-co-operators cannot possibly keep their movement free from violence. [In the opinion of the *Indu Prakásh* the Khilafat movement must more or less be held responsible for the Moplah outbreak as it is the natural result of poisoning the people's minds against Government by means of strongly worded speeches. Referring to the statement that a *jehad* has been declared by the Moplahs, the paper inquires as to what the Ali Brothers are going to do now as they have once said that if *jehad* be declared they would not stick to their vow of non-violence. It also asks if Mr. Gandhi would give up non-co-operation in view of the Moplah outbreak which has quite cast into the shade the Nadiád disturbances of 1919 which made him throw up Satyagraha. In the opinion of the paper, the intercession of Mr. Yakub Hassan or of Mr. Rajagopalachariar at this stage would have been useless as the Moplahs are too infuriated to listen to anybody.]

Indian Social Reformer (6), 4th Sept.

***27.** " The attempts of some of the leaders and their organs in the press to make out that the Moplah outbreak has no relation to and no bearing upon the Khilafat-Non-co-operation movement, do not carry conviction even with those who, while deploring the short-sightedness of some of its methods, have given credit to its promoters for sincerity and honesty of purpose. The general opinion, so far as we are able to gauge it, is that the outbreak is a most damaging blow to the movement, from the effects of which it can recover only by stern self-examination and prompt abandonment of propaganda calculated to inflame ignorant fanaticism. The Khilafat-Non-co-operation leaders have sought to throw the whole blame of the outbreak upon the district officials and Government. Unfortunately for them, the Indian newspapers published in Malabár, some of them of considerable repute and long standing, are unanimous in praising the self-restraint displayed by the officials in the face of an organised movement to defy authority......... Nor is there any force in the argument that the preachers of the Khilafat-Non-co-operation movement had always laid stress on non-violence as the corner-stone of their methods, so long as they had taken no steps to confine their propaganda to minds prepared to accept that condition. If you flaunt a red rag before an irascible bull, the fact that you are an ardent supporter of cow protection will not save you from the consequences of your fool-hardiness......... The Khilafat leaders have passed the usual condemnatory resolution about violence, but none of them has dared to denounce forcible conversions to Islam. No wonder that the Hindus of Malabár have come to think that Hindu-Muhammadan unity at this price is too dearly bought, and that the feeling is beginning to spread beyond Malabár......... The Moplah outbreak has further proved that the *swarâj* which the Khilafat-Non-co-operation movement was to bring is a mirage. Three centuries before Christ, Asoka in memorable words proclaimed equal respect for all religions as the fundamental rule of Indian polity. It has since been accepted implicitly by every Hindu ruler. The best Indian Muhammadan rulers accepted it, and their Empire prospered. The moment their successors departed from it, that moment they undermined the foundations of their sovereignty. British rule has followed the old Hindu principle to a large extent. If the future *swarâj* means countenancing of forcible conversions, a very large section of Indians would prefer to have the present religious freedom to a millenium where they will have every kind of freedom except that of religion. The linking of *swarâjya* with the Khilafat was one of the greatest mistakes ever committed by an Indian leader of eminence...... Hindus and other non-Muhammadan Indian communities have put forth their best efforts in pleading for a just treaty with Turkey, but they have neither the desire nor the intention to tolerate forcible conversion to Islam or to any other religion on any pretext whatsoever. We should not be surprised if it transpires that to untutored fanatics like the Moplah masses the distinction between joining the Khilafat movement and becoming Muhammadans is not readily comprehensible. If that is so, it is obvious that the Khilafat movement cannot in reason expect further co-operation on the part not only of non-Muhammadans but of all, whether Muhammadan or non-Muhammadans, who believe in perfect religious toleration."

***Gujaráti* (15), 4th Sept., Eng. cols.**

***28. " The much despised co-operators had from the very outset foreseen the present developments. But Mr. Gandhi and his followers have been in**

no mood to listen to their warnings. We express no confident opinion as to the genesis of the Moplah disturbances. Non-co-operators and Khilafatists disclaim all responsibility for the tragic developments that have taken place, just as the officiliased Anglo-Indian papers and the authorities are anxious to make out that they were not due to any provocation or to any want of tact, foresight and prudence on the part of Mr. Thomas and other officers in dealing with the Moplahs who are well known for their inflammable temperament. But it must not be forgotten that this ground cuts both ways, and non-co-operators and Khilafatists can no more escape from the consequences of working upon such combustible materials than officials can ignore their grave responsibility for handling them in a thoughtless manner in the exercise of their unlimited discretionary powers.......... What has happened is too sad for words, and thoughtful and responsible people have to decide for themselves whether it is in the interests of the welfare of the Indian people, or of their steady progress, in the sphere of social, political and economic activity, that they should continue in a state of suicidal unrest and wild ferment instead of applying themselves to the solid task of building up the destinies of their motherland by constructive, peaceful and fruitful activities."

Lokamánya (115), 29th Aug. and 1st Sept.

29. The *Lokamánya* refers to the serious character of the Moplah disturbances and after expressing regret that Mr. Yakub Hassan was not allowed to visit Malabár to pacify the Moplahs remarks :—It appears as if the Madras Anglo-Indians have a mind to suppress the Khilafat movement itself by taking advantage of the Moplah disturbances and one is therefore afraid that the Punjáb occurrences might be repeated in Malabár. Instead of attributing the disturbances to the Khilafat movement it would be more correct to say that they were brought about by the authorities' desire to put down that movement. The conflagration was no doubt ignited by the thoughtless attempts to arrest the Moplah leaders in the Musjid when hundreds of Moplahs are reported to have lost their lives. The incident has blackened the reputation of the bureaucracy for farsightedness. [In a subsequent issue the paper refers to a communication by Rao Saheb Karunakar Menon in the *Hindu* of Madras in the course of which he contradicts the statement about the Moplahs harrying and forcibly converting the Hindus residing in the Moplah District. It declares that the statement of Mr. Menon that the Moplah riots have not assumed the form of a Hindu-Muhammadan conflict goes to prove that the derision with which Mrs. Besant treated the Hindu-Muhammadan Unity in her address at the Reforms Conference at Empire Theatre was quite out of place. It points out that the Hindus have suffered only so far as they had any connection with Government treasuries, European officers and planters against whom the fury of the Moplahs has been chiefly directed. It strongly condemns the Moplahs' anarchical acts against Government and the Europeans but declares that it is most improper to take advantage of the incidents to divide Hindus and Muhammadans.]

Kesari (111), 30th Aug.

30. The *Kesari* says that the Moplah riots seem to have originated in a mistake similar to that committed at Amritsar. Just as there would have been no Amritsar riots if Dr. Kitchlew and Satyapal had not been arrested, the present conflagration would not have started if there had been no arrests at Tirurangadi, no house searches and specially if the Musjid had not been surrounded and searched adding fuel to the fire. The excesses committed by the rioters, the paper says, are no doubt to be utterly condemned and that early suppression is urgently required, but the chief point for decision is not the amount of havoc wrought by the conflagration but as to who was responsible for first putting the spark to the gunpowder. In the opinion of the paper the official acts being indefensible, attempts are being made to connect the riots with the Provincial Conference held two years back at Manjeri, but these attempts, the paper says, will fail to absolve the officials of their thoughtlessness in their recent doings. The paper expresses concern at the proclamation of martial law in the affected area and points out that though during the discussion on the Punjab martial

law regime in Parliament emphasis was laid on the necessity of carrying out martial law orders with the concurrence of the civil authorities, in the present case the military authorities have been authorised to brush aside civil opinion at their discretion. It also regrets that the offers for pacification made by Messrs. Yakub Hassan and Rajagopalachariar were haughtily rejected by Government. It fails to understand why the bureaucracy should insist upon bloody measures being taken when it is possible to bring the riots to an end by peaceful means. Is it absolutely necessary, it asks, to kill hundreds of Moplahs to maintain the prestige of the bureaucracy?

Lokasangraha (116), 28th and 29th Aug.

31. Commenting upon the Moplah rising the *Lokasangraha* says that no sensible man believes that Indians can get their wrongs redressed by resorting to violence, and that the only remedy open to them is non-violent non-co-operation. In its opinion Mr. Gandhi's efforts to keep the people quiet may succeed in postponing a tragedy for a time but they will not suffice to avert it. It asks Government to remove the causes that have disturbed the minds of the people. [In a subsequent issue the paper regrets that the Moplahs do not realise that the course they have adopted will harm the cause of their country and community. Elsewhere it writes:—It is unfortunate if Lord Willingdon really believes that Mr. Yakub Hassan's presence in Malabár would have further irritated the Moplahs. In England Mr. Lloyd George welcomes men who murder Englishmen indiscriminately, whereas a Provincial Governor here rejects the offer of a loyal Indian to assist in the restoration of peace! What is the significance of this? We almost wish Mr. Yakub Hassan had not offered to co-operate with the Government.]

Lokamánya (115), 31st Aug. and 3rd Sept.

32. The *Lokamánya* regards it as an evil omen that Moplahs among whom there are many who have served in the army in the great war should have been resorting to tactics followed by the Sinn Feiners in Ireland. At the same time it points out that the Moplahs having no outside sources of assistance these tactics cannot last for a long time and the disturbances must thus soon come to an end. It also refers to the reported declaration of *jehad* by the Moplahs and says that if Khilafat leaders of the Gandhi school had been allowed to visit the people the step would possibly have had a beneficial effect, but unfortunately statesmanship was not shown by the Madras Government, and trench warfare having now been undertaken by the rioters it appears as if the British troops will be compelled to devastate the country to suppress the rising. [In a subsequent issue the paper endorses the reasons given by Mr. Yakub Hassan at the Madras Provincial Conference for the Moplah outbreak. In its opinion the action of the Madras Government in turning its own Muhammadan henchmen into Mullas and Maulavis and in asking the Moplahs to listen to and obey them in preference to their own religious teachers who were carrying on the Khilafat movement among them in a peaceful manner for the last twelve months, was most culpable inasmuch as it hurt the religious feelings of the fanatical Moplahs and exasperated them and there followed a violent explosion when an attempt was made with the aid of the military to arrest the natural leaders of the people. It declares that the killing of hundreds of Moplahs in the attempt to arrest their leaders, has as a matter of course led to the blazing up of the whole of the Moplah country.]

Gujaráti (15), 28th Aug.; *Sánj Vartamán* (31), 27th Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 27th and 30th Aug.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 29th Aug.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 30th Aug. and 1st Sept.; *Gujarát Vartamán* (64), 31st Aug.; *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* (81), 2nd Sept.

33. The *Gujaráti* thinks it natural that Indian Moslems should sympathise with their co-religionists in other lands in connection with the Khilafat question and should make certain demands on their behalf. It also sees no harm in the Hindus sympathising with Moslems in this matter. But it declares that no one will think it right that for an entanglement, which has been brought about in a foreign land there should be a conflagration in one's

own country, and that, therefore, the state of things which has arisen in Malabár is one that will cause sorrow to every one. In the opinion of the paper, this Moplah rising is a good example of what one should expect when non-violent non-co-operation is preached to the ignorant and the unreasoning and when such people are called upon to make sacrifices in the cause of religion. As Martial Law has been declared in the area affected by the rising, the paper hopes that Lord Willingdon's Government will see to it that it is not unduly prolonged and that its administration is not run on the same lines as that in the Punjáb. The paper concludes with the remark that the reports about the destruction of Hindu temples and the forcible conversion of Hindus are calculated to cause anxiety. [The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses disapproval of Lord Willingdon's refusal to accept Mr. Yakub Hassan's offer to go on a mission to pacify the Moplahs. The paper is of the opinion that Lord Willingdon has done great injustice to Mr. Yakub Hassan by accusing him of being a member of an organisation which is responsible for the Moplah riots. It appeals to Lord Reading to appoint a commission with a non-official majority to inquire into the riots and to proceed immediately to the scene of the riots to see things for himself. The paper concludes by expressing its condemnation of the riots as in its opinion such acts of violence would retard the progress of the movement for *swaráj*. The *Hindusthán* expresses disapproval of the outrages committed by the Moplahs in the Madras Presidency. While admitting that the Moplahs are a very excitable and fanatical race, the paper does not think that they alone are to be blamed for the excesses committed by them and holds the local authorities responsible for driving them to excesses by their short-sighted orders and their general behaviour. In a subsequent issue the paper expresses hope that the Moplah riots would soon be quelled by the declaration of Martial Law and such other steps that are being taken by the Madras Government to restore order. It is, however, of the opinion that the blame laid by the Government of Madras at the door of the Khilafat agitators is not quite justifiable and considers it advisable to wait for the disclosure of the real causes of the outbreak till a impartial enquiry is made in the matter. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, while commenting upon the Moplah riots, expresses its belief that all classes of people will ponder over the dangerous condition created by these riots and will consider it their duty to express their strong opinion regarding the risk underlying the present movement started to obtain immediate *swarájya*. The paper hopes that now that he has witnessed the excesses of the Moplahs, Mr. Gandhi will not hesitate to change his present methods, just as he courageously abandoned the Satyagraha movement in 1919 for similar reasons. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* refers to the Moplah riots in Malabár and declares that the belief of the authorities that they are due to the Khilafat agitation is without foundation; for had that been the case, the Moplahs would not have attacked the Hindus who have participated in the Khilafat movement. The paper thinks that the Madras Government have committed a grave mistake in rejecting Mr. Yakub Hassan's offer to go and pacify the rioters and to quell the rising. If, as believed by Government, the riots owe their origin to the Khilafat agitation, then, says the paper, Mr. Yakub Hassan is just the person to restore peace, and the only safe course for the Madras Government to adopt is to place full confidence in him and accept his offer. In a subsequent issue the paper praises the Military authorities for the care taken by them not to let any harm come to the *masjids* in which the rioters take refuge. The paper further remarks that the Moplahs seem to have become very desperate and that, therefore, there is fear that the riots will be considerably prolonged. It expresses approval of the action taken by the Madras Provincial Conference to express regret at the riots and of their intention to send a deputation to the scene of the riots to help in allaying them. The paper further remarks that as the Moplahs are attacking the Hindus, this rising will deal a severe blow to the Hindu-Moslem *entente*, which was getting daily more and more strengthened. The *Gujarát Vartamán* writes :—The non-co-operationist organs have begun to declare at the top of their voice that the Moplah riots have nothing to do either with non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement. But we feel convinced that the non-co-operation movement is solely responsible for these riots. Now the real well-wishers of India should come forward to co-operate with Government to prevent the recurrence of such riots and the loss of life consequent thereupon. The fact that Mr. Gandhi does not retire to the Himalayas inspite of so much bloodshed caused by his non-violent non-co-operation goes to show that he has been practising a double dealing policy while claiming to be a lover of truth. The *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* writes :—The step taken by the District Magistrate of Malabár to arrest some of the Moplahs may have had the effect of dropping a burning match into a powder magazine. But how were the Moplahs rendered as ignitable as a powder magazine? The Anglo-Indian Press holds the non-co-operation movement and the Khilafat agitation jointly responsible. We do not think that the non-co-operation movement has anything to do with it. But the religious aspect given to the Khilafat movement in certain quarters must have turned the heads of the Moplahs. The leaders of the Khilafat movement should take a warning from the Moplah riots and should not agitate the question in the midst of tribes that cannot be expected to keep their heads cool.]

Lord Reading's regime not likely to prove a success.

Sandesh (135), 1st Sept.

34. The *Sandesh* says that Lord Reading's career has begun with several ill-omens and is not likely, therefore, to prove a success. The first ill-omen, according to it, is his meeting with Mr. Gandhi which it calls an encounter, and in which, according to it, the Viceroy came off second best. The next is the withdrawal of the Munitions Board Case which, it declares, will not fail to have a deleterious effect on the career of Lord Reading. The paper considers the Moplah rising to be the latest and the worst of all the ill-omens. It then writes :—In these riots everything that blackened Lord Chelmsford's administration has already taken place. When a whole district continues to be in a disturbed condition for several days necessitating the declaration of Martial Law, and when free fights ensue between the rayats and the forces of Government, no one can say that all this is a sign of ordered government. It is impossible that the Moplahs alone are to blame in this affair. Lord Chelmsford's Viceroyalty proved to be a failure and, therefore, Lord Reading, who was supposed to be an experienced statesman, was appointed to succeed him. But he too has not done anything upto this time which can establish his claim to statesmanship. It is difficult to tell whether the career which began with so many ill-omens will run its appointed course or will abruptly come to an end. Lord Reading will yet succeed if he takes only justice for his guide while overcoming his difficulties. But it is not an easy thing to be just. It requires uncommon courage. Will Lord Reading rise to the occasion at this critical time?

Comments on the Reforms Conference held at Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Sept.

35. "Both Mrs. Besant and Mr. Jamnadas in their speeches have told us what the co-operators have achieved within the Councils. But if they had also told us what they had not done and what they had failed to achieve in spite of their attempts, the public would have been in a better position to judge of the value of their efforts than they are with the 'credit' side of the account only which has been presented to them. Have they succeeded in redressing either the Punjab or the Khilafat wrongs? Have they succeeded in securing the punishment of those who abused their powers in those days of terror? On the other hand, did not the co-operators try to gloss over the wrong by voluntarily co-operating to enact in the Assembly the cruel farce of shedding crocodile tears for the victims of Martial Law? Have they succeeded in getting a modification of the rules governing the declaration of Martial Law so that a repetition of a tragedy like that of the Punjab might become an impossibility? Did they prevail on their friends among the bureaucracy to agree to the recasting of the rules regarding firing on mobs so as to make these rules conform to the English practice? The co-operators cannot pick and choose 'credit' as they like for things done. They must shoulder the blame as well for things left undone or badly done. Similarly, have the efforts of the co-operators been successful in arresting the enormous growth of the military expenditure? Have they been able to check the open loot of India's finances indulged in by the superior grades of the services, while the wretched subordinate ranks have been left to 'thrive' on the crumbs or starve themselves? What is the 'progress' they have made in educational, sanitary or industrial matters? After letting the treasury be looted in the interest of services which are not of primary concern to the country, the co-operators are asking the people to find out new sources of revenue, which means new ways of taxing themselves! They talk of the foreshadowed abolition of the Press Act, the Rowlatt Act and other repressive measures as their 'achievements'. Not a word is said of the movement initiated by Mr. Gandhi over three years ago and still led by him to resist the operation of these obnoxious laws. The bureaucracy has yielded, not because it is afraid of the mass of opinion behind Mr. Gandhi but because it is desirous of conciliating our co-operating friends! The faith of the co-operators in their own capacity is touching in the extreme. We refrain here from dwelling on the 'achievement' of the co-operators in the sphere of repression which is in full swing at present nor shall we pause to refer to their failure to make the Government of Lord Reading act as the Government of *India* in reference to the Turkish question."

Mahrátta (7), 4th Sept.

*36. "The long-talked of and much advertised Reform Conference held in Bombay in the last week under the presidentship of Mrs. Annie Besant was after all an ignoble failure. In spite of private pressure and earnest pleadings by those interested in the success of it, there were not even a hundred and fifty delegates and distinguished guests and not more than one hundred and fifty visitors. The first question that naturally rises to our mind is, what purpose did these people intend to achieve?......... They were preaching to convert the handful that were already converted. The poisonous shafts which these people indulged in against the non-co-operation movement have already lost all their driving power and they could not, as they did not, even reach their target. The whole affair reduced itself to a mutual admiration society.......... The Conference was attended by a few—not more than half-a-dozen of the Moderate leaders—and it reflected nothing but the colossal weakness of their cause when they had to rely upon the lead of Mrs. Annie Besant which they followed sheep-wise.......... Mrs. Besant proclaims from the house-tops the success of the reforms, while those who are working them are expressing deep disappointment.......... The fact is that the reforms are found, as they were expected to be, inadequate and disappointing and no amount of varnish on the part of Mrs. Besant or their sponsors can hide the truth. Nothing can satisfy Indian aspirations than the full and immediate grant of self-government.......... She relies upon the good-will of the bureaucracy, but we do not know since when and by what miracle she had developed this optimism in them. The bureaucracy in India has given nothing till this day unless compelled. The reforms had to be forced from them and they had to be bought also at an exorbitant price. The bureaucracy gave a stubborn fight before it yielded to the pressure. The only argument that tells with them is the argument of force and all talk of their realising their responsibility in the new age is mere moonshine."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 4th Sep.

*37. "The Chairman of the Reception Committee was that 'young man in a hurry', Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, once the hero, now the *bete noir*, of Bombay hustings, and the audience consisted of a miscellaneous assortment mostly from the Bombay Legislative Council with the Development Member of Government and the Minister of Education to give it distinction. A comparison of the presidential address with that delivered at the 1917 Congress at Calcutta is an instructive study in Besantine psychology. It has been our misfortune ever since Mrs. Besant's first advent in the country not to be able to take her seriously as a religious teacher, social reformer or politician and her pronouncement at the Reforms Conference left one rather bored. The resolutions passed at the Conference were of the usual official 'Liberal' type—longing still to pluck the flower, refuse to sow the seed. Almost every resolution consisted of two parts: the first expressed strong sympathy with the highest aim ever placed before the people on the topic concerned, while the second emphatically condemned the only effort, or the only serious effort yet made towards bringing it within practical politics. As for the Reforms from which the Conference derived its name, the Minister of Education who honoured the occasion by his presence, was a living commentary on its success or failure so far. The sinister obverse of the Reforms, illustrated by increased salaries, more appointments, exchange manipulations and stores purchase, were kept out of the picture, with only a mild resolution deprecating the 7 per cent loan. The country has no reason to be jubilant over the net results of the Reforms and, while the promoters of the Conference had every right to express their sentiments, few in India are likely to regard them as an effective contribution to present-day politics."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 30th Aug; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 3rd Sept.; *Akhbar-e-Islám* (54), 2nd Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 31st Aug.; *Hindusthán* (20), 31st Aug.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 1st and 2nd Sept.

38. The *Sánj Vartamán* considers it sheer folly on the part of the Moderates to have met in the Bombay Provincial Reforms Conference at Bombay to bolster up the reforms which have failed to satisfy the general public. It pays a high tribute to the services rendered by Mrs. Besant to India in the past, but declares that the poor attendance at the Conference testifies to her waning influence and her inability to give a lead to public opinion and to voice it. It expresses confidence that the Conference would not be able to create any impression upon the public or to shake their dissatisfaction at the reforms. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that in spite of the attempts made by the non-co-operators and their organs to run down the Bombay Provincial Reforms Conference, the resolutions passed at its sessions cannot but meet with the approval of all right-thinking people. The paper then dwells at length on the failure of the non-co-operation movement and thinks that if Lord Reading's Government continue their present tolerant policy and deal with the present difficult situation with greater foresight, the non-co-operation movement will die out in a short time. The *Akhbar-e-Islám* remarks that the resolutions passed at the Conference were undoubtedly far-sighted. It opines that *swaráj* cannot be attained by abusing the British Government and calling it satanic. It wants to know if anyone will say that the Moplah riots were not the unfortunate result of violent speeches. The *Prája Mitra and Pársi* considers the presence of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye and the Honourable Sir C. H. Setalvad at the Reforms Conference as important. The paper regrets that the Ministers have not properly discharged their duties regarding the propaganda work outside the Councils. It exhorts them to visit different places throughout the Presidency and try to educate public opinion. The *Hindusthán* tries to run down the speeches made by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the President of the Bombay Provincial Reforms Conference and to show that the resolutions passed at the Conference are of no importance whatever and that they follow the usual policy of mendicancy pursued by the Moderates. The paper expresses confidence that the Conference would not create the least impression on the public mind. The *Bombay Samáchár* takes an appreciative note of the address delivered by Mrs. Besant as President of the Bombay Provincial Reforms Conference and commends her views about co-operation with Government for working the new reforms. The paper is of opinion that Mrs. Besant has rendered valuable service to India by showing it how it can attain *swaráj* and overcome the difficulties that lie in its path. In its next issue the paper congratulates the Conference on the courage it has shown in passing a resolution welcoming the Prince of Wales and endorses the appeal made by Mrs. Besant to refrain from joining the movement for boycotting His Royal Highness.]

***Indu Prakásh* (44), 1st Sept.**

39. The *Indu Prakásh* makes adverse comments on the Reforms Conference recently held at Bombay under the presidency of Mrs. Besant and says :—The conference was very meagrely attended; the theatre where it was held and which has witnessed crowded audiences at Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's and Mr. Gandhi's lectures was almost empty on both the days of the conference. But the most surprising fact with regard to the conference was the joining of hands of the Besant party and the Moderate party of Bombay and Poona. No body would have thought two years back that Messrs. Kamat and Paranjpye would join Mrs. Besant, but the agitation of Mr. Gandhi has brought that about, and all are flocking together under Mrs. Besant's flag to put down the non-co-operation movement. It appeared from the Conference as if the lambs of the moderate party deprived of their old leaders were going to place themselves at the mercy of Mrs. Besant. It seems as if a crusade is to be begun against Mr. Gandhi. We do not approve of his opinions and would not hesitate to work against non-co-operation. But we do not like the idea of the Moderate party making a laughing stock of itself by following the lead of a foreign woman holding ever changing views. Mrs. Besant in the course of her speech condemned Mr. Gandhi for his autocratic ways but people know how autocratic she herself is with her own followers. The resolutions passed at the Conference were more or less unobjectionable but we object to members of Parliament being invited to visit India as the expense on account of such a visit will make a big hole in the Indian Treasury. The resolution about the responsibility of the Legislative Councils should be strongly protested against by the Liberals as Mrs. Besant evidently does not wish Parliament to be troubled again for amending the Reform Act and wants the people to implicitly trust the bureaucracy for the working of the reforms. This is perhaps the message the lady has brought out from Mr. Montagu. But nobody would agree to the position she has taken up. She has evidently bamboozled the Moderates of Bombay and Poona into agreeing to the resolution.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 2nd Sept.

40. The *Dnyán Prakásh* considers the Provincial Reforms Conference held under the presidency of Mrs. Besant to be a success. It remarks that the speeches made at the conference by the different speakers clearly show that educated opinion in India is convinced that *swarájya* within the Empire can be attained within the shortest possible time by adhering to the old Congress creed. It declares that the first year's experience of the different legislative bodies is very encouraging and, in support of its contention, points to the recommendations of the Press Act Committee, the attempts made to repeal or to modify the repressive laws and the increased duty on imported goods denoting a step forward in the fiscal independence of the country.

Government should not allow the export of food-stuffs from India.

Hindu (158), 18th Aug.; *Musafir* (162), 20th Aug.

41. The *Daily Byopar* paper of Karáchi writes that very large quantities of wheat flour are being exported by sea from Karáchi Port at a time when wheat is selling at Rs. 76 per khandi. The paper advises an immediate protest to be made against such export at this time of famine. Last year also a very large quantity of wheat was exported by Government at a time of famine and India suffered very severely on that account. Now also when famine is raging all round the country, Government will be committing a very great wrong if it snatches food from the mouths of Indians to fill the bellies of others. Export of food at this time when the prices are already very high will simply break the backs of the people. Could India starve herself and fill the bellies of others if she had Home Rule? [The *Musafir* writes :—It is a great pity that in spite of good rains, an abundant supply of water in the Indus and the consequent hopeful prospect of a satisfactory kharif crop, wheat and bájri should be selling at this time at the unprecedented rate of Rs. 9-8-0 per maund. Where is that surplus stock of wheat gone which was said to be available when Government permitted a fixed quantity of it to be exported? Or is it that the figures then supplied to Government were wrong and there was actually no surplus in the country? But whatever it be, let the Government and the merchants meet together and concert measures for the relief of the poor. We suggest that Government should stop the export of food-stuffs at once, and that merchants should give up profiteering and charge reasonable rates. Thus will the former establish its claim to be the protector of its people and the latter be justified in calling themselves patriots.

Rozana Byopar ( ), 23rd Aug.

42. At a time when the Indians are famine-stricken no wheat or flour should be exported, but the Government has thought it advisable to say that most probably the policy pursued now will be continued in future. The question is why this export is not stopped, and, when flour and wheat can easily be brought to Colombo from Australia, why this is not done. Some persons will say that the demand is not greater nowadays than it was in the past. They should know that, for some time past, there has been a great demand for the military whereas the quantity produced is insufficient, and now though the demand for the military is decreasing yet it is capable of further diminution. So it rests with Government to lower the prices by decreasing their demand, and Government must do so.

How India is plundered in the matter of purchase of stores.

Hindu (158), 21st Aug.

43. Materials for Indian Railways are always purchased in England and the work of purchases has now been entrusted to the High Commissioner, Sir William Meyer. Recently some papers reported that India was being openly cheated in the matter of such purchases, as, in spite of lower foreign quotations, the High Commissioner was patronizing English firms. The special correspondent of the *Hindu* of Madras has now sent an account of two cases in which orders for railway materials were placed with English firms, although foreign firms quoted lower rates. This is how India is being plundered. And yet there are persons who deliberately shut their eyes and refuse to believe that it is so.

Irishmen have rejected Mr. Lloyd George's offer as it does not give them real Dominion rule.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Aug.

44. "It is impossible not to admire the merciless logic of the Dail Eireann's communication to the British Premier. The latter's reply, in spite of all its adroitness, fails to take up the moral challenge thrown by Sinn Fein...... ... Mr. Lloyd George seeks to confuse the issues by dwelling on the 'strategic' interests involved and on the more modest demands of Ireland's past leaders from Grattan and Parnell and Redmond. The appeal to past leaders cannot be seriously entertained, for Mr. Lloyd George must admit that the Irish people have progressed and gained in experience since the days of Grattan and Parnell.......... It is misleading to describe the proposed concessions to Ireland as Dominion Home Rule, since the control of her army, navy and customs, to mention only the three most important functions of any sovereign State, are denied to her. Let real Dominion status equal to that conceded to Canada and Australia be offered to Ireland and then let Great Britain see if Ireland is still desirous of cutting herself adrift from the Empire. We have every confidence that the Irish leaders will not reject real Dominion Home Rule, if it is offered to their country."

Kesari (111), 30th Aug.

45. The *Kesari* refers to the rejection by the Sinn Fein Parliament of the offer of Dominion rule made by England and Mr. Lloyd George's reply to the refusal and remarks that attempts are now being made to rob the Sinn Feiners of American sympathy by representing that they have made a great mistake in rejecting the offer. The paper, however, feels confident that as the Irishmen have rejected the terms in full consciousness of their worthless character, and as they are fully inspired by the spirit of self-sacrifice, the terrors of a renewed bloody conflict will fail to daunt them. It warns the British Government that as the Sinn Feiners are not going to rest till they achieve *swardjya* according to their own idea undaunted by threats of a bloody warfare, the wisest course for Government would be to grant them *swardjya* to-day instead of committing the heinous sin of renewing bloodshed.

Hind Mitra (18), 21st Aug.

46. It is certain that the British Government will have to yield a little more on account of the firmness of the Irish people. The messages which passed between the British Government and the Sinn Feinners have made the question of complete *swarâj* for India as important as that of Irish self-government. They have also very strongly supported the national struggle of the Indian nation for complete *swarâj*. Really speaking, it is the special right of India to get complete *swarâj* on the lines of the Dominions. The nominal *swarâj* which is granted to India at present has, instead of satisfying the people in any way, enhanced discontent among them. But if the rights of India are recognised, she will become a great partner of the Empire. India also has the same right of self-determination that other nations have. Mr. De Valera's reply and the messages which have been and which will be interchanged between the Sinn Feinners and the Prime Minister will prove to be of very great help to the proceedings of the Indian National Congress which will meet in Ahmedabad.

Ireland and India.

Hindusthán (21), 29th Aug.

47. The *Hindusthán* expresses gratification at the bold stand taken by Mr. De Valera in his negotiations with Mr. Lloyd George and his determination to secure complete independence for Ireland and declares that India also wants complete independence under the nomenclature of *swarâj*, with this difference, that she wants to secure her goal by non-violent means and, if need be, by civil disobedience which might result in blood-shed. The paper then refers to the pronouncements made by His Excellency the Governor of Bombay in his replies to addresses at Sátára and Belgaum and declares that these speeches give a clear indication of a change of policy on the part of His Excellency. The paper expresses fear that the people of this Presidency would be forced into civil disobedience by the repressive policy His Excellency means to adopt.

Comments on Mr. Montagu's reply to the Lancashire deputation.

Gujaráti Punch (17), 28th Aug., Eng. cols.

48. "We wish the snub administered by Mr. Montagu to the deputation 'representing the different sections of the Lancashire cotton trade' that waited on the Lancashire members of the House of Commons will have a more permanent effect on them. As we have said more than once, there is not the shadow of a reason why India should so arrange her tariffs—whether for revenue or protective purposes—as to suit Lancashire, and her claim to insist upon it does her more harm than good.......... However, we fear we must take Mr. Montagu's statement guardedly and examine it closely. Frank and outspoken as it is, we do not quite like its general tenor; for a careful perusal of it will at once show that it is a mere denial to interfere directly and nothing more. As a matter of fact Mr. Montagu broadly hints that while nothing can be done in a direct way, much can be expected by approaching the Government of India and the Indian Legislature and a clear statement of the Lancashire point of view before the Fiscal Commission that will shortly be sitting in this country. It may be that Mr. Montagu talks of approaching India on the question 'like Australia and Canada', but in view of the fact that the Government of India and even the Indian Legislature are yet so susceptible to wire-pulling from behind, approaching India on the question 'like Australia and Canada' may only be a pious wish in practice. And our fears in this connection are much strengthened by the following remark of Mr. Montagu. After stating that 'there was a prospect of a settlement if he could only persuade Lancashire that India must be approached on the question like Australia and Canada', Mr. Montagu says in the very next breath that 'he could conceive of nothing better calculated to ensure for India a full and free welcome into the partnership of the British Dominions than if she were to take her place with the rest of the Empire as willing givers of Imperial Preference'. Now what does Mr. Montagu mean by it? Is Imperial Preference the price of India's partnership in the Empire? If it is, it will, to put it most mildly,

be a bargain for which many Indians would not care a brass farthing. India's partnership in the Empire, if it is to be a 'full and free partnership' must be quite unconditional. But if India is to be 'welcome' into the partnership of the British Empire only if she is to be a 'willing giver' of Imperial Preference, she would rather prefer not to be welcome at all. The Empire does not oblige India by taking her into the Imperial partnership.......... A patronising or obliging attitude is strictly inconsistent with the Dominion status which India is said to be enjoying and any show at it will be and is strongly resented by India.......... We very much wish Mr. Montagu would be more careful in utterances of such a nature. In the present temper of the Indian public, their attention is more likely to be drawn to the weak points rather than the strong ones of an official utterance and they may, perhaps rightly, set it down as one more example of how an Imperial outlook is found lurking beneath the most sympathetic of our foreign rulers."

Comments on the Satyagraha movement at Mulshi.

Din Mitra (104), 31st Aug.

49. Referring to the Satyagraha movement at Mulshi Peta in connection with the Tata Hydro-Electric Works, the *Din Mitra* remarks that as it is exasperating that so many hereditarily enjoyed lands of the poor agriculrist should become submerged, the measures taken by the Satyagraha Sahayak Mandal for saving them appear to be proper. At the same time it says that if the members of the *mandal* be really inspired by patriotic feelings, they should induce the *sawkars* with whom most of the lands are mortgaged to give up the mortgage debt and restore the lands to the mavlas. Otherwise, it remarks, there will remain a strong suspicion that selfish ends lie at the bottom of the Satyagraha movement.

The tactics of the bureaucracy.

Karma Veer (82), 2nd Sept.

50. There were no parties in India during the early days of political agitation in this country. The bureaucracy in those days tried to create differences and foster dissensions in the Congress but without any success. Because at that time our people had no faith in a mendicant policy. For a time, they succeeded in persuading the Muhammadans to stand aloof and preventing them from taking part in the political agitation going on in the country. But the partition of Bengal served as an eye-opener to our people who completely lost faith in the bureaucracy. A feeling of Nationality began to inspire their minds and the mendicant policy which they had so far adopted was at once abandoned. But the bureaucracy very soon found an opportunity of creating a split amongst us, with the result that there came into existence two parties, the Moderates and the Extremists. Lord Morley said that the Moderates were his darling children and that with their help he would break the Extremists. For a long time the Moderates did not realize what it all meant. But how long can the bureaucrats expect to rule by dividing and deceiving the people in this way? Is it not natural that the people should come to know sooner or later that what the bureaucracy is giving them is not sugar but ashes? The Muhammadans know this very well and it makes little difference whether the Moderates know it or not because that party has dwindled and is now almost dead. But just when these differences amongst us were disappearing the bureaucracy have set up a quarrel between the Brahmins and non-Brahmins.

Non-Brahmins should not fawn upon the bureaucracy.

Jdgaruk (45), 24th Aug.

51. The new Reforms have made the bureaucracy the people's servant, and yet, unconscious of the change, the people go on making petitions for redress of grievances to the Collectors, the Commissioners and the Governor. Our non-Brahmins cannot achieve their own political advance by depending upon the bureaucracy. They should rather follow the self-reliant policy of the Madras non-Brahmins and make their pressure felt by the members of the Legislative Council by their votes. Opposing the policy of the non-co-operators does not mean surrendering oneself to the bureaucracy. Real co-operation consists in subduing defiant bureaucrats and Brahmins by constitutional means. Our leaders must take steps to bring to book those non-Brahmins who may be found to be fawning upon the bureaucrats.

Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Aug.

52. "The fears of the Indian community in Aden that the transfer of the administration of that settlement from the Government of India to the Colonial Office will prove more a curse than a blessing seem to be fully justified. We had expressed the hope that if the Indian settlers in Aden were assured perfect equality of status and treatment with the other races inhabiting the settlement and if, by the transfer, the administrative and financial burdens resting on India's shoulders were lightened, the Indian community might be persuaded to view the contemplated change of administration with equanimity. Official assurances regarding both these conditions have not been as emphatic as one would have expected. On the other hand, there is every reason to fear that the change of control is being made for the convenience of and in the sole interest of Great Britain.......... It is clear that not only will the Indian tax-payer continue as heretofore to bear the major portion of the cost of maintaining the naval and military garrisons of Aden, but the saving of £200,000 to £300,000 which, according to Mr. Churchill, is to be made on the British side of the account may turn out to be at the additional expense of India !......... India would prefer that the present arrangement should continue rather than that her sons who have built up the prosperity of the settlement should be deprived of the fruits of their labours and handed over to the tender mercies of a Colonial administration. If really Aden is a fortress of 'first-class conseqnence to India' and if India is to shoulder the burden of maintaining this fortress, to India must be entrusted the task of administering the territory in which the fortress is situated. Under what canon of political ethics does the Imperial Government allocate the military burdens of Aden to India, while appropriating to itself the privileges of civil administration? The arrangement is monstrously unjust on the face of it. Let one or other of the Indian or Colonial Governments take over the entire control of the settlement, but divided responsibility is fundamentally wrong and objectionable. The Government of India owe it to the tax-payers of this country to ascertain and make public with the least delay the exact extent of the burdens which India will be obliged to shoulder under any future arrangement that may be made for the control of Aden."

Alleged opposition of Government to the eradication of the drink evil.

Karnátak Vritta and Dhananjaya (84), 30th Aug.

53. America has derived incalculable benefits from the total prohibition of drink. The Americans who had been enslaved by this habit for hundreds of years are now free and they are enjoying the benefits of abstinence. But notwithstanding the fact that drinking is considered as a heinous sin and even though this evil did not exist in India before the advent of the British rule, India is now in the firm grip of this evil habit by the grace of the British. Although Indians have girded up their loins for exorcising this evil spirit, the Government are putting obstacles in their way. This is the difference between the American Government and the bureaucracy in this country. The American Government looks to the interests of its people, while the bureaucracy here is concerned with its own interests. So it is natural that the Americans should pray for long life to their Government, while Indians should pray that it might be given to them to throw some handfuls of dust on their Government.

Welcome to Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson.

Kesari (111), 30th Aug.

54. The *Kesari* refers to the arrival of Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson in Bombay and while mentioning the incident in which he lost one of his eyes owing to a stone thrown at him by one of the audience while lecturing on prohibition in England, remarks that as Englishmen capable of such rowdyism against one who came merely to speak to them against drink have come

to occupy high places like Collectors in India, the people can well imagine to what extremes they will go to put down picketing. The paper also refers with satisfaction to the replies Mr. Johnson gave to Anglo-Indian interviewers who, the paper says, tried to mislead him in connection with the picketing movement and expresses the hope that Indians would take full advantage of the benevolent American's visit to India.

Sandesh (134), 2nd Sept.

55. The *Sandesh* welcomes Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson's visit to India in connection with the temperance movement and writes :—Although Indians are traditionally a nation of abstainers the greed of the bureaucracy has destroyed their domestic happiness, as millions of gallons of liquor are being consumed in this holy land where formerly not a drop of it was imbibed. The appointment of an Indian Minister, under the reforms, to control the excise policy of Government has effected no improvement whatsoever. Indeed, the bureaucracy have established such a close connection between expenditure on education and excise revenue that people will have no alternative but to agree to an increased sale of liquor if they want more money to be spent on education. If the policy of the bureaucracy is contemptible in any one respect it is in regard to their excise policy.

Swarájya (154), 1st Sept ; *Lokasangraha* (116), 31st Aug.

56. The Anglo-Indian journals express surprise that not a single Indian was present to welcome Mr. 'Pussyfoot' Johnson when he landed in Bombay. But what is there to be wondered at in this? Indians are quite tired of needlessly welcoming any Englishmen now! They have given up their old bad habit of squandering their money and welcoming each and every *saheb* that happens to come here. Besides, it does not appear likely, from the accounts that have recently been published of the two or three interviews with Mr. Johnson, that his visit will produce any tangible results. If we want to get rid of the drink evil, we must work ourselves. The *sahebs* made drunkards of us and now one of them is coming forward, posing as a benefactor, to free us from the evil. These English tricks have become stale and insipid and we have no longer any faith in them. [The *Lokasangraha* writes :—Mr. Johnson has already announced that he would not in any way interfere in the politics of India. Such a man cannot, therefore, be of any use to us. Besides we are now tired of listening to the speeches of the Westerners.]

Status of Indians in South Africa and East Africa.

Bombay Samáchár (57) 31st Aug. ; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 29th Aug.

57. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the efforts made by the Government of India to safeguard the rights of Indians in Natal and which have resulted in the withholding by the Governor-General of South Africa of his assent to the Bill to amend the Natal Municipal Act which would have deprived the Indians of their Municipal rights and expresses hope that the Government of India will also proceed to use their influence to safeguard the rights of citizenship to Indians in South Africa. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* comments upon the resolution passed recently at the Imperial Conference on the question of status of Indians in the colonies and remarks that the resolution is a great victory for India as it gives the Indians the same rights of British citizenship as the Europeans. The paper adds that the decision of the Conference has already borne important fruit in in such a short time, inasmuch as owing to the strong objection raised by the Government of India the Governor-General of South Africa has refrained from giving his assent to the law enacted by the Parliament of Natal restricting Indians from purchasing lands there.]

Indu Prakásh (44), 3rd Supt.

58. The *Indu Prakásh* accuses the white settlers in East Africa of hypocrisy in claiming that the ousting of Indians is necessary in the interests of the original inhabitants of the country and mentions, on the authority of a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, that the whites have deprived the natives of their rich lands without paying them any compensation and that they make them work on their estates against their will and on paltry remuneration.

Comments on the Co-operative Conference at Poona.

Kesari (111), 30th Aug.

59. The *Kesari* refers to the proceedings of the Co-operative Conference recently held at Poona and expresses its gratification that they falsified the hopes long entertained by the bureaucracy that political discontent in the country would be made short work of by a patronising treatment of the rural classes. It was found out at the Conference, according to the paper, that while the educated men tried not to offend while speaking, the real rayat speaks out right to the utter confusion of the officials. It declares that the open complaints made against the Irrigation Department in the Conference by agriculturists must have non-plussed the officials concerned. It is glad to see that Mr. Rothfeld was severely taken to task for his anti-Brahmin tendencies by Mr. Kamat thus showing that the ranks of the Moderates are thinning fast. The paper attributes the success of the Conference this year to the fact that it was presided over by an Indian, *viz.*, the Honourable Mr. C. V. Mehta.

Comments on the proscription of a book of *fatwas* published by the Bombay Khilafat Committee.

Insáf (67), 26th Aug.; *Hind Mitra* (18), 28th Aug.

60. Government have begun to violate the pledge of religious neutrality given in the Queen's Proclamation and repealed at the accessions of King Edward VII and King George V. The *fatwas* published by the Bombay Khilafat Committee are of a religious nature. Will the Muhammadans forget their religion by the order recently issued by Government proscribing these sermons, or will they neglect their religion on that account? We would like to point out that Government have made a wrong move in thus spreading discontent among the Moslems. We do not think that the book proscribed by Government was such as would have carried the Moslems astray or caused a commotion amongst them. [The *Hind Mitra* expresses fear that the order proscribing the collection of *fatwas* will grieve the hearts of the Moslems who deserve to be conciliated on the Khilafat question.]

Complaint about dacoities of Berads and Ramoshis in the Satara District.

Kesari (111), 30th Aug.

61. The *Kesari* calls attention to complaints which it says it has received about gangs of Berads and Ramoshis in the Khatáv and Mán Talukas of the Sátára District, levying blackmail from the inhabitants. The matter has been brought to the notice of the authorities, the paper says, but without much avail. It asks that early attention may be paid to the matter as it is not a question between Brahmins and non-Brahmins, but one in which the non-Brahmins are chiefly concerned as they are the main sufferers at the hands of the dacoits.

The office of the Director of Land Records can be safely abolished.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 28th Aug.

62. Of the many reasons which are responsible for the inordinate increase in the expenditure on the administration, two are (1) the fat salaries paid to high officers of Government and (2) the creation by the bureaucracy of several superfluous offices under highly-paid officers. Of the several superfluous offices created by the bureaucracy that of the Director of Land Records can be abolished without appreciably dislocating the administrative machinery. About a score of years ago his functions were performed by the Director of Agriculture and if they are re-transferred to that officer again they will certainly not prove an unbearable strain on his capacity. At present Government are at a loss to know how to balance their receipts and expenditure. We trust, therefore, that they will effect a saving of about half a lakh of rupees by transferring a little more work to the Director of Agriculture.

Comments on the Secretary of State's sanction to the employment of fifteen Indian battalions overseas.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Sept.

63. "According to an Associated Press message the Secretary of State for India is understood to have given his sanction to the employment of fifteen Indian battalions overseas, 'thus admitting of the permanent increase of the Indian Army by that number of units'. It is clear from this that Mr. Montagu has again yielded to the Sydenhamites who have been raising a hue and cry over the disbandment of a few British units from the Indian Army since the close of the war. The reduction of the strength of the British section of the Army has been more than counterbalanced by the reorganisation and better equipment of the troops that have been retained and by the creation of an entirely new Aerial Force in India. But these facts are deliberately ignored by the militarist gang which is working against the reduction of the crushing military burdens of India. ...... What becomes of the promise of the Government of India to scrutinise the military expenditure with a view to possible economies? Their scrutiny seems to have resulted only in showing them fresh room for piling up the burdens of India. Did not the co-operators invite this step on the part of the bureaucracy by readily snapping at the bait thrown at them, during the debate on military expenditure in the Assembly, of giving Indian troops chances to gain 'experience' overseas? Or are we to imagine that the co-operators are disposed to view this addition to the military burdens of India, as a fresh 'achievement' to their credit?"

Comments on a book on England's relations with Turkey.

Young India (12), 1st Sept.

64. Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"Dr. Syed Mahmud of Patna has rendered a service to the Khilafat by bringing out his booklet on the Khilafat and England. It is easy reading, and makes out for the busy man a fairly complete case for the Khilafat. Dr. Mahmud has been careful to support every one of his propositions by copious extracts. He proves the treachery of British ministers from their own writings and speeches. He has had no difficulty in showing that England, even when she was regarded as Turkey's friend, was a friend out of necessity, because she was Russia's foe. The history of England's relationship with Turkey has been one of betrayal, of secret treaties hostile to Turkey's interests, the brave and trusting Turks always believing in England's promises. Here are Lord Palmerston's reasons for the support of Turkey in his days: 'We support Turkey for our own sake and for our own interest.' When these very sound reasons ceased, Turkey was sold. It was at the time of the Berlin Congress of 1877 that the secret leaked out that Britain had exacted the cession of the island of Cyprus from Turkey. Disraeli and Salisbury, the two English plenipotentiaries, kept the secret from the Congress, although they were under an obligation to disclose it. 'They stood convicted of nothing less than a direct and recorded lie!' Did the discovery lead to the return to Turkey of Cyprus? Not at all. England placated outraged France by recognizing the latter's right at the first convenient opportunity to occupy Tunis, by recognizing her special interest in Syria and giving an equal share to her in the financial spoliation of Egypt. No wonder Mr. Blunt has said: 'to the Cyprus intrigue are directly or indirectly referrable half the crimes against Oriental and North African liberty our generation has witnessed.' Dr. Syed Mahmud traces the treacherous dealings of England regarding Egypt, Tripoli and the Balkan war, and shows clearly that Turkey was practically driven out of the alliance with England. Is it any wonder that no Musalman trusts British ministers' friendly professions? They will forefeit all title to be called followers of Islam, if they rest themselves before compelling England to do the right thing by Turkey and India."

The Turko-Greek War.

Hind Mitra (18), 21st Aug.

65. The *Hind Mitra* warmly congratulates the Kemalists on their determination to die for their country and religion and their refusal to give up the fight. The paper cannot understand how the Greek army could obtain

so many aeroplanes and poison-gas bombs. It thinks that some great European power has supplied the Greeks with these in spite of alleged neutrality and has thus openly broken its pledge. The paper is of opinion that the speech delivered by Mr. Lloyd George at the Supreme Council has hurt the feelings of the Muhammadans. It fears that if the Allies do not keep the Greeks in check, and as a result of it if the Kemalists are defeated, the situation will be so bad that a new great war, between Europe and Asia, will break out.

Uselessness of sending Indian volunteers to assist the Turks in Anatolia.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Aug.

66. "Our attention has been called to a resolution passed by the Bengal Khilafat Conference recommending that an army of ten thousand Muslim volunteers should be raised at once in India for service with the Turks in Anatolia. The motive of that resolution has our heartfelt sympathy, but we seriously doubt the feasibility of the project. It would be easy to raise the volunteers, but impossible, as things now are, adequately to equip them. Even if the Government of India allowed them to proceed to Anatolia, their arrival untrained, unarmed and without artillery and commissariat would be an embarrasment rather than a help to the Angora Government. The Turks are not in need of men to beat the Greeks, but of munitions; therefore, it is munitions rather than men that Indian Muslims should resolve to send to them. The British Government having declared that both belligerents are at liberty to buy munitions from private traders in the Allied countries, and it being perfectly well-known in England that British subjects of Greek extraction have been freely giving credit and supplies to Greece, there seems to be no reason why the Muslims of India and their sympathisers should not give credit and supplies to Turkey if they wish to do so; and that they wish to do so there can be no doubt."

EDUCATION.

The Surat Municipality and the Education Department.

Kaira Vartamán (68), 31st Aug.

67. The Government Educational Department has done to the Surat Municipal Primary Schools just what it did to those in Ahmedabad. The Director of Public Instruction has withdrawn the teachers of the Municipal schools thinking that thereby the schools will be closed suddenly. But owing to the public's spirit of self-sacrifice, the Surat Municipality will not find it difficult to conduct its schools. The Educational Department according to its usual practice has tried to show its skill to put the Surat non-co-operating Municipality in difficulty. This will as likely as not lower its own prestige in the eyes of the people.

Education of the backward classes.

Karnátak Times (36), 26th Aug.

68. Seven or eight crores of rupees are now needed for introducing compulsory education amongst the backward classes and for rooting out the evil of the drink habit which prevails amongst them. The question, therefore, naturally arises from what sources this money should come. The advanced classes so far got their education from the money which the ryot paid into the treasury. They derived their comforts and their enjoyments from the same source. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that these people should now loosen their purse strings for the welfare of the backward classes. The educated and the trading classes will perhaps try to evade the payment of their own share of the burden by pretending that the ryot is already heavily taxed and that he cannot bear further burdens. But in order to silence these ardent sympathizers of the ryot, we take this opportunity of retorting emphatically on his behalf that the ryots and the backward classes are willing to bear whatever due share of the burden might be imposed upon them. If the traders have the welfare of the backward classes really at heart, they must be prepared to part with their money liberally and they would be lacking in foresight if they were to oppose on flimsy grounds the introduction of compulsory education and the imposition of any fresh taxation that may be necessary for the purpose. This is also the time for testing those men who have gone to the Council as the representatives of the backward classes and promoters of their welfare. The bureaucracy never cares for the education of the masses or for the prohibition of drinking, because they know that if the people are educated and become strong, their own regime will come to a speedy end. We were not surprised therefore when Mr. Lawrence, as the mouth-piece of the bureaucracy, took up an attitude of opposition, with regard to both these subjects. He based his opposition on the ground that there was no money to spare. But whence do they get the crores on which Mr. Lawrence and his brother officials of the Civil Service feed and grow fat? Can they not spare money for the education of those very people who contribute towards their comforts from the fruits of their labour?

MUNICIPALITIES.

The military should give up the portions of the Esplanade occupied by them.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 30th Aug.

69. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that it cannot understand why Government do not still vacate the portion of the Esplanade Maidan which was occupied by them during the war. The paper fears that the authorities will perhaps be inclined to keep it permanently for themselves if they will be allowed to remain in possession of it for years. It appeals to popular members of the Legislative Council to send a representation to the Government of India asking them to vacate the Maidan now.

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged pollution of a temple in Kolhapur by non-Brahmins.

Vijayi Marátha (149), 27th Aug.; *Ráshtra Veer* (133), 28th Aug.;
Lokasangraha (116), 23rd Aug.

70. Referring to the alleged pollution of the image in a Kolhápur Temple by a party of non-Brahmins by touching it the *Vijayi Marátha* remarks:—A police guard has been stationed round the temple under a special Fouzdar by the Diwan. A wire by the Pujaris to the Bombay Government seems to have non-plussed the Durbar. There was a case in which a Brahmin Magistrate at Sátára had sentenced an untouchable woman for having poured water over and made offerings of flowers to god Mahadev in a temple, but she was subsequently acquitted by the Bombay High Court. We would request the Maharaja, in view of that decision of the High Court, not to harass at the instigation of the *pujaris*, the poor non-Brahmin boys who had out of sheer piety entered the temple to have *darshan* of the goddess. At the same time we would ask the non-Brahmins to take a lesson from the incident and to have nothing to do with the gods that have gone under the charge of Brahmins and *pujaris* and to worship only those gods that are not subject to any restrictions. In connection with the Ambabai temple we would say that its income of about twenty thousand rupees being derived from the sweat of the brow of the agriculturists, those appointed merely to offer *puja* to the goddess cannot claim ownership of the temple. The non-Brahmins should, therefore, hold meetings throughout the State and demand of the Maharaja to accord equal treatment to all the Hindu communities in the temple. [The *Ráshtra Veer* says that Ambabai is the goddess of the Kshatriyas and non-Brahmins like the Marathas have every right to offer worship to her. In the opinion of the *Lokasangraha* not only the Kshatriyas but the untouchables too may touch Ambabai's image as it does not at all harm the Hindu religion. In the present age these things are beneath notice.]

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 8th September 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech before the Madras Legislative Council on the Moplah disturbances . . 49
Comments on the formation of a League of Loyalty in Bijápur . . 37
Comments on the Loyalist Conference held at Bijápur 36
Comments on the Moplah riots . . . . 40—45
Comparison between Lenin and Mr. Gandhi 47
High prices and export of foodstuffs 34
England's offer of dominion status to Ireland 39
Martial law in Malabár 48
Mr. Gandhi and the Malabár disturbances 46
People should not fawn upon the authorities but use their newly given rights under the Reforms 38
The personnel of the Fiscal Commission 35
The Provincial Reforms Conference . . . . 30—33
Excise: What Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson should do in India 63
His Excellency the Governor: Comments on the disallowance of two resolutions by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd 19
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Protest against the forthcoming visit of— . . . . 15—18

Indian Legislature:

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech before the— . . . . 1—10
Comments on the debate on the Moplah riots in the— . . . 11—13
Resolution for welcoming the Prince of Walen before— . . . 14
Indians in the Colonies: Repatriation of Indians in South Africa . . 29
Judicial matters: The Munitions Board Case . . . . . . 27 & 28

Non-co-operation:

"Aman Sabhas" or Leagues of Peace will not command the confidence of the public 59
Burning of foreign cloth 56
Civil disobedience should be started at once 58
Comments on the resolution on— with Government passed by the extraordinary session of the Hindu Sabha 60
Exhortation to the people not to allow the repressive policy of Government to make them relax their efforts for the attainment of *swarájya* 52

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation—*concluded.*

Probable effects of prosecuting the Ali Brothers . . . . . . 50 & 51

Reflections on the birthday of Shri Krishna 62

Reflections on the present disturbed condition of the country . . 61

Sedition is not a crime but a duty 57

The — movement and the bureaucracy . . . . 53—55

Public Service :

An Indian should be appointed Member for Commerce in succession to Sir T. Holland . . . . 25 & 26

Contrast between the Civil Services in England and India . . . 20

Ex-officials and trading 24

Necessity of cutting down the salaries of all highly paid officers . . 21

No new post of Land Improvement Officer need be created . . . 22

The British Medical Council and Indian Medical Graduates . . . 23

War: The Turkish Treaty and Indian Muslims 64

EDUCATION—

Comments on the attitude of Government towards the Schools conducted by non-co-operating Municipalities 66

Criticism of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's educational policy . . . 65

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the Poona City Municipality's resolution to stop payment of pumping expenses in connection with the Poona Drainage . . . 67

NATIVE STATES—

The Press Act and Native States 68

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech before the Indian Legislature.

New Times (8), 5th Sept.

1. Commenting on His Excellency Lord Reading's opening speech before the Indian Legislature, the *New Times* remarks:—" His Excellency 'hoped that the Prince who would come here as son of the King-Emperor and not as representative of any Government or to promote interests of any political party and to become personally acquainted with the Princes and people of this most interesting country would receive a warm welcome.' As we have pointed out, more than once, non-co-operators have no quarrel with the Prince as a person; but can it be denied that His Royal Highness comes here under official auspices? And we have a quarrel with the present official-nominated system. Can it be denied that the Prince comes to bless the 'Reforms'? And we have rejected the 'Reforms'. Can it be denied that the Prince comes at a time when India can ill-afford to spend huge amounts in *tamashas* and receptions? Famine conditions prevail in several areas in the country; and the money set apart for the Prince's visit could be better utilised for the people's good."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 5th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (21), 6th Sept.;
Bombay Samáchár (57), 7th Sept.

2. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the decided views expressed by His Excellency the Viceroy before the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State in the matter of the Munitions Board Case, the Press Act, the repressive laws, the position of Indians in the colonies and the difference in the treatment of Europeans and Indians. It however regrets the absence in the speech of any promise about the appointment of an independent Commission to inquire into the Munitions Board muddle and expresses the hope that His Excellency will soon recognise the necessity of appointing such a commission in response to public opinion in the matter. It wishes that Lord Reading had not taken the grave step of declaring martial law in the Malabár from the heights of Simla and had personally gone to the scene of the riots. It is of the opinion that His Excellency is wrong in thinking that the non-co-operation and the Khilafat movements are responsible for the Moplah riots. [The *Hindusthán* expresses disappointment with the Viceroy's speech delivered before the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly as in its opinion it was lacking in clearness and breadth of vision. The paper declares that the Viceroy was wrong in thinking that the non-co-operation and Khilafat movements were responsible for the Moplah riots and opines that the riots were the result of the high-handed policy followed by Mr. Thomas who did not allow a single non-co-operator or Khilafat worker to enter Malabár in the last six months. The paper reminds the Viceroy of the wrongs done to Indians in the matter of the Punjáb and the Khilafat. Elsewhere the paper further comments upon the Viceroy's speech and regrets the absence therein of any strong strictures upon Sir Thomas Holland's indiscretion in withdrawing the Munitions Board Case. It then expresses surprise at the inability expressed by the Viceroy to go through the papers relating to the Punjáb prisoners. The *Bombay Samáchár* commends the Viceroy's speech to the careful consideration of the Indian public and lays special stress on the reasons adduced by His Excellency for welcoming the Prince of Wales. It is of opinion that the Viceroy has taken a very dispassionate view about the Moplah riots and expresses gratification at the probability of a modification of the Turkish treaty in such a manner as would satisfy the Indian Muhammadans.]

Mahrátta **(7), 11th Sept.**

***3. " The old old tale of the mountain in labour sending forth dreadful groans, inspiring in the surrounding region the highest expectation and after all bringing forth a puny mouse is repeated once more here in India, when the Viceroy delivered last week with great pomp and much circumstance before the central Indian Legislature, consisting of scores of *not-ables*, his**

speech of shreds and patches, of solemn nothings and platitudinous somethings. However much a certain inconsiderable section of the Indian press and Indian people might rend the skies and shake the earth with written and oral hallelujahs of the statesmanlike utterance, to those who read the speech with a dispassionate mind it will become more than clear that there is no definite statement on any point, that the mighty strain of wading through it is not relieved by any satisfactory commitment of policy, that it is little else than a bloated mass of sweet words the very sweetness of which is all the more galling to the readers.......... He earnestly appeals to all people to offer the warmest welcome to the Prince of Wales, the son of the King-Emperor. But he cannot make out a convincing case for his reception when he comes not as a solvent, but as an irritant, when he and his people have done absolutely nothing to entitle him to a grand reception at the hands of the Indian people. He refers to the prospective treaty with Afghans and the frontier policy with transparent satisfaction, but the just suspicions of the people that the entire foreign policy of India is dragged remorselessly at the chariot-wheels of Imperial schemes remain as strong as ever. He shakes his head over the work of the Imperial Conference and the appointment of four Indians in connection with the permanent court of International justice. But unfortunately South Africa, which is the crux of the whole question of the status of Indians in the Empire, remains obdurate. And there is no immediate use of having four eminent Indian gentlemen on the League of Nation's court. On the contrary, the presence of India there will create a false impression on foreign statesmen with regard to India. We even think it an insult to us, just as a family in mourning would be grieved and offended the more by an invitation to attend some joyous ceremony. As the Viceroy predicts, the repeal of the Press and Repressive Acts may come; but, as we said before, the healing measures will have come when they would cease to heal and when people have no ghost of fear of them. Sections 144, 107 and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code are now found to be a neverfailing aid to Government like the quiver of God Rama. It makes no difference to the people whether people are repressed under the Rowlatt Act or by section 144. If Lord Reading has some regard for pure justice, the Munitions Board *in toto* must severely be scrutinised by an independent commission and all persons, high officers or low, if found implicated, howsoever remotely in the scandal, must be brought to book. The case must be allowed to be re-opened in the Court of Law; the Viceroy's word cannot be the last word on it.......... Corruption of the best is the worst, and let Lord Reading take heed betimes. People have long memories of the Control Departments of the various provinces, which were the cornucopia of scandalous peculation and jobbery. They have very powerful misgivings about the Munitions Board. Open investigation and not the policy of *chup* will avail. The Munitions case is the test of Lord Reading.......... The second important topic worthy of special comment is the Moplah riots. Regarding this we have to utter a serious warning.......... Attempts are, in seriousness, being made to establish connection between the non-co-operation and Khilafat propaganda on the one hand and the riots on the other, so that the former may be beaten to death and the wide propaganda made short work of. We confess we have no first-hand information about the Moplah rising and yet we sternly refuse to believe in the official reports. The whole Government from top to bottom has lost beyond hope of recovery its title to people's confidence, so much so that what the Government asserts as a fact the people believe to be its exact converse. Who can rely on a Government that endeavoured to suppress the whole Punjáb tragedy for so many months? What can that Government not do which took wicked delight in coldly massacring innocent unarmed men, women and children in the Jallianwalla Bagh, in horse-whipping young boys and in making them crawl on their bellies? An individual committing the above-mentioned offences would have well merited instantaneous hanging ten times; but the Government that carries on its head a heavy load of such criminal offences, is still strutting in the country as though with a clean conscience. That is a standing insult to India and the Government will have to expiate its conduct on the gibbet if similar horrors are brought to light in the Moplah riots. Let the Government remember that the people will not allow themselves to be crammed with any information which it might cater for them; they fully know what is what.......... It is rather difficult to agree with the Viceroy when he says: 'It would be rash, and in my view wrong, to assume that this rising is to be taken as symptomatic of the condition of the whole of India.' Our view is that so far as the Moplah riots were due to profound discontent of the Moplahs with the system of Government, this rising is surely symptomatic of India. It is not the part of wisdom to allow discontent to gather force; nor does it avail to flirt with it. Francis Bacon has described 'poverty and discontentment' as 'the material for sedition.' Both of them are presently welling up in India with torrential rapidity and hence under these circumstances, to pass over the Moplah riots as a solitary exception without taking lesson from them is a sheer travesty of the situation which no man of 'sanity and commonsense' would hazard."

Kesari (111), 6th Sept.

4. In the opinion of the *Kesari* the Viceroy's opening speech at the joint sitting of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State contains nothing very particular beyond a restatement of stale facts already known to the public. It welcomes the announcement about proposed opening of a military college at Dehra Dun as well as about the coming repeal of the Press Act, but expresses alarm at the proposal to gag the press in British India as regards its comments against the native princes. In its opinion the speech is so very useless that the Viceroy could very well have saved himself the trouble of delivering it.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Sept.

5. "If the ground in Malabár had been carefully prepared for the rising, by whom had it been so prepared? Certainly not by the organised Khilafat and non-co-operation movement for it is now six months since Mr. Yakub Hasan, the principal leader of that movement in the Madras Presidency, and some other responsible leaders were prevented from addressing the Moplahs by one Mr. Thomas who seems also to have played a leading part in the events immediately preceding the outbreak. Those six months must surely be included in the preparation of which Lord Reading spoke. Who was in charge of the preparation during those six months? The answer, it seems to us, must be either Mr. Thomas, autocrat of Malabár, or the Moplahs themselves or both. Without disputing for a moment the necessity of Martial Law when once the Moplahs rose, we cannot help wondering whether, if Mr. Yakub Hasan and his friends had been allowed free access to them and free speech with them, they would have risen at all; and whether under a District Magistrate who had more sympathy for Muslim agitation at this juncture—the Government of India has expressed deep sympathy with it upon occasions far too numerous to mention here—the bloodshed and the wreckage there in Malabár might not have been avoided. This portion of Lord Reading's speech, although applauded by his hearers in the Legislative Assembly, is not at all in touch with Indian feeling or opinion. We believe that if he would take the trouble to come down unceremoniously among the people he would see cause to modify his view in some important respects. He would learn that if the exhortations of Mr. Gandhi to non-violence have been again and again disregarded—by people generally who had heard them only as a distant rumour—there were local reasons for that 'disregard', which have escaped his notice on the heights of Simla, police *zulum* of a sort which he has never met in England, irritating methods of the local magistrates and a general policy of paying people out for daring to think independently. He would learn that the non-co-operation movement does not spread disorder; but where the magistrates allow it to be preached it is a growing order in the land, a growing peace within a troubled realm which can only be condemned upon the ground that it was not produced by Government. We wish he could come down from the Olympian heights and learn these things in order that his judgment in the next few months may not be biassed all unknowingly by officialdom, as it seems to us to be at present."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 11th Sept.

*6. "The speech with which the Viceroy opened the Simla Session of the Indian Legislature was characterised by a sureness of touch naturally wanting in his previous utterances. It shows that Lord Reading has now a clear view of the ground before him and needs no longer the aid of general propositions which may be made to cover all possible contingencies. His Excellency has spent his five months in the country to good purpose. Another quality which will be noticed with satisfaction is that, whatever His Excellency may be able or may not be able to do, he does not shut his eyes to facts or attempt to repesent them to himself or to the public as being other than what they plainly are. Yet another feature of the speech worthy of praise is the judicial fairness with which differences of opinion and points of view are dealt with. On the whole, Lord Reading's speech, so far as it went, was just the kind of pronouncement that was needed in the present disturbed and disturbing conditions in several parts of the country."

Indu Prakásh (44), 8th, 9th and 10th Sept; Eng. cols.

7. Referring to His Excellency the Viceroy's statement about His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's visit to India in the course of his opening speech before the joint meeting of the Indian Legislature, the *Indu Prakásh* remarks :—" The Viceroy was anxious to impress on the audience the damping idea that the visit had no political significance, that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was coming only as heir to the King-Emperor, that his purpose was to become the better acquainted with the country and that he had no political mission and was coming on behalf of no party.......... Why should it be so, we ask, and ask in all seriousness. Why should even the most unanimous and united politics be tabooed and forbidden to the Prince ?......... Why should it be impossible to make the Royal Visit to India identified with some effective programme for a reconstructive policy of complete amity and reconciliation between India and Britain ? The Indian crisis cannot, we own, be compared to the Irish crisis. But still no one would gainsay that it is a great crisis, the greatest after the mutiny, and that the future is trembling in the balance." [In the next issue the paper remarks :—" The fact is, it seems to us, that our Judge-Viceroy and the Councillors that take the cue from him have all been frightened and scared by the cry of Mr. Gandhi and his extremist friends that the Prince's Visit has its origin in the deep plan and sinister design of cementing and strengthening the present bureaucratic regime in British India, so that the advent of *swarájۢ* may be delayed, and that it is for combating this non-co-operationists' battle cry that they have gone to the other extreme of crying out that the Royal Visit has not, that it cannot and should not have any political significance whatsoever......... We for one feel certain that to seek to deprive the Royal visit of all political significance would be extremely unwise and impolitic in India. It would be antagonistical to Indian tradition and usage, opposed to Indian feeling and sentiment, and what is worse, contrary to the best interests of India too......... India is not yet Ireland, but threatens to be so by wide and rapid strides. Is British statesmanship so bankrupt that it cannot arrest effectively the threatening tide of a confirmed programme of separation ? We hope it is not ; and happily the concessions required will be smaller and more modest than those demanded by Mr. De Valera and Sinn Fein." In another issue the paper remarks :—" We have reasons to suspect that the real state of things in India is not fully and accurately realized in Britain and that attempts are made to keep the public there more or less in the dark as to the gravity of the situation. If they but knew, we feel certain that they would fully share our view that the present are not the times for a mere pleasure trip, from which politics is rigidly excluded, and that the crisis is of such a grave character that either the Prince of Wales should not come at all to India or that if he comes, he should come as a messenger of Peace and the harbinger of some such proposals as those made to the Irish Nationalists.......... We are not alarmists, we are not exaggerators.......... We are none of those who want *swaráj* immediately. But yet we do think that the Reforms do fall woefully short of what is India's due and that there are a number of great grievances of India which cry out in the name of bare

justice for redress. What is more important still, we do think that these sentiments of discontent and sense of wrong are shared by the great bulk of the people—the educated few as well as the uneducated many.......... Let us tell the British public and the British Ministry that India as a country is in a state of unrest and, therefore, requires a special message of love and tangible great gift and if the Prince comes without them, it would be a matter for the deepest regret."]

Servant of India (9), 8th Sept.

8. "Lord Reading's opening speech to the joint sitting of the two houses of the central Legislature, in which he passed under review all the principal events of the past few months and indicated the Government's policy to meet the situation arising out of them, was conceived, we are happy to state, in a spirit of wise statesmanship. On this occasion one would naturally expect the head of Government to define his attitude towards non-co-operation, and though this movement is, for the moment, completely overshadowed by the Moplah outbreak, it is clear that the Viceroy is not inspired by any vindictive feelings towards it. It would appear that his policy is to let the movement go on unfettered so long as it is free from violence of any sort and to interfere with it only when it imperils the public peace. Such an attitude of forbearance combined with an earnest attempt to make the most of the reforms must give a quietus to the movement as nothing else will. The Viceroy's reference to the disturbances on the West Coast, which in their gravity surpass every happening within recent years, show that Lord Reading can be depended upon to preserve his judicial temper even when faced with a crisis. He has linked up the present outburst with the perfervid outpourings of Khilafat propagandists, but who can doubt that the appeals to religious fanaticism which such persons make, when addressed continually to ignorant and excitable mobs like the Moplahs, can only end in violence?"

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 5th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 5th Sept.;
Akhbár-e-Islám (54), 5th Sept.

9. The speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the present session of the Indian Legislature was such as was expected of an upright statesman. He really deserves to be congratulated on the reply which he gave to the enemies of India regarding the Moplah riots. We trust that the non-co-operators will seriously ponder over the advice given to them by him. We have got very great confidence in the tact and experience of Lord Reading and we, therefore, hope that he will, without caring for the agitation of the Whites, remove all racial inequality. He also deserves to be congratulated for the firmness which he has shown regarding the rights of Indians in South and East Africa. We cannot hope to get a better assurance from him regarding the Khilafat question than the one which he has given and we hope that our Muhammadan brethren will find out a middle course in order to co-operate with the Viceroy to attain success. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks:—All thoughtful people sympathise with His Excellency's Government and they are ready to offer him their help for the purpose of preserving law and order whenever asked for. We also request high officials not to give any excuse to the non-co-operators which may help them to revive their dying movement. If it is intended to keep India as an important part of the Empire, Europeans should now realize that the happy days of *jo hukum* are gone and must consider the people of this country as their equals and work for their welfare. The paper next hopes that all the controversial questions will be decided before the arrival of the Prince of Wales and remarks:—We are sure that in spite of the thoughtless boycott of the Prince of Wales by the non-co-operators, a majority of the Indian people will offer most hearty welcome to him. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses its satisfaction at the assurance given by His Excellency the Viceroy regarding the satisfactory solution of the Turkish question.]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 7th Sept.; *Lokamánya* (115), 5th Sept.;
Lokasangraha (116), 7th Sept.

10. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that of the several speeches that Lord Reading has made since his appointment to the Viceroyalty, the one that he

made at the joint meeting of the two Legislative Houses at Simla is the weightiest of all. In its opinion the speech shows that the Viceroy fully sympathises with the aspirations of the people and that he is a real statesman. The passing of the Reforms Act and the appointment of Lord Reading to the Viceroyalty, it remarks, have sounded the death knell of the era of repression. It considers it unreasonable on the part of the people not to welcome His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales since their quarrel is with the bureaucracy and not with the Royal House of England. Sir Thomas Holland's resignation gives satisfaction to it but it demands an impartial inquiry into the affairs of the Department with which he was connected. It expresses its disappointment that Lord Reading has not yet been able to release the Punjab Martial law prisoners and advocates the introduction of diarchy in the Central Government. The paper concludes with the remark that those who want *swardjya* before September should look to Mr. Gandhi and that no Viceregal pronouncement will ever give them any satisfaction. [The *Lokamdnya* remarks that the speech is neither satisfactory nor disappointing. It further writes :—Lord Reading does not seem to be inclined to arrest the leaders taking advantage of the Moplah rising, nor is he prepared to be a puppet in the hands of the bureaucracy. He made an official of the position of Sir Thomas Holland resign his post. He gave an undertaking that the Press Act would be repealed and that the other repressive laws too would be removed from the Statute Book. His other pronouncements also concerning the Military College at Dehra Dun and the equality of status of Europeans and Indians before courts of law, are satisfactory. Lord Reading obviously intends to introduce these reforms with a view to conciliate public opinion. Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation and boycott movements are responsible for this change in the attitude of the Government of India and, therefore, we must be thankful to him as well as to Lord Reading. These concessions, however, are not adequate to induce the people to give an enthusiastic welcome to the Prince of Wales. The *Lokasangraha* writes :—From his speeches made in England Lord Reading created an impression among the people that he would give them justice. However, he has done nothing up to this time to confirm this belief and it does not appear likely from his recent speech that popular expectations will be realised during his Viceroyalty. Lord Reading must remember that he alone will be responsible if the disappointment of the people, due to their being deluded by sweet promises, causes further unrest in the country. He had no alternative but to admit that Mahatma Gandhi is sincerely opposed to violence. We ask His Excellency whether it is wise to suppress the present movement on the plea that it begets violence without making any attempt to remove the causes which gave rise to it. Lord Hardinge wisely decided to annul the partition of Bengal as he knew well that popular discontent, if forcibly driven underground, does not fail to make its appearance again, and Lord Reading should profit by his experience. The Viceroy declared in his speech that Government would continue to discharge its duty. If that duty consists of a resort to repression, then we give a clear warning to His Excellency to stay his hand and to study the events which followed the partition of Bengal.]

Comments on the debate on the Moplah riots in the Indian Legislature.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Sept.

11. Commenting on the debate on the Moplah outbreak in the Legislative Assembly, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—"While such is the anxiety of the 'co-operators' in the Council to make political capital out of the Moplah outbreak, it is significant as well as reassuring to find that in official circles at least there is no disposition to father the entire blame or even the major portion of the blame on the Khilafat leaders. Even so prejudiced an official as Sir William Vincent is compelled to admit that the movement in Malabár is a 'purely fanatical rising'. He, of course, refers to the speeches of the Khilafat leaders and to the non-co-operation movement in general in Malabár, but he refrains from attributing the trouble to the direct incitements of the Khilafat leaders. Indeed, Sir William goes the length of saying that the Moplahs have little sympathy for either Mr. Gandhi or the non-co-operation movement. This is rather hard on Lord

Willingdon and Mr. Thomas, as well as the Besantites and 'Liberals' who would have the world believe that the Ali brothers and Mahatma Gandhi are at the bottom of the whole mischief. Sir William Vincent's version of the incidents leading to the outbreak is also somewhat new and differs in material particulars from the versions published by Mr. Thomas and the Madras Government. In the midst of these conflicting accounts, it is difficult to arrive at the truth. The necessity, therefore, for an impartial commission of enquiry into the whole affair becomes imperative and we trust that such a commission will be appointed with the least possible delay after peace is restored in Malabár. The personnel of the Commission should be such as to command the fullest confidence. We look to Lord Reading, to whose presence at the helm we attribute the present official tendency to take a calm view of things, to see to it that the commission is not born in the same distrust as surrounded the Hunter Commission."

Lokamánya (115), 8th Sept.

12. The *Lokamánya* deals with the discussion on the Moplah riots in the Legislative Assambly and the Council of State and says:—The reasons given by Government for the outbreak do not appear to us to be mistaken, but we do not think that the mere organization of bands of volunteers by the Moplahs can be held to be a preparation for rebellion. We think that if the Malabár authorities had kept before themselves the wise policy adopted by Lord Reading after his interview with Mr. Gandhi not to hurt the susceptibilities of the Muhammadans, the Moplah disturbances would not at all have broken out. The policy of refraining from harming the Muslim leaders is not one of weakness. It is the policy which should guide the authorities in their conduct towards the Muhammadans at a time when the Turkish army seems on the point of total destruction and a consequent feeling of despair seems to have overtaken the community. It does not appear that Government's policy with regard to Mr. Gandhi is likely to undergo any change but the same cannot be said with regard to the Ali Brothers from what transpired in the Assembly and the Council of State and from the attacks made on them by Mrs. Besant and Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas evidently inspired by those in power. It appears as if Lord Reading's permission will soon be taken to sacrifice the Ali Brothers at the altar of the Moplah disturbances. Attempts were also made in the course of the discussions to undo the Hindu-Moslem Unity by reference to outrages against Hindus committed by the Moplahs. This attempt deserves condemnation. We hope that Lord Reading will not sanction the Ali Brothers' prosecution which the bureaucracy seems to be pressing for on the ground of the Moplah disturbances. [Elsewhere the paper refers to the disturbed conditions widely prevailing in Northern India owing to the scarcity of wheat supplies and expresses its surprise that some of the leaders of the Moderates should be suggesting the arrest of the Ali Brothers at such a critical time. It declares that such a step, if unwisely taken, will only mean an instigation to the fanatical Muhammadans to indulge in all sorts of housebreaking and loot.]

Sánj Vartamán (31), 7th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 8th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 6th Sept.

13. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses dissatisfaction with the explanation given by Sir William Vincent before the Indian Legislatures in the matter of the Moplah riots. It points out that there is some divergence between Sir William Vincent's explanation and that issued by His Excellency the Governor of Madras, as also between the one issued by the Governor of Madras and that issued by the District Magistrate of Malabár, and it urges the advisability of appointing a Commission consisting of officials and non-officials commanding public confidence to inquire into the riots. The paper expresses disapprobation of the attacks made by Moderate members of the Indian Legislatures on non-co-operation and Khilafat workers. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* opines that His Excellency the Viceroy has been rightly congratulated from all sides for the firmness which he has shown regarding the Munitions Board Case. The paper further asks for an impartial Committee to inquire into the working of the Munitions Department. In view

of the temporary appointment of the Honourable Mr. Shafi to take charge of the Department of Commerce and Industries, the paper urges the claims of the Parsi Community when the post is permanently filled up. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* condemns the terrorising of the Hindus by the Moplahs in Malabár and does not understand why this should have been done at the present time of the alleged Hindu-Moslem unity. The paper considers it the duty of both Hindus and Muhammadans to find out the reason why the Moplahs dealt this severe blow to the Hindu-Moslem unity.]

Resolution for welcoming the Prince of Wales before the Indian Legislature.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 8th Sept.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (54), 7th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (20), 7th Sept.

14. The *Bombay Samáchár* associates itself fully with the loyal views expressed in the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly on the question of presenting an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales and declares that the economic reasons urged by the dissenting member of the Legislative Assembly had existence only in his imagination and that he was prompted in his opposition by political reasons alone. It expresses a hope that the declaration made by the Viceroy in his speech that the visit would have no political significance will induce the non-co-operators to give up their intention of boycotting the Prince's visit. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* considers that Mr. Gandhi's advice to the public to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales is the greatest mistake ever committed by him. It is of opinion that the resolutions adopted by the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly almost unanimously echo the feelings of the country regarding the matter. The *Hindusthán*, on the other hand, ridicules the criticism that was hurled at Mr. Agnihotri for opposing in the Legislative Assembly the resolution regarding giving an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales and opines that the members of the Legislative Assembly do not represent public opinion and that they take pride in flattering Government.]

Protest against the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Mahrátta (7), 11th Sept.

***15.** "The British Government has at last seen its way to persist in bringing His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India in spite of the people's determination to refrain from participating in any welcome to him. In such times of growing unrest and discontent the people look upon his visit as immature and inexpedient. But why should the bureaucracy care to obtain the people's consent? It has got its handy men, and has through them got passed a resolution to extend a dutiful and loyal welcome to the Prince.......... So long even Moderates were opining that the moment of the Prince's visit was not opportune, and that the right of inviting him should have been left to the Councils. For, an uninvited guest is seldom worthy of respect and reception! Have not then their brethren in the Councils simply played into the hands of the bureaucracy? We wish the Prince were saved the Punjab and the Khilafat. We regret to find that his fate ordains that wherever he moves in India, he should be haunted by the shadow of Amritsar and the ghost of Khilafat, let alone *swarájya*!"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Sept.

16. "In December 1919 the Government feeling exceedingly jocund resolved to celebrate Peace. The people wanted a postponement of the celebration to a more suitable time, but brass hats could not contain themselves any longer. Therefore, Peace was celebrated. Money was spent like water, schoolboys conscripted for the day's entertainment, public buildings illuminated, Bori Bunder Station was a blaze of colour. How was the mockery of delirious joy attempted, with the people protesting? Money makes dead men laugh, money can make the charnel house dance. Money can make myriads mourn the death of tyrants. Such is the magic power of money, that joy can be simulated over the dead by the living. A remarkable thing, money. But when the heart is not in it, celebrations cost a lot for spectacular effect. Forty-five lakhs were spent to make the Duke's tour a success: fireworks, arches, dances did their part, but it was a ghastly failure from the viewpoint of the sight-seer who couldn't spot cheering crowds. To make the Prince's tour a 'success' in adverse conditions, all parsimonious considerations must be avoided. A train-load of journalists must have incessant sensations to keep them occupied. And surely when the Indian Princes vie with each other, the Government of India must eclipse them all in point of hospitality and bright display. The Nizam's Government are busy placing orders, and firms and functionaries are getting ready for another spell of 'Supplies'. Ministers, M.L.A.'s, M.L.C.'s and other interview-mongers will have to attend to the problem of costume and effect. Some are already humming 'Rule Britannia'. Who will deny that a merry season is dawning? More public disapprobation means greater expense to overwhelm it!"

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Sept.

17. "'These smiling tours of the Prince,' writes Mr. H. G. Wells, 'in these days of shortage, stress and insecurity constitute a propaganda of inanity unparalleled in the world's history.' The sapient receptionwallah, however, assures us that the Prince is out on a pure visit of civility, inspecting his future dominions and acquiring information about the people. Equally interesting and beneficent are the motives drawing him to Japan. It is the Government of India who have been responsible for certifying to psychological possibilities in India and sending the invitation. Publicity agents in Simla have opined that what India now wants is a hero to nullify the existence of Mr. Gandhi; the Prince is to function as the hero for four months, make what are called 'dramatic gestures' and leave the loyalty engendered in a consolidated condition. In the Native States, too, there will be outbursts of loyalty to stimulate rivalry in India. Loyalty, thus regarded, is in the condition of an overstretched elastic with little resilience about it."

Swarâj ( ), 1st Sept.

18. Forty-three lakhs of rupees were spent on the recent visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. And his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit will cost nearly a crore. It is a pity such huge sums are thus wasted in a poor and disease-stricken country like India. We would suggest the Prince's visit to be postponed and the money set apart for it spent in combating cholera, malaria and other diseases which carry away lakhs of people every year. Any political object meant to be gained from the proposed visit could easily be secured by its abandonment on the ground of the Prince's extreme anxiety for India in her present state of disease and poverty. We doubt, however, if our suggestion will be relished by the authorities.

Comments on the disallowance of two resolutions by His Excellency Sir George Lloyd.

Sind Vasi (167), 24th Aug.

19. Sir George Lloyd is well-known for his statesmanship and liberal views. But recently he has committed two blunders, on account of which the people are somewhat displeased with him. A member of the Legislative Council proposed that three out of the four posts of Commissioners in the Bombay Presidency should be abolished. Sir George Lloyd however disallowed this motion on the ground that it was beyond the province of the local Government. How was it then that the Governor of Madras allowed such a motion to be brought in? Again, a motion for decreasing the number of the Executive Council Members to half was also disallowed. No other Provincial Governors have acted in this way. The local Governments are bound to be consulted some day on these questions by the Government of India. Evidently Sir George Lloyd is making full use of the powers vested in him.

Contrast between the Civil Services in England and India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Sept.

20. "While the European Services in India are strenuously helping democracy and improving their emoluments, a reference to the treatment of the Civil Service in Great Britain may reveal the advantages that the former enjoy under the rule of a Secretary of State who indulges their claims with open-handed generosity. Though Mr. Montagu is not this year prepared to order a 'general revision' of salaries, he is endeavouring to remove 'inequalities', increase overseas allowances and supplement exchange compensation allowance. To the taxpayer, the particular periphrasis makes no difference when he has to foot the bill.......... The recent curtailment of Civil Service expenditure in Great Britain is in these circumstances worthy of special attention in this country, because it brings out the spirit underlying the contrast......... The Indian bureaucracy will be agape with wonder at the misfortune of their brethren, when they are raking in increments on divers grounds leaving the residue of revenue for the Councils to bless themselves with. Will not the stunt of 'grave discontent' work? The bluff about 'resignation'? And the howl about the service being 'discredited' and future generations eschewing it, preferring to become little Pierpont Morgans? Parliament expects some natural dissatisfaction among officials who are told to relieve the burden on taxpayers, but there is the compensating fact that the Services have a patriotic interest in the solvency of the country and they are intelligent enough to make a sacrifice. They are not migratory hordes; they are citizens first and money-grabbers next. Secondly, there is the forbidding murmur of the taxpayer himself to dispel temptations of refined dacoity, and the Services cannot without very adequate reason apply pressure on Parliament. Thus it is that, thanks to the robust determination of Government, the salaries of the Civil Service are brought into parity with the position of national finance and the burden of the taxpayer. It is an example worth copying, but we have no hope of voluntary redress from the hands of the official caste in India. Till a drastic scheme of reduction is prosecuted in the sphere of salaries, the country will have little left for ameliorative purposes. Equally important is the example of giving priority of attention to the lower ranks of the Service, before the superior grades have finished surfeitting themselves on the sly. Between the experiences of the 'Home' Civil Service and the Indian Civil Service, there are hence many striking differences. While the former surrenders profit in view of national distress, the latter is wholly dead to the principle of prudently waiting a little before making an effort to multiply the excesses of gain. What is behind this contrast? What is the way of relief?"

Necessity of cutting down salaries of all highly paid officers.

Jágaruk (45), 3rd Sept.

21. Unless the extravagant salaries paid to high officials are cut down, no lasting and effective reforms can be effected. There is no other way than this for curtailing the exhorbitant expenditure on the administration. A great portion of the money taken from the rayats is wasted and very little of it is used for their benefit. Though the legislative bodies have not the power to cut down the high officials' salaries, yet if the members exhibit firmness and determination it will not be impossible for them to cut them down. It is nothing but oppression that agriculturists out of whose pockets the administration is carried on should starve while district officials roll in plenty. It is a matter of urgency that the non-Brahmins should pay attention to this matter as on the economics thus effected will depend all educational, sanitary and agricultural improvements.

No new post of Land Improvement Officer need be created.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 8th Sept.

22. The *Dnyán Prakásh* refers to the suggestion made at the agricultural conference, recently held at Poona, that a new post of Land Improvement Officer should be created to effect improvements in cultivable lands and says:—The question of land improvement is most important. Everyone will agree that it affects the well being of the country to a very large extent. It cannot, however, be said that the appointment of a new officer is justifiable in the present state of the country. During the last six or seven years the number of high salaried posts in the Agricultural Department has been nearly doubled. There has, however, been no corresponding increase in the utility of this Department. The present tendency is to create new posts carrying high salaries on some pretext or another and the time is come to check it. The present staff is certainly not overworked and we trust Government will not fall a victim to the temptation of creating a new post.

The British Medical Council and Indian Medical Graduates.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Sept.

23. "The new standard of knowledge demanded by the General Medical Council of Great Britain before Indian medical graduates can register themselves in the United Kingdom is seriously exercising the minds of the students of the Grant Medical College, Bombay, as well as other aspirants to medical honours abroad......... It is realised that these proposals deal an abrupt and deadly blow at the chances of Indians qualifying themselves for admission into the I. M. S. and for private and public service in the United Kingdom and even in other countries........ But, apart from this, the chief concern of Indian students is about the bar sinister that is sought to be placed against their entry into the medical service of their own country. Indians have to put up with the humilitation because of the anti-Indian policy, which has found favour with India's 'rulers' all these years, of recruiting for the I. M. S. wholly in Great Britain. The only effective remedy against the fresh encroachment of the British medical profession on the rights of Indians is opening the door for recruitment in India itself. No self-respecting Government would tolerate the humiliation of its own subjects in the way the Government of this country is tolerating it......... If the British Medical Council is obdurate, all the Indian Universities and the medical profession ought to press for the modification of the present rules governing recruitment to the I. M. S., so that the Service may be open to all who possess registrable Indian qualifications."

Ex-officials and trading.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 11th Sept.

***24.** "The *Hindu* of Madras has a timely article calling attention to the increasing practice of high financial and other officers of Government, on retirement or resignation, engaging themselves in business in which secret information as to Government's policy and position might be utilised to their profit. Our contemporary gives instances.......... We strongly support the plea of the *Hindu* for putting a limit to a practice which cannot but be highly detrimental to honest administration. The *Hindu* refers to a statement by a Calcutta commercial journal to the effect that in a new sugar flotation that has been projected, Sir Thomas Holland is associated and may become one of the Directors.......... The practice to which the *Hindu* calls attention should be regulated by the co-operation of Government and Indian leaders of commerce and industry, but there is another tendency which Government can on their sole initiative nip in the bud. We refer to the tendency of retired high officials, or those about to retire, foisting themselves on Indian States. Some Indian rulers cannot bear to see their own subjects or countrymen rise to positions of power and trust, and prefer to pick up some superannuated British ex-official whose presence about them apparently ministers to their vanity in some obscure way. The Government of India can insist on such Indian rulers training up their own men, and in doing so they will be acting in the spirit of the admirable advice which Lord Curzon gave to, we believe, the late Maharaja of Indore."

An Indian should be appointed Member for Commerce in succession to Sir T. Holland.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Sept.

25. "The suggestion of the Council of the Bombay Presidency Association that an Indian should, in accordance with the spirit of the Joint Committee's recommendations, be appointed to succeed Sir Thomas Holland as Member for Commerce and Industry, is one that should readily commend itself to both the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India who are anxious to speed the progress of this country on the road to Self-government. One of the bitterest grievances of Indians is that the industrial development of this country, as at present directed by the European personnel, proceeds on lines largely detrimental to the true interests of the country, favouring alien exploiters of India's resources to an undue extent and discouraging Indian talent and enterprise. The present occasion affords a splendid opportunity for those who have been loud in their protestations of sympathy for Indians, to translate that talk into deeds. It would be rank hypocrisy to pretend that at present there are no Indians competent to discharge the responsibilities of the post of Member for Commerce and Industry. We can easily name half-a-dozen Indians as competent as, if not more competent than, the retiring member. It is not the lack of Indians but of the will to co-operote with them that stands in the way of the bureaucracy doing the right thing. The choice of a successor to Sir Thomas will be a test of the 'sympathy' for Indians and willingness to 'co-operate' with them one hears so often nowadays."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 11th Sept.

26. "There is a strong feeling in the country that the Joint Committee's recommendation regarding the number of Indians in the Governor-General's Executive Council has not been carried out in its full implication. The vacancy created by Sir Thomas Holland's resignation gives Lord Reading an opportunity to remove this cause of dissatisfaction by appointing an Indian of capacity to the post. We hope His Excellency will avail himself of it. It may be pointed out that the Industrial and Commercial portfolio is one of the four which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his speeches in Bombay indicated as an essential one to be in the hands of Indians in order that the country might prepare itself for the assumption of full Dominion rule in the near future."

The Munitions Board Case.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 6th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 6th Sept.;
Hindusthán (20), 5th Sept.

27. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses the opinion that the Indian people would heave a sigh of relief at the acceptance of Sir Thomas Holland's resignation by His Majesty the King-Emperor. It, however, calls upon the Viceroy to appoint a commission to inquire into the affairs of the Calcutta Munitions Board as suggested by the *Pioneer*. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* regrets very much that the bright career of such a useful member of the Government of India as Sir Thomas Holland should have ended thus. The paper remarks that Lord Reading's Government have assured the people that justice will be impartially administered in the case of high or low officials or members of the public. It adds that the people of India will not rest satisfied with this assurance and it further requests Government to appoint a special committee to inquire into the administration of the Munitions Department. It regrets that His Excellency the Viceroy has not referred at all in his speech to the question of making such an inquiry. The *Hindusthán* expresses the opinion that Sir Thomas Holland must have instructed the Advocate-General to withdraw the Munitions Board case under the conviction that the institution of the case would unearth much of the corruption in which his department was implicated and declares that justice has to some extent been vindicated by the resignation of Sir Thomas Holland which has been accepted by His Majesty the King-Emperor.]

Kesari (111), 6th Sept.

28. The *Kesari* refers to the Munitions Board Case affair and expresses the hope that the resignation of Sir Thomas Holland brought about by the justice-loving Viceroy will exercise a wholesome check on the bureaucracy. In its opinion the other two officials whom Sir Thomas is reported to have consulted about the withdrawal of the case should also have been called upon to resign. It expresses the hope that Sir Thomas' post will hereafter be reserved for Indians and that an all-round man like Sir Vishweshvaraya should be recommended for it. It also hopes that the Viceroy will order the prosecution of the really guilty parties in the munitions scandals and thus remove the suspicion in the mind of the public that the withdrawal of the case was actuated by a desire to cover up some very dirty things at the bottom.

Repatriation of Indians in South Africa.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 11th Sept.

*29. "It will be remembered that in reply to the complaints made in a Madras meeting about the condition of Indian repatriates from South Africa, the Government of India issued a communiqué on August 5th. They stated therein 'that no hopes were held out by the Union Government to the repatriated Indians that every one of them would be given a job of Rs. 30 a month. The Union Government gave an assurance to the Government of India that only voluntary repatriates were being provided with passages to India. It was also stated by them that no propaganda work was being undertaken by them to persuade Indians to accept repatriation.' It is difficult to reconcile this with the latter portion of their statement wherein they admitted: 'A pamphlet was issued by the Indian Repatriation Office in which it was mentioned that the Indian Government was making arrangements to receive Indians returning to India and finding them employment, that Labour Depôts were being opened at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and that food was plentiful in India and crops had been very good.' Of course, the Government seek to make out that there is no inconsistency by saying that 'they informed the Union Government in June last that owing to few Indians being repatriated from Natal, they were unable to open Labour Depôts, that there was famine in several places and that experience showed that repatriates from South Africa, Fiji and British Guiana were in considerable difficulties and unable to find suitable employment.' This explanation does not improve matters. The repatriation of Indians began in the latter half of last year and the Government of India were silent in the face of these false and misleading allurements to the Indian repatriates for eight or nine months. They woke up only in the month of June. It is a case of shutting the stable door after the horse is stolen. Have the Government made enquiries as to how many have been sent back to India, how many are in need or in distress and how many of them think they have been misled and want to go back to South Africa?......... The Government of India's indifference or lack of prevision is clear from their remark that 'owing to few Indians being repatriated from Natal they were unable to open Labour Depôts.' Does it mean that they expected that tens of thousands of Indians would be turned out of South Africa or that the 1,500 or 2,000 repatriates did not need any help but they were to be left to shift for themselves, and to wander about the country homeless and destitute? Curiously enough, we have to gather even the number of returned emigrants from South African papers and the Government of India in their expectation of tens of thousands have not cared to publish how many Indians have been deceived into going back to India."

The Provincial Reforms Conference.

Kesari (111), 6th Sept.

30. The *Kesari* declares that the hope expressed at the Provincial Reforms Conference held at Bombay that diarchy can be easily introduced in the Central Government without having recourse to Parliamentary legislation, by simply inducing the Executive Councillors to declare that they would voluntarily become responsible to the Legislature, is altogether delusive and remarks that the course seems to have been suggested by Mrs. Besant at the bureaucracy's instigation not with a view to secure public welfare, but only to save the officials from the pressure of public agitation by putting a stop to it. It scouts Mrs. Besant's statement about the Provincial Governments having on very rare occasions exercised the right of veto against the Provincial Legislative Councils by saying that these Councils being dominated by Moderates have scarcely ever dared to go against the wishes of the bureaucracy and that whenever they have done so, it has not at all hesitated to use that power. In its opinion the question of the repeal of the Press Act and other repressive measures was taken up in the Legislative Assembly simply because Government was inclined to repeal them. The paper also calls attention to the recent encounter between the Madras Government and the Local Legislative Council over a resolution about the shooting down of labourers by the local Police, and asks Mrs. Besant to learn a lesson from the incident about the powerlessness of the people's representatives in the new councils.

Karnátak Vaibhav (33), 6th Sept.

31. Referring to the presidential speech of Mrs. Besant at the Reforms Conference, the *Karnátak Vaibhav* says :—The old lady is not satisfied with the present situation in the country. She too wants *swaráj* as early as possible. But it is not possible to obtain *swaráj* at this stage from Parliament which has always decided that the second instalment of reforms will be given after ten years. The bureaucracy in the meantime have been playing a delusive game. They have retained in their own hands all the departments which yield revenue and the spending departments have been transferred to the Ministers. The system of diarchy which they have set up in this country exists nowhere else in the world. The reforms have not benefited the country in the least and the regime of the bureaucracy continues in full vigour as before. The expenses of administration have increased beyond all reasonable limits. The bureaucracy has retained substance of power in its own hands and reduced the Ministers to the position of lifeless puppets by restricting their powers in a hundred ways. The Ministers cannot even exercise the rights which have been delegated to them by law. Mr. Wheeler set aside two Indian Ministers and took the question of the Chandpur coolies into his own hands. Mr. Hayward snatched the picketing question in Bijápur from the hands of the Minister Mr. Mehta and declared that he would decide the question himself. In these circumstances can the Executive Councillors say that they are in any way responsible to the Legislature? The method of obtaining *swaráj* which has been preached by Mrs. Besant is extremely foolish. *Swaráj* is the birthright of the nation and one need not go out of one's way to obtain it.

Hind Mitra (18), 4th Sept.; *Grámya Swarájya* (63), 6th Sept.; *Gujaráti Punch* (17), 4th Sept.

32. The *Hind Mitra* remarks that the Bombay Provincial Reforms Conference had only assembled with the object of condemning Mr. Gandhi and his non-co-operation movement. The paper states that the people have now no confidence in the vague promises of high and low officials. It then dwells at length on the question of the failure of Mrs. Besant as a publicist, and finally remarks that the Reforms Conference has proved a failure. The *Gramya Swarájya* remarks that some old people do not want to give up the old creed of the Congress and they have continued to beg, co-operate and congratulate by holding a Reforms Conference. It remarks that the Conference has only praised Government throughout its sessions. The *Gujaráti Punch* declares that the reforms do not deserve any praise as shown by the Reforms Conference. The paper does not agree with the statement made at the Conference that the new Legislative Councils are successful because the repressive laws are to be repealed. It disapproves of the work which is at present being done by the Leagues of Peace and the Aman Sabhas, and exhorts them to undertake the temperance movement, the movement for the elevation of the depressed classes and such other movements.

Gujaráti (15), 4th Sept.

33. The *Gujaráti* discusses the aims and ideals of the two political parties in India, *viz.*, the non-co-operators, whom it describes as the party guided by the heart, and the co-operators, whom it describes as being guided by the head. It points out that while both parties want the same things, the difference lies in the methods by which and the pace at which they want to acquire them, that while the co-operators want to advance gradually and to work the new Reforms for all they are worth, the non-co-operators want *swaráj* at once and they want to make the present Government impossible by non-co-operating with it in various ways if they do not get *swaráj* at once. The paper then proceeds to review the proceedings of the Reforms Conference held by the co-operators in Bombay. It deplores the fact that both Mrs. Besant and Mr. Jamnadas, in their respective addresses, should have spoken as if their first duty was to attack the non-co-operators. Instead of thus picking holes in the non-co-operation movement, the paper urges them to take up the consideration of such points as will enable the Indian people to derive the utmost advantage from the new Reforms. The Reforms Act, the paper points out, confers large powers upon the people, and it is the duty of the co-operators to form an exact estimate of these new large powers. In the opinion of the paper the co-operators are guilty of the same mistake as the non-co-operators. Both are eager to frame new laws. The real thing to do is to take advantage of the new Act and to lay down the policy which each department should pursue and to see that such policy is acted upon.

High prices and export of foodstuffs.

Insáf (67), 2nd Sept.

34. Prices of foodstuffs have reached the highest point. Government being interrogated on the subject tell us pointblank that they have stopped the export of wheat. What has then happened with the wheat produced in this country? The *Bande Matarám*, dated the 22nd August 1921, declares that over twenty-five lakh maunds of wheat were exported out of India from the 1st of April to the 30th July 1921. If so much wheat was exported during three months, is there any wonder if Indians are starving? Those wiseacres who do not sympathise with the present political agitation should take note that had India been enjoying *swarāj*, foodgrains would never have been exported abroad. They should therefore try to understand the full significance of the agitation for *swarāj*.

The personnel of the Fiscal Commission.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 6th Sept.

35. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the appointment of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah as President of the Fiscal Commission. The paper then proceeds to consider the qualifications of the other members of the Fiscal Commission as announced by the *Leader*, and opines that the Commission without strong and capable members to stand by the President will prove no better than a farce.

Comments on the Loyalist Conference held at Bijapur.

Jágriti (46), 3rd Sept.

36. Mr. Henderson, Collector of Bijápur, held a Loyalist Conference of the non-Brahmins in the district and had a manifesto of loyalty promulgated. Some leaders of non-Brahmins not liking this expressed their contempt for it by holding a meeting of their own. Non-Brahmins are, as a matter of fact, loyal and there is no need of their loyalty being proclaimed. But loyalty does not mean devotion to the bureaucracy or handing our reasoning faculties into its keeping. Grievances are never redressed without agitation; and the present state of advancement of the non-Brahmins would not have been achieved had they depended on the bureaucracy. In the Bijápur loyal proclamation sentiments like the following are expressed:—We have full trust in Government officers. We are getting our bread by the kindness of Government; and "we have nothing to do with political movements". Now who will deny that all this deserves to be condemned? Such sycophancy, such suicidal sentiments and such utter want of self-respect deserve to be called not loyalty but slavish faithfulness.

Comments on the formation of a League of Loyalty in Bijapur.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 30th Aug.

37. Last week the Collector of Bijápur called a meeting of the Patils and preached to them a sermon on loyalty. One can scarcely have any objection to anybody's preaching true loyalty; but when in the name of loyalty an attempt is made to preach slavery, people will not hesitate to call it a dark conspiracy. The Collector told the Patils that they should keep themselves aloof from the tainted atmosphere of politics and should only concern themselves with the problems of sanitation and water supply in their villages. He told them that they should not allow agitators to enter their villages nor should they themselves cross the boundaries of their villages. Such in brief was the advice which Mr. Henderson offered to the Patils. But the Collector [illegible]nows that the game for which he played is already lost. The league of slaves which he brought into existence now lies buried in the grave which the people dug for it. We have now to see to what extent the Patils are going to follow the Collector's advice in practice. But we want

to know on what authority the Collector asks the people to eschew politics When the British Parliament itself has declared that the people should secure *swardj* by working on the lines prescribed by them, what right has he to ask the people not to allow agitators to enter their villages, when the Government itself desires that people should be acquainted with their new political rights and that they should be taught to use their vote properly for the attainment of *swardj*? Is this not deceiving the people and leading them astray by spreading false notions amongst them? Mahatma Gandhi has often said that declaring a social boycott against officials would be a sign of meanness on the part of those who resort to such undesirable ways and methods. Does not this nobility of the Mahatma afford a vivid contrast to the narrow-minded views of these vulgar officials? What will be their fate if the advice which they are giving to the Patils is directed against themselves? If the Mahatma should order the Congress Committees to put this remedy into effect, is there any doubt about the result, namely, that the officials will have to be their own sweepers? Not a single ray of the light of the new era has penetrated into their hearts. They are enveloped in a thick veil of darkness and their meanness knows no bounds. It is better that these officials should clear out of the country and go home on whatever pensions they might be able to secure from the Government rather than remain here and hinder the people from attaining *swardjya*.

People should not fawn upon the authorities but use their newly given rights under the Reforms.

Jágaruk (45), 31st Aug.

38. We have been telling the people for their own good not to fawn upon the authorities. We do not mean to say that the people should be hostile to them, but that they should not adopt a mendicant policy towards them in matters which have entirely come under popular control. But this advice of ours is being misinterpreted in some quarters specially by those newspapers and individuals, who are subsidised by certain native chiefs to cringe upon the bureaucracy. These chiefs know that their own power is bound to disappear with the fall of the bureaucracy in British India and therefore they have employed paid agents in British territory to mislead the people and to raise an outcry of sedition whenever the public is asked to be self-dependent and not to rely on the bureaucracy. In our opinion those men are guilty of sedition who ask the people to remain dependent upon the bureaucracy in opposition to the wishes of the King and the Parliament who want the people to use their newly given rights. The Collector of Bijápur is reported to have stated before the local loyalist league that villagers should take no part in politics. Is the Collector not guilty of disloyalty in thus advising the villagers when the King and the Parliament have asked the people to associate themselves with political movements? The Governor of Bombay also, in the course of his speech at the Seva Sadan, has asked the people to be self-reliant and get things done through the councillors instead of begging at the doors of the officials. [Elsewhere the paper refers to the Bijápur Collector's speech at the Loyalist League in the course of which the paper says:—He urged upon the villagers to look only to their village matters and not to concern themselves with outside politics and declares that an official like Mr. Henderson deserves to be dismissed, or at least to be reprimanded for thus being disloyal to the new ideals. If the Ministers, the paper remarks, are not able to do their duty in this matter and to stop these pranks of the Collector, then they would be justly said to have assisted in bringing about the slavery of their countrymen.]

England's offer of dominion status to Ireland.

Indu Prakásh (44), 8th Sept.

39. The *Indu Prakásh* gives in its leader a substance of Mr. Lloyd George's reservations in the offer of dominion status to Ireland and declares that on a consideration of them the whole world is likely to endorse the Sinn Feinner's verdict that the offer is most hollow. It appears as if, it says, the British Government wants Ireland to accept only such rights as are enjoyed by Municipalities or Local Boards or by the Provincial Governments in India. It declares that Ireland's natural position of proximity to Great

Britain is being exploited to deprive her of her right to have her own army, navy, etc., just like Canada and Australia, and that peace seems to be possible only if this position is given up by the British Cabinet. It characterises the other reservations to be similarly unjustifiable and concludes that the Sinn Feinners will not be held to be at fault if the negotiations thus prove to be a failure.

Comments on the Moplah riots.

Bharatwasi (155), 31st Aug.

40. The Moplah rising has bewildered the entire country, including the non-co-operators. We have no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi must have been shocked at the news of this conflagration. But in spite of his noble efforts to attain his end by means of non-violence, we are afraid this incident and the Málegaon incident are precursors of a yet greater storm, which will cause terrible harm to this country.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 30th Aug.; *Ráj Hansa* (86), 5th Sept.; *Vijaya* (90), 3rd Sept.

41. Referring to the Moplah outbreak the *Karnátak Vaibhav* says:—The disastrous consequences of the refusal of Sir Michael O'Dwyer to allow public leaders to enter the Punjab and of the harsh measures which he adopted for suppressing the disturbances, are too well known to need any mention. It is, therefore, the foremost duty of Government to see that the Punjab tragedy is not enacted over gain in Malabár. Lord Reading should visit Malabár personally and should take the direction of affairs into his own hands. He should not give a *carte blanche* to Lord Willingdon, as his predecessor gave to Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the case of the Punjab disturbances. Above all, he should allow the Khilafat leaders, who are more anxious to preserve peace than the Government itself, to visit Malabár. Government need not insist on the use of force for quelling the riots when the same object can be attained by peaceful means. Perhaps the Government of Madras does not want non-co-cperators to take credit for the restoration of peace. But the Government of India need not take this wrong view. No use of force should be allowed beyond what might appear to be absolutely necessary and Government should take all possible measures to avoid unnecessary loss of life and any wanton humiliation or molestation of the people. [The *Ráj Hansa* says:—The proper course for Lord Willingdon would have been to give Mr. Yakub Hassan a chance to pacify the people and await the result of his self-imposed mission. The Governor would then have been justified in proclaiming Martial Law, after consulting Lord Reading. But how can Lord Willingdon repose any confidence in the ability of a good man like Mr. Hassan to restore peace? How indeed can we expect His Lordship to co-operate with Mr. Hassan? Are not the disturbances the outcome of the distrust which the officials show towards Indians? Is it not the bureaucracy itself which first preached and practised non-co-operation? The principle originated and flourished with the bureaucracy itself before it found a refuge with the Indians. The proper course for Government is to restore peace with the help of such leaders of the people as the Mahatma, Mr. Yakub Hassan and the Ali Brothers. The *Vijaya* says:—While all non-co-operators will readily admit that the riots in Malabár are opposed to the spirit of non-co-operation and even fatal to its cause, and while they will also admit the necessity of promptly checking this outburst of violence by every possible means, they are not at all prepared to throw the whole blame for the occurrences on the unfortunate rioters. The adage that it takes two hands to produce a clapping sound is known to us all. From the consent which Lord Reading has given to the proclamation of Martial Law for putting down the riots, it would seem that His Lordship has visited the scene of the riots personally and from his personal knowledge of the facts has been convinced of the necessity of taking this extreme measure of repression. But our readers have somehow come to know that all our unfortunate brothers in those places which have been placed under Martial Law are innocent and peace-loving. From the frequent reports of violence and atrocities committed by the Moplahs which are freely supplied to us by Government without letting us know anything about the other side of the matter, every sane man will at once realize that the Government are past masters in the art of revealing other people's faults and concealing their own. From the way in which they sing the praises of any European official that might have fallen a chance victim to the violence of the Moplahs it would appear that our kind-hearted Government regard the helpless Moplahs who are losing their lives by hundreds as no better than the worms that are crushed under our feet. But Government must remember that we feel a thousand times greater pain for every drop of Moplah blood that is shed than the grief which Government feel when any favourite official of their loses his life. But why did the Moplahs resort to such an orgy of destruction when all the brave sons of mother India have stood so firmly for non-co-operation? One shudders to imagine the devastation which would have taken place if the movement of non-co-operation had not been in existence.]

Rájakáran (131), 4th Sept.; *Lokasangraha* (116), 4th and 5th Sept.;
Loksaháhi (119), 5th Sept.

42. It is absolutely necessary that the local officials who are primarily responsible for the Moplah outbreak should be suitably punished. But the English will never punish their officials whatever be the number of their mistakes. Although Dyer and O'Dwyer committed so many heinous offences, no punishment was meted out to them and they are now comfortably enjoying their pensions in England. The authorities will not reprimand Mr. Thomas and the other local officials although the rising was due to their stupidity and incompetency, but, on the contrary, they will vent their spleen on Mahatma Gandhi and the other popular leaders. This is why there is unrest everywhere in the country. Indeed discontent and unrest owe their origin to the misdeeds and oppression of local officials. Whenever there is an outbreak the conduct of the official in whose jurisdiction it takes place should be inquired into and he should be punished if found guilty. Instead, the bureaucracy are accustomed to blame the popular leaders for the consequences of their own misdeeds. A careful inquiry into the causes of riots such as those in Malabár will convince Lord Reading that the only effective remedy which can put a stop to similar outbreaks is to give *swarájya* to India. [The *Lokasangraha* writes:—The reports that reach us from Malabár about the persecution of the Hindus, even assuming that they are grossly exaggerated, make us extremely sad. If it be true that the Moplahs have desecrated only one Hindu temple instead of many, and converted one single Hindu to Islam instead of several, as reported, then we irresistibly come to the conclusion that our Muhammadan countrymen have not yet wholly given up their idea of making the Hindus change their faith by force. What is the use of prattling about unity so long as this idea is there? Leaving out of account the present disturbances we have always been noticing that whenever there is a conflict between the Hindus and the Muhammadans, the latter invariably defile a Hindu temple and attack the honour of Hindu women. The Moplahs rose to attain *swarájya* and what was their first act? They defiled a Hindu temple and made the Hindus submit to circumcision! This news ought to exasperate every true Hindu. Mr. Yakub Hassan published letters condemning the policy of Government, but he says nothing about the excesses committed by his co-religionists in this respect. The omission is significant. It is the duty of the Khilafatists to express their strong disapproval of acts such as these. If they fail in this duty then the unity of the Hindus and the Muhammadans will be of a fictitious character and the two communities will look upon each other with suspicion. It is very strange that even the Hindu papers have nothing to say against the outrage of the Moplahs. Has the life of Shivaji nothing to teach us? Should we remain quiet when the cross or the crescent is thrust upon us in place of our Ganpati? In our opinion this campaign of proselytization can be successfully met by re-admitting the converted men into Hinduism. In a subsequent issue the paper declares that since non-violence is the essence of non-co-operation it is wrong to hold the movement responsible for the rising of the Moplahs who have committed all sorts of excesses. The *Lokashdhi*, on the other hand, disbelieves the reports of forcible conversions and declares that they have been circulated by Government with a view to disrupting the unity of the Hindus and the Muhammadans. It then writes:—Although we emphatically disapprove of the idea of rebellion, we cannot but admire the zeal of the Moplahs in the cause of *swarájya* and their willingness to fight for it. The Moplahs are evidently in the wrong and we have nothing to say if Government put down their revolt. But they should remember that the desire for *swarájya* is at the bottom of this rising and if they wish that similar outbreaks should not take place at other places in the country, they should immediately give *swarájya* to India.]

Gramya Swarájya (63), 6th Sept.; *Political Bhomiyo* (72), 9th Sept.;
Gujarát Mitra (16), 4th Sept.

43. It would not be wrong to throw all the responsibility for the Moplah riots on our Khilafat workers. The Khilafat workers have been implicated in all the disturbances that have so far taken place in the country. This leads us to the conclusion that our Moslem brethren lose their heads at the slightest provocation, commit acts of indiscretion and thus do harm to the cause they have embraced. In these circumstances it would be wrong to hold Government responsible for the riots which go to prove that the followers of the non-violent non-co-operation movement have neglected the fundamental principle of their creed and have not been able to control their followers. The popular leaders of Malabár have failed in their duty. These riots have seriously retarded the progress of the non-co-operation movement. [The *Political Bhomiyo* writes:—We do not know what still greater evil will result from Mr. Gandhi's persistence in his policy of non-co-operation in spite of numerous instances of its unfortunate results. It is therefore the duty of all clear thinking men to do all in their power to put an end to the non-co-operation movement which has been causing breaches of the peace in the country. The *Gujarát Mitra* blames Lord Willingdon for refusing to accept Mr. Yakub Hassan's offer to pacify the Moplahs and believes that if Government give up false notions of prestige and ask Mr. Gandhi to proceed to Malabár he would be able to quell the riots.]

Young India (12), 8th Sept.

44. Mr Gandhi writes:—"Malabár is under Martial Law. The reprisals on the part of the Government are still to follow. The braver the insurgents, the sterner the punishment. Such is the law of governments. And I would not have minded the loss of ten times as many lives as the Moplahs must have lost, if only they had remained strictly non-violent. They would then have brought *swaráj* nearest. It is any day worth all the price we can pay in our own lives......... There would have been no Martial Law, if only the Moplahs had died. And if there had been, it would have been thrice welcome. It would have ended the system of Government which is decimating the land. .... Our own duty is clear. Non-co-operators must wash their hands clean of all complicity. We must not betray any mental or secret approval of the Moplahs. We must see clearly, that it would be dishonourable for us to show any approval of the violence. We must search for no extenuating circumstance......... We may plead, as indeed we must, if we have acted honestly, that in spite of our efforts we have not been able to bring under check and discipline all the turbulent sections of the community. The choice for the people lies between the gentle and self-imposed rule of non-violenec and non-co-operation, and the iron rule of the Government. The latter is now demonstrating its power and ability to counteract all the forces of violence by its superior and trained violence. We have no answer, if we cannot show that we have greater influence over the people.......... What is it that hinders attainment of *swaráj*, if it is not fear of violence? Are we not deterred simply through that fear, from taking all our steps at once? Can we not, if we can be sure of non-violence, issue to-day an ultimatum to the Government either to co-operate with us or to go?......... The Moplahs are among the bravest in the land. They are God-fearing. Their bravery must be transformed into purest gold.......... I wonder, if it is possible for us to transmute their courage into the nobler courage of non-violence. It may be impossible to achieve the miracle through human effort. But God is noted for His miracles. Many consider that attainment of *swarâj* this year, if it is realised, must be counted a miracle. It has got to be preceded by a miraculous conversion of India, not excluding its bravest sons, to the doctrine of non-violence at least in its restricted scope, *i.e.*, as an indispensable condition for securing India's freedom."

Servant of India (8), 8th Sept.

45. "One is glad to note that the Moplah disturbances in Malabár are subsiding though atrocities are still reported from the interior. The concentration of the military near the Tirurangadi mosque has not resulted in as much bloodshed as we had feared, and now that Ali Musaliar and other leaders are captured we hope the resistance of the rebels will soon break down. In accounting for this rising, prominence has been given in some quarters to the provocative behaviour of the local police and the agrarian grievances of the Moplahs. The conduct of the police in Malabár and elsewhere generally has not unfortunately been above reproach, but the horrors perpetrated by the Moplahs on their peaceful Hindu neighbours—murders, outrages on women, forcible conversion to Islam—prove their insensate fanaticism to be the real cause of the outbreak. And there can be little doubt that this fanaticism was roused and spread by the Khilafat propaganda which by preaching defiance of law and constituted authority has created an atmosphere conducive to lawlessness."

Mr. Gandhi and the Malabar disturbances.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 5th Sept.

46. Mr. Gandhi has waked up a little too late in expressing his disapproval and condemnation of the Moplah riots in his public lecture at Chitagong and we hope that Mr. Gandhi's opinion in the matter of these riots will enlighten some of his inconsiderate followers. It should also be noted that the Khilafat and Congress Committees of Madras have admitted their inability to pacify the Moplahs. These riots should set those people athinking who have been preaching to the people that *swarâj* has been secured by those who think that they have already secured it. Surprise is expressed by some people at the belief entertained by Government that the Bolshevists have a hand in the Moplah riots. These people think that only the Russians can be Bolshevists and as they are fully occupied with their own affairs they cannot possibly have any hand in instigating the Moplahs. But it must be remembered that all those who make it their business to create disorder can be styled as Bolshevists. We are of the opinion that a certain section of the Bolshevists in India are in league with Lord Sydenham who has taken the lead in opposing the reforms. Mr. Gandhi should carefully consider the misconstruction placed upon his doctrines by the people of this country as also the weapon the mad pranks of these people afford to the opponents of the reform scheme.

Comparison between Lenin and Mr. Gandhi.

Gujarat Vartamán (64), 7th Sept.

47. Mr. Gandhi and Lenin are men of the same type with this difference that while the former advocates non-violence the latter preaches violence. But this difference disappears in the actual practice of their respective doctrines. Mr. Gandhi seems to have given prominence to non-violence to throw dust in the eyes of the people. The Moplah riots afford an example to show how far Mr. Gandhi's advice is followed in this country. Non-violent non-co-operation is to all intents and purposes a movement that preaches violence. Every right thinking man and woman should, therefore, take care to see that India does not sink into Russian Bolshevism by the preachings of Mr. Gandhi and his followers.

Martial Law in Malabar.

Hindusthán (20), 9th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 5th Sept.

48. Those who justify the declaration of Martial Law in Malabár declare that Lord Reading's Martial Law Ordinance is safer and less dangerous than that of Lord Chelmsford. But it must be noted that Lord Chelmsford had not given any promise of indemnity to the officials who were employed in the Punjáb but Lord Reading has afforded indemnity to the officials employed in Malabár without even consulting the Indian Legislature. It is urged that the Martial Law Courts will try only minor offences, but it must be noted that under the Martial Law military officers will have powers to give orders to shoot down people. Who is to be held responsible for killing thousands of people in such a manner? We cannot derive any consolation from the announcement to the effect that major offences will be tried in the criminal courts. Is impartial and unadulterated justice administered by our criminal courts? Are not the dictates of bureaucrats obeyed by such courts while trying political offences? In these circumstances courts martial and ordinary criminal courts stand on the same footing. [The *Bombay Samáchár*, on the other hand, thanks Lord Reading for the wise precautions he has taken in the matter of the Martial Law Ordinance and expresses confidence that it will not be kept in force for a day longer than required and will be enforced with tact and judgment.]

Comments on His Excellency Lord Willingdon's speech before the Madras Legislative Council on the Moplah disturbances.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Sept.

49. "In singular contrast to the studiously guarded language of the Viceregal survey of events in Malabár was Lord Willingdon's highly provoking and hysterical utterance on the opening day of the Madras Legislative Council session last week. While Lord Reading was careful not to suggest that there was any organisation behind the sudden conflagration that burst out on the 20th August at Tirurangadi, Lord Willingdon's Government have been recklessly declaring from the very beginning, before they had before them any connected report of the disturbances, that there was 'an organisation among the Moplahs to resist lawful authority by force.' Lord Willingdon repeated this extraordinary allegation in the Council last week.......... Lord Willingdon is only repeating the role played by Sir Michael two years ago. Like Sir Michael he too suggests in a reckless fashion that, 'The suddenness and the extent of the conflagration points irresistibly to the existence of a widespread and dangerous organisation whose leaders were only watching for an opportunity to attempt by violence to overthrow the existing Government and to exploit for that purpose the religious fanaticism of the Moplah.' From an unbiassed and careful study of all the reports, official and non-official, appearing in the papers so far, we have no hesitation whatsoever in declaring that there is absolutely no warrant for the highly exaggerated view of things taken by Lord Willingdon. If, as Lord Willingdon suggests, there was an organisation behind the Moplah disturbances, how does he prove the fact? If there was an organisation why was Mr. Thomas, the District Magistrate, silent about it in the first communiqué he issued after the outbreak? That there are serious discrepancies between the Madras Government's version of the events and causes leading to the outbreak and that of Mr. Thomas will be apparent to our readers from a comparison of the first communiqués issued by them......... Whereas the Government communiqué makes out that the Collector went out to effect the arrest of the leaders of a 'widespread and dangerous' organisation to resist Government, as well as of the leaders behind the picketing movement, Mr. Thomas himself declares that he was out on a hunt for 'war knives' and certain persons under section 8 of the Moplah Outrage Act. Not a word is said by him of his discovery of any 'organisation' to overthrow the Government... ..... In view of these highly conflicting versions, is it not obligatory on Lord Willingdon to be guarded in his statements regarding the origin of the outbreak and to refrain from throwing mud at the non-co-operators till at least he has ordered an enquiry to be made into the cause of the disturbances and he has the Committee's findings at his disposal? But instead of doing so, he proceeds to prejudice the issue by fathering the entire blame on the non-co-operation movement and further warns the public that conditions similar to those obtaining in Malabár prior to the outbreak are obtaining in the Circars and Delta Districts and that he is resolved 'to enforce the observance of law and order in all parts of the Presidency'. We have seen what are the methods by which the observance of 'law and order' has been enforced in Malabár. Is the whole of Madras Presidency going to be plunged into a state of war?"

Probable effects of prosecuting the Ali Brothers.

Young India (12), 8th Sept.

50. Mr. Gandhi writes in *Young India*:—"I hope that the rumour about the impending prosecution of the Brothers is untrue. If the Government really desire that the issue between them and the people should be decided on merits and by the ripening of public opinion, they will leave the Brothers alone. I shall certainly hope that the people will remain calm, dignified and firm, in spite of their prosecution and incarceration. But their incarceration will make the task of preservation of peace more difficult than it already is. No two men have so successfully restrained the Musalmans as these two patriots have. They have, in season and out of season, in private and public, preached and practised non-violence. And even in respect of the speeches, some parts of which seemed to bear a contrary interpretation, I know that they never meant violence. The prosecution of the Brothers would, therefore, mean an intention to strangle the ever-growing Khilafat agitation in India, and would amount to a direct challenge to the Indian Musalmans, and indeed, to the whole of India. For the Khilafat has become an Indian question. It is no longer merely a Musalman grievance. But I write this more to warn the people than the Government.......... We have dared openly to desire and to prepare for the end of the existing system of Government, and challenged its administrators to do their worst. We must neither be surprised nor angry if they treat us seriously and take up the challenge. For they must, some day or other, take us at our word and put us to the invited test, or mend in accordance with our will......... There must not be any *hartal*."

Lokashahi (119), 5th Sept; *Lokamánya* (115), 10th Sept.

51. Commenting upon the report that the Government of India contemplated, in consultation with the Government in England, the arrest of the Ali Brothers and the other leaders, the *Lokashahi* writes:—Until Mr. Montagu issued his fiendish order for the wholesale arrest of popular leaders the Viceroy himself had no objection to an agitation which was essentially free from violence. He only wished that it should not encourage violence and should not transgress the limits of the law. He showed the greatness of his mind by indirectly expressing his admiration for Mahatma Gandhi's movement because of its freedom from violence. Therefore, up to this time it was not enough for a man to be a leader or a non co-operator to qualify himself for life in jail. Of course, formerly the bureaucracy used to send to jail a man even when he was perfectly innocent. God has taken pity on the poor bureaucracy and they are now at liberty to arrest anyone who happens to be a leader. Government have not made a wise decision. They should have realised the futility of repression by their experience in Ireland. They believe that agitation will cease with the arrest of the leaders, and that with the cessation of agitation they will again be able to exploit the country without being molested by anyone. But now there is an awakening in the country and people have become conscious of their rights. They know that they are slaves and they are ashamed of their condition. Perhaps Government are proud of their vast stores of arms and ammunition, but are they sure that they still continue to exercise sway over the minds of their Indian troops who make use of these and win victories for them? Indians serving in the army and the police have become conscious of the fact that the Government is alien and that to kill or persecute their own people at the bidding of foreigners is to enslave their own kith and kin. What will Government do if these men lay down their arms being seized with a desire to attain independence? Government derive their power from the people and the latter can make short work of that Government which is unmindful of their interests. Indians aim at *swarájya* and they will not be satisfied until they get it. The *Lokamánya* says that the report that it has been decided to take legal action against the Ali Brothers will not fail to give pain to both the Hindus and the Muhammadans. It tells Government that they are wrong in believing that the arrest and imprisonment of the Brothers will allay the unrest and discontent in the country. Such a course will, it remarks, only result in aggravating the present situation.

Exhortation to the people not to allow the repressive policy of Government to make them relax their efforts for the attainment of *swarájya.*

Raj Hansa (86), 5th Sept.

52. When the gods and the demons churned the ocean, such things as poison came out first and nectar was obtained only at the end. The situation in India bears a striking rensemblance to this Indian myth. On one side there are the extremists with their ceaseless political activities for the uplift of the nation. On the other side are ranged the powers of the bureaucracy which desires to keep India in slavery with a view to exploit its wealth. Both sides are standing face to face and have commenced the action of churning. If we wish to secure the nectar of *swaráj* we have to put up with the deadly poison in the shape of difficulties and troubles which are inflicted upon us. Firings, bloodshed and injustice are the outward visible effects of this poison which we have to endure. Those who yearn for the nectar of *swaráj* should endure all this and by peaceful agitation should snatch the nectar from the hands of the bureaucracy. India will have no peace until this supreme task is accomplished.

The non-co-operation movement and the bureaucracy.

Mahrátta (7), 11th Sept.

*53. "The one item in the non-co-operation propaganda, that of all others would sooner bring down the bureaucracy, is the Swadeshi and the Boycott of foreign cloth; and as that is tightening, the bureaucracy and its underlings are making desperate attempts to save the situation. It is their sad lot that there happen to be many a shepherd among them, but not the necessary sheep to keep their business going. Since the introduction of the boycott of foreign cloth even the Central Government has taken fright and issued instructions to withstand that campaign. The co-operators were only too ready to embrace them as a recovered child, and from the Governor and his Dewan down to the Collector and the Mamlatdar, all have taken it in their head to crush the movement. So, organisation, mobilisation and recruitment has fast begun. For organization they have established Gulam Sabhas and are propagating them. Forces of Government are already mobilised. But what of recruitment of the *pindharis?* For that purpose Government seem to have instructed their Collectors and Mamlatdars to do additional duties as recruiting commissioners and officers. Our Hendersons and Moyseys gladly seized the occasion to make their name and fame. Only recently, an earnest attempt was made to gather the sheep—the patels of the Bijápur District—under the official banner and make them proclaim their loyalty to the skies. But there were certain black sheep and the whole affair turned into a big fiasco. Now news comes that the Mamlatdar of Karad, District Sátára, has ordered the patels and talatis of his Taluka to attend his office with recruits ready to enlist as members of the Gulam Sabha recently established at Sátára. He gives the object of the Sabha to be to prevent the ill effects of non-co-operation, drink-prohibition, and boycott of foreign cloth, and to contradict the false reports about the British Government. He also hints that the one kind of men useful for this are the Satyashodhakas. We hope wiser counsels will prevail and save the non-Brahmins from playing into the hands of the bureaucracy! Non-co-operators, however, need have no fear. The bureaucracy has grown aged in its long hut, and is already in the grip of death. It can never stem the popular stream with its broom. Let it therefore make the deathbed confession and prepare for death. Nothing can now save."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Sept.

54. "'Their (the bureaucracy's) prestige has nearly vanished and we are free of the hypnotic spell. Their growing demoralisation is the proof of the success of our movement'—so declared Lala Lajpatrai at Ferozpore. He instanced the case of a Deputy Commissioner going from village to village

and the people, who formerly were afraid of his *chaprasi*, not minding the least what the 'Sab' told them. Nay, the Deputy was reduced to the necessity of filing a complaint against a *boy* for shouting 'Mahatma Gandhi ki jai!' When the bureaucracy are reduced to the pass of dismissing a father in their service because he had a son who consorted with the non-co-operators, of threatening Government servants with the bureaucracy's displeasure if they permit their wives (not child-wives, mind, but adult ones) to take part in the non-co-operation movement, of sending six boys to jail for distributing leaflets, while the author of those leaflets himself is left untouched—when such become the ordinary weapons in the official armoury for fighting the non-co-operation movement, things are at a pretty pass."

Sandesh (135), 7th Sept.

55. The *Sandesh* says that the one thing which is exercising the minds of the people at present is the oppressive rule of the bureaucracy. It asks the people to throw off the yoke of the bureaucracy which is responsible for the tragedies of the Punjab, Dhárwár and the Mulshi Peta. It urges the completion of the programme of non-co-operation in its entirety and asks the people to make the Swadeshi movement a success before the present month is out. The paper tells the people to use only *khadi* and to devise measures to increase its output.

Burning of foreign cloth.

Hindusthán (20), 6th Sept.

56. The *Hindusthán* endorses the appeal made by Mr. Andrews to Mr. Gandhi not to burn foreign clothing and to supply it to the needy people of Khulna, Ahmednagar and other places. The paper then refers to the weaning enthusiasm of the people of Bombay in the matter of wearing *khadi* and asks Mr. Gandhi not to preach the burning of foreign cloth as in its opinion it would lead to high prices and scarcity of Swadeshi cloth.

Sedition is not a crime but a duty.

Hindu (158), 1st Sept.

57. It is crime to speak anything against the Government or an Administration which is based on truth and justice and which acts according to popular opinion. But it is no sedition to speak against a Government or an Administration which is not based on truth or justice and which does not act in accordance with the voice of the people. On the contrary it is our religious duty to create hatred against such a Government. The Government of today, by the manner in which it has forsaken truth, murdered justice and ignored popular opinion, deserves any amount of hatred to be created against it. It is because our young men have acted on this principle that they have been sent to jail. Government is at liberty to send us to jail for preaching sedition. It is a matter of indifference to us. We believe we have endured hardships with pleasure in the performance of our duty. We shall suffer hardships, we shall go to jail, we shall go to the gallows, but like Masur we shall utter from our mouths the words "Vande Mataram". Like Arjuna it is our firm belief that it is our duty to oppose sin. We know that we have nothing personal to gain from this. Our only gain will be, that this prolonged wicked rule will be destroyed. If, while fighting the wickedness, we are killed we shall go to heaven. If we are victorious India will be free. Our methods may or may not be useful, but we have the satisfaction to know that we are fighting against wickedness in accordance with our humble judgment. And this is every one's duty; today this is every one's religion. We may consider ourselves guilty of sedition only when there may be more of goodness than evil in the present Government! But it has more evil than good in it. The evils of Government have been sufficiently exposed. This is no time for further talk over the matter. This is the time of action. The work that we have to do is one that might lead us soon to our goal. And the Indian National Congress has decided that the movement of non-co-operation should be worked with greater force than heretofore. The voice of the Congress is the voice of God and the decision of the majority is welcome to us. We must stick to this work even if Government calls it

sedition or treason! The wicked Kansa called Krishna a demon, but every one knows who the demon was! Brothers, let us start our work. Sedition is no crime but our duty to-day. He who fails in that duty is an enemy to his country, and is a sinner before God.

Civil disobedience should be started at once.

Shakti ( ), 30th Aug.

58. Indians are, by constitution, lovers of truth and respecters of Law. Hence they find it irksome to live under the rule of an unjust and oppressive ruler. But their method of destroying such a rule, successfully pursued in former times, is not violence but strict adherence to Truth or Satyagraha. The present Government of India having strayed away from the path of righteousness and justice, several Indians are seriously considering whether it would not be advisable for the country to use its ancient weapon of Satyagraha or civil disobedience in answer to Government repression. We think it is high time to start it. Let the All-India Congress Committee issue instructions to the Provincial Committees to preach civil disobedience and boycott at the same time, and prepare a list of persons who may be ready to sacrifice their all for their motherland. These latter may then be asked to preach all over the country "Swarāj by December next" and thus prepare the people for the day when liberty will be finally achieved. Let us see how the Government represses these national workers. Their incarceration will on the contrary stimulate the growth of the ideas of freedom among the people of this country.

"Aman Sabhas" or Leagues of Peace will not command the confidence of the public.

New Times (8), 3rd Sept.

59. "The bureaucracy finding that the moderate party failed in combating the movement have started 'Aman Sabhas', 'Leagues of Peace,'—as though non-co-operation itself was not pledged to peace and order! A respectable gentleman from the moffusil met us the other day and talked of the Aman Sabha in his place. 'I am not a non-co-operator,' he said; 'but,' he added, 'the Aman Sabha is started by hypocrites who want to please the officials.' .... These 'Aman Sabhas' may spring up in many places; they will not command confidence of the public. The European class in India is, evidently, becoming aware of the fact that neither the 'moderate party' nor the 'Aman Sabha' party are able to check the movement. Bureaucratic repression has continued for some time; it has failed. Non-co-operators have gone to jail cheerfully......... The bureaucracy has not been able to break the morale of the movement. Prison has lost its terrors for the true non-co-operator. The movement has not proved to be a 'futile agitation'; it is the bureaucratic methods which have proved futile. The Government now, according to a report, intend taking 'immediate action' against the principal 'agitators'. .... The most unfortunate Moplah riots have also given an excuse to the critics to urge that non-co-operation must no longer continue. Repression may, any day, develop into coercion; the result will be not peace but the driving deeper of unrest."

Comments on the resolution on non-co-operation with Government passed by the extraordinary session of the Hindu Sabha.

Kesari (111), 6th Sept.

60. The *Kesari* refers to the passing of the non-co-operation resolution by the special session of the Hindu Dharma Sabha held at Brindaban and remarks that the resolution shows what has been the effect of Government's disregard of popular sentiment as regards the slaughter of kine. It also refers to the non-co-operation movement among the Akali Sikhs and the utter disappointment prevailing among the Muhammadans on account of England's openly siding with the Greeks in the Græco-Turkish conflict and condemns the bureaucracy for its utter want of foresight in exasperating public opinion more and more. Is Government, it asks, going to commit the folly of still further straining the relations between the rulers and the ruled to the breaking point by further continuing its mad policy?

Reflections on the present disturbed condition of the country.

Indu Prakdsh (44), 7th Sept.

61. The *Indu Prakdsh* dwells on the present troublous times all over the world and says that there being a most evil conjunction of stars in the next fortnight there is no saying what calamities might overtake the country in the days to come. Referring to the unrest at present prevalent in India, the paper attributes it in part to the attitude of the British towards the Turkish question and to its disregard of the appeals of Indian Muhammadans in the matter and expresses its apprehension that many more disturbances like the Moplah one might take place if the fanatical feelings at present inspiring many of the Muhammadans are allowed to grow unchecked. All the present evil movements, in the opinion of the paper, would have been nipped in the bud if the terms of the Turkish treaty had been settled on the principle of self-determination. It expresses confidence that Government will duly punish those guilty of violence, but asks as to who is to be held responsible for letting the Khilafat movement go on unchecked for two years. It admits that the agitators are partly responsible for the present disturbances but points out that it was the negligence of Government that allowed them to disturb the minds of the public. The paper refers to other disturbing factors in the country and says that the present state of things will come to an end only when the higher posts under Government are filled by Indians who can enter into the feelings of the people.

Reflections on the birthday of Shri Krishna.

Swarâj ( ), 24th Aug.

62. The town of Sukkur is busy celebrating the birthday of Shri Krishna. To day India is suffering from hardships similar to those she suffered some four thousand years ago. Like the Pandavas the Indians are strangers in their own country. The five Pandavas, although sons of a Raja, were reduced to beggary. India, which has been favoured by God with an inexhaustible supply of grain, and the buildings of which had at some remote time walls made of gold, is today the poorest country in the world, where the average income per head per day is hardly 9 pies. Thirty crores of people are on the verge of death through starvation. Crores of others again are suffering from acute hunger. The Kauravas played many tricks and resorted to treacherous, oppressive and violent means in order to destroy the Pandavas. In like manner, with a view to put down the Indian nation, the Government today is securing the punishment of innocent nationalist workers by producing false evidence against them in the courts, and has resorted to threats, inducements and repression in order to stop the tide of liberty. Today Bharat is being snubbed and reproachfully told from all sides that the British have been pleased to favour her with the gift of Reforms. But alas! the British have enslaved us and deprived us of our rights. And still we are mocked like this. Of what use is such a disgraceful existence? Today the honour and fame of India are no more. Just as the Pandavas were in the confinement of the impious Kauravas and were therefore unable to prevent the dress of the virtuous Draupadi from being removed by force, so the enslaved Indians today cannot save the honour and shame of their motherland. When Draupadi raised plaintive cries to God, Shri Krishna came to her help. When will Shri Krishna appear for the emancipation of Bharat Mata?

What Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson should do in India.

Kesari (111), 6th Sept.; *Râjakâran* (131), 4th Sept.

63. The *Kesari* referring in its leader to Mr. Pussyfoot Johnson's visit to Poona remarks that he must have been convinced by his experience in this country that while the people were not only favourable but quite impatient to bring about stoppage of the liquor traffic it was the Government, *viz.*, the bureaucracy that was standing in the way. It declares that the object of Indians in welcoming him to the country is not to secure his blessings for extremist politics and non-co-operation, but they wish that he should impartially and fearlessly proclaim his opinion as to the part played by Government in the drink question in connection with which he has come out to India. It points out that the message of prohibition which Mr. Johnson is

preaching requires to be impressed on Government alone as it has been solely responsible for the spread of drink among Indians and that the making of Excise a transferred subject is merely a make-believe inasmuch as the importation of European liquors is still a reserved subject and even if the people be prepared to tax themselves to enable the minister to forego the revenue from country liquor, foreign liquor-shops will still continue to exist to tempt Indian customers. The conclusion, according to the paper, is that total prohibition will be impossible without the achievement of *swarájya*, and that movements like picketing are useful only so far as they help in the *swarájya* agitation. [The *Rájakáran* writes:—Whatever advice Mr. Johnson has to give he should give to our English rulers who espouse the cause of drunkenness. He should carefully note how the authorities harass the picketers through the Police, and should, if possible, remonstrate with them. Mr. Johnson is welcome to make as many speeches as he likes to the friends of the drunkards, the white officials here and the Police. He should, however, see that he does not lose his remaining eye!]

The Turkish treaty and Indian Muslims.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Sept.

64. "How much of the disease of India is at the present moment directly traceable to the Turkish Treaty and the culpable indifference of England to the just claims of the Muslims in regard to it, we leave others to determine; but that Treaty is unquestionably one cause of the present unrest among Muslims and it is one of the chief causes of the non-co-operation movement. The Government of India always knew that Indian Muslims would resent an anti-Muslim settlement; anticipation of their discontent with the Turkish treaty when the terms were known was among the reasons for the passing of the Rowlatt Acts, as we have been credibly informed; yet an anti-Muslim Treaty of the most outrageous kind (even in the opinion of Allied statesmen) was actually imposed on helpless Turkey without serious trouble in India. Why? Because Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation movement and the sympathy of the Hindus gave the Indian Muslims hope of saving Turkey and the Holy Places yet by peaceful means. Since then, things have gone from bad to worse! The Muslims—and we may add the Government of India—have been slighted and insulted by the Government of England, which still almost openly supports the Greek aggression against Turkey.......... The vast majority of Indian Muslims regard England as the enemy of Islam, and with reason. Remove the reason and the enmity upon the Muslim side will disappear immediately. As it is, if the British policy remains unchanged, the horror of the British breach of faith is such as to defy repressive measures. The Muslim men and women of to-day will pass it to their children and their children's children, and the end of British empire in the East is sure; for it is not only in India but in every Muslim country that this horror of the British name is found to-day. The mildest and most reasonable mode of its expression is Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation movement, which is none the less Islamic for being the conception of a Hindu saint. That movement which has offered hope to Indian Muslims and preserved them from counsels of despair deserves the gratitude of all who cherish feelings of humanity. It is regrettable that owing to the tactical or temperamental blunder of a Mr. Thomas its gospel was not suffered to be preached in Malabár.......... The Government of England is almost openly encouraging the supply of armaments to Christian Greece Why should not the Government of India almost openly encourage the supply of armaments to Muslim Turkey? It would mean a great deal sentimentally to the Indian Musalmans, and a great deal materially to the cause they have so much at heart."

EDUCATION.

Criticism of the Honourable Mr. Paranjape's educational policy.

Ráj Hansa (86), 4th Sept.

65. It is well known that when anybody accepts service under this Government, he is reduced to the position of a cow tied to a peg in a cattle-shed. The Minister of Education is now more or less in the same pitiable plight. In 1919 he was a strong advocate of compulsory primary education and unsparing in his criticism of the policy of Government in regard to primary education. But now that he has donned the robes of office, he has all at once undergone a sudden change, brought about as it were by the wand of a magician, and has become the object of reproaches and adverse criticisms from every quarter. What a tremendous difference do we see between Mr. Paranjape as the champion of primary education of former days and the present Mr. Paranjape in the capacity of a Minister. The unfortunate Minister has of late incurred the severe displeasure of our non-Brahmin brothers. Whispers have been already coming to our ears that they regard the Brahmin Minister as incapable of doing any good to the non-Brahmins. But there is no help. If we had the power of appointing the Minister, we would have conferred the appointment on Mr. Hulkoti or Mr. Halkatti or any body else from the ranks of non-Brahmins and watched to see what they would have been capable of achieving. But unfortunately for us and for our non-Brahmin brothers the appointment is not in our hands. This proves conclusively that the reforms are hollow like a cocoanut shell without its kernel. The Minister, if he tries to go against the wishes of the Government, will be compelled to resign his post. Even if the Minister is chosen from the Lingayat M. L. C.'s of the Karnátak, he could not do more than what the Brahmin Minister is doing. We do not know what to say of Mr. Paranjape, who wants to please the bureaucracy on the one hand and satisfy the clamour of the popular party on the other. It would have been well if Mr. Paranjape had told us plainly what his actual position is with the Government and what powers are really entrusted to him. The people would then get an opportunity to come forward and assert their real rights and Mr. Paranjape would come to be regarded by all as the real benefactor of the people.

Comments on the attitude of Government towards the Schools conducted by non-co-operating Municipalities.

Praja Bandhu (28), 4th Sept.

66. The *Praja Bandhu* remarks that the Government Educational Department has been all wroth since the time the Ahmedabad, Surat and Nadiad Municipalities non-co-operated with Government regarding the management of primary schools. The paper thinks that the efforts of the Educational Department have so far proved in vain and are likely to be so in future. It points out that the Government Educational Department tries to frustrate the attempts of the municipalities to manage their own schools. It remarks that these attempts disgrace the Educational Department of the Government of Bombay and prove that the bureaucracy still retains its unjust power. The paper disapproves of the step taken by Government in refusing to hand over the amount of the pension fund of those teachers who are to be henceforward subordinate to the Ahmedabad Municipality.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the Poona City Municipality's resolution to stop payment of pumping expenses in connection with the Poona Drainage.

Mahrátta (7), 11th Sept.

*67. "It is a good thing that the Poona City Municipality has at last decided to stop the present show of sewage-pumping for which it has to pay about Rs. 85,000 to Government per year with no practical benefit to the citizens of Poona.......... From the papers before the General Committee of the Poona City Municipality, we only find that the Sanitary Engineer and his lieutenants are not prepared to look to the economic interest of even the general rate-payers—leaving aside the question of the poor and helpless municipal rate-payers of Poona—because the officers care more for their own prestige than for the interests of the rate-payers who pay their salaries. Lakhs of rupees were wasted at the time of construction of these works and the request of the Municipality for getting the detailed accounts is left unattended. There is at present *primâ facie* evidence that points to the possibility of grave irregularities and even swindling of public funds and if, in spite of these definite charges, Government still persists in conniving at this matter, the people will be justified in charging Government with suppressing the frauds of its pet officers and thus of being guilty of criminal neglect. We would like to draw the attention of His Excellency Lord Reading and his Government to the Poona Drainage scandal which is, it appears, being suppressed without proper inquiry by the Bombay Government.......... This Government Department of Sanitary Engineering, as it is constituted and working to-day, can be deservingly called a Department established to devise costly, impracticable and ambitious schemes of sanitary improvement and thus to serve as an effective brake on the people's demand for prompt measures to improve public health.......... We expect that the resolution of the Poona City Municipality to stop payment of pumping expenses from 1st November 1921 is a step forward in the right direction and we propose to await with interest to see how things develop during the next month or two."

NATIVE STATES.

The Press Act and Native States.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 11th Sept.

***68.** "His Excellency remarked with reference to the decision to repeal the Press Act that it might become necessary to consider what form of protection should be given in substitution to ruling Princes against seditious attacks upon them in newspapers published in British India. In regard to this question, some points arise for consideration. Do the ruling Princes themselves desire that they should be protected by special measures? It is not enough if one or a few of them, much less if the Political Agents report that they, do so.......... For our own part, we do not see why any special measure is necessary so long as a ruling Prince can stop any newspaper, which indulges in seditious attacks on him, from coming into his territory. The next point to consider is whether protection of ruling Princes from criticism in British Indian newspapers, will not operate as closing down the only means that subjects of most of the States now have of ventilating their grievances. There are, of course, no newspapers of any importance in Indian States. Journalism does not thrive even in the most enlightened of them.......... The third point is, will it conduce to the permanent good of the States to be rendered immune from criticism in the British Indian press? To give them special protection against seditious attacks is merely a roundabout way of forbidding respectable newspapers to write about them. The Government policy at present is complete non-interference in the internal affairs of the States. There is no press, no effective public opinion, in them. Their affairs cannot be discussed in the Legislative Councils of India. The British Indian press is thus the only power that can exercise some influence on them.......... The protection demanded may not, after all, be so much for ruling Princes as for Political officers who naturally would like to enjoy unlimited freedom of action in Indian States at least. Lastly, if the British Indian press may not comment on the affairs of Indian States, but the British press is free to do so, the protected Princes will be exposed to temptations and dangers which it should not be difficult for a shrewd judge of human nature like Lord Reading to imagine."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 16th September 1921.

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For the week ending 17th September 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on the special tribunal to try Martial Law cases in Malabár. 20
Comments on this year's Ganpati *mela* songs at Poona 16
Implications of the Khilafat movement 22
Martial Law should be relaxed in Malabár and a judicial inquiry instituted 19
Methods of effecting economy in public expenditure in India and England contrasted 12
Moderates and Extremists are agreed as to the inadequacy of the Reforms 11
Protest against an alleged attempt on the part of Brahmins to set up non-Brahmins against Government. 17
Protest against the Collector of Dhárwár's circular asking his subordinates to carry on anti-boycott propaganda 18
Reflections on the outrages committed by the Moplahs on the Hindu population . . . . 23 & 24
Relations between Afghanistan and the Government of India . . 14
The Irish question 15
The Khilafat and Indian politics 21
The non-co-operation movement and the Moplah riots. . . . . 25 & 26
The Secretary of State and the sale of Reverse Councils . . . 13

Excise:

Comments on the anti-picketing steps being taken in Belgaum . . 47
Comments on the Government of India's circular regarding picketing . 48
His Excellency the Governor: His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and Sind 10
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Protest against the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales 9

Indian Legislature:

Comments on the His Excellency the Viceroy's speech before the— . 1—4
Debate in the Legislative Assembly on the resolution regarding repeal of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act . . . . . 5 & 6
Resolution for welcoming the Prince of Wales before the— . . 7 & 8
Indian in the Colonies: Status of Indians in German West Africa . . 46

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Military matters :
- Alleged discontent among Indian troops abroad 50
- Comments on the addition of fifteen new battalions to the Indian Army 51

Non-co-operation :
- Appeal to Mr. Gandhi to suspend — 44
- Comments on the arrest of the Ali Brothers . . . . 27—31
- Comments on the notice issued by the Congress Committee of Dhárwár requesting the people not to make any demonstrations when judgment is delivered in the Dhárwár shooting case 39
- Comments on the reply given by the Marwari merchants of Calcutta to Mr. Gandhi about boycott of foreign cloth 37
- Complaint that Mahatma Gandhi and his followers are doing nothing to save the people from starvation 45
- Foreign cloth boycott movement is telling upon the export trade of England 36
- Hindu-Moslem unity 35
- Protest against the picketing of cloth shops in Calcutta 38
- Public agitation cannot be killed by repression 34
- Repression in Sind 33
- Swadeshi includes boycott and national education 41
- *Swarájya* is being gradually won 43
- The — movement now exists only in name 42
- What Manchester trade means to India. 40
- Would it be safe to punish the Ali Brothers 32

Public Service ; An Indian should be appointed Member for Commerce in succession to Sir T. Holland 49

War :
- Persia and the Angora Government 55
- Reflections on the martyrdom of Imam Husain 54
- The Allies are responsible for the horrid state of affairs in Russia . 56
- The European powers are bent on destroying Turkey 52
- The Turco-Greek conflict 53

EDUCATION—
- Attitude of Government towards Municipal schools in Surat 57
- The Ahmedabad Municipality and the Educational Department . . . 58

NATIVE STATES—
- Alleged high-handedness of the Junagadh State Police 59
- The Press Act and Native States 60

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's speech before the Indian Legislature.

***Gujaráti* (15), 11th Sept.**

1. The *Gujaráti* deals at length with His Excellency Lord Reading's opening speech before the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly. According to the paper, in this speech His Excellency has preferred to hold the scales even between the two parties in India, *viz.*, that of the people and that made up of the bureaucracy and the Anglo-Indians. As for His Excellency's remarks with regard to the Prince of Wales's visit, the paper thinks that it would have been well if Lord Reading had given the assurance that the welcome given by the people to the Prince would not be interpreted by the authorities as meaning that the people are satisfied with the present system of administration. Coming to the portion of the speech relating to the Moplah riots, the paper declares that in it Lord Reading has not uttered a single bitter word calculated to injure anyone's feelings or to rouse anybody's anger. The paper further remarks that there is no doubt that after peace is restored it will be necessary for Lord Reading to have an independent inquiry made into the causes of this rising, and that the only way in which the people can be stopped from being carried away towards anarchy is to do justice in the matter of the Punjáb tragedy and to dismiss those Government officers who were guilty of those outrages and to stop their pensions. The paper strongly disapproves of Government's intention to retain the provision in the Indian Press Act which affords protection to Indian Princes against attacks in the Press in British India. The paper declares that such provision is quite unnecessary as the Indian Princes are well able to take care of themselves; and, besides, if the ordinary law of sedition is deemed sufficient for the protection of the honour of the British Government, there is no reason why the Indian Princes should be given such special protection.

Indu Prakásh (44), 12th Sept.

2. The *Indu Prakásh* appreciatively refers to His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech at the joint sitting of the Indian Legislatures and remarks that if such occasions are more constantly availed of by the Viceroy to place the Government's side before the people there will be an open and frank exchange of views and removal of misunderstandings leading to a more smooth carrying on of the administration. His Majesty the King-Emperor has in his proclamation asked for the co-operation of the people. The question was who should extend the hand of co-operation first—the Government or the people. It has been solved, the paper says, by Lord Reading, who has risen from the ranks to the present high position, inasmuch as he has laid aside the hauteur of the bureaucracy and thus made the path of bringing about a reconciliation between Government and the people easier. The paper declares that His Excellency is to be commended for the balance of judgment he showed in his speech in spite of exasperating incidents like the Moplah riots, inasmuch as they had furnished a splendid opportunity for denouncing the non-co-operation movement and says that the thanks of the public are due to His Excellency for his having, as representative of the King, kept himself detached from all parties and given a lead to all.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 13th Sept.

3. We wrote on several occasions before this that India had little to gain by the appointment of Lord Reading to the Viceregal post. The other day His Excellency delivered himself of a speech which, besides being full of commonplace utterances and insinuations against the non-co-operators, was also remarkable for the anxiety which His Excellency showed for upholding the prestige of the bureaucracy. His Excellency said at the outset that he expected that the people would give a cordial welcome to the Prince of Wales who was coming on a visit to this country. We are fully aware of the fact that the Prince really wishes to have a cordial reception from the people themselves and that he does not come here with the intention of receiving

a welcome from a few officials and their henchmen. But the public in India have unanimously resolved to boycott the Prince's visit and it is not in the fitness of things that he should be invited at such a time to this country. Lord Reading next referred to the Munitions case and told the Council that the only alternative for Sir Thomas Holland was to send in his resignation. But Lord Reading should see to it that the matter does not stop there and that a full inquiry is undertaken with a view to unraveling the mystery in which the transactions of the Munitions Department are enveloped. His Excellency had very little to say about Turkey and contented himself with making some empty observations to the effect that attempts were being made to secure a treaty on an equitable basis. But there is nothing difficult about the Turkish problem and a solution can be found in no time if the British abandon their selfish policy and return to Turkey those parts of its territories which they and their Allies have appropriated. Lord Reading next referred to the question of the Indian settlers in the colonies and said that they had now secured equal status with the white settlers everywhere in the British Empire, except in South Africa. But if there is any colony where the problem has reached an acute stage, it is South Africa where only are to be found Indian settlements on an extensive scale. The Indians there have been deprived of their most elementary rights of citizenship, and from the speech of General Smuts it is clear that there are very little prospects of these rights being secured in the immediate future. Even in the case of Crown colonies like East Africa, the administration of which is vested in the hands of the Colonial Secretary, Indians have been suffering under the same disabilities as in the self-governing colonies. Lord Reading next referred to the Press Act and other repressive laws and told the Council that these will be removed from the Statute Book. But it remains to be seen whether they will be withdrawn completely or whether they will leave behind them some traces of their past existence. Lord Reading expressed the view that the Native States had to be given some protection against criticism from the Press in British India. But we fail to understand His Excellency's logic in this respect or the force of His Excellency's contention. Why should the Press be debarred from criticism of the Native States while it is free to criticise the British Government itself and even foreign countries like America and Japan? His Excellency then referring to the Martial Law prisoners who are still rotting in jail said that the question was under his consideration and was receiving his careful attention. God knows when that consideration will end. Speaking about the reforms, His Excellency said that those reforms which we have already secured should be worked satisfactorily before we think of asking for a further instalment of the same. We do not know whether these words will meet with the approval of even the most zealous among the Moderates.

Rájakáran (131), 11th Sept.

4. Lord Reading is making a great mistake in laying the whole blame for the disturbances in Malabár at the door of the popular leaders. It is quite clear that he has now begun to take his cue from the bureaucratic officials under him. Indeed at such a time, instead of staying at Simla, he should have visited Malabár and inquired from the leaders of the Moplahs themselves as to why they rose against the Government. But it is usual with the high officials of Government to rely solely on the reports submitted to them by their subordinates and to shape their policy accordingly.

Debate in the Legislative Assembly on the resolution regarding repeal of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Sept,

5. "The Government of India's 'solicitude for the welfare of Labour' was well indicated in the debate on Mr. N. M. Joshi's resolution, in the Legislative Assembly, on the subject of the repeal of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act. The Home Member was ready enough to acknowledge the necessity of the repeal 'on theoretical grouuds,' but when it becomes a question of reducing the theory into practice, he sees 'several disadvautges,' which such a course would entail on the employers and, as a consequence, he fears that 'the development of Indian industries' would be very much hindered. Nothing is said by the Home Member about the disadvantages under which workmen would continue to labour if the Act is not repealed. .... But notwithstanding the capitalists and their official supporters, the wrongs of Labour will not take long to be righted, for the conscience of the world has been roused to them: and the Government of India as well as the capitalist classes in this country will have to acknowledge before long the strength of the international will."

Bombay Samáchár (57), 15th Sept.

6. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the resolution which was moved by Mr. N. M. Joshi in the Legislative Assembly regarding the repeal of the Workmen's Breach of Contract Act and of sections 490 and 492 of the Indian Penal Code and remarks that the arguments to the effect that it would be difficult to obtain Indian coolies and keep them under proper control, and that India's industrial development would be adversely affected if the present Act were repealed, are not convincing. The paper thinks that there are no chances of any difficulties coming in the way if the workmen are dealt with justly and humanely. The paper asks whether industries do not develop in those countries where such laws are either repealed or never existed. The paper, therefore, hopes that there will be no unnecessary delay in taking the just step of freeing the Indian labourers at an early date from the shackles of this atrocious law which encourages slavery.

Resolution for welcoming the Prince of Wales before the Indian Legislature.

Kesari (111), 13th Sept.

7. It cannot be that the bureaucracy does not understand the simple fact that the Prince of Wales should be brought out to India only after first removing the people's grievances and making them glad at heart. But it is daily growing more and more reckless and defiant and thinks its prestige is increased when it does things in direct opposition to public opinion. It knows that public sentiment and specially Muhammadan feeling is against the Prince's visit, being much exacerbated by recent happenings in this country and elsewhere, and yet it has resolved, with the help of a handful of Moderates, to make an exhibition of its autocratic powers by asking the Prince to come over to this country and has enacted the farce of getting resolutions for a public welcome to His Royal Highness passed in the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly. The occasion was availed of by many of the members to vent their spleen—against the Indian National Congress, Mr. Gandhi and the non-co-operation movement taking advantage of the fact that the Nationalists were not present there to reply to the attacks. And yet public sentiment found its vent through Messrs. Reza Ali and Agnihotri, the latter of whom showed praiseworthy courage in opposing the resolution in the Legislative Assembly as it went directly against public opinion. Though Mr. Agnihotri had not acted against any rule or formality in thus honestly declaring his views, a big howl was raised against him by the other members and he was asked to retract his words, or to resign his membership as he had acted against his oath of allegiance! The attitude taken up by the Honourable Mr. Sapru in the matter was most unreasonable and showed how the Government patronage he enjoys has adversely affected his judgment. Is it to be understood henceforward that the oath of allegiance deprives one of liberty of judgment? That the members should have shown such intolerance of honest opinions adverse to their own shows the stuff of which this assembly of Kauravas is made up. Laying aside the points about freedom of speech and loyalty, we think that the economic argument urged against the Prince's visit both by Mr. Reza Ali and Mr. Agnihotri ought to have been taken into consideration. The dearth of wheat in Northern India leading even to looting of shops, and the famine threatened in the Deccan by the recent holding off of the rains both go to prove the inadvisability of the Prince's coming to India at present. But our rulers have long been accustomed to recklessly disregard the existence of such adverse conditions in carrying out their plans and we are afraid that the tragedy is likely to be repeated on the present occasion also.

Lokasangraha (116), 14th and 16th Sept.; *Rdjakdran* (131), 11th Sept.

8. The Prince of Wales is visiting India in November next and Government are pushing forward their arrangements to give him a welcome. And since there are clear signs everywhere that the people are determined to boycott the visit, they are straining every nerve to make up the deficiency. There is no doubt that several officials of Government must be engaged at present in secretly bringing pressure to bear upon certain pliant communities and inducing them to present addresses to the Prince with a view to giving the welcome a public character. The first community to be always tempted by the official bait is the Parsi community. Although the Parsis are living luxuriously in this country for about a thousand years they place their own interests above those of the country of their adoption and are ever ready to curry favour with the authorities. Government have conferred honours on most of the rich men in this community, and the rest having business relations with Europeans are under their obligations. It is quite natural that the feigned loyalty of such a selfish community should be overflowing on the occasion of the Prince's visit. It is a matter for satisfaction, however, that all the Parsis have not become unmindful of their duty towards this country. Mr. Burjorji Framji Bharucha tried hard to dissuade Sir Jamsetji Jijibhai from moving in the matter of the presentation of an address to the Prince but did not meet with any success. Is it not discreditable to the Parsis to be so servile as to present an address to the Prince in opposition to the will of the whole nation? [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—Lord Reading is well aware of the treatment that was meted out to the Duke of Connaught when he visited India and, therefore, no one expected that he would betray such a woeful want of statesmanship as to expose the Prince of Wales to the same kind of treatment. It appears, however, from the past few months of his Viceroyalty that his stock of statesmanship is very limited. The *Rdjakdran* congratulates Mr. Agnihotri on his opposition in the Legislative Assembly to the resolution on the welcome to be given to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.]

Protest against the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales.

Gramya Swardjya (63), 13th Sept.; *Model* (26), 11th Sept.;
Hind Mitra (18), 11th Sept.

9. Mrs. Besant is of the opinion that it would be an insult to India if the Prince of Wales were not to visit this country. But the people of India want the Prince's visit to be postponed as his visit would constitute an insult to the country at a time when there is grief and discontent prevailing in the land. When His Majesty the King-Emperor visited India there was no discontent amongst us but slavery prevailed in the country in a concealed form. But slavery has exceeded all bounds now and it can no more be concealed. The question of loyalty does not arise in this matter. We do not think that the Prince is being sent to India with any special message to satisfy the political aspirations or to solve the economic problems of the country. Besides it would be folly to expect any boon to India from the British Statesmen. In these circumstances the people of this country are quite justified in urging upon the authorities the necessity of postponing the Prince's visit. [The *Model* writes:—The people of India will accord a right royal welcome to the Prince of Wales only when the authorities remove the injustices under which the country is labouring and satisfy the aspirations of the people. We hope the Parsi community will protest against the movement that is being organised by certain sycophants of Government to accord a welcome to the Prince on behalf of the community. The *Hind Mitra* also fully associates itself with the protest raised by Mr. B. F. Bharucha against the movement organised by Sir Jamshedji Jeejibhoy, Bart.]

His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and Sind.

Bhdratwasi (155), 11th Sept.

10. The *Sindvasi* is enamoured of the Governor of Bombay. It writes that he feels great concern for Sind. There is no doubt that he is very much in sympathy with the Sind officials. He has sent for all the noted ones and kept them with himself, *e.g.*, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Hayward, Mr. Sorley, etc.

Now Mr. Nabibux's turn is come, and he will join Mr. Lawrence. The Governor really feels for the people of Sind. He would like to keep them all under his own control. That is why he has shut up 48 Sindhis in Government houses (Jails).

Moderates and Extremists are agreed as to the inadequacy of the Reforms.

Hindu (158), 5th Sept.

11. We are glad to see that each day, as it passes, brings our opponents nearer to us in their political views. Formerly they accepted the Reforms *in toto* and ridiculed Mahatma Gandhi's idea of *swaráj* within one year as sheer madness. Now however they appear to have changed their mind. At the recent Reforms Conference held in Bombay under the presidentship of Mrs. Besant, our Moderate friends have resolved that 'the time has now come' to establish Dominion Home Rule in India and that a Committee should be appointed in the coming winter to recommend the passing of an Act for that purpose. We congratulate them for making this demand, which is almost the same as the Congress demand. The entire country should now make a more determined effort to secure *swaráj* within one year. And to this end, the boycott of foreign cloth will, it is hoped, be complete before this month is over.

Methods of effecting economy in public expenditure in India and England contrasted.

Kesari (111), 13th Sept.

12. The *Kesari* contrasts the ways in which the demands for higher salaries made by the Civil Servants in England and in India are being met by the respective Governments, and points out that while the total amount of expenditure in India on account of the higher services stood at 25 crores three years back it now stands at 40 crores, in England a saving of 16 crores has been effected from this month. While in England, says the paper, real anxiety is being shown to curtail expenditure, in India money is being swallowed up because it is other people's money. The paper notes similar instances of extravagance in the Military Department and declares that all this goes to show the necessity of achieving the rights of *swarájya* without further delay.

The Secretary of State and the sale of Reverse Councils.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 18th Sept.

*13. " At long last, Mr. Montagu has come out with his own defence on the sale of Reverse Councils. The London Correspondent of the *Hindu* in its issue of 13th August writes that Mr. Montagu, in reply to Colonel Hurst, 'circulated a parliamentary paper having an elaborate defence of his policy in regard to the above (Reverse Councils)'. It is surprising how this really important and rather belated answer by Mr. Montagu has not been cabled by Reuter then......... The replies given by Mr. Hailey have been evasive and never satisfactory. Now even the elaborate defence of Mr. Montagu sheds no new light, though the full reply will be awaited with eager interest in India—which the Central Publicity Bureau might republish. As for his plea that the loss would have been incurred even otherwise, on the revaluation of the securities at 2*s*. it must be pointed out that there was no need to convert a prospective loss into an actual loss by embarking on questionable methods. .... India's contention has always been that apart from the merits of the currency committee's recommendation of 2*s*., they should have simply revalued the securities and not showed an indecent haste to sell them. Mr. Montagu's jugglery with figures and his trying to make out that the loss was only 7¾ crores instead of 35 crores leave us amused. The loss is not confined to his estimate of 7¾ crores only. In spite of his trying to shift off the responsibility it must be held that it is the sale of Reverse Councils at high rates that contributed to the 'abnormal situation' and to 'the adverse balance of trade of 75 crores last year'.......... It is doubtful whether any of his pleas will be accepted by economists of repute. India will wholeheartedly support the last demand of Colonel Hurst with this modification that, instead of the Secretary of State, His Majesty's Government in London or the Houses of

Parliament should 'take steps to fix the responsibility for these disasters'. If not, the people of India must stir themselves a bit. In this connection, it is necessary that a resolution should be moved in the Imperial Legislature, asking that the whole of the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Government of India on the sale of the Reverse Councils should be published from December 1919 to September 1920."

Relations between Afghanistan and the Government of India.

Insaf (67), 16th Sept.

14. Why is no account published about Mr. Dobson's mission to Afghanistan? Had India been free from the bonds of servitude, we would have asked the authorities to publish the account. But alas! We have lost our independence and we have to depend for our information on crumbs thrown to us by the Liberal Press in England. Mr. Dobson's deputation has evidently failed in its mission or else Afghanistan would not have sent its deputation to England. We can now hope that Afghanistan will make a declaration of its policy and set the hearts of the Indian Moslems at rest. However, the pronouncement made by the Afghan Ambassador at Angora leads us to the conclusion that it would be futile to hope for peace between England and Afghanistan as long as the Treaty of Sevres is not altered in a manner satisfactory to Moslem sentiments because the Ambassador announced that Afghanistan would declare war upon Britain if Britain did not effect the necessary changes in the Treaty of Sevres.

The Irish question.

Servant of India (9), 15th Sept.

15. "If the basis of 'Government by consent of the governed' is the only possible one, it seems obvious that the first thing to do, and the only thing that will really convince Ireland that Mr. George means 'business,' is to repeal the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland first of all and then to leave it to Dail Eireann to treat on behalf of the people they represent, about terms of admission to the British Empire as a full-grown member. The common loyalty to one King is being much emphasised in certain quarters, both in season and out of it.......... It is Parliament that called a Dutch Prince and German Prince to be an English King; it is Parliament that defined the succession to the Throne. The Stuarts were Kings of England by the grace of God, the Hanoverians by the authority of Parliament. The descendants of the latter are, therefore, so still : hence the sensitiveness of Parliament on the prerogatives of the Crown. If Parliament is loyal to the King, it is so, historically and logically, because Parliament has enacted it thus. As a constitutional monarch, His Majesty King George is necessarily under the authority of Parliament. And if he is that in England, he evidently would be under the authority of the Canadian Parliament in Canada, of the Commonwealth in Australia, and so right through all 'his' Dominions. Then, would he not be under the authority of a recognised Dail Eireann in Ireland? No, the question of personal union, of loyalty to a common King, really does not enter at all into these negotations, much as the *Morning Post* readers may wish to brand Irish loyalty to Ireland as the rank rebellion of traitors. What the Dail Eireann cannot concede and what there is at the bottom of a lot of verbiage about Irish loyalty to a common King, is simply the calamitous demand for Irish loyalty to an English Parliament."

Comments on this year's Ganpati *mela* songs at Poona.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 16th Sept.

16. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that, although the Ganpati *melas* had the fullest liberty this year in the choice of songs, they did not make wise use of it and that some of the songs contained unwarrantable attacks on Indian womanhood. It also quotes a line from a song the translation of which is as follows:—"Let these villainous Indians be made intoxicated; let the property of those that die be given to the Whites." Commenting upon the above the paper says that there is difference in saying that "the English spread the drink habit in this country" and that the English introduced liquor in this country with the sole object of killing "the Hindus and giving their

property to the Whites". The paper thinks that the advice against drink could as well have been given without making the above allegation against the Whites. It also remarks that violent suggestions like "break open the doors of liquor-shops, cut off the hands of drunkards" are to be found in some of the manuscript songs. It thinks that the liberty which has been given this year as regards the *mela* songs has been abused by the composers.

Protest against an alleged attempt on the part of Brahmins to set up non-Brahmins against Government.

Vijayi Marátha (149), 10th Sept.

17. Brahmanism has survived in India these three thousand years in spite of great catastrophes that have overtaken it because of the demoniacal power it possesses of employing crooked means to gain its own ends. No other class in the world can equal Brahmanism in the possession of this demoniacal power. Brahmanism has up to this time made use of different stratagems to put down the non-Brahmins, but all of them having failed, it is now trying a new and dangerous game of stirring up a quarrel between Government and the non-Brahmin party and unfortunately enough a few non-Brahmins have been deceived into helping the Brahmins in this game. We would therefore warn our non-Brahmin friends not to be misled by the game that is being played, as it is intended to bring to a standstill the anti-Brahmin agitation which non-Brahmins have been carrying on for a long time past. They should bear in mind that Brahmins are at the root of all our sufferings and that so long as they maintain their predominance in the country we shall not be able to enjoy the benefits of *swarájya* if anything like it is granted to the people.

Protest against the Collector of Dharwar's circular asking his subordinates to carry on anti-boycott propaganda.

Kánara Leader (34), 6th Sept., Eng. cols.

18. Referring to a circular issued by the Collector of Dhárwár to his subordinates asking them to carry on an anti-boycott propaganda, the *Kánara Leader* writes :—"We hold that it is humiliating to those whom Mr. Painter's circular is addressed that they should be induced to undertake propaganda against the economic welfare of their own country by the temptation of 'distinguishing themselves' which, in other words, means improving their prospects. Every self-respecting person should refuse to take any advantage of such an unfair offer. That Mr. Painter should consider his subordinates capable of yielding to such a sort of temptation is in itself far from complimentary to them, and every thinking person will resent it. We are sure that such an obviously anti-Indian propaganda is not a part of the legitimate duties of any servant of an *Indian* Government; and we hope that every self-respecting addressee of the circular will plainly tell Mr. Painter that he cannot undertake the propaganda as it is not a part of his duties, is counter to his conscience and wounds his feelings."

Martial law should be relaxed in Malabar and a judicial inquiry instituted.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Sept.

19. "How long is martial law to reign in Malabár, and when is judicial inquiry to begin? These are two questions which are in the minds of every Indian to-day.......... From private information which has come to us from Malabár we are inclined to think that the Government of India would do well not to postpone the moment of impartial inquiry into what has happened and is happening there. England cannot afford the least excess of severity at a time, when a furious propaganda against her is being carried on in almost every foreign country. And it requires but a very little looseness in the interpretation of the rules of martial law for atrocities to be actually commited. At least the area under martial law ought to be reduced in proportion as the reign of martial law has been successful. A district in which order has been actually restored should be at once restored to ordinary legal conditions. We do not hear that this has yet been done in any district though we hear almost daily that the area of the disorders has been much reduced. Is it not high time that Lord Reading, who desires to mete out justice to the

Indian people, went to Malabár and visited those late scenes of disorder which have been already pacified, that he may see for himself the traces of reprisals and judge the nature of the struggle from such traces?"

Comments on the special tribunal to try Martial Law cases in Malabar.

Lokamánya (115), 11th Sept.

20. Commenting upon the constitution of a special tribunal consisting of one High Court Judge and two District Judges to try Martial Law cases in Malabár, the *Lokamánya* writes:—From our experience in the Punjab we doubt very much whether people will get justice from this tribunal. The present circumstances differ only in that we have Lord Reading at the helm of affairs instead of Lord Chelmsford. But it is quite certain that the men serving on this tribunal will be from among those anxious to bolster up the bureaucracy. The fact that Government had to release, under popular pressure, most of the Martial Law prisoners in the Punjab reveals the quality of justice dispensed by the tribunal there and there is every likelihood that the Moplah prisoners too will have the same kind of justice given to them.

The Khilafat and Indian politics.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 18th Sept.

***21.** "We print to-day a courteous remonstrance from a valued Muhammadan friend regarding some statements in our leading article on the Moplah outbreak in the *Reformer* of the 4th September......... Our friend speaks of Hindu-Muhammadan unity. He knows well that nobody attaches more importance to Hindu-Muhammadan unity than ourselves, but it is obvious that it cannot be built upon a religious or quasi-religious foundation like the Khilafat......... To say, as Mahatma Gandhi says in *Young India*, that the Khilafat is now a national question, is very wide of the mark. Two-thirds of the people of India are non-Muhammadans, and even of the Muhammadans, a large section, the Shiahs, do not recognise the Khilafat. As a religious institution, they have no interest in the Khilafat, and to write as if they had, is to lay the seeds of serious misunderstanding between them and the section of Muhammadans who hold by it. Indeed, we think much mischief has been already done. We are unable to dismiss from our minds the thought that such indiscriminate statements might have had the effect of leading the Moplahs honestly to believe that the Hindus were only awaiting some persuasion to adopt the religion of the Khalif. There should no longer be any room for such misunderstanding. The Khilafat is not a national question with Indians: it is a religious question with a section of Indian Muhammadans. What is a national question is that the Indian people, including Muhammadans of all denominations, are distressed that the British Government, to which they owe allegiance, has not fulfilled its pledge that the Turks should not be dispossessed of Thrace and Asia Minor. This distinction must be emphasised, as the language sometimes employed by Khilafat leaders often slurs over it."

Implications of the Khilafat movement.

Servant of India (9), 15th Sept.

22. "The Moplah outrages against the Hindus of Malabár and a general absence of their condemnation by Indian Moslems and the numerous Khilafat organisations in the country are bound to set many Indians, particularly Hindus, athinking about the real meaning of the Khilafat. *Young India* of the 8th instant contains an article on the subject by Mr. Gandhi, but unfortunately it does not give the clear explanation one would expect. In fact we have not seen any authoritative interpretation of the term anywhere. Mr. Gandhi admits that for the Khilafatists 'religion may sustain itself by temporal power.' But what does 'sustain' mean? Does it mean 'defend' or does it mean 'propagate'? We press for a reply. India is entitled to it. We have had enough Khilafat propaganda, we have had enough forcible conversions to Islam. We demand to know whether the latter is by the leaders of the former considered a legitimate and natural part of the Khilafat. If it is, then of course that is the end of Hindu-Moslem friendship, and it is as well that we should know it.......... The simple fact of the matter is that in a modern State there is no room for any theocratic power such as the

Khilafat stands for. In a modern State such as India is to-day and will be even more so to-morrow, the right of every citizen to the free exercise of every religion is one of the fundamentals guaranteed by the State—a guarantee the maintenance of which every citizen *qua* citizen is interested in. If Mr. Gandhi and his friends had called upon Indians to protest against the carving up of another Asiatic Power, Turkey, to provide a holiday for western patrioteers and profiteers, against the breaking of solemn pledges; against the over-reaching of western Imperialism gone mad in its endeavour to swallow the whole East—would not every Indian have been able to join him heartily in this protest, even to-day? But if any Indian so joined him yesterday, believing that the Khilafat meant nothing more, he certainly can no longer do so to-day. The practical interpretation which some Moplahs to-day have put on the Khilafat has made that no longer possible. No Indian can now afford to go on toying with the Khilafat. If it has any meaning, it is one that is incompatible with any modern State; if it has no meaning—well, no need to preserve so misleading a label. In either case, let us be quite clear that India will have no more of it......... It may have seemed a politically clever move to exploit a common hatred by harnessing a religious enthusiasm to it: we know now that the latter is as likely to turn against its ally as against its foe. Let us all realise that it has been the greatest blunder ever made by an Indian statesman to readmit religion into politics under the cry of a Khilafat wrong."

Reflections on the outrages committed by the Moplahs on the Hindu population.

Sind Observer (10), 9th Sept.

23. "The Moplahs have committed rape on Hindu women, looted Hindu property, burnt Hindus' houses, converted Hindus forcibly into Islam, desecrated Hindu temples and proclaimed a Muslim *raj*.......... Khilafatist orators find no words to denounce the doings of a Bosworth Smith, a Rai Sriram, or a Colonel O'Brien in the Punjáb, but the doings of the Moplah mobs have surpassed any atrocities committed by or attributed to British military or civil officers and men during the last 100 years.......... What safety is there to the Hindu millions of India when, encouraged by certain people in India, the Amir of Afghanistan invades India and unfortunately succeeds in establishing his *raj*? The Hindu population of India has to seriously consider the whole problem in the light of the events in Malabár. To the Hindu worse than rape and death is a forcible conversion to Islam or any other religion.......... Are we in this twentieth century to submit to the intolerable atrocity of forced conversion? It is significant that, though Muslim leaders have denounced the violence committed by the Moplahs, they are silent on the question of forced conversions.......... There is a feeling in the Hindu mind all over the country that Muslim friendship is being purchased at a very heavy cost on account of the sufferings inflicted on the Hindus. It is for Muslim leaders to abandon propaganda amongst the excitable Muslim masses and reassure the Hindu mind.......... We want to tell Government one thing. The Hindu mind is set athinking on account of these horrible crimes committed upon peaceful Hindus. There is a clear reaction visible against the fraternisation with the Muhammadans in which the Hindu is to suffer and make all the sacrifices. Time must be allowed for the lessons of Malabár to sink deeply into the Hindu heart. The prosecution of the Ali Brothers at this stage will at once divert attention from this process of self-examination; will create sympathy for them and the Khilafat cause, and make the Hindus forget the lessons of Malabár. In the face of an outside enemy—we beg to be excused for this expression—Hindu and Muslim have to combine. It will, therefore, be a shortsighted prosecution."

Swarájya (145), 15th Sept.; *Lokasangraha* (116), 16th Sept.

24. Reports are being circulated with considerable assiduity that the Moplahs converted Hindus to Islam by force, dishonoured their women and demolished their temples. We should not, however, believe all these reports coming as they do from interested quarters. The Hindus are anxious that the present cordial relations between the Muhammadans and themselves should not be broken off. The Moplahs may have committed some excesses against the Hindus during the general turmoil, but the question is whether they deliberately persecuted the Hindus simply because they were Hindus. We should refuse to be caught in the net of those who indirectly tell us to fall out with the Muhammadans because of the excesses committed by their co-religionists in Malabár. The paper next says that the English themselves are guilty of the same offence as that committed by the Moplahs with this difference, that whereas the latter deprived others of their religious freedom the English deprived Indians of their political freedom. [The *Lokasangraha*, on the other hand, is of the opinion that the excesses of the Moplahs will put a heavy strain on the Hindu-Muslim unity. It asks Muhammadan leaders to impress upon their ignorant co-religionists the need for maintaining cordial relations with the Hindus.]

The non-co-operation movement and the Moplah riots.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Sept.

25. "The arrest of prominent Congress and Khilafat workers of Malabár, of which reports are coming almost daily, should not surprise the public, for these arrests form part of the official effort, aided and abetted by the reactionary Press, to stamp out the Congress-Khilafat movement taking advantage of the Moplah trouble. The enemies of the non-co-operation movement, it need hardly be said, will leave no stone unturned to discredit the movement by foisting all the blame for the unfortunate events on the shoulders of the leaders of the movement.......... The lesson of the dishonest Press campaign against the non-co-operators should not be lost sight of by the public. This section of the Press seems determined that the truth about the Moplah revolt should not come to the light of day. The entire blame must be laid at the door of the non-co-operation movement. Anything indicative of agrarian discontent or official provocation must be carefully screened off from the public gaze. But, how long can the truth be kept hidden in this manner? Sooner or later, it is bound to leak out. The mendacious charge that the disturbances are the result of incitements by Congress and Khilafat leaders will not take long to explode. Let the public go through the report of the occurrences in Malabár prepared by Messrs. T. Prakasam, B.A., B.L., and T. V. Venkatrama Iyer, B.A., B.L., after a visit to the disturbed area, and they will see that far from offering any incitement to Moplah fanatics, Congress and Khilafat leaders, almost everywhere in Malabár, even risked their lives in efforts to arrest the spread of the Moplah movement.......... That it is a lie that any responsible leader of the non-co-operation movement abetted the Moplahs in any place in their bloody deeds will be clear to any one who peruses an impartial report like that now published by the Secretaries of the Madras Provincial Congress Committee."

Sind Vasi (167), 10th Sept.

26. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement say that there is no connection between the Moplah rising and the Khilafat agitation. They should, however, read the detailed accounts of the trouble published by the *Spectator*, a non-co-operation organ of Madras side, and they will see whether their opinion is right. Mahatma Gandhi's movement is now entirely discredited and it is his followers who are responsible for it. But what is worse, a severe blow has been given to the Hindu-Muslim unity by the violent and shameful outrages committed by the Moplahs on Hindus.

Comments on the arrest of the Ali Brothers.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Sept.

27. "The arrest of Maulana Shaukat Ali, though long expected by his friends and followers, caused a painful shock to all who knew him when it came at last, following immediately on the announcement that the Government of Bombay had decided on the prosecution of the Ali Brothers. We personally had preserved some hope until the very last that wiser counsels would prevail among the English rulers, not that we contend for a moment that Government cannot be justified, from a narrow disciplinary point of view, in deciding on the prosecution......... It is possible that the Brothers in their outspoken sincerity may have given a handle against them to the Government under one or more of the sections above quoted which are pretty comprehensive. But what, it seems to us, the Government have failed to realise is that they are not in this matter merely up against 'Maulanas Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali and others,' but that they must consider the effect of their action in this matter on the minds of all the Muslims. It is not, therefore, a merely disciplinary affair; it is or ought to be a matter of high policy since the action of the Government will be taken as the policy of England towards Islam……… It is not for Shaukat Ali and Mohamed Ali that we grieve to-day; it is for what we believe to be a grave error on the part of Government, an error which we fear may make the reconciliation between the British Empire and Asia, which we have hoped and worked for, impossible. These honest men have put their necks within the halter of the law, but not as criminals nor as conspirators. They are as open as the day; and they have acted in accordance with the dictates of their conscience, fully believing that so acting they obey a higher law than that of men. And millions believe with them. Government may say that it has given them already too much rope, and that is quite true from the point of view of Government, regarding itself merely as the agent of Lloyd George's Government. From the point of view of Government as representing India in the Empire—if such a point of view existed as it ought to do, anywhere except in our imagination—it is an altogether a different matter. The greatest problem of the Empire at this moment, and one of particular moment to the Government of India, is the finding of a way to reconciliation with Islam. This, we must declare with emphasis, is not the way. This is the way to make martyrs, to inflame the zeal and stiffen the resolve of Indian patriots and to strengthen the impression prevalent throughout all Asia and North Africa that Englishmen are hostile to Islam."

Mahrátta (7), 18th Sept.

***28.** "The fateful die of repression is at last cast by the Government of India………. The subject-matter of the prosecutions, as stated in the communiqué, is the set of resolutions passed by the Khilafat Conference at Karáchi to the effect that no Muhammadan should serve in the army in future and those who are serving at present should relinquish their service. These resolutions may or not prove to be offences under the law, but we cannot understand how the Muhammadans can escape the logical conclusion, if once the premises are accepted. Those who are in the army, or those who would join the army, are in duty bound to obey all military orders and would have even to fight the armies of their Khalifa, as they did in the last war. They have, therefore, before their minds' eye two conflicting duties, one, religious to their Khalifa and the other, to the laws of their political sovereign. With the prospect of a terrible struggle between the Angora Government and the Greeks, which may involve others in its tentacles, it was not to be expected of the Muhammadans to prefer to obey the secular law to their religious creed. Thus the issue between the Muhammadans with the religious bent of mind and the Government is quite clear. Legal or illegal they feel it their duty to act and preach in obedience to their conscience. The question is how is the struggle to end………. The Government has, however, now made up its mind to make short work of the movement by the steam-roller of repression. They have arrested the Ali Brothers and by this time they must have arrested a number of Khilafat leaders who had supported the Karáchi resolution. But will these arrests and prosecutions achieve their object? There are thousands of Musalmans in the country who believe in their creed and, we feel, that the Government ought to have left them alone because the Government can well afford to leave them alone—so strong they are in their military power………. We do not know what influenced Lord Reading to change the decision which he had taken at the time of his interview with Mahatma Gandhi. Whatever may be his motives we can but say that these arrests and prosecutions are a blunder and seem to have been inspired by a sense of wounded vanity. Lord Reading came out worsted out of the Gandhi-Reading interview controversy, and goaded on by the bureaucrats who cannot think of ruling the subject people except by a rod, Lord Reading got himself caught in the snare of repression. Attempts are being made to separate the non-co-operation cause with that of the

Khilafat and to induce a belief that although the Government has started this steam-roller of repression against the Ali Brothers, they do not intend to treat the non-co-operationists with the same dose. But such attempts are bound to fail in the long run. One of the chief causes that go to create a non-co-operator, is the injustice done to the Musalmans of India in the matter of the Khilafat and the cause and the effect cannot be separated in a water-tight compartment. The coming repression is clearly intended to kill both the Khilafat and non-co-operation movement.......... Repression has not succeeded anywhere in suppressing either truth or a longing for liberty and it will not succeed in India too. On the contrary, as Mahatma Gandhi has laid down, the way to liberty lies through the portals of jail. The Ali Brothers have set a good example by receiving the orders of arrest with great pleasure. The jails have no terrors for a non-co-operator, and they will readily submit themselves to the punishment to be meted out to them."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 16th Sept. ; *Hindusthán* (21), 16th Sept.

29. The *Sánj Vartamán* considers the decision of Government to prosecute the Ali Brothers as a grave blunder and declares that the prosecution will not conduce to the creation of an atmosphere of peace essential during the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales, but it calls upon Moslems in India to bear their misfortune with courage and fortitude and to preserve such an attitude as would not fail to create an impression on Government. [The *Hindusthán* declares that it sees nothing objectionable in the speeches for which Government have decided to prosecute the Ali Brothers and it believes that the thoughtless decision of Government to prosecute the brothers will tend to stimulate the non-co-operation movement. It calls upon its readers not to commit violence even in word and to welcome the arrest of the Ali Brothers as the auspicious beginning of the realisation of *swaráj*.]

Indian Social Reformer (6), 18th Sept.

***30.** "While we deeply deplore the prosecution, we cannot in fairness accuse Government of precipitancy. The brothers showed commendable patriotism in signing the statement which enabled the Viceroy to withdraw the prosecutions then pending. If the Viceroy thinks that the terms of the undertaking have been violated, and that Government have no option but to institute these prosecutions, we are not in a position to offer any effective reasons against that view. Nor should we overlook the fact that Sir George Lloyd's Government has, on the whole, been distinguished among provincial Governments by its scrupulous regard for freedom of speech and public meeting, though local officials may have occasionally blundered by excess of zeal in these respects. We are sure that the Government has undertaken this prosecution with the utmost reluctance and under an overwhelming sense of duty, and at this stage, we can only express the hope that the result of the prosecution will be such as to vindicate British Indian justice, to promote harmony among all classes of His Majesty's subjects, and to enhance the strength of Government to do the right even though it may feel itself wronged."

Gujaráti (15), 18th Sept., Eng cols.

***31.** "The expected has happened, though not exactly in the way anticipated by many people......... Lord Reading's government in deciding not to launch proceedings against the Ali Brothers in view of their apology certainly acted with great generosity. But it remained unappreciated in many quarters. .... There is no doubt that some people will blame Government for taking the action they have and thus intensifying the present unrest. But it will have to be frankly admitted that so far they had shown the greatest indulgence and allowed the Brothers the fullest scope for the exercise of their freedom. We are extremely sorry that the country generally but more especially this Presidency will be the scene of unhealthy excitement, and that the Indian public will be prevented from devoting themselves to the task of achieving orderly progress for months to come by carrying out constructive programmes of work......... It has now become all the more necessary to look far ahead and both Government and the people will do well to act in a spirit of wisdom, justice and forbearance."

Would it be safe to punish the Ali Brothers.

Sind Observer (10), 10th Sept.

32. "Will the removal of the Brothers create peace or cause unrest and riot? That is the question. Government, like sane public opinion, is itself placed on the two horns of a dilemma. If the Brothers are free they may go on with their relentless campaign; if they are locked up, the Musalmans and their Hindu friends will give no peace to Government. As Government is strong enough to keep the peace it might have decided on their prosecution. It might also be counting upon the disgust caused in the Hindu mind on account of Moplah excesses to alienate Hindu sympathy from the Brothers. It will take time for the lessons of Malabár to sink deeply into the Hindu heart. This hasty prosecution can only end in the lessons being entirely forgotten. Instead of prosecuting the Brothers at this stage, if only Government appoints a Commission of Enquiry forthwith, when the happenings are still fresh in the minds of people, and publishes an authentic record of all the horrible atrocities perpetrated on Hindus, Europeans and Government servants by the Moplah fanatics that will cause more damage to the Khilafat agitation in India than the prosecution of a dozen Khilafat leaders. The report of the Committee must be circulated broadcast in all the vernaculars of India.......... As a Government cannot always govern in jack-boots it is a short-sighted policy to put the leaders in jail......... We cannot contemplate with equanimity the trouble that is in store by the punishment of the two Muslim leaders. Mahatma Gandhi exhorts people to be non-violent, but these exhortations are honoured only in the breach than in the observance thereof. The Mahatma knows it. He knows non-violence has not penetrated the masses and hence this raising of danger signals."

Repression in Sind.

New Times (8), 6th and 9th Sept.

33. "The unfortunate Moplah outbreak will, doubtless, be used by some bureaucrats as a pretext for a rigorous policy of repression. The bureaucracy in Sind has pursued a policy of repression for over two years; and repression is steadily becoming more and more rigorous. Nothing was to us a clearer proof of the helplessness of this policy in the Province than the incarceration of Swami Krishnanand, an innocent *sanyasi* and a believer in non-violence. .... About 40 Sindhis have been sent to jail during the last few months for political reasons. They have stood the test well. The Khilafatists and Congress workers have—with a few exceptions—behaved as non-co-operators, refusing to defend themselves, ask for bail or give bonds of security. The prison is no longer dreaded. There are several who regard it an honour to go to jail.......... Pandit Vishnu Sharma, editor of the *Hindu* of Hyderabad, was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment on Saturday, and what did he say in open court? 'I am,' he said,' a prisoner of war,' and in his message to the Sindhis he spoke of that day as 'the fortunate day,' 'the auspicious day'; he was going to jail for the 'performance of duty.'" [Elsewhere the paper says:—"Mr. Valecha, too, the young editor of the *Swardj* of Sukkur, has been clapped into jail. He has been sentenced to one year's simple. For what? For publishing a leaflet containing an appeal to the ladies!......... Mr. Valecha faced the trial in a bold spirit. Non-co-operation is breaking the spell of the jail. Indeed, non-co-operation has broken some other spells, too, including the prestige of the bureaucracy. When it breaks the spell of 'incapacity for self-rule,' of violence, of hate, of fear, of harmful social customs, it will achieve its purpose, and no repression can prevail against it." In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"Lord Reading has told us repeatedly that he is in India to do 'justice', and that 'justice would remain the supreme guiding factor in the destinies of India'. Here in Sind we see how 'justice' is dominated by 'repression',—for reasons of state! Here in Sind political prosecutions show judicial 'frightfulness', rather than justice. Non-co-operation must be crushed anyhow!......... Some of our fine young men are at this hour rotting in jail. It is easy to press sections 124-A and 153-A against any one who makes himself inconvenient to the *sircar* by loving his country. Patriotism is a crime! Love

of liberty is a grievous wrong! In the regime of a 'justice-loving Viceroy' we see a revival of methods used over a decade ago to put down the Swadeshi and anti-partition agitation in Bengal. The methods failed then. The methods must fail again if only we stand true."]

Public agitation cannot be killed by repression.

Kesari (111), 13th Sept.

34. The *Kesari* refers to the various proceedings taken against non-co-operators and others in the Central Provinces and other Presidencies and to the confiscation of the *fatwas* issued by Moulvis and the arrest of Moulvi Badsha Miyan and the consequent commotion produced among the people and wonders whether all this is intended to stamp out the discontent in the country before the arrival of the Prince of Wales or whether something else is in view. We are under the impression, it says, that the bureaucracy had been purged of its vaunt that public agitation could be killed by such measures, but apparently its nature still remains the same as before.

Hindu-Moslem unity.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Sept.

35. "The London *Times* too has begun to join in the cry of the Jingo Press in Great Britain and though it talks of India being subject to the same movements 'which are stirring all the continents', it is apparent that Hindu-Muhammadan unity, which has become a *fait accompli*, is the one phenomenon which it fails to account for and, therefore, appreciate properly. Since the alliance between the two communities has remained unshaken in spite of all attempts to discredit it, the *Times* and other journals are now seeking to destroy it by 'firmness'. Lord Reading is told that he should not be content with 'firm speeches' but should back them up by 'firm deeds'. The *Times* urges that steps should be taken to deal with 'the real instigators of the ebullitions'. These blind advocates of 'firmness' in dealing with Asiatics do not care to think that the real instigators who ought to be sternly dealt with are, firstly, those members of His Majesty's Government who have been guilty of the breach of pledges solemnly given to 315 millions of His Majesty's subjects and to millions of Muhammadans outside the Empire; secondly, the 'statesmen' both here and in Great Britain who stand in the way of stern justice being meted out to the criminals responsible for the Punjab tragedy; and, thirdly, some officials whose provocative policy is a perpetual menace to the peace of the land. Until these real disturbers of the peace are laid by the heels or are rendered innocuous by being removed from the scene of their activities, no real peace can reign in India. To clap a few hundreds or even thousands of 'agitators' into the jails would not cure India's malady. It would be like applying the poultice to the wrong leg."

Foreign cloth boycott movement is telling upon the export trade of England.

Kesari (111), 13th Sept.

36. The *Kesari* expects the full success of foreign cloth boycott movement by the end of the current month and tries to make out from the British export figures for August last that the heavy fall from 172 crores of August of last year to 77 crores of the same month of the present year must be attributed to the stoppage of the demand of cloth from India. The paper feels confident that if the boycott be persisted in it would not fail to influence the British Government and therefore it wishes that the movement should now be extended to those parts of the country where it has not yet penetrated.

Comments on the reply given by the Marwari merchants of Calcutta to Mr. Gandhi about boycott of foreign cloth.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 14th Sept.

37. The *Dnyán Prakásh* comments with satisfaction on the reply given by the Marwari merchants of Calcutta to Mr. Gandhi that it was unfair to bring pressure to bear on merchants to boycott foreign cloth, and that they ought to be left free to supply the needs of their customers. According to it it is quite natural that the Bengalis have not much faith in

Mr. Gandhi's movement since their past experience in this respect is not very encouraging. The paper congratulates the Calcutta merchants on their indulging in a little plain talk instead of succumbing to the influence of Mr. Gandhi. Elsewhere the paper condemns the burning of foreign cloth and remarks that Mr. Gandhi ought not to object to the poor wearing foreign clothes since he himself freely uses motor cars manufactured in other countries.

Protest against the picketing of cloth shops in Calcutta.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 15th Sept.

38. We are grieved to note that Mr. Gandhi persists in his determination to continue the picketing started in Calcutta to prevent the sale of foreign cloth in spite of the dangers of the movement pointed out to him by the merchants concerned in the matter. We fully sympathise with the cloth merchants of Calcutta and believe that they have every right to protest against Mr. Gandhi's movement which is calculated to cause them grave loss and to create breaches of the peace in the country.

Comments on the notice issued by the Congress Committee of Dharwar requesting the people not to make any demonstrations when judgment is delivered in the Dharwar shooting case.

Loka Bandhu (85), 11th Sept.

39. The Presidents of the Congress and Khilafat Committees have issued a notice requesting the public not to make any demonstrations when judgment is finally delivered in the Dhárwár shooting case. The request is perfectly in agreement with the mandate of the Congress and the personal wish of Mahatma Gandhi. The questions might be asked why the people should be thus debarred even from expressing their sympathy for the accused. The answer is plain. The officials might find in these peaceful demonstrations of the public their bogey of violence. So under British rule the people are not even free to give expression to their feelings of joy or sorrow. Alas! what slavery can be more humiliating than this? This reminds us of the lot of the people who even refrained from crying for their dead relations from fear of the quarantine during the days of plague in 1898. Those days seem to have returned and the lot of the people has become far worse than that of prisoners.

What Manchester trade means to India.

Navjivan (70), 11th Sept.

40. Why do we want *swaráj*? Are we asking for it in order to become customers of Manchester? Were we not the best customers of Manchester till now? The people of Manchester properly understand in what lies their interest. The trade of Manchester with India is artificial and not natural. It cannot last when we attain *swaráj*. It is therefore that England wants to make her hold over India more and more firm. India can now clearly see that Swadeshi means *swaráj* and *swaráj* means Swadeshi. To obtain *swaráj* by continuing to be the customers of Lancashire is just like Sita's marrying Ravana and then trying to guard her chastity. Custom for Lancashire means permanent starvation for India, destruction of Indian mill industry, the sinful gaze of the bureaucracy on Mother India, and dependence.

Swadeshi includes boycott and national education.

Kesari (111), 13th Sept.

41. The *Kesari* says that Swadeshi includes boycott and national education although all these three appear to be distinct at first sight. It tells people to remember that Swadeshi is not an end in itself, but is a means to an end, and that end is *swarájya*. It exhorts people to adopt non-co-operation in view of the futility of constitutional agitation relied upon by the people for a long time past. It dwells with bitterness upon the methods adopted by the East India Company to kill the export of Indian cotton goods to England and asks people whole-heartedly to take to Swadeshi instead of troubling themselves about the laws of economics.

The non-co-operation movement now exists only in name.

Dnydn Prakdsh (41), 13th Sept.

42. Non-co-operation now exists only in name in Mr. Gandhi's movement. With the failure of the attempt to boycott law courts, educational institutions and titles, the movement is only a ghost of its former self. Non-co-operation necessarily connotes the existence of two parties, *viz.*, the people and the Government. But those items in the programme of non-co-operation which had relation to these two parties have already vanished into thin air. Mr. Gandhi himself never makes any mention of them now. The two movements of drink prohibition and Swadeshi carried on under the name of non-co-operation have, as a matter of fact, nothing to do with it. It is also worthy of note that drink-prohibition was not one of the items in the original programme of non-co-operation and that it was tacked on to it later on. As regards Swadeshi no one need suppose that its success will embarras Government in any way. India enjoys fiscal autonomy to-day. Mr. Montagu plainly told the deputation from Lancashire that India was fully entitled to make use of her fiscal independence to protect her own industries. It is not at all possible now that the Government here will side with their countrymen in England and safeguard their interests when they conflict with those of Indians. In these circumstances it is quite possible to carry on the Swadeshi movement in co-operation with Government. Of course it will not be successful before the end of this month as desired by Mr. Gandhi if conducted in this manner. But every sane person will recognise that that is the only way to ensure permanence for it.

Swarajya is being gradually won.

Lokasangraha (116), 10th Sept.

43. At present the question of the stability of the Empire appears to be causing British statesmen considerable anxiety. This is inevitable owing to the unwieldiness of the Empire. It is very easy to consume a large quantity of food like a glutton but very difficult to digest it all. The English could easily bring several countries under their domination but now they find it difficult to retain them within their Empire. Although the fact that the sun never sets on the British Empire is very gratifying, it is also such as to cause trepidation to responsible statesmen. For, if England's subjects in the different continents of the world were to become impatient of her rule, she would not be able to repress them all. Even to-day every unit of the Empire is reluctant to accept the overlordship of England. The British colonies are practically independent. They only cling to England because of their inability to stand alone. It is doubtful whether they will agree to continue in the Empire when they feel sufficiently strong. Ireland, Egypt and India are all engaged in a mighty struggle to attain *swardjya*. The fortress of England's autocratic sway is being assailed on all sides and is gradually being reduced. At a time like this we should take the fullest advantage of the concessions that the bureaucracy here may give us. [The paper here refers to His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the joint meeting of the two legislative houses and asks the people to enrol themselves in large numbers in the territorial battalions and also to co-operate wholeheartedly with the fiscal commission.] On the whole it is no exaggeration to say that the fortress of *swardjya* is gradually being captured. There is no doubt it will fall at no distant date. We must of course be prepared to lose our best men. The bureaucracy will try various stratagems to maintain their hold on us but we must not slacken our efforts to baffle them in the end.

Appeal to Mr. Gandhi to suspend non-co-operation.

Jam-e-Jamshed (22), 13th Sept.

44. Even a liberal politician like Lord Reading was compelled to utter words of warning to the non-co-operators on the occasion of opening the Indian Legislatures. We boldly say that the majority of the Indian people cannot but agree with him in the opinion which he has given regarding the mischievous movements which are going on in India. Who can assert that this sad state of affairs of openly challenging authority and spreading an atmosphere of hatred is not the result of the agitation started by Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues? [The paper then enumerates the disturbances which have taken place as a result of the non-co-operation movement and remarks:—] The Moplah disturbances have shown that the attempts to impress upon the minds of illiterate people the principles of non-violent non-co-operation to attain *swardj* within one year can only result in disturbances. When Mr. Gandhi admits that the greatest obstacles in his struggle are placed by his own followers, it is his first duty to take care of this fact. He should make an attempt to secure *swardj* by means of his programme only after educating the masses. Hence Mr. Gandhi should at least stop the non-co-operation movement for a short time if he wants to stop the country from drifting into anarchy.

Complaint that Mahatma Gandhi and his followers are doing nothing to save the people from starvation.

Kairkhdh-i-Sind (159), 3rd Sept.

45. Regardless of the terrible famine now raging in the country, our leaders keep on talking of *charkha* and *swardj*. It is a pity that Mahatma Gandhi and his followers are doing nothing to save their countrymen from starvation and death. Instead of blaming Government for every misfortune that befalls India, it would be better for them to find out the real cause of the present scarcity. Let them ask the grain merchants to give up profiteering, which, we believe, is at the bottom of the trouble. If foreign cloth is being destroyed at the commands of the Mahatma, we do not see why speculation and profiteering also cannot be done away with in the same way. Speculators and merchants, however, subscribe handsomely to the various funds started by Mahatma and other leaders. Hence the latter find it hard to prevent them from charging exhorbitant rates for the necessaries of life. Thus it is our leaders who are really responsible for the misery of the people.

Status of Indians in German West Africa.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 15th Sept.

46. We must congratulate the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri for boldly representing the case of Indians in West Africa before the League of Nations. He has acted wisely in raising his voice against the possibility of South Africa introducing its policy of colour prejudice in German West Africa under the authority of the Mandate it has secured from the League of Nations. Let us hope that British statesmen will not allow any colour prejudice to dominate the administration of German West Africa and that they will not allow themselves to be considered as worse than the Germans who kept above such prejudice.

Comments on the anti-picketing steps being taken in Belgaum.

Kesari (111), 13th Sept.

47. The *Kesari* complains that Mr. Hunter, Superintendent of Police, who was unable to do anything against picketers while he was in Thána owing to the district being presided over by a teetotaller like Mr. Campbell, has on his transfer to Belgaum begun his operations in earnest there and has got arrested several of the picketers in the town thus showing the authorities' determination to put a stop to picketing which was hitherto going on there in a peaceful manner. It expresses the hope that the people of Belgaum will continue to do picketing without being daunted by these oppressive proceedings of the authorities.

Comments on the Government of India's circular regarding picketing.

Sind Vasi (167), 6th Sept.

48. The Government of India have after all issued a circular on picketing, not only of liquor shops but cloth shops also. But instead of providing simply against the occurrence of such objectionable incidents as have sometimes happened in front of liquor shops, it appears to be directed against picketing itself. Shopkeepers and buyers of liquor and cloth are assured of Government protection. And local officials are authorised to take severe steps as soon as they apprehend mischief. Now we can well realise the anxiety of Government to maintain peace and order in the country. But at a

time when Lancashire is making a determined effort to see that India does not close her markets against it, the issue of a circular of this kind is hardly a wise action on the part of Government. It will at once lead the people to suspect that it is intended to prevent the boycott of foreign goods. This circular should, therefore, be withdrawn and replaced by another, authorising officials to take only such action as may be absolutely necessary to prevent or put down disorder.

An Indian should be appointed Member for Commerce in succession to Sir T. Holland.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 13th Sept.; *Bombay Samáchár* (57), 17th Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 14th Sept.

49. The *Sánj Vartamán* dwells upon the necessity of appointing an Indian to fill the place vacated by Sir Thomas Holland as Member of the Executive Council of the Government of India for Commerce and Industries and suggests that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla may be appointed to the post as in its opinion he is eminently qualified to fill it. [The *Bombay Samáchár* urges upon the Government of Lord Reading the necessity of appointing an Indian as a member for Commerce and Industry in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sir Thomas Holland. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* fears that the mere retirement of Sir Thomas Holland will not restore the confidence of the Indian people. The paper is of opinion that the Indians have been completely dissatisfied with the management of the Department of Commerce and Industries and thinks that the events which have recently happened have strongly supported these feelings of want of confidence. The paper considers the demand made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau for the appointment of an Indian to the post vacated by Sir Thomas Holland as improper and thinks that a straightforward official should be appointed to the post, no matter whether he be an Indian or an Englishman.]

Alleged discontent among Indian troops abroad.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Sept.

50. "We do not know if the discontent existing among Indian troops abroad is reaching the ears of Sir Sivaswamy Iyer and his friends. Very probably not. But, if they care to make enquiries they will find that a good deal of discontent prevails among these troops. Their prolonged stay abroad is not at all liked by them and they are reported to be extremely anxious to be back in their own country. The discontent is not confined to Indian troops alone but pervades both the British and Indian sections of the Indian Army. .... We are further given to understand that Mr. Churchill's economies are entailing hardships on the Indian overseas troops, which they never bargained for and which it is unfair to subject them to. We hear that for the last several months both the Indian and British troops are being employed in Mesopotamia in such valorous and congenial duties as brick-making, building of barracks, cleaning of drains and even carting of rubbish, dung, etc., owing to want of proper labour, for which Mr. Churchill can pay no money! Some of the troops, both officers and men, are living permanently under canvas, in this year of grace 1921 and in such a country as Mesopotamia. The British officers of the Indian Army do not get any of the allowances which the British officers of the British army enjoy while in Mesopotamia. In the interests of Churchillian economy the field service *bhatta* and expatriation allowance of the Indian sepoys has been stopped since April last. There are no regular arrangements to bring back military patients to India, not a single hospital ship being engaged at present in the work. Eye-witnesses have pathetic tales to tell of the sufferings of the helpless patients huddled on the decks of passenger boats. Are these the things that our troops bargained for when they enlisted for service in the defence of the Empire?"

Comments on the addition of fifteen new battalions to the Indian Army.

Swaráj ( ), 3rd Sept.

51. Government is turning a deaf ear to our cries about the increasing poverty of our country and the consequent need of economy and is loading it with fresh burdens. Not satisfied with the recent increase in the salaries (of big officials) and the creation of some additional high posts under the Reforms, the Secretary of State has now sanctioned an addition of 15 new battalions to the Indian Army. Let them do what they like. We hope to root out this system of Government in a short time and bring peace to this country.

The European powers are bent on destroying Turkey.

Mufid-e-Rozgâr (170), 28th Aug.

52. The *Mufid-e-Rozgâr* remarks that the European powers which are primarily responsible for the Grœco-Turkish war and which have now stood aloof with a view to enjoy this game of fire, evidently desire to efface the Turks from the world by taking advantage of their weakness. It adds that these greedy and prejudiced powers are bent on destroying the Turkish Empire for the last many centuries like the Islamic kingdom of India. The paper thinks that the European powers are annihilating Turkey in honour of the victory that has been granted to them in the Great War. It regrets that the British Government which has under it ten crores of Musalmans, and which stands up for the protection of every religion, is quite indifferent to the religious feelings of the Musalmans. The paper asserts that under the guise of this neutrality many shiploads of ammunition have been sent to the Greeks. It concludes by asking the Musalmans to help Islam in the same way as they did during the Balkan war.

The Turco-Greek conflict.

Lokamânya (115), 14th Sept.

53. The *Lokamânya* expresses its disbelief in the news wired by Reuter that both Turks and Greeks have become exhausted by the recent heavy fighting 40 miles from Angora and are resting to recuperate. The fact is, the paper thinks, that the Greeks have been completely defeated by Kamal Pasha and that he is now pursuing them. It expresses its satisfaction that the chances of war are not altogether going against the Turks, and hopes that the occasion will be taken advantage of by England to bring about a peace satisfactory to Muhammadan sentiment.

Reflections on the martyrdom of Imam Husain.

Mufid-e-Rozgâr (170), 9th Sept.

54. Writing on the martyrdom of Hazrat Imam Husain (grandson of the Prophet Muhammad) the *Mufid-e-Rozgâr* remarks:—The heroic and righteous deed of the best of martyrs done 1,200 years ago is guiding us to-day and teaching us that we should not shirk, even for a moment, the responsibilities of religion and nationality however much we might have to suffer for the sublime cause of the Khilafat. If we show any laziness in the service of the Khilafat, then on the Day of Judgment our faces will be blackened, and curses will fall on us from the earth. We should also prostrate ourselves before God after the fashion of our true Imam and should pray in his name for the prosperity of the Khilafat and the destruction of the plans of the enemies of the Khilafat. God willing, the army of the believers will come out victorious against the treacherous and oppressive Greeks. Alas, O land of Smyrna, thou hast seen how the devotees of Husain, in their devotion for him, have fought, hungry and thirsty as they were, against the barbarous enemies of Islam, *viz*,, the Greeks. Alas, the little tender children of the devotees of Ali Asghar were bayonetted by the cruel Greeks. O devotees of Husain, help the hungry and thirsty victims of Smyrna in the name of God, in the name of the Prophet, the Imam Husain and the martyrs of Karbala.

Persia and the Angora Government.

Lokamânya (115), 16th Sept.

55. The *Lokamânya* dwells on the position in Persia and referring to the news that an alliance between that country and Angora was on the point of being concluded, declares that it was the policy followed by Lord Curzon for years past with regard to Persia that has been responsible for this rapprochement between the Persians and the Turks. It points out that the Persians seem to be convinced that England is no friend of their country but is merely watching for an opportunity to swallow it up, and in support quotes the views expressed by the *Star of Persia* newspaper severely criticising Lord Curzon's policy with regard to Persia which show, in the opinion of the *Lokamânya*, how completely Persian opinion has been alienated with regard to England. Under the circumstances, the paper remarks, nobody need be surprised if Persian statesmen show their willingness to assist the Turks with men in their conflict with the Greeks.

The Allies are responsible for the horrid state of affairs in Russia.

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 18th Sept., Eng. cols.

***56.** "The question naturally arises, who is responsible for the frightful condition of Russia to-day? Truth to tell, it is the Allied Powers of Europe who are indirectly, if not directly, responsible for this horrid state of affairs. The Allied Powers have criminally failed in their duty towards Russia, they have even aided and abetted the deliberate destruction of a whole nation by murderers and regicides. The blood of the murdered Czar and his innocent family cried out for vengeance, and Europe is being punished for its neglect in not bringing the murderers to justice. When the Armistice was signed the Allies ought to have immediately gone to the help of suffering Russia and saved her from the horrors following a revolution. Instead of doing this, they calmly looked on, allowed things to drift from bad to worse, allowed the Russians to be trod down under the heel of the Bolshevik regime, and finally even agreed to enter into friendly alliances and treaties with men who were acknowledged murderers, men whose hands were stained with the blood of innocent women and children...... ... The world cries for peace, but there can be no peace till fiends in human shape such as Lenin and Trotsky are deprived of the power they have usurped for the destruction of their fellow beings. There can be no peace in Europe till there is peace in Russia. There can be no peace in Russia till the Soviet Government, if it can be called any government at all, is overthrown. Will the Allies even now really and honestly do something to restore peace to suffering Russia?......... If the Allies will still hold back they will be guilty of a great crime."

EDUCATION.

Attitude of Government towards Municipal schools in Surat.

Deshi Mitra (61), 15th Sept.

57. Government schools are being opened in our city in opposition to the municipal schools and the Director of Public Instruction has also declared that the municipal schools will not be recognized by his Department. Why should it be so? Government officials have occasionally told us that the people should as far as possible maintain popular institutions. Why should Government or its officials try to pull down popular institutions in spite of giving the above advice? It is very sad that Government instead of expressing its satisfaction at the good step taken by the Municipality has shown its displeasure. We do not also understand why Government should have opened other schools in opposition to the municipal schools.

The Ahmedabad Municipality and the Educational Department.

Praja Bandhu (28), 11th Sept., Eng. cols.

58. "We regret we cannot congratulate the local representatives of the Educational Department upon the line of action taken by them to face the situation created by the Ahmedabad Municipality adopting the policy of non-co-operation in matters educational. The motives underlying the actions of the Educational Inspector, Northern Division, and his subordinates are so apparent that he who runs may read. It is certainly not with a view to safeguard the so-called interests of the primary teachers that the Department seems to be working. The only object underlying the activities of the Department seems to us to dislocate the smooth working of the Municipal schools. May we here venture to say a word of real truth to the Educational Inspector and his subordinates, even if the truth be a little unpalatable to them? All their efforts in that direction are foredoomed to failure as the Educational policy of the Municipality is at present guided and controlled by a competent and tactful committee which has a solid mass of public opinion behind it. The efforts of the Educational Department will only have the undesired effect of exposing the Department, for which it will have to thank none but its own officers."

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged high-handedness of the Junagadh State Police.

Servant of India (9), 15th Sept.

59. "Perhaps it has never been the ambition of Junagadh to be known as an enlightened State. We had heard stories of its wonderful administration in the past, but we thought that twenty years after the dawn of the twentieth century, when India has been firmly set on the road to full self-government and a wonderful awakening has come over the people throughout the length and breadth of the land, mediæval despotism was lifting from the regions of Girnar. But no, and it is possible for a *fauzdar* at Viraval, whose proper business is to protect the people from the rowdyism of Arab sailors, to play tyrant against a community, prohibit its meeting and ill-treat so wellknown a public worker as Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Servants of India Society. As he went there only to address a meeting, the *fauzdar* need not have concerned himself about him after prohibiting the meeting. It was utter high-handedness on his part to have compelled Mr. Thakkar to go to his office and to have asked him to leave the town. Such high-handedness affects the reputation of the Political Agent even more than that of the State itself. We trust, therefore, that he will make a full enquiry into the matter and advise the Durbar suitably. We are sure it will not be his policy to encourage stupid despotism in the States with a view to point out the contrast between British Indian and Native State rule."

The Press Act and Native States.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 13th Sept.

60. It is difficult to understand why the Government of India is so anxious to afford under the Press Act that protection to the native princes which it does not think necessary for itself. We request Lord Reading to make himself acquainted with the many instances of oppression of the people of native states, either by the rulers themselves or their autocratic ministers, before any arrangements are made for affording protection to the native states against the newspapers in British India. We also appeal to Lord Reading to think first whether the result of giving protection to the native chiefs will not be tantamount to giving license to them to be irresponsible.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 23rd September 1921.

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian matters:

Alleged high-handed action of the revenue officials at Narsanda (District Kaira) 82
Comments on the new revision settlement of the Málsiras Taluka of the Sholápur District 83

British Rule:

British policy is making Afghanistan a centre of Bolshevik intrigue . 26
Can there be any Hindu-Moslem unity? . . . . . . 39—42
Comments on the Anglo-Irish negotiations 16
Comments on Bombay Government's alleged circular not to patronise Messrs. Godrej and Company. 32
Comments on the Collector of Kárwár's notification against a private arbitration court started at Sirsi 33
Comments on the disturbances in Malbár . . . . . 35—37
Comments on the Moplah rising 38
Comments on the recommendations of the Committees appointed to consider the rehabilitation of Government loans . . . 22
Comments on the recommendations of the Committees appointed to report on repressive laws . . . . . 18—21
Comments on the report of the Rent Act Committee 24
Comments on the split in the non-Brahmin party 27
Comments on the Sugar Committee's Report. 23
Comments regarding a loyalty meeting held at Bágalkot . . . 30
Compensation offered for the land in Mulshi Peta is quite inadequate . 25
Hindu-Moslem unity one of the good results of the Khilafat agitation . 43
Marathas would lose more by opposing political progress than the Brahmins. 28
Mr. Gandhi should have been allowed to enter Malabár . . . 34
Objections to the use of photography for registration purposes . . 29
Political prisoners should receive better treatment in India . . . 31
The lessons India should learn from Ireland 17
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Comments on the forthcoming visit of— . . . . . 1—7

Indian Legislature:

Comments on Mr. Samarth's resolution in the Legislative Assembly on racial distinctions in the Indian criminal law . . . . . 9—12

B 201—a CON

PARAGRAPHS

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

- Indian Legislature—*(concld.)*
  - Comments on the passing of the resolution on separation of executive and judicial functions by the Legislative Assembly . . . 13
  - His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech before the — . . 8
  - Lord Lytton's Committee was not wanted by India 15
  - The N.-W. Frontier Province should be amalgamated with the Punjáb 14
- Judicial matters : Comments on the Sinjhoro (Sind) Police Torture Case . 79—81
- Non-co-operation :
  - Comments on the arrest of Pir Ghulam Majdid (Mujadid ?) 62
  - Comments on the arrest of the Ali Brothers . . . . . . 45—60
  - Comments on the prosecution of the *Deshabhaktan* newspaper of Madras 64
  - Comments on the rumour about the prosecution of the Ali Brothers . 44
  - Effectiveness of the boycott movement 68
  - Fears about the next Session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Ahmedabad 66
  - Government should take no steps to interfere with the movement to boycott foreign cloth 71
  - How prosecution of political leaders strengthens the — movement . 63
  - No prospect yet of the achievement of Mr. Gandhi's *swarájya* . . 72
  - Protest against the picketing of cloth shops 69
  - Political and Police prosecutions in Sind 65
  - Should Indian Musalmans make *hijrat* from India ? 67
  - The Marwaris and the cloth boycott movement 70
  - The ultimate goal of India 61
- Press Act : Comments on the proposed abolition of the Indian — . . 73 & 74
- Public Service :
  - Comments on the frequent increase in the pay of the Indian Civil Service 78
  - Comments on the proposed revision of the pay of the Indian Civil Service. 75
  - Comments on the recent increase in the oversea allowances . . . 76
  - Parsis should be appointed on the India Council and the Executive Councils of the Government of India and the Bombay Government. 77
- Sind : The — Commissionership should be abolished . . . . . 84 & 85
- War :
  - Comments on the Grœco-Turkish war 87
  - The duty of India and Indian Musalmans towards the Angora Government 86

EDUCATION—

- Comments on the alleged expulsion of certain non-Brahmin students from the hostel attached to the Training College for Men at Dhárwár . . 88

MUNICIPALITIES—

- Protest against restricting the Bombay Municipal franchise to those paying Rs. 20 per mensem as rent 89

RAILWAYS—

- Comments on the Railway Committee's report . . . . 90—93

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Hindusthan (20), 18th Sept., Eng. cols.

1. "We are apt to believe that the lesson of the visit of the Duke of Connaught early this year has been lost on the bureaucracy who seem to have been bent upon engineering and stage-managing a 'popular' welcome and thus not only hoodwinking the royal guest but also lowering the prestige of the Royal Family in the eyes of the world. This attitude of the bureaucracy may be taken to mean that it cares more for its own prestige (as if it were in possession of any real prestige after the events of the last two years) than for that of even the Royal Family. It is all the more inexplicable why the Prince should have consented to become a willing tool in the hands of the bureaucracy under such unfortunate and unprecedented circumstances after the experience of the Duke of Connaught who could not have kept the Royal Family in the dark as to the trend of popular feeling in India. . We feel the decision to bring the Prince at present is as inopportune as it is unfortunate. Apart from the political considerations, we think that the visit comes rather too soon after the visit of the Duke of Connaught and if it is no strain on the proverbial hospitality of Indians, it is undoubtedly a strain on their financial resources in a time of stringency......... We remember the disappointment which followed the Duke of Connaught's visit which began with similar hopes and we venture to prophesy that a similar disappointment is awaiting our moderate friends. But the non-co-operators have nothing to do with royal gifts and bureaucratic boons and their duty under the circumstances is quite clear. Owing to the flagrant and provocative disregard of popular wishes by our 'representatives'-and insults after insults which are heaped by the bureaucracy, it becomes all the more incumbent on the nation to boycott the royal visit altogether and still more vigorously prosecute the programme chalked out by Mahatma Gandhi by bringing about a complete boycott of foreign cloth by the end of this month and show the Prince a sure sign of our determination to win *swdrajya* through our own efforts by the end of this year."

Sánj Vartamán (31), 17th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (21), 22nd Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 23rd Sept.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (22), 19th Sept.; *Navsári Patrika* (71), 18th Sept.

2. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses its disapproval of the movement started by Sir Jamshedji Jeejibhai, Bart., to present an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales on his forthcoming visit to Bombay on behalf of the Parsi community and asks the Baronet to desist from the movement which it regards as one calculated to hurt the feelings of the sister communities at the present juncture. The paper warns Sir Jamshedji that there will be a split in the community if he persists in his intentions. [The *Hindusthán* considers the decision of the Bombay Municipal Corporation to present an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales as a severe blow to the democratic ideals of the people, inasmuch as, in its opinion, 99 citizens out of every 100 are in favour of boycotting the Prince and calls upon the citizens to get the Municipal Act so amended as to enable the voters to remove their representatives if they act in opposition to the wishes of their constituents. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the question of presenting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on behalf of the Parsi community and remarks that the country was much benefited by the visit of our King-Emperor as Prince of Wales, and the paper is of opinion that the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India will also benefit the country to a very great extent. Hence the paper thinks that it will not serve the purpose of Indians in any way to break their connection with the Royal family or to lose their sympathy. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* opines that of all the dangerous and impracticable items of the non-co-operation movement, the most unworthy and disgraceful is the movement to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales. The paper is convinced that the Prince will receive an unusually warm reception so that the stigma on the loyalty of Indians brought by a few non-co-operators may be washed out. It is grieved

to see that a handful of Parsis who have joined the non-co-operation movement have come out to oppose the movement which is started with the object of presenting an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales on behalf of the community. It thinks that the argument that the other communities will be displeased if a separate address of welcome is presented to the Prince by the Parsi community, is absolutely untenable. The paper is of opinion that the present is a very convenient time for the Indian people to win the sympathy of the Prince of Wales and the Royal family in order to get the wrongs done to them righted and show to them to what extent the feelings of Indians have been injured by these wrongs. The *Navsári Patrika* remarks that while a majority of the people are against welcoming the Prince of Wales, Government and a few of their flatterers are in favour of it. The paper refuses to believe that the Prince of Wales is to visit this country for purely non-political purposes. It inquires as to how it will be considered seditious if people boycott his visit with the object of expressing their discontent. It opines that it is ridiculous to force the people to receive him.]

Hind Mitra (18), 18th Sept.

3. The *Hind Mitra* refers to the question of the proposed address of welcome to the Prince of Wales on behalf of the Parsi community and remarks that this movement of presenting an address has irritated a majority of the community in view of the fact that the requisitionists took the signatures in the name of the Parsi community while keeping it in the dark. It is of opinion that the matter was handled in such an unworthy manner as would insult the Prince.

Lokasangraha (116), 24th and 22nd Sept.; *Shivaji* (138), 12th Sept.

4. People know that to boycott the Prince of Wales for the misdeeds of the bureaucracy is to punish an innocent man for the sins of another. They know that the Prince who is coming here to enjoy himself for a few days, and also to add to his knowledge, is not to blame in any way for India's grievances. He can neither benefit nor harm India, neither his pleasure nor his displeasure can affect our progress in any way. He can neither give us *swarájya* if he is pleased, nor can he take away the reforms if he is displeased. In the British Empire there is an Emperor, there is an heir-apparent, there is a vazier, there are buffoons, and other paraphernalia of an old-time Imperial Durbar. But the man who wields real power is wanting therein. The Emperor and the buffoon stand on the same level as regards real power. No one can give or take away anything. All form parts of a stupendous soulless machine and are moving with it! Human element is practically absent from it. In these circumstances is it surprising that the Prince's visit should fail to create any enthusiasm among the people? The Prince's association with the memorials to the Maratha warriors, and to the founder of the Maratha Empire, will give rise to various kinds of emotions in the minds of the people. What spectacle will meet the gaze of the spirits of Shiwaji, Tanaji, Nana Fadnavis, etc., on the 19th of November next while the proposed ceremonies will be performed? On that day thousands of Marathas will be standing with folded hands before the Prince during the course of the ceremony in front of the very *wada* in which at one time the representatives of the British power respectfully stood with folded hands before the Peishwa! [In an earlier issue the paper writes:—The sight of the heir to the throne of England erecting a memorial to the founder of the Maratha Empire will not fail to give pain to every Maratha. The fact that an address from the Poona City Municipality does not figure in the programme is significant. The shrewdness of the Government of Bombay in not forcing the Municipality to present an address to the Prince is no doubt very commendable. Can it be that the idea of these ceremonies owes its origin to the desire of Government to attract large crowds on the occasion of the Prince's visit to Poona? The *Shivaji* writes:—Has no Prince of Wales ever visited this country before? Why then are the authorities so very particular about the Prince of Wales' welcome on the present occasion? Why do they make so much fuss about it? The reason is that the bureaucracy want to cover their own misdeeds and to convince the British nation

through the Prince that there are peace and prosperity in India. Lord Reading's assurance that the Prince's visit is free from any political object will not deceive anyone.]

Hitechhu (66), 18th Sept.

5. Commenting on a meeting held at Karáchi in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the ***Hitechhu*** remarks :—The opinion of the non-co-operators in this matter is perfectly well known. It is this that His Royal Highness the Prince is not personally responsible for this visit of his to India, but the Government of India want to make him their tool. It is an attempt on the part of those who hold the reins of power in India to show to Britain and the world that there is nothing in India like non-co-operation which the people have launched against the authorities as a result of the discontent and bitterness that prevailed among them owing to the blind policy the officials followed. Still, lest the people might err, the great leaders of the movement have declared at various places that the people do not agree with the authorities in inviting the Prince to India at present, and that the Indian people, as they are in mourning, will not take part in honouring the Prince. This is as clear as daylight.

Praja Bandhu (28), 18th Sept.

6. The Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State have resolved to present addresses of welcome to the Prince of Wales! There is discontent in the country, high prices prevail, a large section of the people is not in sympathy with Government, and so the visit of the Prince to India at such a time is inopportune. The bureaucrats are not unaware of the resolution of the Congress to boycott the Prince's visit and their determination to accord a pompous welcome to the Prince on behalf of the people is therefore a blow to the people's self-respect. But did the bureaucracy ever take into consideration the economic situation of the country when indulging in lavish expenditures in the past? Festivities in connection with the Diamond Jubilee were celebrated after the dire famine of 1896; the coronation ceremony of King Edward was performed in the year 1901 when India had just passed through three successive famines; there was famine in the country at the time of the Delhi Durbar of 1911; but the bureaucracy never hesitated to spend lavishly from the Indian treasury on those occasions. If those who object to money being spent in welcoming the Prince at a time when famine prices prevail in the country are to be considered as disloyal persons then loyalty must be taken to mean servile acquiescence in the word of the bureaucracy.

Shivaji (138), 12th Sept.

7. The *Shivaji* takes to task the members of the Legislative Assembly who criticised Mr. Agnihotri for his opposition to the resolution on the welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and remarks that Mr. Agnihotri was perfectly entitled to give expression to his opposition if he believed that he thereby voiced the opinion of his constituents. It inquires why the Assembly which is supposed to uphold the right of free speech should deny the same right to one of its own members.

His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech before the Indian Legislature.

Jágaruk (45), 7th Sept.

8. The Viceroy's opening speech before the Indian Legislature falsified all the hopeful expectation formed about it. In the whole speech there is not a single important item that would lessen the people's discontent. His Excellency has so often given promises of doing justice both while he was in England and after coming out to India that he must now be feeling ashamed of them. Not only has no justice been yet done in matters like the Punjab wrong, but even speaking about doing justice has now ceased. The Viceroy is desirous of enlisting the support of the Legislature for the repression of non-co-operation. But what about the redress of the people's complaint? The only somewhat satisfactory portion of his speech was that in which he admitted that there did exist some grievances that ought to be redressed.

If His Excellency has taken so much time to admit that fact, people should imagine for themselves as to how long it is going to take to actually redress the grievances. People had expected of His Excellency to announce the release of the 86 Punjab martial law prisoners, but did nothing beyond stating that the matter was under consideration. The burden of his speech consisted in asking the people to give a cordial welcome to the Prince of Wales. But even the staunched co-operators will feel no enthusiasm in welcoming the Prince after reading the disappointing speech of the Viceroy.

Comments on Mr. Samarth's resolution in the Legislative Assembly on racial distinctions in the Indian criminal law.

Servant of India (9), 22nd Sept.

9. "Indians are entitled to feel intense satisfaction at the outcome of the discussion which took place on Mr. Samarth's resolution asking for the removal of all racial distinctions existing in the criminal law of the country. The Government accepted the principle of equality 'between Indians and Europeans in the matter of their trial and punishment for offences' and appointed a committee which we suppose will be predominantly Indian only for the purpose of devising the best method to give effect to it.......... The recent Khoreal case is by no means an instance of a particularly aggravated miscarriage of justice; such cases do occur now and then and Sir William Vincent frankly admitted that in several cases within his knowledge this privilege has resulted in gross injustice. 'Whatever the decision in the Assembly might be,' Sir William declared, 'the Government were determined that the law should be so framed as to prevent, as far as humanly possible, all failures of justice both in the case of Europeans and Indians.' The only way of giving effect to this declaration is to abolish all distinctions founded on race and to notify for all the Europeans who choose to live in India that they shall enjoy no special privileges which are not open to the rightful inhabitants of the country.......... We mean no compromise or a half-way solution of the question can be discovered and having accepted the principle, the Government cannot stop short of giving the fullest application to it."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 22nd Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 23rd Sept.

10. The Legislative Assembly has taken a definite step forward by appointing a committee to remove racial distinctions in the criminal law of India. In the past we were repeatedly being told that the status of Indians was in no way inferior to that of the Europeans and we were also given specious assurances to that effect in royal proclamations. All this, however, had no practical value since the law was different as between Europeans and Indians. The Reforms Act of 1919 having conferred real rights of *swarájya* on Indians, Indian politicians have since then been devoting their attention to the elimination of these racial distinctions from the statute book. It is very strange that the present resolution should have met with opposition from non-official European members and that they should have given expression to their imaginary rights and difficulties. The times have changed, and the angle of the vision of Government has also changed, and it is not right that the European merchants should still cling to their old narrow ideas. The speech made by Sir William Vincent on behalf of Government is a clear indication of a change of policy. It also brings into relief the difference between the Viceroyalties of Lords Chelmsford and Reading. The Committee to be appointed should be so constituted that Indians will have a clear majority in it. [The *Indu Prakásh* says that the mere acceptance by Government of the principle of racial equality and the appointment of the Committee cannot be said to have much advanced the cause of the Indians in so much as similar assurances have constantly been forthcoming since 1857. It points out that the speeches of the European non-official members of the Assembly clearly showed that the angle of vision of the European community has not yet changed and remarks that the people will not be very much mistaken if they think that the Committee is likely to confirm permanently the racial privileges enjoyed by the Europeans.]

Lokamánya (115), 19th Sept.

11. The *Lokamánya* remarks with satisfaction that steps are being taken to do away with the racial distinctions in the criminal law of India with regard to the trial and punishment of Europeans and Indians and welcomes the assurance given in the matter by Sir William Vincent in the course of the discussion on Mr. Samarth's motion in the Legislative Assembly and hopes that the report of the Committee to be appointed to consider the question will prove to be a satisfactory one. It, however, regrets to see from the speeches made by Mr. Rhodes and other non-official Europeans that the community is not yet prepared to forego the unfair privileges it has been enjoying. At the same time it expresses its satisfaction that the mild tone of the European non-official members shows that they have come to see that the old lines of the Ilbert Bill are now changed. It adds that the removal of racial distinctions from the criminal law alone will not satisfy India, but their total removal from the whole of the Indian Administration machinery is necessary to give India real satisfaction.

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 22nd Sept.

12. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the discussion on Mr. Samarth's resolution which took place in the Legislative Assembly regarding the removal of racial inequality and remarks that the arguments advanced by the European members cannot stand close examination. The paper is of opinion that if a European can try the case of an Indian, an Indian also ought to have the right of trying the case of a European. It remarks that justice should be uniformly administered to all people and any kind of distinction in its administration tends to murder justice itself.

Comments on the passing of the resolution on seperation of executive and judicial functions by the Legislative Assembly.

Lokamánya (115), 24th Sept.

13. The *Lokamánya* welcomes the passing of the resolution about separation of executive and judicial functions in the Legislative Assembly by 46 votes against 35, but expresses surprise that so many as 35 members could be found in the Assembly to vote against a measure admitted to be necessary on all hands. It declares that Sir William Vincent's statement about the Government of India not being prepared to render any pecuniary aid to carry the reform into effect was inconsistent with its opinion that it was a necessary one. It remarks that it is yet to be seen whether the bureaucracy carries the resolution into effect or simply pigeonholes it, as it is completely in its hands even under the reforms to give effect to it or not.

The N.-W. Frontier Province should be amalgamated with the Punjab.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 23rd Sept.

14. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the question of Government's defeat on the resolution regarding the transference of the administration of justice of the N.-W. Frontier Province to the Punjab High Court and the appointment of a committee to inquire into the question of re-amalgamating the Province with the Punjab. The paper trusts that the Government of Lord Reading and the military authorities will not allow any obstacle like that of prestige to come in the way and will consider it their duty to give a practical shape to the resolution. It requests His Excellency the Viceroy and His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to again adopt the far-sighted policy of Lord Lawrence and to strengthen India and restrict the boundaries of India to that of the Punjab and return all the portion between this frontier and that of Afghanistan to the Amir of Afghanistan. It is of opinion that by doing so Government will not only be able to win the confidence of the Amir and the Afghan people but will also be able to lessen the present discontent among Indian Muhammadans.

Lord Lytton's Committee was not wanted by India.

Indian Social Reformer (6), 25th Sept.

***15.** "We are glad that the Legislative Assembly by a majority has disallowed the sum of two lakhs provided in a supplementary budget presented to it by Government for the visit of Lord Lytton's Committee to India. Indian opinion of all shades was opposed to this provision. It was rightly urged that so soon after the Sadler Commission's report which is on a fair way to be laid on the shelf for want of funds, it was foolish to waste two lakhs on the visit of another Committee. These Committees do more harm than good. They unsettle existing arrangements, without bringing about any compensating improvements. This is due to the fact that, while Government has no objection to destructive measures which cost no money, it will not provide money to carry out constructive recommendations."

Comments on the Anglo-Irish negotiations.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Sept.

16. "From the correspondence which has passed between the Premier and Mr. De Valera since the commencement of the pourparlers, it must be obvious to every impartial critic that the present deadlock has been brought about by a surprise sprung from the side, not of the Sinn Fein leader, but of the Premier. It would be unfair to charge Mr. De Valera with unexpectedly raising a new and insurmountable difficulty in the way of the negotiations. On the other hand, the surprise of Mr. De Valera and his colleagues at the abrupt cancellation of the Conference by the Premier must appear to be genuine. Throughout the negotiations the position of the Sinn Fein leaders has been made clear by them. They have spoken not in their individual capacity, but as the elected representatives of the Irish people and the nominees of their parliament, the Dail Eireann. That Mr. De Valera has advanced no new claim on behalf of himself and his colleagues will be obvious from the fact that in his final wire to Mr. De Valera cancelling the Inverness Conference the reason given by the Premier for the step is that 'reiteration of Mr. De Valera's claim to negotiate with the Government as the representative of an Independent Sovereign State would make the Conference impossible.' So, Mr. Lloyd George himself admits that Mr. De Valera has only reiterated his claim. Why was no objection taken earlier by the Premier to negotiate with the spokesmen of the Dail Eireann, if the position taken by the latter was impossible of recognition by the British Government?"

The lessons India should learn from Ireland.

Hindusthán (21), 19th Sept.

17. The *Hindusthán* refers to the present situation in Ireland and asks British statesmen to profit by their Irish experiences and not to adopt measures of repression in India but to grant the wishes of the people before it is too late. It asks the popular leaders to learn the lesson of unity from Ireland and to lay aside all differences and to meet on the common platform of the next sessions of the Indian National Congress with a view to making their influence felt by Government.

Comments on the recommendations of the Committee appointed to report on repressive laws.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Sept.

18. "A more laboured apology for the retention of repressive legislation could not have been put forward than that produced by the committee which was appointed by the Government of India to inquire into the question of repealing certain repressive Acts on the Indian Statute book. The Committee consisting as it did of some of the most confirmed anti-non-co-operators has taken full advantage of the opportunity that lay to hand for holding up to public execration the great movement of non-violent non-co-operation led by Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers......... The Committee has misconceived its purpose in so far as it is at pains to prove the need for retaining the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 dealing with anarchical conspiracies and unlawful associations......... We do not know when the committee discovered 'that the executive will use any exceptional powers with the utmost caution and restraint.' We are told that the action of the executive 'may always be challenged in the local legislatures'. We cannot help sympathising with our amateur legislators for their utter disregard of more recent experiences. One has only to mention the fate of the motions dealing with the Dhárwár and Matiári tragedies or the prosecution of the Ali Brothers to prove how illusory is the right of the legislatures to challenge the action of the executive. Human credulity cannot go further. Yet we are most solemnly assured in the face of the most flagrant abuses of laws, special as well as ordinary, that are daily taking place, that forbearance has characterized the dealings of the bureaucracy. Coming events always cast their shadows before, and we believe that the sporadic acts of repression and coercion that have been resorted to lately in different parts of the country, do merely herald the darkest era of repression. The executive will undoubtedly make one final effort to crush the spirit of the people by repressing the national movement and to make smooth the path of the despised co-operators. The recommendation that is now made for retaining the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 on what are chimerical grounds appears to us as a wholly inspired one. There is nothing in the situation of to-day to warrant the continuance, even temporarily, of a debasing Act of the Legislature.......... The Committee whose zealous advocacy of the official view is no less striking than that of any confirmed bureaucrat, has, in spite of itself, distinctly admitted that there is nothing in the situation which necessitates the possession and exercise of extraordinary powers by the Government.......... If, this declaration notwithstanding, the committee has chosen to recommend an additional lease of life to the Seditious Meetings Act, etc., and also the enactment of a new measure on the lines of the English Statute which makes 'disturbance (1) at a public meeting an offence,' the more so when a Parliamentary election is on, an explanation has to be looked for elsewhere. It is obvious that the committee has not been so much actuated by that noble instinct of serving humanity as by less noble political ends. What should we think of a man who having rendered himself odious to the community should seek to trust himself on them, not by their suffrages but under official protection and by the application of the Seditious Meetings Act ! Actuated by jealousy and narrow-mindedness, the committee has been led to make proposals which cannot but provoke disgust. The so-called needs of the situation have been used as a blind for exploiting official prejudices against non-co-operation."

Lokamánya (115), 23rd Sept.

19. The *Lokamánya* expresses its surprise that the Committee of repressive legislation should have recommended the retention of laws like the Third Bengal Regulation of 1818, the Seditious Meetings Act, etc. It considers it discreditable that an Indian Governor like Lord Sinha should have suggested the retention of the Seditious Meetings Act. It refers to the opinion of the Committee that Government should place confidence in the new Legislative Councils inasmuch as they are sure to support all necessary legislation required at particular times, and expresses surprise that with this high estimation of the Councils, the Committee should have recommended the retention of the above measures. It is also surprised that the Committee should have recommended the passing of an Act on the lines of the English Disorderly Public Meetings Act and declares that the Act seems to be wanted by Government for the sake of the *gulam* sabhas and the Moderates. The recommendation of the Committee for the repeal of the Rowlatt Act is looked upon by the paper as a victory of Indian public opinion, and as the fulfilment of Mr. Gandhi's vow not to rest till the Act was repealed.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 24th Sept.

20. The *Bombay Samáchár* approves the recommendations made by the Repressive Laws Committee, but it regrets that the Committee could not see their way to suggest the repeal of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act, and opines that the responsibility of getting these measures repealed now rests with the public and calls upon them to make an effort to improve the present political situation and to make the way clear for the early repeal of those measures.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 24th Sept.

21. The *Dnyán Prakásh* believes that the report of the Repressive Laws Committee will, on the whole, give satisfaction to the people. It regrets that the activities of the non-co-operationists should have prevented the immediate repeal of two pieces of repressive legislation, *viz.*, the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908, and the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1911. In the opinion of the paper most of the credit for the present liberal policy as revealed by the recommendations of the committee belongs to Lord Reading and the Indian members of his Executive Council.

Comments on the recommendations of the Committees appointed to consider the rehabilitation of Government loans.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 22nd Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 20th Sept.

22. The *Bombay Samáchár* considers it a hasty and unwise step on the part of Government to shelve on their own responsibility the recommendations of the Committees appointed to rehabilitate Government loans and calls upon the Council of State at whose instance the Committees were appointed to take up the question of giving effect to the most important recommendations of the Committee. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses its satisfaction at the suggestion made by the Bombay Committee that Government should establish a depreciation fund and buy these loans every year in a fixed proportion. It declares that by taking up the suggestion of the Bombay Committee, Government will be able to do much good both to the people and to themselves.]

Comments on the Sugar Committee's Report.

Kesari (111), 20th Sept.

23. The *Kesari* refers to the Sugar Committee's report and condemns its suggestion for the acquirement of sugarcane lands by means of the Land Acquisition Act as the present day agriculturists will, thereby, be reduced to the position of mere coolies. It hopes that such a procedure will be resisted as the rayats' lands will thereby pass into the hands of companies and the Champaran conditions will be repeated in the Maháráshtra. It, however, approves of the suggestion of the Committee to replace the *ad valorem* duty on sugar by duty according to weight and hopes that it would be soon carried into effect.

Comments on the report of the Rent Act Committee.

Akhbár-e-Islám (54), 24th Sept.

24. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* refers to the report of the Rent Act Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay and remarks that the recommendation made by one portion of the Committee to increase the rent by fifty or thirty-three per cent. is absolutely undesirable. The paper is of opinion that the High Court safeguards the interests of the landlords in cases regarding the Rent Act, and it thinks that the practice of entrusting only one Judge with the work of hearing the cases under the Rent Act is also not proper.

Compensation offered for the land in Mulshi Peta is quite inadequate.

Lokasangraha (116), 19th Sept.; *Swarájya* (145), 22nd Sept.

25. The *Lokasangraha* publishes the notice issued by the Collector of Poona giving the scale of compensation to be awarded to owners of lands which will be taken up for the Mulshi Peta project and declares that the rates fixed by the Collector are very much below the real values of the lands. It points out that the Collector, under the notice, values an acre of Ambe-mohor land at Rs. 478, whereas, according to its information, a man considers himself lucky if he can obtain that kind of land at the rate of Rs. 1,500 per acre. The paper refers to the Collector's remark that the compensation given to owners of lands in the Andhra valley gave perfect satisfaction to the people, calls it a unique discovery, and adds that the compensation in no way gave satisfaction to the owners [The *Swarájya* asks Government to make known to the people beforehand whether they are in a position to give lands in the Násik District to all the men who hold lands in the Mulshi Peta.]

British policy is making Afghanistan a centre of Bolshevik intrigue.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 24th Sept.

26. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* says that the news regarding the Afghan Embassy which has gone to England shows how regrettable is the British policy regarding Afghanistan and declares that it is due to this policy that Afghanistan has been the fruitful centre of Bolshevik intrigues. The paper believes that a most serious mistake has been committed in entrusting the administration of the Foreign Office to Lord Curzon. The paper is of opinion that Lord Curzon's attitude in refusing to receive the Afghan Embassy except through the Secretary of State for India is insulting to the late King-Emperor who recognized the Amir of Afghanistan as an independent monarch. The paper appeals to Lord Reading to persuade His Majesty's Government to accept the Afghan envoy and to impress upon him that the British Government will completely adhere to the arrangement made by the late King-Emperor of recognizing the Amir as an independent monarch.

Comments on the split in the non-Brahmin party.

Kesari (111), 20th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 23rd Sept.

27. The *Kesari* referring to the split in the non-Brahmin party says:—The party which calls itself "Independent non-Brahmin party" is against the excesses committed by non-Brahmins and their fawning upon the authorities and favours the present anti-drink movement. The other party which may be called "the rabid Kolhápur party" is against the anti-drink movement, does not want to fight with the authorities for economising expenditure for the introduction of compulsory education nor would it condemn the non-Brahmin excesses against Brahmans. The Kolhápur party has got into general disfavour on account of its doctrines and excesses and has got little influence outside Kolhápur and the portions of the Sátára District handed over by Mr. Moysey to the Satyashodhaks. [The *Indu Prakásh* says that of the two non-Brahmin parties, one of which is led by Mr. Kothari and the other by Mr. Latthe, Mr. Kothari's party seems to be in the right as the non-Brahmins must be prepared to fight with the bureaucracy for righting of political wrongs in the same way as they have been fighting with the Brahmins for righting of social and religious wrongs. It expresses the hope that the united effort of the whole of the nation being necessary to fight with the bureaucracy, the non-Brahmins will not quarrel among themselves with regard to trifling matters but do their duty as required by the times.]

Marathas would lose more by opposing political progress than the Brahmins.

Shivaji (138), 12th Sept.

28. The Marathas should remember that in opposing political progress they stand to lose much more than the Brahmins. The Brahmins have no doubt benefited to a large extent under the present system of administration. Educated Brahmins never lacked employment either under the old or the present rule. But what is the condition of the Marathas who formerly earned wealth and honour by the strength of their right arm? How many of them are given high posts in the Army by the English? What right has been conferred upon them except that of dying on the field of battle? They have to depend solely on agriculture, and Government take from them a large part of their produce in the shape of assessment without conferring any corresponding benefit upon them.

Objections to the use of photography for registration purposes.

Kesari (111), 20th Sept.

29. The *Kesari* refers to a case in which the photograph of a document given for registration was found to be defective as the photograph had failed to reproduce some corrections made in the document and consequently it had again to be copied by hand after correspondence with the registrar's office, and remarks that the instance shows how unsafe it is to employ photography for registration purposes. It thinks that the dangers involved in the system ought to have been considered by the authorities before forcing it upon the people, and calls attention to the fact that Bombay Solicitors also are opposed to the system as most of the documents tendered by them for registration are typed in red ink.

Comments regarding a loyalty meeting held at Bagalkot.

Navina Bhárat (37), 19th Sept.

30. Referring to a loyalty meeting held at Bágalkot in Bijápur District the *Navina Bhárat* questions the propriety of making a show of loyalty when according to the Census Reports, every one of the citizens is a loyal subject of His Majesty. The paper opines that this meeting was convened not so much to express loyalty to the King-Emperor as to express loyalty to the bureaucracy and says :—If the non-co-operation movement is harmful to the interests of the country and if it lacks the support of the people then where is the necessity of organizing an opposition to it with the help of officials? Have these people who indulge in wordy broad-sides against the non-co-operation movement ever thought of the interests of the country? Is it their opinion that Swadeshi and temperance are harmful to the interests of the country? If they are not, then why is there not even a mention of them in their programme? By raving against the non-co-operation movement at the bidding of officials these people, without serving any useful purpose, simply expose themselves to public scorn.

Political prisoners should receive better treatment in India.

Bharatwasi (155), 15th Sept.

31. In all civilised countries political prisoners receive much better treatment than what is given to the ordinary ones. In India, however, with very few and rare exceptions, the conditions are reversed. Bad and inhuman as is the treatment of the ordinary prisoner, that of the political prisoner is even worse. Solitary confinement in a dark and insanitary room, which is a form of punishment for the former for an infringement of jail rules, is the unhappy lot of the latter on his first arrival in jail. His subsequent treatment is on a par with his first bitter experience. On the other hand, European and Anglo-Indian prisoners—murderers and thieves—are treated with great consideration and are provided with the comforts and conveniences to which they are normally accustomed. This disparity of treatment has resulted in much bitterness already and is likely to bring trouble if continued longer. We would request the Honourable Mr. Bhurgri to bring this matter to the attention of Government, and we would urge on Lord Reading, in whom we still have confidence, the necessity of an early removal of this long standing grievance of the people.

Comments on Bombay Government's alleged circular not to patronise Messrs. Godrej and Company.

Lokamánya (115), 19th Sept.

32. Referring to the alleged confidential circular issued by the Bombay Government asking its officers not to patronize safes, etc., from Messrs. Godrej and Company, the *Lokamánya* remarks that it shows the vindictiveness of Government against Mr. Godrej for his having contributed three lakhs of rupees to the Tilak Swarájya Fund. It declares that as the officials entertain feelings of hostility towards Mr. Gandhi, any one who assists him in his patriotic work naturally incurs their enmity. It says that the officials must bear it in mind that the gift given by Mr. Godrej is not meant to be spent for political purposes but for aims such as drink prohibition which even Government cannot take objection to. If Government does not withdraw the circular, the paper remarks, the people will have sufficient ground to say that Government's expressed sympathy for Swadeshi and temperance is all hollow. It points to the recommendation of the Stores Committee to purchase indigenous goods and the Government of India's approving resolution thereon and says that both of them are set at naught by the present circular of the Bombay Government.

Comments on the Collector of Karwar's notification against a private arbitration court started at Sirsi.

Kesari (111), 20th Sept.; *Indu Prakásh* (44), 22nd Sept.

33. The *Kesari*, commenting on the notification issued by the Collector of Kárwár against an arbitration court started at Sirsi by certain local leaders, remarks that the notification proves the meddlesome and mischievous

nature of the Collector who has tried to put obstacles in the way of a movement intended to secure easy and speedy justice to parties in a dispute. The notification also shows, the paper remarks, that the object of Government in establishing its civil courts is not to give justice to the people, but only to fill its own coffers by means of fees and court-fee stamps. Under what authority, the paper asks, does the Collector direct those who receive summons from the arbitration court, to hand it over to the Mamlatdar? The paper wants the people to teach a lesson to such mischievous bureaucrats by completely boycotting Government courts. [The *Indu Prakásh* characterises the above suggestion about boycotting Government courts as impracticable. It remarks that the editor of the *Kesari* apparently values other people's honour less than his own, as he did not boycott Government courts in his own case. It also points out that the *Kesari* itself had declared boycott of courts as impracticable when first suggested by Mr. Gandhi and asks whether it has now changed its opinion.]

Mr. Gandhi should have been allowed to enter Malabar.

Bombay Samáchár (57), 21st Sept.

34. The *Bombay Samáchár* declares that the explanation given by the Honourable Mr. Craik in the Council of State in the matter of the Moplah riots goes to show that the Moplahs are not yet brought under control and that the situation in Malabár gives cause for anxiety. In these circumstances the paper considers it an unwise step on the part of the Government of Madras to have prohibited Mr. Gandhi from entering Malabár. The paper is of the opinion that Mr. Gandhi's presence in Malabár would tend to improve the situation and requests Lord Reading to get the order of the Madras Government cancelled in the interests of the public.

Comments on the disturbances in Malabar.

Young India (12), 22nd Sept.

35. Mr. Gandhi writes:—"Friends are asking me, whether I do not consider it a breach of faith on the part of the Viceroy to have countenanced the arrest of Maulana Mahomed Ali. I cannot accuse Lord Reading of a breach of faith, because his assurance as to waiving of prosecution was gratuitous. But it is certainly up to him to show clearly the new circumstances that have arisen since his Simla speech to justify Maulana Mahomed Ali's arrest. Of course he did not expect the Maulana to seal his lips or to water down his speeches. The apology was an act of brave and fearless men. They expressed regret, if in a heated moment they had used an expression that might mean incitement. to violence. I know the Brothers to be brave, honest and God-fearing. Ever since the famous statement, Maulana Mahomed Ali has been travelling with me. He has made many speeches. But whilst he has been strong in every one of them, he has been careful to preach non-violence. His work on behalf of non-violence in private has been more solid still. The brothers have been preaching the non-violence of the strong. They have practised what they have preached. The Government of Madras knew that we were proceeding upon an errand of peace. They knew that Maulana Mahomed Ali was bound to preach Hindu-Muslim unity. His message would have reached the Moplahs, and their fanaticism might have received a check. If he had been permitted to go to the disturbed area, he would have ensured peace without the loss of a single drop of blood. But that would have irreparably damaged the prestige of the Government, and demonstrated the triumph of non-violence. If proof be wanted in support of my inference, it is supplied by the letter received by me from the Chief Secretary on my arrival in Madras. This is the text:—'In the event of your proposing to visit Malabár District, I am directed to inform you that the Military authorities consider that the conditions prevailing in the area under Martial Law make it undesirable that you should enter or stay therein. In this view His Excellency the Governor in Council concurs. I am further directed to tell you that the Military authorities have issued instructions that should you go to the Martial Law area, you should be turned back.' The Government had hitherto credited me with good intentions. They have professed no distrust of my motives. Everybody has testified to the fact, that my presence has everywhere a peaceful effect. This prevention order—for order it undoubtedly is—forces upon me the inference, that the Government do not want peace, that they do not want exposure of the exaggerations indulged in their behalf, and what is the worst of all, they do not want to stop the second edition of the Punjáb that is being enacted in unhappy Malabár. I propose to give only one illustration of what I mean. Respectable young men have had their *khadi* vests and caps torn from them, and had to witness their being burnt. One man had his cap spat into, and was then forced to wear it. Is there here a change of heart or of methods? I have many other stories of atrocities. But I do not repeat them for want of verification. Even men, who were known to have prevented looting, etc., have been arrested, simply because they were Congressmen. So respectable a man as Mr. Keshav Menon of Calicut has been prevented from leaving Calicut. The order was served on him after my visit was announced. In what way could public safety be injured by Mr. Menon's leaving the disturbed area? From all the accounts I have received, Mr. Thomas, the author of the Malabár troubles, is copying Sir Michael O'Dwyer without possessing the latter's frankness. Perhaps he is tongue-tied. I am doing him an injustice. The Governor of Madras has taken up the position of Lord Chelmsford. He leaves everything to his lieutenant."

Indian Social Reformer (6), 25th Sept.

***36.** "We are sorry that the Mahatma's attitude towards the Moplah outbreak does not show the candour and perspicacity which led to his stopping the Satyagraha movement when the Punjab outbreak occurred two years ago. The Moplah outbreak is a far stronger reason for stopping the Khilafat non-co-operation movement than the Punjab outbreak was for stopping Satyagraha. The Punjab outbreak, as we have always contended, had no visible point of contact with Satyagraha, while the inter-relation between Khilafat non-co-operation and the Moplah outbreak can be denied only by those who will not see it. We do not say that the Khilafat non-co-operationists intended the outbreak. It has been, as the Mahatma admits, the most powerful setback to their movement, and they are not fools to contrive deliberately their own undoing. We blame them for not foreseeing it when they carried their politico-religious propaganda to the Moplah area. If they knew anything of the mission they had undertaken, they ought to have known that the Moplah mind can apprehend only so much of it as fell in with its inherited and habitual modes of functioning. The plea that the Moplah outbreak occurred in parts to which the Khilafat non-co-operation propaganda had not been allowed to be carried, apart from it variance with fact, can only be described as childish if it is not to be described as dishonest.......... But even if their ignorance might serve to excuse their carrying their propaganda to the Moplahs, what excuse can avail for their asserting that the outbreak is due, not to their propaganda, but to want of a sufficiency of it? It is an easy but dangerous thing to rouse the religious fanaticism of the masses, Hindu or Muhammadan. Indian political leaders had always carefully refrained from touching on any considerations bearing on religion, though they have got little credit for their self-restraint from Government, until the Mahatma in an evil moment took up the Khilafat question as a means to Hindu-Muhammadan unity. Let us take timely warning by the example of Malabár."

Pársi-Sansár (27), 17th Sept.

37. The Moplahs have given us an example of the freedom the people will enjoy under Mr. Gandhi's *swaráj* and the unity and good feelings that will subsist among the various races. Sinister influences working under the guise of the Khilafat movement are responsible for the Moplah riots and we do not think that some of our Hindu contemporaries will enjoy any immunity from harm if a similar riot breaks out in Sind. Mr. Gandhi has written in his usual roundabout mannerabout the riot, but he has said nothing definite or satisfactory about the forcible conversions of Hindus. If Mr. Gandhi does not take a lesson from the Moplah riots and put a stop to his non-co-operation movement, he will be accounted morally responsible for the blood of the innocent that will be shed hereafter. It will be a misfortune for India if

Mr. Gandhi continues to persist in his folly and to be under the spell of Satan.

Comments on the Moplah rising.

Bhâratwasi (155), 12th Sept.

38. The accounts of the Moplah outbreak reveal a terrible tale. We expect non-co-operators will learn a lesson from this rising, as the different accounts published so far show, that it is due not to the Moplahs' religious fanaticism only, but also to the non-co-operators' expressed determination to end this Government. We too are for *swarâj*. But we mean to secure it by mending and not by ending the present system of Government. If non-violence and destruction of Government are preached at the same time, the result will be incidents like those of Málegaon, Aligarh and Malabár, which will make it impossible for India to gain *swarâj*.

Can there be any Hindu-Moslem unity?

Shri Venkateshwar Samâchâr (81), 23rd Sept.

39. Can oil mix with waters? Certainly not. Similarly it would be futile to hope for the Hindu-Moslem unity. A few educated Muhammadans may be wishing for the Hindu-Moslem unity with all their hearts with the selfish object of gaining Mr. Gandhi's co-operation in the cause of the Khilafat, but the Moslems in general do not care for it and no Moslem leader has so far made any attempt to educate them in the matter. The outrages committed on the Hindus of Malabár by the Moplahs are a thousand times worse than the Punjab atrocities. In spite of this we are treated to exhortations for Hindu-Moslem unity! Enough of this now.

Dnyân Prakâsh (41), 18th Sept.

40. The Muhammadan leaders should have emphatically protested against the forcible conversion of Hindus by the Moplahs. But so far no Muhammadan leader with the exception of Mr. Yakub Hasan of Madras has done so. The Muhammadans believe that it is a highly meritorious act to secure adherents to their religion. Our readers will remember that some days ago some Muhammadans in the United Provinces forcibly converted a Marwari girl to Islam and that Mr. Shaukat Ali declined to make an inquiry into the affair on the ground that conversion to Islam had the sanction of the Islamic law. This will explain why the Muhammadan leaders do not come forward to denounce the excesses committed by their co-religionists in Malabár.

Gujarâti (15), 25th Sept., Eng. cols.

*41. "Mr. C. Gopalachari, one of the most prominent non-co-operation leaders in Madras, points out in a letter to the *Hindu* that 'he has authentic information that one family numbering over thirty and some twenty more individuals were made to accept Islam.' 'Seventy-five per cent. Hindu houses,' he observes, 'in the eastern half of Ernad Taluka and the northern half of Ponani Taluka and almost the whole of Walluvanad Taluka were either looted or blackmailed.' Some time ago Mahatma Gandhi certified that the Afghans were a God-fearing people and that his countrymen need not be afraid of them. He has again come forward to certify that the Moplahs are God-fearing souls!! One needs an infinite amount of patience when one is confronted with such testimonials and credentials, even though they be distributed by Mahatma Gandhi. Mr. Gopalachari goes on to add that 'it is no exaggeration to say that the acts of the misguided bands of Moplahs have inflicted a mortal wound on Hindu-Moslem unity' and that the Hindu community 'has lost faith in united work for the future'. This confession on the part of one of the foremost non-co-operators in Madras is indeed a humiliating one. The awful tragedy in Malabár has come as an eye-opener at least to some non-co-operators. It is too sad for words. But it should not be forgotten that no reasonable Muhammadan can have a word of approval for the atrocities committed by the Moplahs."

Indu Prakásh (44), 24th Sept.

42. The *Indu Prakásh* writing on the Moplah riots remarks that if they had their origin in the Khilafat agitation as alleged by some, then the non-co-operationist Hindus also would have joined the Moplahs, but they do not appear to have done so. It thinks that the Moplahs having commercial relations with Muscat, Bushire, Basra, etc., it is likely that the armed resistance to the British carried on in the late war in Mesopotamia and other Muhammadan countries is likely to have impressed them more than the non-violent non-co-operation propaganda of Mr. Gandhi, though the propaganda appears to have supplied them with reasons for rising against Government. It is the duty of the leaders, it remarks, before launching any public movement to see what effect it would have on different temperaments. Referring to the forcible conversion of Hindus to Muhammadanism, and the steps being taken by Mrs. Besant, Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Ayyer and others to take them back into Hinduism, the paper thinks that undue haste is being shown in the matter as the reconversion can well wait till peace is re-established in the Malabár. In its opinion the outcry raised in the matter seems to be chiefly due to those who want to break up the Hindu-Muslim unity brought about by the efforts of Mr. Gandhi.

Hindu-Moslem unity one of the good results of the Khilafat agitation.

Indu Prakásh (44), 21st Sept.

43. The *Indu Prakásh* remarks that though there are some undesirable aspects of the Khilafat agitation, it cannot be denied one of its good effects has been the unity between Hindus and Muhammadans which has been brought about by the labours of Mr. Gandhi for which thanks of the nation are due to him. It admits that many people have doubts as to how long the unity will last, but declares that the unity is so very necessary for the advancement of India that all parties must exert themselves to see that all minor differences are laid aside and no harm comes to the unity. Mr. Gandhi's movements may in some respects appear to be ridiculous, says the paper, but if this Hindu-Moslem unity becomes a lasting factor in Indian politics his name will be immortalised in the history of India. It points out that hitherto Hindus have mostly fallen victims to Government's repressive policy, but now the Muhammadans' turn has come and it thinks that when they pass through the ordeal, they are likely to lose their religious fanaticism and be inspired by real patriotism for India.

Comments on the rumour about the prosecution of the Ali Brothers.

Sind Vasi (167), 13th Sept.

44. In his latest issue of *Young India*, Mahatma writes that the Ali Brothers having always preached and practised non-violence, their incarceration will make the task of preservation of peace more difficult than it already is. He, therefore, hopes that the rumour of their impending prosecution may be untrue. We are sorry we cannot subscribe to the above opinion. On the contrary we believe that the present unrest is due to the violent speeches of the Brothers. We are, however, not in favour of their prosecution taking place in Sind. It is true that non-co-operators have created excitement among the people. But it is equally true that officials also have not kept calm and have been making an unnecessary display of force. We should like to warn them against having recourse to repression which will not bring them any credit.

Comments on the arrest of the Ali Brother.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 20th Sept.; *Navina Bhárat* (37), 19th Sept.;
Karnátak Mitra (35), 22nd Sept.

45. The bureaucracy have at last done what they have been threatening to do for a long time. They have arrested the Ali Brothers. Repression is always dear to the bureaucracy. That is the only food on which it thrives. Had the matter been left to the bureaucracy, it would have sent the Ali Brothers to prison long ago. But as the Viceroy had not entirely parted with his statesmanship, the matter remained in abeyance for so many days. The case of the Ali Brothers had closed with the interview of Mahatma

Gandhi with Lord Reading. After the Ali Brothers had made a public declaration of their opinions there was absolutely no reason to re-open this case. It appears that Lord Reading has become helpless in the hands of the bureaucracy since the Moplah disturbances. Forgetting his declared policy and his promises, he has adopted the policy dictated to him by the bureaucracy. The Government of India has allowed itself to be misled by the hue and cry raised over the Moplah disturbances by certain senseless Anglo-Indian papers which, wishing to crush the non-co-operation movement, had discovered some remote connection between the Ali Brothers and the Moplah disturbances. It is sheer folly to suppose that the arrest of the Ali Brothers or even the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi himself will crush the non-co-operation movement. We do not know what useful purpose the Government have served by arresting such brave non-violent and self-sacrificing leaders as the Ali Brothers. We are told by the *Times of India* that the Ali Brothers have been arrested not because they preached non-co-operation but on other grounds. But whatever may be the grounds on which they have been arrested, we have absolutely no hesitation in saying that the intention of the bureaucracy in arresting the Brothers is to put down the non-co-operation movement ....This is not an occasion for grief. This is, on the other hand, an occasion for joy. When a man falls on the field of battle nobody grieves over his death. Everyone longs for such a fortunate end. It is the first duty of every one of us to work like the Ali Brothers and strive to realise the object for which they worked. Remaining absolutely non-violent we should adopt non-co-operation and convince the bureaucracy that repression serves no useful purpose. [The *Navina Bharat* characterises the prosecution of the Ali Brothers as an unwise step on the part of the Government and exhorts the people to bear everything with patience and above all to be non-violent. It asks the people not to be so foolish as to believe that India will gain anything by violence like that indulged in by the Moplahs and says that the Government is powerful enough to put down thousands of such riots. The *Karnátak Mitra* makes similar remarks and adds that for the speedy attainment of *swarájya* people should burn all their foreign clothes and betake themselves to the spinning-wheel.]

Young India (12), 22nd Sept.

46. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"The much talked of arrest of Maulana Mahomed Ali took place at Waltair, whilst we were on our way to Madras.......... Here is a copy of the warrant of arrest:—[Here follows the warrant.] Is it not funny that he who has not only been himself peaceful but has endeavoured, and that successfully, to ensure peace among others and who has been a pattern of good behaviour, should be called upon by an insolent power to be 'bound over to keep the peace and be of good behaviour'? A Government that is evil has no room for good men and women except in its prisons.......... In imprisoning Maulana Mahomed Ali, the Government has imprisoned the Khilafat. For the two brothers are the truest representatives of the Khilafat. They cannot rest so long as the Khalifa remains practically a prisoner and their holy places virtually under non-Muslim control. The imprisonment of either or both means a flat refusal to recognise the Khilafat claim. The Government will, however, find that they have not succeeded in imprisoning the spirit of the Brothers, and that the Khilafat struggle will rage all the fiercer for their imprisonment. The spirit of the Brothers will live in every true Hindu and Musalman who will keep the Khilafat flame steady and shining.......... For me the imprisonment is a good omen. The Government were playing with the thing so long as they were arresting the rank and file. Every Government that does not wish to yield to popular will is bound to arrest popular leaders and attempt to crush the popular spirit. With the Indian Government it has become the code of honour to arrest and imprison leaders and yield to popular will when there is no grace left in the giving. This imprisonment, therefore, may safely be regarded as a preliminary to the establishment of *swarúj*. Only the Swaráj Parliament can unlock the gaol gate, and relieve the brothers and their fellow prisoners with becoming honours. For this is a fight to the finish."

New Times (8), 19th Sept.

47. Referring to the arrest of the Ali Brothers and others, the *New Times* remarks:—"Not one of the leader but is ready to walk quietly into the jail; they send a message to keep up the Khilafat and Congress work and remain strictly non-violent. They want no *hartal*, no demonstrations; we pass on their message and ask every Muslim and every Hindu in the Province to translate it into action.......... And every one knows there has been no riot, no disturbance of any character in Sind as the result of any speech delivered by any of the leaders of the movement. Every one knows the Ali Brothers and others are no menace to society. But the authorities in Sind evidently believe in Sir Michael's maxim:—'Act firmly and enforce the law against the agitators!' The 'law' which is hurled against the 'agitators' is silent concerning the extremists of the Anglo-Indian Press who excite racial animosity by abusing Mahatma Gandhi, the Ali Brothers and several other Indian leaders. For some time past the cry has been raised that the Government must use 'strong' measures.......... In listening to counsels of red-hot reactionaries, Government has embarked upon a policy which is bound to fail—but on the condition that the people maintain both courage and non-violence and go on quietly with the Swadeshi campaign. That will hit English industrialism hard and open the eyes of the world to the realities of the situation in India."

Navjivan (70), 18th Sept.

48. Mr. Vallabhbhai J. Patel writes in the *Navjivan*:—In the Press Note issued by Government regarding the prosecution of the Ali Brothers they have put forward a wonderful claim of being the protectors of the prestige and loyalty of the Indian Army. Is any one unaware of the fact that Government have destroyed the prestige of the Indian Army outside India by utilising its services in depriving other nations of their liberty? It is wellknown that the services of the Indian Army are requisitioned in India in reducing Indians to slavery and on occasions even in slaughtering innocent Indians. The Government who claim to be the protectors of the loyalty of the sepoys forget that they have broken the pledges given by the Prime Minister and are consequently unable to repair the shock received by the loyalty of crores of loyal persons. Only recently Government tried to represent the statement issued by the Ali Brothers as an apology to themselves with a view to lower them in the estimation of the public, but to no purpose. But now Government have shown themselves in their true colours and have laid aside their vaunted policy of indifference. Government will have to yield if we persist in our work in a peaceful manner. The Moplah riots must have convinced every one of the harm done to our cause by violence. Our victory depends on our tolerance. Even if we maintain perfect peace in Gujarát alone we shall be able to secure independence and compel Government to apologise for the wrongs done to us and to give justice in the Khilafat and Punjab affairs. We shall be showing our true feelings towards the Ali Brothers by boycotting law Courts, Government schools and colleges and foreign cloth.

Indu Prakásh (44), 19th and 23rd Sept.

49. The *Indu Prakásh* refers to the charges on which the Ali Brothers and others are being prosecuted and says:—The law courts will of course decide whether the Ali Brothers' speeches and the resolution passed at the Karáchi Khilafat Conference come under the provisions of the Indian Penal Code, but we must say that they both were foolish and destructive of the real welfare of India. Not a single thoughtful Hindu or Muhammadan can have attached the least importance to the Ali Brothers' speeches nor can they have influenced even a single soldier in the army to give up his service. Then why has the Government taken the trouble to arrest and prosecute the Ali Brothers? The Khilafat agitation being stronger in Sind than in any other Province and the Province being situated on the frontier, it appears as if Government wants to take special precautions with regard to it. India is now tired of the Khilafat agitation; why should it be troubled on account of the interminable fighting between Angora and Greece, when the Sultan is safe, and the Indian Muhammadans are not interfered with in the matter of their religious practices? It is only owing to the obstinacy of the Ali Brothers that the Khilafat agitation has been kept alive in India so long. It may therefore be said that the present step has been taken to bring this state of things to an end. We hope that the commotion stirred up by Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers will soon be allayed and we shall enjoy a period of rest. [In a later issue the paper remarks that in view of the open opposition shown by the Ali Brothers to Government all these days no mercy is likely to be shown to them if the charges against them are proved. Their conviction and sentence would no doubt, the paper remarks, practically stop the Khilafat agitation and might also drive underground the exasperation the Muhammadans are feeling over the Turkish question. It points out that the step taken by Government has deprived Mr. Gandhi of his most intimate co-workers but is glad to find that he has not allowed the incident to disturb the peace of his mind though his utterances show that he is poignantly feeling their arrest. The paper looks upon the resolutions passed at Karáchi to be childish, but at the same time thinks that Government could not well have remained passive after receiving such a challenge as is contained in the resolutions, though they could well have been regarded as a mere echo of the exasperation felt by the Indian Muslims at the conduct of the British in helping the Greeks with munitions. It however opines that the Ali Brothers were wrong in aggravating the exasperation of the Muslims in India instead of trying to pacify it, inasmuch as the Government of India has no control over the doings of the British Government and therefore cannot be held responsible for what is taking place in Europe.]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 21st Sept.

50. The arrest of the Ali Brothers will not cause surprise to any one. Mr. Mahomed Ali had several times boasted that Government were quite welcome to prosecute him if they had a mind to do so. It was inevitable that Government should watch the actions of the Brothers more closely since they virtually retracted their apology. Still, Government showed a good deal of forbearance owing to the presence of Lord Reading at the head of affairs. It is quite natural that the patience of Government should be exhausted seeing the nature of the speeches delivered at the Khilafat Conference and the resolutions passed in it. The Government of the United Provinces have always held that some check should be put upon the activities of the Ali Brothers but hitherto no action was taken against them owing to the apology tendered by them. The apology brought the Brothers into discredit and they found it necessary to announce to the people that they had tendered it to their friends and not to Government. We are constrained to say that the Alis transgressed the limits of the law in passing the resolutions at the Khilafat Conference which practically amount to an incitement to mutiny. Those who are guilty of an offence of this kind, even if it is committed in the name of religion, must be prepared to undergo the punishment prescribed by the law. Government do not put obstacles in the path of those who advocate Swadeshi and the use of the spinning-wheel, and, even if they were to do it, every sensible person will unhesitatingly condemn their action. But there is vast difference between carrying on a constitutional agitation and telling people that it is unlawful for them to serve in the army. No sensible man will ever lend his support to the latter action.

Kesari (111), 20th Sept.

51. The *Kesari* declares that the bureaucracy has unsheathed its sword by its arrest of the Ali Brothers. In its opinion, though repression has actually been going on for the past two years, in spite of the Government's professions to the contrary, the present is the occasion on which it has declared open war against non-co-operation. It admits the truth of the statement that all political agitation in India ultimately leads to jail but regrets that in the present instance Government has been helped in its determination to incarcerate the Ali Brothers by the attitude taken up by a "turn-coat" Indian like Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas. It however declares that the jail has now lost its terrors for Indians as has been shown by the accused in

the Dhárwár shooting case who have dared in open court to expose the real character of British justice in all its nakedness and by the Ali Brothers in defiantly courting prosecution.

Sánj Vartamán (31), 21st Sept.; *Hindusthán* (21), 16th, 20th and 21st Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (29), 19th Sept.; *Gujarát Vartamán* (64), 21st Sept.

52. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the absence of any breach of the peace by either Hindus or Muhammadans on the arrest of their political leaders and religious heads who are to be prosecuted at Karáchi. The paper opines that such a calm attitude on the part of the people in spite of grave provocation goes to show that they have imbibed Mr. Gandhi's teachings of non-violence. The paper concludes with the hope that the people will maintain a peaceful attitude also when their respected leaders and religious heads are sentenced by the Sessions Court of Karáchi. [The *Hindusthán* declares that it sees nothing objectionable in the speeches for which Government have decided to prosecute the Ali brothers and it believes that the thoughtless decision of Government to prosecute the brothers will tend to stimulate the non-co-operation movement. It calls upon its readers not to commit violence even in word and to welcome the arrest of the Ali brothers as the auspicious beginning of the realisation of *swaráj*. In a subsequent issue the paper expresses the opinion that the determination of Government to prosecute the Ali brothers denotes a change in their declared policy to take no steps against the non-co-operation movement unless ti caused breach of the peace and that the prosecution is a prelude to a wholesale policy of repression. The paper then proceeds to examine sections 131 and 505 of the Indian Penal Code under which the Ali brothers are to be prosecuted and declares that the Khilafat Conference in passing the resolution complained of had no intention of tampering with the loyalty of the troops or causing a mutiny in the army and that it merely carried into effect the policy of non-co-operation outlined by the Indian National Congress, and calls upon the Working Committee of the Congress to meet at an early date to decide what steps the country should take in the event of the Ali brothers being found guilty of the offences alleged against them. In a further issue the paper condemns the order issued by the Government of Madras prohibiting Mr. Gandhi from entering Malabár and expresses its belief that Mr. Gandhi would have been able to restore order if he had been allowed to proceed to Malabár. Elsewhere the paper declares that the present Khilafat agitation is due to the failure of Britain to conciliate Muhammadan opinion in the matter of the Turkish treaty and that the Ali brothers were merely discharging a religious duty in calling upon Moslems not to join the Army. However, it says, it is easy to understand that the authorities should consider the Ali brothers' advice as objectionable and wishes Government had removed the root causes of Moslem discontent instead of arresting the brothers. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the decision of the Government of Bombay regarding the prosecution of the Ali brothers and remarks that it is satisfactory that the public have been taken into full confidence regarding the charges against the accused and that the case will be conducted in an ordinary court in accordance with ordinary legal procedure. The paper asks Government to conduct the case in the Bombay High Court in order that justice may be done to both the parties. It hopes that the Ali brothers will not refuse to defend themselves in accordance with the principle of non-co-operation. It requests Government to engage as competent counsel for the defence as for the prosecution and to give him full opportunities for cross-examination in order to assure public opinion in case they refuse to defend themselves. It thinks that Government will be able to enhance their prestige if instead of relying on police reports they call the chief organizers of the Conference to give evidence and call in the records of the Conference and its managing committee in support of the prosecution. The *Gujarát Vartamán* is of the opinion that Government are quite justified in prosecuting the Ali brothers for tampering with the loyalty of the troops and that it is sheer folly on the part of the people to blame Government for their prosecution or to think that the prosecution is intended to deal a blow to the non-co-operation or the Khilafat movement.]

Muslim Herald (171), 24th Sept.

53. Commenting on the Ali Brothers' arrest the *Muslim Herald* remarks :—The unlawful enthusiasm on the part of Mussalmans puts them into trouble. Although the Hindus deliver speeches and say all sorts of things, yet they never come within the clutches of law. God alone knows what is going to happen. Nowadays all sorts of calamities are overtaking the Mussalmans. In Malabár the riots, the unlawful enthusiasm and illegal actions of the Moplahs have brought misfortune on them ; they have been killed and they have lost everything and got nothing. May God bless the Mussalmans with wisdom so that they may undertake to do a thing after mature consideration, otherwise it is pretty certain that their madness will ruin them.

Lokasangraha (116), 18th and 21st Sept. ; *Lokamánya* (115), 18th Sept. ; *Prakásh* (130), 21st Sept. ; *Pragatik* (129), 19th Sept. ; *Nireekshaka* (47), 19th Sept. ; *Rájakáran* (131), 18th Sept. ; *Swarájya* (145), 22nd Sept.

54. Commenting upon the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and others, the *Lokasangraha* says that there are clear signs that a wave of repression is about to pass over the whole land and that an attempt is to be made to submerge under it the Khilafat and the *swarájya* movements. It tells those that may fall victims to bureaucratic rage to indulge in self-gratulation instead of being down-hearted. It asks the Hindus to look upon the question of the Khilafat as one closely linked with that of *swarájya* and not as one which concerns the Muhammadans alone. [In a subsequent issue the paper says that people should answer the campaign of repression by concentrating on the boycott of British cotton goods. The *Lokamánya* says that the Government of Bombay made a great mistake in sanctioning the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and that their action is a certain prelude to destruction. It declares that if people allow themselves to be coerced at this time they will not get *swarájya* for a hundred years more. It expresses its conviction that both the Hindus and the Muhammadans will completely identify themselves with the boycott movement after these prosecutions. The *Prakásh* says that Lord Reading's action in agreeing to the prosecution of the Ali Brothers shows that, however capable and justice-loving a man may be, he loses his identity as soon as he is caught in the vortex of the bureaucracy. According to the *Pragatik* the step taken by the Viceroy will not fail to shorten the life of the bureaucracy. The *Nireekshak* says that the Government of Bombay would not have embarked upon a policy of repression if they had any idea of the evil results that are bound to follow in the wake of such a policy. The *Rájakáran* declares that the bureaucracy are mistaken if they believe that they can cow down the people by resorting to repression. The *Swarájya* considers the arrest of the Ali Brothers and others to be the happy news of the week. According to it this *faux pas* of Government does not augur well for the future peace of the country.]

Lokamánya (115), 19th and 23rd Sept.

55. The sanction given to prosecute the Ali Brothers and others shows the thoughtlessness of Government and proves want of statesmanship on the part of the authorities who evidently wish to terrorise the Muhammadans. Instead of striking terror, the step taken by Government is likely to exasperate their minds and with them those of the Hindus. Looking at the matter from any point of view Government's action is sure to prove injurious to itself. In view of the fact that the Moplah riots have already been quelled, there was no necessity for Government to rake up old things for terrorising the Muslims. The patience with which the Prime Minister of England is today conducting the negotiations with Mr. DeValera ought to have been taken as an object lesson by the Government of India in dealing with seven crores Indian Muhammadans. Thoughtful people in England will no doubt condemn the policy now entered upon by the Government of India, which has evidently been misled into believing by its informers that the incarceration of the Ali Brothers and other Muhammadan leaders would put an end to all agitation and induce each and every Muhammadan to give a hearty welcome to the Prince of Wales in November next. The authorities shall, without doubt, have to expiate the step they have taken. They have it seems overlooked the fact of the great strengthening of the foreign cloth boycott movement through the efforts and self-sacrifice of the Muhammadans. Ali Brothers' prosecution will, instead of slackening the movement, give a strong impetus to it. The Brothers are the nation's heroes and the fact that Government has thought fit to sacrifice them does not bode good for it. The false idea has been spread at Simla by the Besant party that the Moplah riots have destroyed the Hindu-Muhammadan unity, but the direct lie has just now been given to that idea at Madras, where at the news of Mr. Muhammad Ali's arrest, a grand united reception was given by Hindus and Muhammadans to Mr. Gandhi on his arrival there. The crusade against Muhammadans now undertaken by Government will doubtless further cement the Hindu-Moslem unity. The crusade if successful will prove more disadvantageous to the Hindus than to the Muhammadans, for while there are twenty crores of Muslims out of India to espouse the cause of the Khilafat, the cause of *swardjya* for India will be put off for a hundred years more as remarked by Mr. Gandhi. [In a subsequent issue the paper declares that the expectations of some of the Anglo-Indian papers that the arrests of the Ali Brothers would result in riots and disorder have not been fulfilled, but instead the people are holding peaceful meetings all over the country and further strengthening the foreign cloth boycott movement. It also thinks from what has taken place in the Legislative Assembly that no non-official member in it is prepared to congratulate Government on the step it has taken and points out that most of the Moderate papers also seem to think that the arrest of the Ali Brothers was at the present time unnecessary. It declares that Mrs. Besant seems to be the only important person in the country who has welcomed the arrests and from what she has been saying in her organ, *New India*, it appears as if she has succeeded in imposing her views about the dangers of a Muhammadan invasion of India and about the Ali Brothers having plotted to bring about the invasion upon responsible officials at the head-quarters of the Indian Government.]

Mufid-e-Rozgár (170), 25th Sept.

***56.** Commenting on the Ali Brothers' arrest the *Mufid-e-Rozgár* remarks that it does not want to say anything with regard to Government's action, but that it appeals to God praying to him to vouchsafe the Muhammadans enough strength so that they might patiently bear the present troubles. The paper concludes by praying for the release of the Brothers. [In another place the paper remarks that Government are perhaps resorting to repression with the purpose of creating a peaceful atmosphere on the occasion of the Prince's visit. It adds that everybody expected that there would be bloodshed when the Brothers would be arrested, but that no such thing happened and all the fears proved untrue. It asserts that its reason should be traced to the non-co-operation movement only and states that if the leaders of Islam had been arrested a year ago, there would have certainly been a repetition of the Amritsar tragedy. The paper thinks that it is due to the teachings of Maulanas Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali that bloodshed has been stopped for good. In still another place the paper describes the arrest as a huge earthquake in the continent of India.

**Kaiser-i-Hind* (23), 25th Sept., Eng. cols.

57. "The charges laid against the Ali Brothers are of a most serious nature. They are to be prosecuted for trying to create disaffection among the Muhammadan soldiers of the Indian Army. Judging from the events that have taken place recently in Southern India, Government are justified in taking steps to safeguard the loyalty of the army from being tampered with."

Karma Veer (82), 23rd Sept.

58. The arrest of the Ali Brothers is an occasion for congratulations as it is indicative of the accumulating sins of the bureaucracy and hence the approaching end of their power. The sufferings of these and other victims will only help to expose all the more glaringly the dark machinations of the bureaucracy. The crime of the Ali Brothers is their love of the Khilafat and their attachment to their country. If the bureaucrats believe that by arresting the Ali Brothers they can frighten the Muhammadans and take advantage of any disturbance caused by the arrests to crush the non-co-operation movement, they are committing a great blunder. The teachings of Mahatma Gandhi have proved to the people beyond doubt that violent methods will not be for the good of the country. The bureaucracy says that it does not wish to interfere with the non-co-operation movement; but these are mere words. Are not the Ali Brothers non-co-operationists? It may be argued that the brothers have been arrested not because they were non-co-operationists but because they preached against the enlisting of Muhammadans in the Army. But the days have gone by when the people could be taken in by such sophistries. Instead of fighting in the open, the bureaucracy has now taken to striking from behind like cowards. And this in our opinion is a sure sign that their cup of iniquity is full.

Gujarāti (15), 18th Sept.; *Deshi Mitra* (61), 2nd Sept.; *Hind Vijaya* (65), 2nd Sept.

59. The *Gujarāti* deals with the arrest of the Ali Brothers on charges of sedition. It points out how at the time of the Morley-Minto reforms the brothers were bitter enemies of the Congress and the Hindus and how they then wanted to be patted on the back by the British, how later on the war of Turkey with the Christians made them enemies of the Christians and how they joined the Hindus, not out of patriotism for India or natural feeling for the motherland, or love for the Hindus, but for the sake of religion. While great leaders in the past, like Dadabhai Nowroji, Gokhale, Tilak, etc., had added to the importance of the Congress by giving the question of religion a secondary place in it, the Ali Brothers had made that body an instrument for carrying on their religious war. The paper remarks that ever since the withdrawal by Lord Reading of the prosecution against them, the brothers have been courting arrest with a view to increasing their prestige, and that whenever the opportunity offered, they did not fail to throw out a challenge to Government to arrest them. With regard to the statement made by Lord Reading that attempts were being made to tamper with the loyalty of the Indian troops and the Police and that Government have proofs of this in their possession, the paper declares that if Government have the proofs, there is no advantage in keeping them secret. As for the actual arrest, the paper thinks that it ought to give satisfaction to the Ali Brothers, and that as the Bombay Government are taking the step with the consent of the Government of India, it must be concluded that the consent was given only after a veteran lawyer like Lord Reading was satisfied as to its propriety. From the sections of the Indian Penal Code on which the charges against the Ali Brothers are based, the paper concludes that it is clear that the step has not been taken by Government with the object of stamping out the Khilafat agitation or the non-co-operation movement. The paper further adds that what the Bombay Government say, in their Press Note, about the peace of the country depending upon the loyalty of the troops and about its not being desirable to shake it, is all right; but their statement in this connection is defective: it is good only for the Government that believes exclusively in brute force to rely on the army for the preservation of peace. The British Government is said to rely on the good-will of the people and on its justice and love of truth, for its stability and prestige. The paper, therefore, hopes that the Bombay Government will not be led away by the advice of the bureaucracy or the Anglo-Indians from the path of justice, truth, clemency and forgiveness into taking hard measures of any sort against the non-co-operation and the Khilafat movements. [The *Deshi Mitra* expresses fear that the arrest of the Ali Brothers will add to the discontent prevailing in the country and appeals to the people to preserve the peace and abstain from violence. The *Hind Vijaya* considers the action of Government in arresting the Ali Brothers with a view to prosecuting them as inopportune and declares that Government will not be able to crush the non-co-operation movement by sending its leaders to jail as other leaders will rise to take up the place of those who will be incarcerated.]

Lokamānya (115), 22nd Sept.

60. The *Lokamānya* refers to the report published by the *Bombay Chronicle* that the order to prosecute the Ali Brothers was passed by the

Bombay Government in spite of the dissent recorded by the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla and the Honourable Sir C. H. Setalwad and remarks that if the report be true it shows that the prosecution has been forced upon the Bombay Government by orders from Simla. In its opinion the wording of the Press Note issued by the Bombay Government in the matter also lends support to the supposition. It thinks that if the two Honourable Members be really opposed to the prosecution as reported, it is their duty to resign their posts and make common cause with the public in resisting the new campaign of repression started by Government.

The ultimate goal of India.

Mahrátta (7), 25th Sept.

*61. "India demands full self-government under the principle of self-determination and unless she achieves it, there can be no peace in the land.......... If we analyse the motives of the inauguration of the present campaign of repression in the cold light of the above facts, we find that history is, in a way, repeating itself. The forward march to *swarájya* is desired to be stopped under any circumstances.......... India wants the right to self-determine the form of Government under which it is to be ruled, and so long as the British Parliament arrogates to itself the right to determine the steps to *swarájya* or rather the form of government, it cannot be said that the right to self-determination has been conceded to her. The right of self-determination is the bed-rock of foundation on which the whole structure of the present agitation is reared. So long as this sheet-anchor holds, the movement will live. The arrests of Ali Brothers and their prosecution under the charges of sedition and other allied offences clearly indicate the line of action of the Government. It is clear that they have launched this repressive policy with a view to terrorise the people and stop the people from making for the further efforts towards the attainment of *swarájya*. Whether the Ali Brothers and their friends have committed the alleged offences or not is not the real question. Because it is quite likely that a nation under foreign domination is often obliged to break all such laws made with a view to perpetuate such domination. History is replete with instances when a nation in its attempts to emancipate itself had to go far ahead even of this breaking of laws. The question is not of the means; it is of the goal. Because when we consider the question from a theoretical point of view we must admit that it is not humanly possible to keep within the bound of law, specially designed by the dominating power to serve its own continuity, and yet break the chains of domination. It is practically a struggle between two nations and both sides have to respect only one law and that is the international law based on the broad principles of higher morality.......... Mahatma Gandhi declares it from all house-tops that it is the duty of a non-co-operator to spread disaffection towards the present system of government. He puts the whole case in a nut-shell when he postulates the above truth. If you have to get the present system of government changed there is no royal road to achieve it except by spreading disaffection regarding it and developing strength enough to suffer in that cause. Also one would have to be ready to break the law for the time being and suffer punishment. Civil disobedience on this account becomes the next stage in the onward march towards *swarájya*. The country is at present face to face with this conflict of duties and on its choice depends the future of it. If the Nation bends its head under the stress it will be concluded that it does not deserve to be emancipated at the present time. If it holds its head aloft and consecrates itself on the altar of suffering, it is an evidence of its fitness to achieve *swarájya*."

Comments on the arrest of Pir Ghulam Majdid (Mujadid ?).

Hindu (158), 17th Sept.

62. Pir Ghulam Majdid has fallen a victim to bureaucratic repression and become a martyr in the cause of the Khilafat. Let all Sindhis and Muhammadans in particular rejoice at it, for his arrest and that of the other leaders brings nearer the day of India's freedom. We have openly said that we shall change this system of Government and liberate our country within four months hence, and challenged its administrators to do their worst. We should neither be surprised nor angry if they take up the challenge and send our leaders like Pir Majdid to jail. That is the only way to freedom. We hope therefore that all who have any respect and love for Pir Majdid will keep absolute control over their feelings and passions and behave in such a manner that the Khilafat and the Punjáb questions may be solved within a short time.

How prosecution of political leaders strengthens the non-co-operation movement.

Sind Observer (10), 15th Sept.

63. "There was a meeting on Sunday evening on the Idgah maidan to pass a resolution with regard to the boycott of the Prince of Wales's visit. Those who expected hundreds and thousands of people to muster strong at the meeting must have been thoroughly disillusioned. Not even three hundred people were present at the meeting for which a maidan meeting was not necessary......... The truth is people are 'fed up' with these non-co-operation meetings and the orations delivered there......... Only stern repression on the part of Government and the arrest and punishment of leaders like the Ali Brothers will put a new life in the workers and their sympathisers......... There can be no more short-sighted step than the bringing of the Ali Brothers to Karáchi to take their trial. That is the best help that the Sind Government could render to the non-co-operation movement in this province.......... If Government want the Prince to triumphally progress through India, they should give up from now all idea of further prosecutions. Prosecutions are like oil to the non-co-operation wick: otherwise the wick will burn itself out. And as there are plentiful signs that people are fed up, it is the part of wisdom to let sleeping dogs lie."

Comments on the prosecution of the *Deshabhaktan* newspaper of Madras.

Young India (12), 22nd Spet.

64. Mr. Gandhi writes:—"It is usual for Governments to attribute previous malice to their critics. But in Madras I have come across a clear case of previous malice on the part of the Government. They have arrested the printer, the proprietor, the publisher and three editors for an article published in May last in a Tamil paper called *Deshabhaktan.* To an average reader the article is an exhortation to observe non-violence. The Viceregal declaration on the Ali Brothers' statement had led every one to suppose that there were to be no prosecutions for anti-Government writings, so long as there was no violence in them. But the fact of the prosecution does not much matter. It marks, let us say, a change in the policy. After all the Viceroy's was not a declaration to bind him for eternity. What is malicious is the prosecution of the innocent printer, publisher, proprietor and all the three editors. They could have found out the actual writer and punished him. If they did not know the writer's name, they could have called upon the declared editor to disclose the name of the writer. But under the pretence of prosecuting for alleged sedition, they wanted to stop the publication of an influential vernacular newspaper. If all the six men charged were to defend themselves, they might be discharged. That would not matter to the Government. Their object was to crush the *Deshabhaktan* by any means whatsoever. They have succeeded and are happy. I call this malice aforethought. The Press Act may go. But the spirit behind it abides."

Political and Police prosecutions in Sind.

New Times (8), 14th Sept.

65. "The rapidity with which political and police prosecutions are being instituted in Sind indicates that non-co-operation in Sind is not a 'futile agitation' and that the bureaucratic prestige is breaking down! Non-co-operation is telling! Repression is, in this imperfect world, a test of patriotism. And if the incarceration of innocent persons helps the spread of the message to the masses and accelerates our pace of progress, there is something in repression to be thankful for. About 48 have been sent to jail. Not a bad record for this Province! Considering population, area and the small number of educated men, Sind has, we believe, done better than some other provinces. The Sind bureaucracy sent to jail Swami Krishnanand, Moulvi

Fateh Mahomed, Maharaj Vishnu Sharma, Mr. Abdul Majid, Pandit Dwarka Prasad, Mr. Valecha, Mr. Ram B. Motwani, Mr. P. S. Tolani and several others at Karáchi, Hyderabad, Sukkur between 25th July and 6th September, in spite of the assurances of His Excellency the Viceroy and Sir William Vincent that prosecutions would be instituted against those only who would incite people to violence. Can even those who are not non-co-operators in Sind honestly say that the gentlemen we have mentioned made speeches inciting the people to violence ?......... The question is—what is sedition? If by Bombay Government you mean the Governor and Executive Councillors and Ministers, no non-co-operator can be honestly charged with creating disaffection against them. Non-co-operators have no quarrel with individuals. They have no quarrel with the King-Emperor. It is the system they repudiate; for the system is radically wrong; they want a system which would be responsible to the people; and they expose official misdemeanour and bureaucratic aberrations. If this be sedition, how many in India are not 'seditious'?........ To convict Pandit Vishnu Sharma and Sheikh Abdul Majid for writing or speaking against the system is to penalise patriotism. The impression upon the minds of many is that the bureaucracy sent them to jail because they destroyed the *sircar's* prestige in villages. Mr. Valecha's case affords another illustration of how 'justice' is dispensed in Sind. Mr. Valecha was a fearless advocate of non-violent non-co-operation; and his paper the *Swarâj* was trying to break prestige! These prosecutions show that the Sind bureaucracy has taken up the challenge of non-co-operation in right earnest. We believe the struggle we are in will have but one result. And if we meet repression in the right spirit, the day of *swarâj* will be drawn nearer than we believe it to be at present."

Fears about the next Session of the Indian National Congress to be held at Ahmedabad.

Indu Prakásh (44), 20th Sept.

66. The *Indu Prakâsh* traces the various changes which the Indian National Congress has undergone since 1907 in its leadership, constitution and aims and expresses the fear that the Session to be held at Ahmedabad is likely to see the Congress declare war against Government in the shape of civil disobedience. It shows how the deliberations of the All-India Congress Committee and the Working Committee are being controlled by Mr. Gandhi alone and asks what other fitter example there can be of the slave mentality against which Mr. Gandhi himself has been all along writing. It goes on :—The world has seen men like Oliver Cromwell and Napoleon Buonaparte controlling the destinies of nations single-handed, but they were great men of action, and not merely obstinate *sadhus* like Mr. Gandhi. What has Mr. Gandhi done beyond giving hollow promises of achieving *swarâjya* for India in a few months? To place a body laboriously reared up during 35 years under the control of a whimsical person like Mr. Gandhi is tantamount to destroying it. If the Congress which has hitherto successfully weathered many a storm now adopts civil disobedience, it is destined to come to grief. It is the duty of the last Congress President Mr. Vijayaraghavacharya and of Mr. C. R. Das, the President of the coming Congress, to see whether the words "legitimate" and "peaceful" in the new creed include the breaking of laws. If once the people begin to break laws in the name of the Congress, no time will be lost in stopping it under the Seditious Meetings Act. We therefore appeal to Mr. Gandhi and other thoughtful leaders of the non-co-operation party to see that no harm comes to the sacred institution reared up by the labours of patriots like Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Mehta and Gokhale. A special responsibility in the matter now lies on the shoulders of the inhabitants of Ahmedabad.

Should Indian Musalmans make *hijrat* from India?

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Sept.

67. "The question of *hijrat* is being once more raised among those Indian Muslims who consider that the way of non-violent non-co-operation has been tried and found wanting, yet who see the hopeless folly of resort to violence in the present situation of the Indian Muslims. We agree that *hijrat* is the next stage after non-violent non-co-operation.......... But our Prophet and his companions bore with patience the oppression of Coreysh, which was certainly greater than that of the present rulers of India; in other words, he gave them thirteen years of opportunity to mend their ways, before he ordered his disciples to shake the dust of Mecca from their feet. It was only when at the end of thirteen years, after promises of amendment, their persecution became worse than ever before and they formed a plot to kill him and to extirpate Islam that the second, the real *hijrat* was ordained. In fact of this God-sent example we cannot but consider that those Indian Muslims who think the time has come for the real *hijrat* out from India are lacking in that patience which has always been the badge of the true Muslim.......... Supposing that, through some untoward, unforeseen occurrence, all present hope of true *swarájya* were lost to India, and that the Government of India still was powerless to make the British Government pay due respect to the Khilafat, then indeed *hijrat* would become the duty of every loyal Mussalman since there would be no place in India for a sort of men whose principles are so rigid that State policy must be adapted to them, since they can never be adapted to State policy. But then it must be done not hurriedly, but with deliberation. The land of destination and the way leading to it must be carefully investigated and prepared and all arrangements for the comfort and well-being of the emigrants made beforehand. There is plenty of room in parts of Central Asia and the Caucasus, plenty of room in Asiatic Turkey since the war, and fertile lands could be obtained at a low price. The Government of India would no doubt assist the emigration of a multitude of people who could no longer be good subjects of the British Empire from the standpoint of the Government of India, since they recognise a higher law than that of England or of India, a law which is, it seems, in conflict with the law of India upon certain points owing to England's policy."

Effectiveness of the boycott movement.

New Times (8), 17th Sept.

68. "The basis of British imperialism in India is economic exploitation. The moment you prevent that exploitation, imperialism courts you for a compromise.......... What little has been so far achieved has already begun to touch the pockets of British manufacturers, and the British press has begun to take serious note of what the *Nation* of London calls the 'Revolt of Passivity in India'. The movement of economic boycott in India is having more serious effect in England than any other agitation of the non-co-operator......... It is England's commerce, and the state-system working to its advantage, which feeds her army, her navy, her highly-paid system. In India the system is supported by the poverty-stricken; and the system opposes moral idealism, anti-liquor-agitation, volunteer organisations, and the entire movement for political freedom. That system is now at death-grip with the moral challenge of India. It seeks support in a visit of the Prince to hush popular discontent, in strengthening its military organisation, in winning over to its side the landed gentry and vested interests dominated by the bureaucracy, in its policy of wholesale repression, racial discrimination in law courts and the higher services, in being frankly irresponsible to the people. By weakening its economic efficiency we touch the centre-point of the entire machine. If only the boycott movement succeeds, the present system of Government would automatically come to an end in a short time."

Protest against the picketing of cloth shops.

Gujarát Vartamán (64), 21st Sept.

69. The question naturally arises as to whether picketing of liquor-shops is lawful or otherwise. We are not versed in law but we can say this much, that picketing is not proper. Government must intervene when licensed traders are unduly interfered with. Similarly Government should protect the cloth merchants against any vexatious annoyance. We are grieved to see that Government have as yet taken no steps to put a stop to the picketing of cloth shops in Calcutta. Government should express their disapproval of such picketing and put a stop to it. Nothing but breach of the peace will

ensue if picketing of cloth shops is tolerated much longer. We do not think there is any justification for Government to encourage Mr. Gandhi in his fads.

The Marwaris and the cloth boycott movement.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 28th Sept.

70. It was chiefly the Marwaris' vote that enabled Mahatma Gandhi to carry through the non-co-operation resolution at the Calcutta Congress. At that time boycott occupied the last place in the programme of non-co-operation and its scope too was not clearly defined. Perhaps the Marwaris hoped that *swarájya* would have been attained and so the need for boycott of foreign cloth would have ceased to exist, by the time Mahatma Gandhi completed the ban on law courts and educational institutions. Recently, however, the Marwari cloth merchants of Calcutta who had formerly given a strong support to the non-co-operation resolution began to explain their difficulties to Mahatma Gandhi and they at last sent him away empty-handed! They made it clear to him that not only their profits but their whole business was at stake. Mahatma Gandhi urged them to boycott foreign cloth regardless of all consequences. This advice, however, produced no effect on his hearers. At Madras too Mahatma Gandhi met with the same treatment at the hands of the cloth merchants. People naturally want to know whether their sacrifices would produce the desired result. The fact that they are not willing to make the sacrifices clearly shows that they have no faith in his movement.

Government should take no steps to interfere with the movement to boycott foreign cloth.

Gujaráti Punch (17), 18th Sept.

71. It is not proper to consider the question of boycott of foreign cloth as a political question. It should be regarded as an economic question. And as in religious matters a man is free to adopt any religion he likes, everybody should be free to put on or boycott any cloth he likes. Government should not interfere in this, as in religious matters. Government can intervene only in the case of a disturbance or a riot in connection with this movement, but short of that it is improper that Government should make attempts to stop it. If we examine the question of boycott from this point of view, the circular against boycott issued by the Collector of Dhárwár and similar circulars issued by the Government of Bihár and Madras appear to be the work of overzealous and overwise persons. This may prejudice the people against the authorities and create feelings of dislike towards them. Government should look at this question impartially because if people entertain such feelings against Government officials there is a likelihood of there being some disturbance in the system of administration. Government officials should be stopped from taking active part in this question and Government should not at all interfere in the matter as long as the people observe peace and do not transgress the limits of the law. We hope that the three circulars which permit Government officials to conduct an anti-boycott agitation will be withdrawn.

No prospect yet of the achievement of Mr. Gandhi's *swarájya*.

Indu Prakásh (44), 22nd Sept.

72. The *Indu Prakásh* remarks that Mr. Gandhi's *swarájya* is receding more and more as days pass just like mirage. It briefly mentions the various programmes announced by Mr. Gandhi every now and then during the last year as the best means for achieving *swarájya* and says that boycott of foreign cloth with the introduction of the spinning-wheel in every home is the last one of these programmes, which also seems to be on the point of failure as can be seen from the attitude taken up by the Calcutta Marwaris and the sentences passed on a number of Khilafat volunteers in that City for picketing foreign cloth shops. As there are still three months for the meeting of the next Congress, the paper is waiting to see what new programme Mr. Gandhi is going to put forward to keep public attention engaged during that period. It thinks it probable that these three months will be spent in holding meetings all over the country against the new repressive policy launched by Government.

Comments on the proposed abolition of the Indian Press Act.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th and 22nd Sept.

73. "One is relieved to know that both the Indian Press Act and the Newspaper Incitements to Offences Act are to be finally repealed......... The Bill provides for the confiscation of 'seditious' documents by local Governments, Postal and Customs authorities. The definition of 'sedition' in the Indian Penal Code being notoriously elastic, the risk of abuse of the powers of confiscation vested in the Postal and Customs authorities is bound to be great so long as the definition of 'sedition' is left vague. Unless it is made clear that nothing is seditious which falls short of clear incitement to violence, or rebellion, the arbitrary power of confiscation with which it is sought to invest the Postal and Customs authorities is likely to entail much injustice and hardship on the Press. The earliest attempt must be made, therefore, to amend Sections 124 and 153 of the Penal Code. Unless the existing Indian law of sedition itself is modified, true liberty of the Press cannot be said to exist in India. It is not clear whether the right of appeal against any confiscation order lies only to the High Court, or whether the High Court is only the final court of appeal. We hope the latter is the case, for appeal directly to the High Court is costly and to compel each and every newspaper to undergo the heavy expense of such an appeal would be inflicting grave hardship on the poorer class of journals. We are sorry to see that it is intended to make it obligatory on every newspaper to publish the name of its Editor in the issues of the journal. Neither the Press Committee nor Sir William Vincent has given any reasons for introducing this innovation in Indian journalism. In no civilised country, if we are not mistaken, does the practice obtain of newspapers disclosing the names of their editors. Why should India be made an exception? What is behind this novel move? We fear it is only an attempt on the part of the bureaucracy—accustomed to take back with the left hand what the right hand has given—to cast the net as wide as possible for the Indian Press......... Provision for legal responsibility is made by the compulsory registration of the printer and publisher. Hence the disclosure of the name of the editor, if that is meant only to enable the Government to run him down, is both superfluous and unfair to the journalistic profession. One would like to know what are exactly the motives behind the new move. If Government have any satisfactory reasons to offer for the proposed innovation save the anxiety to implicate as many individuals as possible in an offence, they ought to be made public. To hold three separate individuals, the printer, publisher and editor, legally responsible for what may appear in a single issue of a journal is surely a travesty of law......... The Legislative Assembly will be doing a grave injustice to the Indian Press if they do not throw overboard entirely the provision in the Bill dealing with compulsory publication of the name of the editor." [In a later issue the paper writes:—" Whatever may be the intentions of the Government, the effect of the Bill that has now been put forward is to perpetuate the *status quo* unimpaired. The Bill does something more besides and that is, it will tend more and more to prevent responsible men from ever undertaking the already thankless task of 'editing' a newspaper......... If the Bill as now proposed becomes the law and the editor is to be made responsible for the consequences of all things that are published in a newspaper, men of talents and influence must be deterred from undertaking a thankless task, however vast its potentialities. Then again, we are not satisfied as to the need for setting aside the regular procedure of law in dealing with offences under the proposed Act. Under the Press Act, we have seen how the constitution of a Special Bench of the High Court offers no security to innocent printers and publishers, and it has come to be believed generally that these Special Benches are mere eyewashes, whose main function is to uphold the prestige of the bureaucracy even at the sacrifice of the interests of justice. There should, therefore, be no abrogation of the powers of the High Court or of the right of the affected persons to take their case before the highest court of justice, while the onus of proving the case must be made to rest on the prosecutors. As regards the other amendments proposed in the Post Office and Sea Customs Acts, all that can be said is they are no less reactionary than the other provisions of the Bill. The Postal and Customs authorities in India already enjoy powers which are too wide, the exercise of which by irresponsible officials has led to grave hardships and much injustice. The Bill seeks to put into the hands of these authorities a dangerous weapon and one could wish for nothing better if one wants to strangle an independent newspaper, whose existence becomes undesirable in the eyes of intolerant bureaucrats like an O'Dwyer or a Craddock or a Vincent. Unless the Bill is drastically altered in regard to all these matters, it is bound to cause profound disappointment in the country."]

Gujaráti (15), 18th Sept.; *Praja Bandhu* (28), 18th Sept.

74. The *Gujaráti* discusses the provisions of the Bill for the abolition of the Indian Press Act introduced in the Indian Legislative Assembly. It points out the practical difficulties involved in requiring editors of newspapers to publish their names on every issue of their paper, but declares that under the proposed new law many of the difficulties under which journalists used to labour under the old law have been removed and that many new facilities have been provided for them. The paper thinks that one further change is necessary, under the present law political offenders are punished as if they were robbers, pirates and assassins; the law in this respect should, therefore, be placed on the same level as the law in England where sentences of hard labour are not inflicted on political offenders. [The *Praja Bandhu* refers to the speech made by His Excellency Lord Reading in which he dwelt upon the necessity of affording protection to Indian Princes against the attacks of the Press and he hopes that His Excellency will not be guilty of encroaching upon the liberty of the Press by affording the Indian Chiefs more protection than to Government themselves.]

Comments on the proposed revision of the pay of the Indian Civil Service.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Sept.

75. "In answer to a question from Mr. T. Rangachari in the Legislative Assembly, regarding the increase sanctioned in the emoluments of the Indian Civil Service and Imperial Services, the Finance Member replied that these emoluments were fixed by recent orders from the Secretary of State for India and that he was not aware of any process by which the Assembly could reopen a question on which orders have been already passed by Government. We know, of course, that as a price of the boon of 'Reforms' conferred upon India, the Secretary of State has reserved for himself the power to control the appointments to and emoluments of the I. C. S. and Imperial Services. But at a time when there is so much talk of co-operation between officials and non-officials and of voluntary responsibility on the part of the executive to the legislature, and at a time, too, when the need of economy is so paramount, hurried orders by Government, involving fresh burdens on the tax-payer, and without consulting the much vaunted Reform Councils, must appear as a veritable mockery of the Reforms. If the bureaucracy were bent on destroying all chances of the Reforms proving a success and thus demonstrating their unworkability they could not have chosen better means of accomplishing their purpose... ..... What was the necessity for the unseemly hurry and secrecy of the step?"

Comments on the recent increase in the oversea allowances.

Jágaruk (45), 7th Sept.

76. Mr. Montagu and the Government of India have after all increased the oversea allowances of the high officials while outwardly refusing to raise their salaries on the ground of India's poverty, deficiency in Government treasury and the recent increases of pay. The Viceroy has no time to consider the cases of those unjustly rotting in prison in connection with the Punjab Martial Law regime but he gets plenty of leisure to look into the official files to increase the allowances of the high officers rolling in luxuries while education is being starved and people have to go without sufficient food. His Excellency may have done this on the advice of heartless advisers among the bureaucrats, but will they come to his help, if the people refuse to pay the land assessment in exasperation?

Parsis should be appointed on the India Council and the Executive Councils of the Government of India and the Bombay Government.

Kaiser-i-Hind (23), 25th Sept., Eng. cols.

*77. "We have often directed the attention of the Government to the unredressed grievance of our community—a grievance which by lapse of time has become almost intolerable......... The grievance we refer to is that of the studied exclusion of deserving Parsis from the highest executive posts thrown open to Indians in the India Council and the Imperial and Provincial Governments in India. It seems that the Government is determined to establish a tradition of conferring these much coveted posts in turn on Hindus and Muhammadans, thus boycotting the worthy members of other communities, like Jews, Christians and Parsis......... Trying to conciliate the opponents of Government in this fashion means alienating their best friends and supporters, leading to a further increase of more enemies who again have to be conciliated. We think the wisest course would be not only trying to conciliate enemies but retaining old friends besides......... As a matter of fact the history of Bombay is the history of Parsi enterprise. We may go one step further and say that British Rule in the Bombay Presidency owes its premier position to the unstinted efforts of the Parsis who acted as the interpreters between the East and the West and brought the other communities into touch with their foreign rulers. The British Government cannot forget the memorable past services of the loyal community which has ever done its best to lend a helping hand whenever called upon to do so. Now that the time has come for recognising those past services the Government seem to neglect the Parsis for the simple reason that they are too dignified to shout on the hustings, which instead of being considered as a good trait seems to be regarded as a disqualification......... The present is the best opportunity for the Secretary of State and the Imperial and Local Governments to appreciate the intrinsic worth of the Parsis, as there are vacancies in three Councils, *viz.*, the India Council and the Executive Councils of the Government of India and the Bombay Government. We humbly submit that one Parsi should now be appointed to each of these executive posts."

Comments on the frequent increase in the pay of the Indian Civil Service.

Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra (30), 18th Sept.

78. "Pravasi" writes in the *Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra* :—Our treasury is so much depleted by the Military expenditure that Government have no money left in their hands to meet the requirements of education and sanitation. But still the Government of India and the Secretary of State are ever ready to raise the pay of the Indian Civil Service from time to time. A threat on the part of the members of the Civil Service to resign if their salaries are not raised seems to be the cause of this attitude of Government. But the Government in England does not care for such threats on the part of their servants and has lately decreased their salaries instead of increasing them. At a time when the Government of England have effected a decrease in the salaries of their Civil Servants to the extent of eleven million pounds, the Government of this poverty-stricken country have the enormous increase of two hundred and eight thousand pounds in the salaries of the members of the Indian Civil Service!

Comments on the Sinjhoro (Sind) Police Torture Case.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Sept.

79. "The judgment of the Sessions Judge of Hyderabad (Sind) in what is known as the Sinjhoro Police Torture Case may be taken as a sample of 'British Justice' that is dispensed in the criminal courts of this country. ...., The case was tried with the assistance of two assessors who both found the principal accused 'guilty' of the charges against them. But the Sessions Judge, differing from the verdict of the assessors, has acquitted all the accused, for reasons which are not quite obvious to us. In the absence of the judgment, we have no desire to enter into the merits of a decision, which has, in our opinion, led to a grave miscarriage of justice. The complaint usually is that juries and assessors in India are reluctant to bring in a verdict of 'guilty' against accused persons, and instances are not wanting of the

Daniels in our Indian courts over-riding the verdict of the assessors. But it is rare in the annals of Indian criminal trials that persons against whom a considered verdict of 'guilty' has been brought in should be acquitted. The effect of a decision like the one under notice is obviously to discourage an already oppressed people from giving expression to their complaints against the *zoolum* of the police and absentee landlords. The consequences are more serious in an isolated province like Sind, where autocracy is still rife. There are no healthy checks on the vagaries of the official and landlord class, and since one happens to be in league with the other, for all practical purposes, the woes of an inarticulate peasantry are too terrible to bear."

Sind Observer (10), 20th Sept.

80. "All the accused in the Sinjhoro police case have been acquitted by the Judge although both the assessors found them guilty (one assessor gave the benefit of the doubt to one accused person). The judgment has come upon the public as a surprise. The Sinjhoro case is one of the worst cases of police torture on record. It affects indirectly the prestige of Government on account of its entertaining such men as guardians of the peace. The opinion of the assessors has strengthened our conviction that the acquittal is thoroughly wrong. It will amount to a scandalous miscarriage of justice if the judgment of the Sessions Judge is to prevail. We request Government to ask the High Court to order a retrial. The non-co-operator may or may not have been at the bottom of this case in bringing the facts to light; but if justice is not done immediately we are sure he will exploit this unfortunate judgment for all it is worth for propaganda purposes, because this case has created a sensation in the countryside in Sind and is one connected intimately with the ordinary life of peasants. It is the intention of Government to save the masses from the virus of non-co-operation; but a thousand Aman Sabhas cannot eradicate from the mind of the villagefolk the impression created by this scandalous case."

Sind Vasi (167), 17th Sept.

81. The Sessions Judge of Hyderabad has acquitted all the five accused in the Sinjhoro Police torture case. From his attitude during the trial and his discussion with the assessors the public had already anticipated his judgment. He appeared to be favourably inclined towards the accused from the very start. His decision therefore has not come as a surprise to us. But we feel most strongly that there has been a serious miscarriage of justice in this case, and would on that account urge the public and the press to take up this matter and force the hands of Government to appeal against the acquittal.

Alleged highhanded action of the revenue officials at Narsanda (District Kaira).

Hindusthán (21), 20th Sept.

82. The *Hindusthán* complains about the high-handedness of the village officials of Narsanda (Kaira District) situated on the B. B. & C. I. Railway in exacting the impost in connection with the punitive police and expresses gratification at the refusal of certain residents of the place to contribute their share and at their willingness to allow their movable property to be confiscated by the Patel and Talati under the orders of the Mamlatdar. The incident says the paper shows what solicitude officials have for the poor ryots, and it congratulates the passive resisters on their firm stand. [Elsewhere the paper publishes a communication from its Narsanda correspondent in the matter referred to above.]

Comments on the new revision settlement of the Malsiras Taluka of the Sholapur District.

Kesari (111), 20th Sept.

83. The *Kesari*, commenting on the revision settlement of the Málsiras Taluka of the Sholápur District, says:—The Survey Officers had, taking into consideration the famine conditions perpetually prevailing in the Taluka, recommended an increase of 10 per cent. in the assessment on the *jirayat* lands and no increase on the *bagayat* ones, and the Collector had accordingly issued his notification in the matter. But the notification has been set aside by the Bombay Government which has increased the *jirayat* assessment by 33 per cent. instead of 10 per cent. This shows how little Government cares for the recommendations of its own officers when they come in the way of filling its coffers. Another thing which has struck terror in the minds of the Málsiras agriculturists is that this revision settlement is to last only for 10 yeers instead of 30 years. Rise in the prices of corn is given as the reason for increasing the assessment but will Government explain how the rayats are to pay the new assessment when in every three years two are of famine? But it appears as if the bureaucracy does not now care for justice, but is only intent on making the path of *swardjya* difficult by raising the taxes and increasing the expenditure.

The Sind Commissionership should be abolished.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Sept.

84. "The retention of the post of the 'Commissioner in Sind' is an anachronism, which the sooner ended, the better for the toiling and moiling humanity of the province. The designation of the office is a euphemism for an autocratic and irresponsible official dispensation, evolved out of the military necessities of a bygone era. Though technically forming part of the Bombay Presidency, Sind is for all practical purposes an independent province, and the Commissioner regime has been synonymous with some of the worst possible effects of an effete and irresponsible administration, compared to which the worst possible evils of 'Dublin Castle,' rule in Ireland seem insignificant. The Commissioner possesses considerably larger powers than those of an ordinary Commissioner of a Division. Under certain Acts, he has the powers of a Local Government, while under others he has powers which in the rest of the Presidency are exercised by heads of departments, such as Customs, Salt, Opium and Abkari. The evolution of the office is somewhat obscure, though undoubtedly it still retains, in some respects, its semi-military character. It is only since 1890 that a gradual attempt was made to extinguish what was known as 'The Sind Commission' and merge the covenanted staff in the Indian Civil Service. The change of personnel has failed to touch the administration of the province, which has remained to this day a mockery of civilised government. All the administrative evils that are usually associated with the declining days of 'Moglai' rule, are still thriving. The people are a much-oppressed race and politically very backward. Geographical conditions have only abetted the unwisdom of the Junker masters and rendered the people an easy prey to humiliations and oppressions, such as were revealed by the Sinjhoro Torture Case."

***Sind Observer* (10), 19th Sept.**

85. "Sind is the only province in India governed by an intermediary ruler to whom are delegated the powers of the Governor in Council; and it also suffers under the great disadvantage of being a non-regulation province. Now in the transferred departments of Government the Mintsters are almost supreme. By virtue of being an intermediary ruler the Commissioner may or may not act upon the advice and instructions of Ministers. He may refuse to carry out certain orders of the Ministers which no officer in the Presidency proper can do. We know such refusals will be few and far between. But the people of Sind have a right to ask why they should not share the full benefit of the reforms by not having a Commissioner at the head of their administration. We want the slur of a non-regulation province to be removed from the brow of Sind; and that is not possible so long as we have an intermediary ruler. We want Sind to be directly under the Governor in Council because the eight gentlemen forming the Bombay Government can undertake the direct administration of Sind. If that is not possible let Sind be separated and have an administration like Assam with a Governor in Council assisted by a Legislative Council.......... By not being directly under the Governor in Council there is a feeling in the public mind that Sind suffers more from repression than the Presidency proper being governed on the lines of the old bureaucracy. By removing the Commissionership, by placing the District Collectors directly under the Government of Bombay, Sind stands to gain and not to lose from the people's point of view whatever may be the views of vested interests."

The duty of India and Indian Musalmans towards the Angora Government.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Sept.

86. "Whether the reverse which the Greek army has suffered before Angora is 'disastrous' as the *Daily Express* Constantinople correspondent described it, or the merest fleabite as the Greek Minister in London makes it out to be, there is one point on which we are assured and that is that in the opinion of Mr. Lloyd George's Cabinet 'the proper moment for intervention has not yet arrived.' From our past experience of the benevolence of the neutrality of the British Government where Turkey is concerned we should be inclined to say that the phrase means pretty clearly that in the opinion of Mr. Lloyd George's Government the Greeks are not yet beaten. Although no prophet, we will risk the prophecy that when the tide of war turns definitely against Greece, the proper moment for intervention will be held to have arrived...... ... That is a move which India has to watch for, and resist when it is made, as we believe that it is certain to be made......... We feel pretty sure that the Angora Government will not accept the verdict of the Allies as to 'the proper moment for intervention,' but its refusal to do so is pretty certain to be treated as *lese Mageste* and unless the friends of Turkey insist upon the Turkish point of view receiving due consideration from the British Government, we have some ground to fear (threats have been muttered in the British Parliament) that that refusal may be made the pretext for Allied 'intervention' of another sort. If that were to happen, all possibility of reconciliation between Asia and Europe would be at an end. For this is not an affair of Turks only or of Muslims only. It concerns every Asiatic and non-Christian; for the status of every Asiatic and non-Christian in the world will be lowered if the gallant little Turkish Power, which stands for Asia facing Europe, and Islam facing Christendom, is crushed out by the action of the Powers, supporting 'Christian' Greece. At present it would appear that the Turkish army, though an improvised one, greatly inferior in arms and equipment to the Greek, has not only fought the Greek Army to a standstill but has forced it to retire on a wide front. It seems only fair that they should have the chance of showing what they can do against the Greeks with equal arms and equipment. India can give them that chance, if she will give them credit; and the credit of all India in the European money market ought to be at the disposal of a noble Asiatic race which is fighting for the right to live of Asiatic peoples and whose national aims have been adopted as the aims of India. If the Government of India wishes to prove that it is still the champion of the aims of the Indian Muslims and their sympathisers even after the recent prosecutions, here is the opportunity; and we can say with truth that the individuals whom they have chosen to prosecute for a whole nation's 'fault' will be the first to thank them, if they help the Turks in their just fight, instead of merely 'sympathising.' We are sick of 'sympathy'."

Comments on the Græco-Turkish war.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (29), 21st Sept.

87. *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the recent defeat suffered by Greece at the hands of Turkey and remarks that it is really cowardly on the part of Greece to ask the Allies to intervene now when she is afraid of being completely driven away from Asia Minor. The paper trusts that the Allies will refuse to intervene for the sake of their prestige so long as the Government of Kemal Pasha also does not request them to do so. It also believes that His Majesty's Government will refuse to pay heed to such a one-sided demand in order to satisfy her Indian people, except when by doing so they can fulfil the promise given by the Prime Minister through the Parliament of returning Thrace and Smyrna to Turkey. It emphasises the necessity of sending Muslim volunteers to help Turkey against Greece.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the alleged expulsion of certain non-Brahmin students from the hostel attached to the Training College for Men at Dharwar.

Karnátak Times (36), 16th Sept.; *Vijaya* (90), 21st Sept.; *Raj Hansa* (86), 20th Sept.; *Karnátak Vritt* (84), 20th Sept.

88. The *Karnátak Times* publishes a letter from a student of the Training College for Men at Dhárwár wherein the writer accuses Principal

Mahishi of having expelled from the college hostel four or five non-Brahmin students on flimsy grounds and of maintaining an attitude of distrust and partiality and a system of espionage against the non-Brahman students of the college. The paper also publishes another letter signed by three primary school teachers corroborating these allegations and says that the non-Brahmin mind has been everywhere intensely exercised by what is going on in the college. The paper adds that a public meeting has already been held at Hubli to condemn the action of the Principal and a requisition for a meeting at Dhárwár has also been issued. It understands that Mr. Mahishi gets articles appreciative of himself written by students under his control. Finally, it urges upon the authorities the advisability of immediately transferring Mr. Mahishi to some other place and adds that if this is not done there will be a terrible agitation about it. [The *Vijaya*, the *Raj Hánsa* and the *Karnátak Vritt* publish letters from students of the Dhárwár Training College praising Principal Mahishi and refuting the various allegations made in the columns of the *Karnátak Times*.]

MUNICIPALITIES.

Protest against restricting the Bombay Municipal franchise to those paying Rs. 20 per mensem as rent.

Bombay Chronilce (1), 24th Sept.

89. "There is nothing surprising, but a good deal significant, in the fact that the local stronghold of land-lordism and political reaction, we mean the Municipal Corporation, has rejected the proposal to extend the franchise to citizens who are paying rents below Rs. 20 per mensem. To the capitalists of the Corporation, Bombay is a city made by and existing solely for themselves. What have the unsightly and miserable wretches, the hamals, mill-workers, dock-labourers and petty clerks to do with local self-government? Should they not rest content with minting gold for their capitalist masters by the sweat of their ill-nourished bodies?......... The attempt of the capitalistic clique to deprive the poorer classes of Bombay of their rights will only recoil on the former, as it will convince the latter, as nothing else would, that their emancipation lies only in making a clean sweep of capitalistic reactionaryism. There is talk of 'Bolshevism in India' in the air to-day. If ever Bolshevism strikes a root in this country, it will be because of the preparation of the soil by capitalists of the type of those who are dominating the Municipal Corporation of Bombay to-day and who are keeping down the working classes in illiteracy and pauperism. The local Legislative Council, if it does not wish to see undesirable manifestations of labour unrest over the restriction of franchise, will do well to pay no heed to the reactionary counsel of the Corporation."

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the Railway Committee's report.

Kesari (111), 20th Sept.

90. The *Kesari* commenting on the Railway Committee's report expresses the hope that the suggestion for the State management of Indian railways made by half the members of the committee would be accepted by the Secretary of State. It, however, condemns the suggestions for raising railway fares and for making railways a separate head of accounts outside the control of the Finance Minister. It is afraid that if the Government of India ceases to receive the financial help which it now does from railway profits, it will be forced to impose additional taxes upon the people to make its both ends meet, and hopes therefore that the plan will be rejected.

Mahrátta (7), 25th Sept.

*91. "It is humorously said that the present system of government is run by reports and despatches, Committees and Commissions which produce nothing substantial but serve as a sop to solace the aggrieved Indian mind. The appointment of a Committee for the consideration of any question is taken to be synonymous with the shelving of it and experience has confirmed these fears. Many a time these mountains of committees and commissions labour in vain and do not produce even the proverbial mouse. They only contribute to the waste of national funds by producing voluminous literature which is generally relegated to the limbo of oblivion as soon as it is produced. The Indian Railway Committee's report has not broken the above tradition because it leaves the only important question, that of State *versus* Company management of railways, undecided.......... Leaving aside this main question, the Committee has by its report passed a severe vote of censure on the present management and has thus vindicated the position taken by the people in this respect. In fact the Committee's strictures even surpass in point of bitterness those of the people......... Lastly, we have to draw the attention of those who are responsible for the betterment of the people in general, we mean the masses, to remedy the grievance of the third class passengers immediately. The present arrangements give them a hell when they pay for ordinary comforts. Next to the police and the revenue officials, the masses know of the British *raj* by the railways and if anything spreads disaffection, silently and effectively, it is the railway management and differential treatment received on the railway. Along with other important items, this treatment of third class passengers occupies a prominent place and the Railway Committee would have served its purpose if at least attention is drawn to this question."

Sind Observer (10), 20th Sept.

92. Commenting on the Report of the Indian Railway Committee, the *Sind Observer* remarks :—"We are glad to find the weightiest members of the Committee including the President and Mr. Sastri on the side of state management; and on the other side are men who stand for the vested interests of capital including Sir Rajendranath Mukherji. The British capitalists who have controlled the Indian Railway system up to now for profit cannot, of course, afford to lose their grip over it; and we shall not be surprised if within the next few months a whirlwind agitation is launched by them assisted by their friends in India in favour of the *status quo*......... We do entertain the conviction that Indian public opinion will after all prevail now after years of struggle and agitation......... Supposing that every argument advanced against state management of railways is sound, we still hold, the property being that of the Indian people, their will should carry the day. The grievances of Indian merchants and passengers are legion and there is no hope of such grievances being removed unless and until effective popular control is established over the railways through our representatives in Councils and other popular provincial boards."

Jám-e-Jamshed (22), 20th Sept.; *Hindusthán* (21), 23rd Sept.

93. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is of opinion that the report of the Railway Committee which is now published is rather startling. The paper thinks that it is absolutely undesirable that the shareholders of many of our big railway companies on which depends the prosperity of our country should be in England. It cannot understand how a few easy-going Englishmen sitting at a distance of 4,000 miles can ever keep watch over the administration of the railways in India and inquires what work the present railway boards are doing. It remarks that the Railway Committee has rightly suggested in their report that it is no longer necessary to have these railways managed by expensive boards. It does not think it necessary that a special member for railways should be appointed in the Viceroy's Council. [The *Hindusthán* considers the report of the Railway Committee as disappointing on the whole and believes that the public would support the recommendation made by some members for substituting state management for company management and would not approve of the suggestion made by the dissenting members for entrusting railway management to Indian Companies. The paper expresses fear that the recommendation for raising the railway fares is sure to be adopted in course of time and is of the opinion that such a suggestion is not likely to meet with public approval in the face of the hardships of the third class passengers. The paper is totally opposed to the suggestion for utilising railway earnings for railway purposes alone and trusts that Government will not accept the recommendation which will deprive them of an important source of revenue and drive them to impose additional taxation.]

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 30th September 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 1st October 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:

Approval of the rejection of the motion for the first reading of the Bill to amend the Hereditary Offices Act 8
Resolution for welcoming the Prince of Wales in the— . . . 9

British Rule:

Comments on the appointment of the Lytton Committee 22
Comments on the Bombay Rent Act Committee's recommendations . 23
Comments on the compensation offered to the Mulshi Peta agriculturists 24
Comments on the forcible conversions of Hindus by Moplahs . . 36 & 37
Comments on the installation of Emir Feisul as King of Iraq . . 31
Comments on the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee. 16—21
Connection of the Moplah riots with the Khilafat agitation . . . 38 & 39
England's difficulties in Ireland, Egypt and India 30
Mr. De Valera's fight for the independence of Ireland 29
Proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office . . . . . . 27 & 28
Reflections on the thefts on the G. I. P. Railway by certain European employees 33
The Bolshevists and the British Government 32
The Moplah rising . . . . 34 & 35
The Mulshi Peta passive resistance movement . . . . . . 25 & 26
Excise: Comments on the Government of India's refusal to grant sanction to the introduction of Mr. Gupte's Drink Prohibition Bill in the Bombay Legislarivė Council . . . . 61 & 62

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

Protest against the proposed expenditure by the Bombay Government in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales . . . . 10—12
The proposed Parsi address to the Prince of Wales 15
The visit of the Prince of Wales to Poona . . . . 13 & 14

Indian Legislature:

Comments on Mr. Samarth's resolution in the Legislative Assembly on racial distinctions in the Indian Criminal Law 5
Comments on the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the purchase of Stores for India 6
Comments on the resolution in the Legislative Assembly about early grant of further Reforms . . . . 1—4
Resolution in the Council of State regarding purchase of Stores for India 7
Irrigation: A complaint against the — Department 58

E 203—6 CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Judicial matters :

Comments on the decision in the *Lokashahi* case 64

Comments on the trial and conviction of the editor of the *Hindu* of Hyderabad (Sind) 63

Non-co-operation :

Director of Information and the Shankarácharya of the Shárda Peeth . 49

His Excellency the Viceroy and the Moplah riots in Malabár . . 40

How *swarájya* is to be achieved by boycott of foreign cloth . . . 57

Mr. Gandhi's manifesto in reply to the arrest of the Ali Brothers, etc., for tampering with troops 41

Present repressive policy would prove injurious to the Empire . . 50

Responsibility of the nationalist leaders in the present unsettled state of the country 51

Satyagraha in Sind . . . . 54 & 55

The arrest of the Ali Brothers and other leaders . . . . . . 42 & 48

The Khilafat agitation and the responsibillty of the Government of India 53

The potency and success of the — movement 52

Why Indians should boycott foreign cloth 56

Public Service :

Corruption in the Government services 59

The Sind Commissionership should be abolished 60

War :

The enemies of Islam are destroying it 69

The Turkish victory over Greece and the Turkish Peace Treaty . . 65—68

MUNICIPALITIES—

The Bombay Municipality and the extension of Municipal franchise . . 70

RAILWAYS—

Comments on the Railway Committee's Report 71

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

(As it stood on the 1st October 1921.)

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	ENGLISH.				
1	Bombay Chronicle	Bombay	Daily	......	9,000
2	Do. (Sunday Edition).	Do.	Weekly	......	6,000
3	Bombay East Indian	Do.	Fortnightly	Alek Dias De Mello ; Roman Catholic ; 43	300
4	Daily Gazette	Karáchi	Daily	S. Lupton ; Englishman ; 37	3,500 to 4,000
5	Indian Social Reformer	Bombay	Weekly	Kámákshi Natarájan, B.A. ; Hindu (Madrási Bráhmin) ; 50.	870
6	Mahrátta	Poona	Do.	Dámodar Vishwanáth Gokhale, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 35.	1,200
7	New Times	Karáchi	Daily	Tikamdas Khemchand Jeswáni, M.A. ; Hindu (Lohána) ; 25.	800
8	Servant of India	Poona	Weekly	The Honourable Mr. V. S. Shriniwas Shastri ; Hindu (Madras Brahman) ; 48; and Shridhar Ganesh Vaze, B.A. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 43.	2,000
9	Sind Observer	Karáchi	Daily	K. Pummie	1,000
10	Weekly Observer	Bombay	Weekly	Averteno Correa Fernandez ; Indian Christian ; 35.	1,000
11	Young India	Ahmedabad	Do.	Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi ; Hindu (Bania) ; 53.	5,000
	ANGLO-GUJARA'TI.				
12	A'ryă Prakásh	Surat	Weekly	Pardhubhai Valabhai Sharma ; Hindu (Brahm Bhat) ; 39.	900
13	Bharat Seva	Bombay	Do.	Harjivan Kalidas Mehta ; Hindu (Nágar Bráhmin) ; 38.	900
14	Gujaráti	Do.	Do.	Manilál Ichchhárám Desái ; Hindu (Bania) ; 38.	19,000
15	Gujarát Mitră	Surat	Do.	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála ; Hindu (Dashalad Bania) ; 44.	1,200
16	Gujaráti Punch	Ahmedabad	Do.	Somálál Mangaldás Sháh ; Hindu (Mesri Bania) ; 45.	4,000
17	Hind Mitra	Bombay	Do.	Nowroji Bomanji Panthaki ; Pársi ; 40	600
18	Hindi Punch	Do.	Do.	Burjorji Navroji Apakhtyár ; Pársi ; 63	520
19	Hindusthán	Do.	Do.	Ramniklal A. Mehta ; Hindu (Nagar Bráhmin); 40.	2,000
20	Hindusthán	Do.	Daily	Do. do.	4,000
21	Jám-e-Jamshed	Do.	Do.	Phirozsháh Jehángir Marzbán, M.A., J.P. ; Pársi ; 45.	6,000 to 6,500
22	Kaiser-i-Hind	Do.	Weekly	Erachshaw Rustomji Hirji Behedin ; Pársi ; 38.	8,500
23	Káthiáwár Opinion	Rajkot	Do.	Tribhovandás Damodardás Gadhia ; Hindu (Lohana) ; 38.	1,000
24	Káthiáwár Times	Do.	Bi-weekly	A. S. Wazirani ; Hindu (Brahmakshatriya); 27.	900
25	Model	Bombay	Weekly	Hormasji Fardunji Mehta ; Pársi ; 35	250
26	Pársi-Sansár	Karáchi	Do.	Pherozshah Hormusji Dastur ; Pársi ; 37	1,500
27	Praja Bandhu	Ahmedabad	Do.	Chimanlal Mohanlal Modi Hindu (Shrimáli Bania).	2,700
28	Praja Mitra and Pársi	Bombay	Daily	Meherjibhái Pálanji Mádon ; Pársi ; 61	6,500
29	Rást Goftár and Praja Mitra.	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	5,000

H 203—1 CON

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	Anglo-Gujara’ti—*concluded.*				
30	Sánj Vartamán	Bombay	Daily	Rustamji N. Vátcha-gándhi ; Pársi ; 55	7,000
31	Stock Exchange News	Do.	Weekly	Manchersha Sorabji Bhumgara ; Pársi ; 27	1,600
32	Wafádár	Navsári	Do.	Saiyad Mahomed Saiyadali ; Muhammadan ; 24.	400
	Anglo-Kanarese.				
33	Kánara Leader	Kumta (Kánara)	Weekly	Ramrao Sheshgiri Nadkarni ; Hindu (Saraswat Brahmin) ; 45.	900
34	Karnátak Mitra	Belgaum	Do.	Narayan Sharma Bhaon Joshi Hundekar ; Deshastha Bráhmin (Vaishnav) ; 31.	1,000
35	Karnátak Times	Dhárwár	Do.	H. S. Shivalingashastri ; Hindu (Lingáyat) ; 46.	500
36	Navin Bhárat	Bagalkot (Bijapur)	Weekly	......	...
37	Vibhákar	Belgaum	Do.	Pandit Rayappa Chikodi, B.A., M.L.C. ; Hindu (Lingayat) ; 37.	1,700
	English, Kanarese and Mara’thi.				
38	Kánara News	Kumta (Kánara)	Weekly	Krishna Keshav Shenvi ; Hindu (Goud Sáraswat Brahmin) ; 51.	400
	Anglo-Mara’thi.				
39	Dnyánodayă	Bombay	Weekly	Rev. J. F. Edwards, Englishman ; 50	900
40	Dnyán Prakásh	Poona (and Bombay).	Daily	Anant Vináyak Patwardhan ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 49.	1,000
41	Dnyán Prakásh	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	2,000
42	Hindu Missionary	Bombay	Do.	Gajanan Bhaskar Vaidya, B.A. (Pátháre Prabhu) ; 52.	450
43	Indu Prakásh	Do.	Daily	Dámodar Sávalárám Yande ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 57.	2,000
44	Jágaruk	Poona	Weekly	Válchand Rámchand Kothári, B.A. (Jain) ; 28.	1,700
45	Jágriti	Baroda	Do.	Bhagavantráo Balavantráo Pálekar ; Marátha ; 43.	800
46	Nireekshaka	Bombay	Do.	Damodar Bhaurao Gupte ; Kayastha Prabhu ; 32.	1,000
47	Subodh Patrika	Do.	Do.	Dwárkánáth G. Vaidya ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 45.	500
	Anglo-Portuguese.				
48	O Anglo-Lusitáno	Bombay	Weekly	W. F. Pais ; Goan ; 40	800
	Anglo-Sindhi.				
49	Daulatdár	Shikárpur	Weekly	Daulatsing Chimandas Thakur ; 45	300
	English, Portuguese and Concanim.				
50	A Luz	Bombay	Weekly	Henry Anthony DeSouza ; Portuguese ; 39	600
51	Goa Mail	Do.	Do.	B. Vasco D'Gama	...
52	O Amigo Do Povo Goano	Do.	Do.	Manual Anastaz Fernandes ; Goan ; 49	900
	Gujara’ti.				
53	Akhbár-e-Islám	Bombay	Daily	Kázi Ismáil Kázi Muhammad Porbundari ; Muhammadan ; 51.	1,500
*54	Anavil Sevak	Surat	Monthly	Dayálji Nanubhai Desai ; Hindu (Anavil Bráhman) ; 45.	3,000
*55	Baroda Vartamán	Baroda	Weekly	Javerbhái Dádábhái Patel ; Hindu (Lewa Pátidár) ; 51.	1,500
56	Bombay Samáchár	Bombay	Daily	Kaikhusru Mánekji Minocher-homji, B.A. ; Pársi ; 46.	4,700

* These papers are not being received in this office at present.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	GUJARA'TI—*continued*				
57	Broach Mitră	Broach	Weekly	Trikamlál Harináth Thákor ; Hindu (Brahmă Kshatri) ; 39.	500
58	Broach Samáchár	Do.	Do.	Jehángirji Ardeshir Gandhi ; Pársi ; 42	300
59	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 45.	2,000
60	Deshi Mitră	Surat	Weekly	Harilál Maganlál ; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 26.	2,100
61	Deshodaya	Do.	Do.	Prabhushankar Narbhárám Vyas ; Hindu (Nagar Bráhman); 29.	1,450
62	Gramya Swarjya	Viramgaon	Do.	Ramrai Mohanrai ; Hindu (Kshatriya) ; 30.	1,000
63	Gujarát Vartamán	Ahmedabad	Do.	Harilal Kevalram Bhatt ; Hindu (Audich Brahman) ; 50.	700
64	Hind Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Dáyábhái Kasandás ; Hindu (Shráwak Bania); 55.	1,000
65	Hitechchhu	Karáchi	Do.	Harilál Válji Thákur, Hindu (Audich Bráhman) ; 33.	450
66	Insáf	Bombay	Do.	Munshi Fattekhan Ahmedkhan ; Sunni Muhammadan ; 36.	850
67	Kaira Vartamán	Kaira	Do.	Somachand Panachand ; Hindu (Jain Bania) ; 45.	550
68	Loka Mitră	Bombay	Bi-weekly	Kaikhosru Mánekji Minochar-Homji, Pársi ; 46.	1,000
69	Navjivan	Ahmedabad	Weekly	Mohandás Karamchand Gandhi ; Hindu (Bania) ; 53.	20,000
70	Navsári Patrika	Navsári	Do.	Rangildás Pránjivandás Párekh ; Hindu (Bania) ; 31.	430
71	Political Bhomiyo	Ahmedabad	Do.	Nurkhan Amirkhan Pathan ; Muhammadan ; 64.	2,400
72	Praja Pokár	Surat	Do.	Uttamrám Umedrám Reshamwála ; Dásálád Bania ; 44.	660
73	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Baroda	Do.	Máneklál Ambárám Doctor ; Hindu (Dasha Shrimáli Bania) ; 43.	4,500
74	Surya Prakash	Surat	Do.	Nagindas Dahyabhai ; Hindu (Nágar Bráhman); 75.	600
75	Surat Akhbár	Do.	Do.	Pirozsháh Edalji Patel ; Pársi ; 46	600
	GUJARA'TI AND HINDI.				
76	Jain	Bhávnagar	Weekly	Vallabhdas Tribhowandas Bania ; Hindu (Desa Shrimali) ; 36.	1,800
	HINDI.				
77	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 45.	1,200
78	Hindi Navjivan	Ahmedabad	Weekly	......	...
79	Jain Mitra	Surat	Do.	Brahmachari Sitalprasadji ; 42	1,200
80	Shri Venkateshwar Samáchàr.	Bombay	Do.	Pandit Chandulal Mehta (Punjábi Saraswat Brahmin) ; 41.	10,000
	KANARESE.				
81	Arunodaya	Bijapur	Daily	Bhimaji Ganesh Kurundwad ; Hindu (Bráhmin) ; 30.	50
82	Karma Veer	Dhárwár	Weekly	Madhav Bhimrao Kabbur ; Hindu (Deshastha Brahmin) ; 29.	800
83	Karnátak Vaibhav	Bijápur	Do.	G. R. Mannurkar ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 54.	500
84	Karnátak Vritt	Dhárwár	Do.	Venkatesh Rajerao Mudvedkar ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman) ; 37.	400
85	Loka Bandhu	Do.	Do.	Laxman Ramchandra Airani ; Hindu (Deshastha Brahman) ; 40.	450

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	KANARESE—*continued.*				
86	Raj Hansa	Dharwar	Daily	M. N. Tembe ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 40.	500
87	Raj Hansa	Do.	Weekly	Do. do.	1,000
88	Shubhodaya	Do.	Do.	Vasudevacharya Shrinivasacharya Kerur, Pleader ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhman); 53.	1,200
89	Vijaya	Do.	Do.	Annacharya Balacharya Hoskeri ; Hindu (Vaishnava Bráhmin) ; 48.	600
90	Vijaya	Do.	Daily	Do. do.	200
	MARA'THI.				
91	Arya Vaibhav	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Weekly	Tulsidas Govind Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhmin) ; 31.	250
92	A'ryávart	Do.	Do.	Shankar Hari Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 33.	200
93	Arya Vaidyak-bodh	Kalyán (Thána)	Do.	Kashinath Bhaskar Oke ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 38.	*Nil.*
94	Bakul	Ratnágiri	Do.	Hari Dharmaráj Gándhi ; Hindu (Bania) ; 44.	400
95	Bárámati Samáchár	Bárámati	Do.	Hari Anant Joshi ; Hindu (Chitpávan Bráhmin) ; 32.	300
96	Belgaum Samáchár	Belgaum	Do	Hari Bhikáji Sámant ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 59.	300
97	Bhárat Mátá	Islámpur (Sátára)	Fortnightly	Vishnu Sitárám Athalye ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 35.	400
98	Chaitanya	Belgaum	Weekly	Moro Balwant Marathe ; Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhman) ; 45.	300
99	Chikitsak	Do.	Do.	Rao Saheb Abáji Rámchandră Sávant ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 58.	600
100	Chitramayă Jagat	Poona	Monthly	Shankar Narhar Joshi ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 45.	12,000
101	Daily Report	Chopda (East Khándesh).	Weekly	Motilál Fattulál ; Hindu ; Gaud Brahman (Marwadi); 38.	50 to 80
102	Daivadnyaprabodhini	Bombay	Bi-monthly	Vishnu Náráyan Karekar ; Hindu (Daivadnya) ; 60.	800
103	Dharma Vichár va Modă Vritta.	Wái (Sátára)	Weekly	Damodar Laxman Lele ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 43.	50
104	Din Mitră ...	Somthána (Ahmednagar).	Do.	Mukund Ganpat Pátil ; Hindu (Máli) ; 34 .	1,200
105	Dnyán Ságar	Kolhápur	Do.	Vishnu Vithal Mantri ; Hindu (Gaud Sáraswat Bráhman) ; 56.	600
106	Gogras	Bombay	Do.	Bapu Khanderao Joshi ; Hindu (Bráhman); 37.	2,000
107	Gorakshana	Thána	Do.	Anantdas Ramdasi *alias* Dattatraya Moreshvar Lohkre ; Hindu (Brahmin) ; 36.	1,000
108	Grahadhikar	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Bhaskar Ramchandra Joshi.	...
109	Kalpataru and A'nandvrit	Sholápur	Weekly	Anant Hari Wagh ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 37.	450
110	Kesari	Poona	Do.	Narsinha Chintaman Kelkar ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 48.	30,000
111	Khándesh Vaibhav	Dhulia (West Khándesh).	Do.	Yádav Bálkrishnă Bahálkar ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman) ; 55.	500
112	Kolába Samáchár	Pen (Kolába)	Weekly	Vishnu Naráyan Mándlik : Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhman) ; 31.	500
113	Kolába Vritta	Do.	Fortnightly	Vinayak Narayan Manohar ; Hindu (Chitpavan Brahmin) ; 45.	250-300
114	Lokamánya	Bombay	Daily	Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar ; Hindu (Chitpavan Brahmin) ; 50.	7,000
115	Loknayak.	Belgaum	Weekly	......	...

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*continued.*				
116	Lokasangraha	Poona	Weekly	Laxman Balwant Bhopatkar; Hindu (Karháda Bráhmin) ; 43.	2,500
117	Lokasatta	Násik	Weekly	Vishnu Ganesh Kelkar; Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhman) ; 35.	1,000
118	Lokasevak	Bombay	Do.	Sitaram Vishnu Lalit ; Hindu (Ka ad a Bráhmin) ; 38.	2,000
*119	Lokasháhi	Do.	Do.	Vithal Waman Hap ; Karádha Bráhmin ; 22.	3,000
*120	Maháráshtra Vritta	Sátára	Do.	Rámachandra Balvant Bhonsle ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 36.	200
121	Mookanayak	Bombay	Fortnightly	Dnyandeo Dhruvanath Gholap ; Hindu ; 24.	1,000
122	Maráthi Navjivan	Do.	Weekly	Purshottam Balkrishna Kulkarni ; Hindu (Goldsmith) ; 30.	4,000
123	Mumukshu	Poona	Monthly	Laxman Ramchandra Pangarkar, B.A. ; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin) ; 49.	1,200
*124	Pandhari Mitra	Sholápur	Weekly	G. S. Bhidkar ; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin) ; 57.	100
125	Prabodh	Dhulia (West Khandesh.)	Do.	K. L. Ogale ; Hindu (Kokanastha Brahmin) ; 38.	600
126	Prabodh Chandrika	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Do.	Náráyan Narsinh Phadnis ; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 58.	300
127	Prafullata	Bombay	Do.	Vithal Narayan Vedak ; Hindu (Daivadnya) ; 31.	1,800
128	Pragati and Jinvijaya	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Anna Babaji Lathe ; Jain ; 35	400
129	Pragatik	Jalgaon (East Khándesh).	Weekly	D. V. Joshi ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 34.	350
130	Prakásh	Sátára	Do.	Rámchandră Ganesh Soman ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 45.	350
131	Rájakáran	Poona	Do.	Sitaram Keshav Damle, B.A., LL.B. ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 47.	3,500
132	Ráshtra Dharma	Belgaum	Monthly	Shriniwas Krishna *alias* Annabuwa Arjunwadkar ; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhman) ; 40.	300
133	Ráshtra Veer	Do.	Weekly	Shamrao Santajirao Bhosle, B.A., LL.B., Hindu (Maratha) : 25.	700
134	Sahakari Namdeo	Poona	Fortnightly	Pandharinath Narayan Pataskar ; Hindu (Shimpi) ; 36.	500
*135	Sandesh	Bombay	Daily	Achyut Balvant Kolhatkar ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 41.	7,000
136	Satyă Prakásh	Tasagaon (Sátára)	Weekly	Narayan Ramchandra Vibhute ; Hindu (Wani); 46.	225
137	Satyă Shodhak	Ratnágiri	Do.	Dattatraya Hari Limaye ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman) ; 28.	825
138	Shivaji	Poona	Fortnightly	Shankar Trimbak Awate ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 22.	1,000
139	Sholápur Samáchár	Sholápur	Weekly	Vithal Narsáppa Jakkal ; Hindu (Telgu Máli) ; 40.	500
140	Shri Namdeo Vritta	Bombay	Monthly	Balaram Anant Vaidya ; Hindu (Namdeo Shimpi) ; 36.	750
*141	Shri Sayáji Vijayă	Do.	Weekly	Dámodar Sávlárám Yande ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 59.	3,000
142	Shri Sháhu	Sátára	Do.	Vishnu Ramkrishna Dhavle ; Hindu (Karháda Bráhman) ; 24.	325
143	Shri Shivaji	Poona	Do.	Ramchandra Kashinath Shirodkar, B.Sc. ; Hindu (Marátha) ; 29.	2,000
144	Shubh Suchak	Sátára	Do.	Dattátrayă Rámchandră Chitale ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 53.	250 to 300
145	Sumant	Karád (Sátára)	Do.	......	...
146	Suvarnakar Udaya	Bombay	Monthly	Vinayak Gopal Pisat ; Hindu (Daivadnya) ; 32.	1,000
147	Swarájya	Poona	Weekly	Shivram Mahadeo Paranjapye ; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhmin) ; 56.	5,000
148	Udyam Prakásh	Wái (Sátára)	Do.	Vishwanath Dhondi Teli ; Hindu (Teli) ; 33.	50

* These papers are not being received in this office at present.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where Published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	MARATHI—*concluded.*				
149	Vichári	Kárwár (Kánara)	Tri-monthly	Shaikh Adam *walad* Shaikh Abdul Karim; Muhammadan (Sunni); 47.	450
*150	Vidyarthi	Poona	Weekly	Narayan Chidambar Gadgil; Hindu (Deshastha Bráhmin); 19.	500
151	Vijayi Marátha	Do.	Do.	Shripat Laxman Shinde; Marátha; 37	3,500
152	Vita Vritta	Sátára	Do.	Narayan Laxman Jog; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 34.	60
153	Vrittasár	Wái (Sátára)	Do.	Govind Ganesh Vaidyă; Hindu (Chitpáwan Bráhman); 25.	250
154	Vyápári	Poona	Do.	Shankar Shridhar Puranik; Hindu (Deshasth Bráhman); 45.	650
	MARATHI AND KANARESE.				
155	Gosevak	Belgaum	Fortnightly	Hanmant Sadashiv Paranjpe; Hindu (Konkanastha Bráhmin); 22.	600
	SINDHI.				
156	Al-Haq	Sukkur	Weekly	Abdul Baki Mahomed Suleman; Muhammadan; 22.	200
157	Bháratwasi	Hyderabad	Daily	Jeramdas Dowlatram; Hindu (Amil); 28	900
158	Dharam Vir	Sukkur	Weekly	......	...
159	Frontier Gazette	Jacobabad	Do.	Vishindás Pránjainmal; Hindu (Bhátia); 36.	500
160	Hindu	Hyderabad	Daily	Vishnu Nainaram Sharma; 26	1,000
161	Khairkháh-i-Sind	Lárkána	Weekly	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Khatri); 47.	250
162	Lárkána Gazette	Do.	Do.	Tahilrám Mulchand Tavarmaláni; Hindu (Amil); 32.	500
163	Mirpurkhás Gazette	Mirpurkhás	Do.	Gurudinomal Tahilsing; Hindu (Amil); 40.	600
164	Musáfir	Hyderabad (Sind)	Do.	Abdul Waháb Khán; Pathan; 56	250
165	Sada Bahar	Larkana	Do.	......	...
166	Satyawadi	Shikárpur	Do.	......	...
167	Sindhi	Sukkur	Bi-weekly	Virumal Begraj; Hindu (Bhuráni); 48	800
168	Sind Sudhár	Karáchi	Weekly	Khánchand Rahumal; Hindu (Amil); 55	850
169	Sind Vasi	Hyderabad	Daily	Sujansing Fatehsing; Hindu (Amil); 42	850
170	Shakti	Naushahro	Weekly	......	...
171	Swaraj	Sukkur	Daily	......	...
	URDU.				
172	Mufid-e-Rozgár	Bombay	Weekly	Haji Munshi Mahamad Husein; Muhammadan; 50.	2,200
173	Muslim Herald	Do.	Do.	Sheikh Mahamed Yusuf; Muhammadan (Sunni); 42.	2,600

Notes.—A. The notices from the different Newspapers have been collected in the Report under different heads which are printed in italics.

B. The names of Newspapers are printed in the margin of the Report in italics, and the number of the Newspaper in the above list is printed in brackets after the name.

C. The system of spelling vernacular words followed in the report is the same as that adopted in the Official Spelling List of the Bombay Presidency. One peculiar feature of this system is that when the long *a* (आ or *á*) is the last letter of a word, the accent is left out, and the short *a* (अ = *u* in *gun*) is, to prevent confusion, never placed at the end of a word. This rule has been strictly followed, except that when the short *a* appears to be absolutely necessary to complete the pronunciation of a word as *Arunodaya* or the well-known *Mitra*, it is printed with a mark over it to indicate that it is short, thus—*ă*.

D. The figures giving the circulation or number of copies published of each newspaper and periodical as furnished by the proprietor are not guaranteed as accurate, and in some instances must be regarded with caution.

* This paper is not being received in this office at present.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the resolution in the Legislative Assembly about early grant of further Reforms.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Oct.

1. "Moderates who were fondly imagining that they had won over their bureaucratic patrons and friends, because they themselves had been individually patted on the back and their Assembly had been held up by its president, the ex-Viceroy and the Home Member, to the gaze of the world as the model of what a 'respectable' and 'well-conducted' parliament ought to be, must have been painfully disillusioned when the whilom admirers and patrons turned round on them and reminded them how little truly representative of the people of India they and their Assembly were and what little there is as yet to their credit to entitle them to claim a further instalment of 'boons'....... Let any unprejudiced critic go through the speeches of officials like Sir William Vincent and Mr. Hailey and non-official Europeans like Sir. Frank Carter, Mr. Clayton and Mr. Price on Mr. Mazumdar's resoulation in the Assembly and declare if the leopard has changed his spots!...... The Home Member, seeing how the wind blew, fully and characteristically exploited the occasion to conjure up a vision of the horrors which would result in the event of a propletariat-*raj* being set up as a result of the mischievous activities of Mahatma Gandhi and his associates. 'Chaos, murder, ruin and famine'—these are, according to Sir William, what would befall India if the dawn of *swaraj* was hastened unduly. Sir William also played on the selfishness and timidity of the co-operators by hinting at the fate that would overtake them if further grant of reforms were made. 'What guarantee is there', asked the Home Member, 'that non-co-operators would not come into the Assembly in a majority and use their power against Government?' It is true, on the suggestion of Mr. Hailey, it has been decided that the view of the Assembly, that a re-examination and revision of the present constitution at an earlier date than 1929 are necessary, should be communicated to the Secretary of State, but so long as the Assembly has not the moral stamina to demonstrate its own earnestness in making the demand, it would be futile to hope that any good will come out of the communication of the views of the Assembly to the Secretary of State. Let the Moderates first 'reform' themselves before they aspire to reform the constitution."

Lokamanya (114), 1st Oct.

2. The *Lokamanya*, referring to the Government resolution about revision of the Reforms before 1929 passed in the Legislative Assembly in place of Mr. Mazumdar's motion on the same subject, says that the resolution practically shows Government's readiness to discuss further reforms even before the statutory limit of ten years, meaning thereby that it is not unprepared to come to terms with the Gandhi party. It therefore asks the *Times of India*, which has been casting ridicule on Mr. Gandhi's predictions, to note that a beginning has already been made in the solution of the question of *swarajya* before the expiry of a year from the Calcutta Congress. It draws the conclusion from what Sir William Vincent said in the Assembly on behalf of Government, that in revising the Reforms it is more anxious to treat with the party of Mr. Gandhi and the Ali Brothers than with the moderate party. The paper is gratified to see that the initiative in this matter of recasting the Reforms has thus been taken by the Assembly and hopes that Government will now invite the Gandhi party to help it in the task. It apprehends that if Government does not now adopt that course the Congress Party is likely to launch Satyagraha as is clear from the resolutions passed all over the country after the Ali Brothers' arrest.

Hindusthan (20), 27th Sept.; *Sanj Vartaman* (30), 30th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Parsi* (28), 1st Oct.; *Jam-e-Jamshed* (21), 1st Oct.

3. The *Hindusthan* refers to the resolution moved by Rai Bahadur Jadunath Mazumdar in the Legislative Assembly for further constitutional reforms and declares that the moving of such a resolution in the Assembly goes to show that even the Moderates are not satisfied in their heart of hearts with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and that the discontent in the country will be greatly enhanced and opinion on the Reforms will be still more divided if Government do not give the people a definite assurance as to when and how further political concessions will be given to the Indian people. [The *Sanj Vartaman* deals at length with what it considers as the effete nature of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms and the incompetency of the gentlemen who have entered the Councils. These gentlemen, the paper opines, would never have been elected if the non-co-operators had not held themselves aloof. It then refers to the resolution moved by Mr. Mazumdar in the Legislative Assembly urging for complete autonomy in the provinces and the conferment of full Dominion Self-Government on India in a certain number of years and declares that it is neither surprised nor grieved at the fate the resolution has met and concludes by drawing a highly coloured picture of India under self-Government and declares that the non-co-operators will not be satisfied unless Government make full amends for the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and confer self-government on India immediately. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi*, on the other hand, regards the resolution brought before the Legislative Assembly for the purpose of introducing full provincial autonomy in the provinces and as much autonomy in the Central Government as is at present enjoyed by the provinces, as going beyond the powers of the Indian Legislature and approves of the form in which it was passed as being agreeable to all the parties and at the same time keeping within proper limits. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* comments on the discussion in the Legislative Assembly on the Honourable Mr. Mazumdar's resolution regarding the grant of full *swaraj* to India in ten years and the Honourable Mr. Hailey's amendment thereon. In the opinion of the paper the best suggestion in the matter was that made by Mr. Jamnadas Dwarkadas, namely, the appointment of a committee to consider the question as to the best means for introducing provincial autonomy in the three Presidencies and the element of responsibility in the constitution of the Government of India as the inquiries of such a committee would have provided ample information on the subject to the Indian Legislature, the Secretary of State, the British Parliament and to the British public. Still, says the paper, the resolution accepted is not unsatisfactory.]

Mahratta (6), 2nd Oct.

***4.** "The resolution that was proposed in the Assembly by Rai Bahadur Mazumdar and the discussion that followed it, must have convinced the bureaucracy that they can get no rest either in the councils or outside till India achieves *swarajya*. The bureaucracy and their protagonists may fret and foam but they cannot escape from the clutches of the logical outcome of the great principle of government by the consent of the governed. The bureaucracy had hoped that the councils, filled as they are by opportunist politicians, would prove to be willing wheels of the soulless machine of the bureaucracy, but they must have been convinced that even there there were some members who could not but be chips of the same block of Indian Nationalism, however pliant and soft the chips may be.......... We heartily congratulate Mr. Muzumdar for reminding the Indians in the council that even when they have entered the Councils in spite of the Nation's mandate, they have a duty to perform in respect of their Motherland. Liberation of the Motherland is the cry that resounds and reverberates throughout India and it has penetrated even the sanctuary of the bureaucracy."

Comments on Mr. Samarth's resolution in the Legislative Assembly on racial distinctions in the Indian Criminal Law.

Karnatak Vaibhav (83), 27th Sept.

5. Racial discrimination is the principal feature of the Indian administration. Hundreds of patriots have been sent to prison for expressing sentiments based on ideas of racial equality. Hundreds had to leave the country for a like reason. But circumstances have changed to-day. The Honourable Sir William Vincent has accepted Mr. Samarth's resolution on racial distinctions in the Indian Criminal Law and has agreed to appoint a Committee to report on the matter. Nobody should believe that racial distinction will disappear by changes in mere procedure. The principle of equality must find its way into the original acts themselves. If India gets the liberty which other free nationalities within the Empire enjoy that will be true liberty. That will be real equality. It is sheer folly to expect to have equal rights with Europeans so long as sections 107, 108 and 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code and sections 124A and 153A of the Indian Penal Code remain on the Statute Book. There is not the slightest objection to treat speeches and actions that are likely to provoke violence as offences. But so long as all our peaceful efforts to bring about improvements in the present administration can be dubbed as seditious, no changes whatever in the Criminal Procedure Code will give us real liberty. No changes in the Criminal Procedure Code can confer any power on the Indian officials to touch a single hair of the Europeans. Moreover it is an offence in this country to raise cheers to Mahatma Gandhi. It is an offence to put on a Gandhi cap. If wives join the non-co-operation movement the husbands are held liable for the offence. Will all these acts cease to be offences through the contemplated changes in the Criminal Procedure Code ? More changes in the law can not remove the racial distinctions, root and branch. These changes are only temporary expedients to meet temporary needs. They can never purify our administration vitiated by the poison of racial distinction. As long as Indians do not get *swarajya*, racial distinctions are bound to remain. This is the real crux of the situation. In the absence of *swarajya*, it is mere mockery to say that we are in any way the equals of the British.

Comments on the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the purchase of stores for India.

Servant of India (8), 29th Sept.

6. "Sir Vithaldas Thackersey did well to expose in the Legislative Assembly what the Indian mercantile community regard as the stores purchase scandal. They have every right to demand that where stores have to be imported purchases should be made 'in the cheapest market consistently with quality and delivery,' and that no preference or favouritism should be shown to British industries at the cost of the Indian tax-payer. Yet this is exactly what the action of the High Conmissioner for India amounts to in some of his recent transactions. While disclaiming any desire to 'subsidise British industries and labour' at India's cost, he is not unwilling to give 'a bit of a preference especially to people who have formerly dealt with us'. One would expect the High Commissioner, who is there to safeguard Indian, and not British, interests, to press this very consideration for securing 'a bit of a preference' for India from these British firms. The larger and the more constant the order, the greater the claim to special rates. This simple business convention, however, seems to be overlooked when a British firm is concerned. Not only it is preferred to a foreign one quoting even 10 per cent. less, but it enjoys the special privilege of being confidentially shown the quotations of foreign firms with a view to enable it to bring down its own to 'within 10 per cent., say, of the German or Belgian tender'. Think of the loss this means to India on 7½ million sterling worth of railway material recently ordered from a British firm ! Even supposing that the placing of this order with foreign firms had necessitated the deputation of experts for carrying out the inspection of the goods while under manufacture, we do not believe it would have cost this country more than £75,000. The incident has only to be mentioned to bring out the evident injustice it means to India."

Resolution in the Council of State regarding purchase of stores for India.

Praja Mitra and Parsi (28), 1st Oct.

7. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* comments on the resolution passed by the Council of State to the effect that orders for purchase of stores for India should be placed in the cheapest market. It approves of the resolution, but at the same time says that it is still incomplete. In its opinion the better course is to call for tenders in India with samples for all sorts of goods required by the Government of India or the Provincial Governments, and the High Commissioner for Trade in England should after proper examination arrange for the delivery of goods according to sample from those whose tenders are accepted by the Government of India. The paper requests the Council of State and the Legislative Assembly to pass such a resolution in their next session. It also presses for preference for goods manufactured in India even at a comparatively higher price.

Approval of the rejection of the motion for the first reading of the Bill to amend the Hereditary Offices Act.

Dnyan Prakash (40), 30th Sept.

8. The *Dnyan Prakash* is glad to note that the motion for the first reading of Rao Bahadur Kale's Bill further to amend the Bombay Hereditary Offices

Act, 1874, and the Bombay Hereditary Offices (Amendment) Act, 1886, was lost in the Bombay Legislative Council. It points out that the effect of the Bill, if passed, would have been to preclude some female members of a Watan family from inheriting a property which rightly belonged to them simply because they were females, and dwells on the incongruity of the proposed measure in these days when women are claiming and obtaining a share in almost all the activities in which men are engaged at present.

Resolution for welcoming the Prince of Wales in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Lokamanya (114), 1st Oct.

9. The *Lokamanya* charges the elected members of the Bombay Legislative Council with being guilty of sycophancy as not a single one of them has come forward in the current sessions to voice the opposition of the public to accord a welcome to the Prince of Wales. It points out that though the non-co-operation spirit is the most dominant in Ahmedabad and though the Ahmedabad Municipality has openly boycotted the Prince's visit, both its representatives in the Council said not a word about it while supporting the Thakore Saheb of Amod's resolution for the Prince's welcome. It takes special objection to the complimentary terms in which the resolution speaks of the reforms and regrets that though Mr. Jehangir Petit pointed out the defect in the resolution, he made no effort to get it amended in that respect.

Protest against the proposed expenditure by the Bombay Government in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Sept.

10. "We understand on good authority that the Government of Bombay intend spending a sum of rupees ten lakhs nearly in connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales. If our information is correct, will the proposal to spend the amount be placed, for sanction, before the Legislative Council which is meeting in Poona? Government obviously cannot spend this huge amount without the sanction of the Council and the Legislative Council, if it has any concern for public interests, cannot permit such wasteful expenditure on fireworks, illuminations and the like in a year of financial stringency."

Swarajya (147), 29th Sept.

11. The *Swarajya* objects to the proposal to treat His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales while in Bombay to a spectacle of the *garbha* dance by 350 Gujarati Hindu girls and points out that the *garbha* songs are meant to be sung before the goddess and not before strangers. It also bases its objection on the ground that the authorities concerned are not entitled to put to such use the children of people who by a very large majority have decided to boycott the Prince's visit. The paper remarks that this item in the programme and several such others owe their origin to the desire of the bureaucracy to collect large crowds so that they may be able to claim that the visit was not boycotted by the people as desired by the non-co-operators.

Gujarati (14), 2nd Oct., Eng. cols.

***12.** "The visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to this country is now a matter of absolute certainty. It has led to considerable differences of opinion among the people of India. Whether the time chosen is altogether suitable is open to question. Apart from the passions and prejudices of the hour, the fact of the organic political connection of this country with England and her monarch cannot possibly be ignored. It has got to be reckoned with just as much as the existence of the sun and the moon........ As we remarked weeks ago, there was nothing to be lost but something will be gained by extending our welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with our oriental sense of civility, decorum and hospitality. But that does not mean extravagance or wasteful expenditure on shows, *tamashas* and fireworks, when the people are undergoing indescribable miseries and privations or women are going almost naked in Khulna and some other famine-stricken areas. India is a poor country and cannot afford to waste lakhs upon mere unproductive splendour and wasteful entertainments for the benefit of the official hierarchy, the influential and the wealthy. In England Parliament has to vote grants for meeting the expenses of royal tours. But nothing has yet been known as to the total outlay that has been sanctioned by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments. We do not understand why so much secrecy should be observed in this connection so as to lend itself to grave misconstruction. Twenty-seven lakhs were spent upon the last tour of His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught. That was an excessive amount to spend. It has been stated that the Bombay Government intend spending about ten lakhs in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness. That is over and above the public funds that are being collected. Whilst we think that the presidency should extend its cordial welcome to His Royal Highness, it ought not to set a bad example in unjustifiable extravagance, especially to the Native Princes who are certain to vie with one another in deplorable exhibitions of prodigality at the expense of their dumb and helpless subjects. The cry for more funds for most urgent purposes is being heard in all the provinces, which Dr. Gour declared to be bankrupt the other day in the Indian Legislative Assembly and the military octopus is busy exacting as big a slice as it can from the Indian exchequer. Under these circumstances an awful responsiblity rests upon all the Governments to practise the strictest economy and not merely to seek to impress the world at large with the might and glory of the British Empire by unwarranted displays of wasteful extravagance at the expense of an ill-clad and half-starved population.

The visit of the Prince of Wales to Poona.

Mahratta (6), 2nd Oct.

*13. Mr. N. C. Kelkar writes in the *Mahratta* :—" Sight-seeing is naturally regarded as a legitimate popular privilege ; and the visit of the heir-apparent to the British imperial throne is bound to be an attractive sight, especially as Government can command the spectacular genius among the people and also the ways and means of its practical display. But the Royal and Gracious Prince would be nothing to the people from the point of view of real affection or sentimental loyalty. The Prince is related to India only through the British Government, which has a being and a status merely as established by law, to use the exact constitutional phraseology in the matter. And real affection or true sense of Mamatva, to use a Sanskrit classical word, is a thing which no law with the most powerful sanction behind it can command. The British Government is a foreign Government and the Prince is a foreign Prince. Of course he is a high class gentleman who may be privately received even in India as one gentleman by another, and the Indian people are admittedly noted for their courtesy and hospitality. But the very fact that Government want to make political capital out of the Prince's visit (and this we say in spite of Lord Reading's deliberate utterance to the contrary) naturally brings in also the command of the Congress and makes it relevant......... The Prince would be doing what he believes, and what Government assiduously make him believe, to be an act in the nature of a manifestation of gratitude in raising a War Memorial to the dead Maratha heroes. But there is also another side to it. If the Maratha soldiers be regarded merely as military employees, that is to say, the hirelings that did the work they were paid for, then such a bombastic sentiment as that of gratitude becomes out of place, even when they died in the course of their duty. They were not so many of them benefactors but mere 'casualties'. But if they did something which merits anything beyond a widow's pension, then the needs of the case cannot be satisfied by the mere raising of a cenotaph or a stone-pillar. Maharashtra will regard them as having died in vain, if they cannot bring, by their death, better justice to the claims of the present and future generations of Maratha soldiers, in point of military rank and status. It is notorious that none of the brave heroes, to whose memory the Prince would raise this memorial, could have aspired to any rank higher than that of Subedar-Major or Risaldar Major......... It is a happy augury that the Prince will be requested to lay the foundation stone of a 'Shivaji memorial' in Poona. So Nemesis is, after all, coming up mounted on the whirlgig of time to punish those who once had the impudence to characterise Shivaji as a 'Mountain Rat' and a 'bloody robber'. But even that cannot induce some people to join in the reception of the Prince as they know that the Prince is coming out not for the sake of this memorial but for fortifying the throne of the bureaucracy in India. The most appreciable form of a Shivaji memorial for Marathas at the hands of the Prince would be *swarajya*. And we shall know how to receive the Prince when he comes with that munificent gift in his hand. In saying all this we mean not the slightest personal discourtesy to the Prince. Further, we are quite sure that though the Indian people may not be willing to enthusiastically receive the Prince, they are less scornful towards the Royal House of Britain than were the British people themselves towards this House of Hanover when it first came to occupy the British throne........... But in these days of democracy even genuine Indian Royal Houses are at a discount. For they have been scandalously sinning against the new spirit. Our attitude towards the Prince of Wales, therefore, is a simple one, namely, of indifference. He cannot assuredly evoke active sentimental loyalty in us; but at the same time we do not feel the dislike we do for some of our own Princes and Rajahs whom we happen to know more intimately. And for that reason though we, as Congressmen, need not actively organise any anti-reception demonstrations, we are also not under any legal or moral obligation to join in the reception even to such an exalted personage as the Prince of Wales."

Kesari (110), 27th Sept.

14. The *Kesari* refers to the programme of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to Poona, and remarks that the programme being something like a challenge to the people of Poona to carry out the Congress mandate for boycotting the Prince's visit, they should take it up and thoroughly boycott all the functions. Government will, it says, manage to bring down train-loads of its troops and other dependents and also Native Chiefs and their followers to be present at the functions, but that would not be, it declares, a welcome accorded by Poona. The memorial to the Maratha soldiers fallen in the late war, to be unveiled by the Prince, the paper admits to be a real tribute to the fallen, but considers that from the political point of view it will be a sort of deception practised on the Maharashtra, inasmuch as raising the military status of the Marathas by giving them commissions in the army would have been a better memorial to the fallen. As regards the foundation stone of the Shivaji Maharaj memorial to be laid by His Royal Highness, the paper regards it as a tragedy of the times that the representative of the most powerful Empire of the day should lay the foundation stone of the memorial to be erected in the memory of one whom the English historians have termed "a mountain rat" and "a robber chief" and the very mention of whose name used to be taken as an insult by the bureaucracy. The paper however thinks that as the Prince is coming out to India not for the memorial but to lend support to the administration by his presence, the people would like to have *swarajya* at his hands rather than the laying of the foundation stone of the Shivaji memorial and if he is not able to grant *swarajya* he should rather not come out to India at all. The bureaucracy, it says, is bringing out the Prince to play its own game and therefore the people should refuse to dance attendance upon him at its beck and call. The Prince is at liberty, it remarks, to come and see India for the *raj* belongs to him, but it regrets that the people will be unable to accord him a cordial welcome owing to the state of their minds.

The proposed Parsi address to the Prince of Wales.

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 25th Sept.

15. Commenting upon the proposed presentation of an address to the Prince on behalf of the Parsi community, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks:—It is clearly established that this is not for the first time that an address is presented on behalf of the community to a member of the Royal Family and, therefore, nobody can raise an objection to it on the ground of precedent. The presenting of the address has no concern whatsoever with the politics of the country. It is only as a symbol of the loyalty of the community to the Throne that the address is to be presented to the Prince of Wales coming here as the representative of the King-Emperor. Considering these facts it will be seen that in this affair there is no intention of offending the sister communities. We shall be really very sorry if any quarrel or bitterness is caused in the Parsi community over this non-controversial matter by that section of it who are converts to Extremism and who mix up politics with this question and create trouble for nothing.

Comments on the recommendations of the Repressive Laws Committee.

Servant of India (8), 29th Sept.

16. "The Committee have recommended the retention of the Bengal Regulation of 1818 and its Madras and Bombay counterparts in an amended form, the retention for the present of Part II of the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1908 and of the Seditious Meetings Act of 1911, but the immediate repeal of all other laws referred to them....... W should have been more pleased if the reservations mentioned above had not been made......... The States require very little protection nowadays against instigators, whatever might have been the condition of affairs in 1818. Now it is the subjects of States that need protection from the high-handedness of their rulers. There is every reason to fear that if the Regulations be retained, pressure will be brought to bear on Government to apply their provisions against subjects of States who might incur the displeasure of their rulers for awakening political aspirations in their fellow subjects......... The Committee anticipate widespread disorders in the near future as a result of the non-co-operation and Khilafat propaganda and in support of their opinion adduce many quotations of an inflammatory character from the speeches and writings of the propagandists. They also refer to the Moplah rebellion as justifying their forecast. We do not wish to treat their fears lightly. But one or two events that have happened after their report was drafted throw a fresh light on the situation. The administration of martial law in Malabár has been received very differently by the public from the administration of martial law in the Punjab. No doubt the attitude of the authorities has changed very much and is mainly responsible for the difference. But it is also evident that the people recognise the necessity for giving all necessary support to Government in an emergency. Another fact is that the arrest of the Ali Brothers has been received with rather unexpected calmness. In all probability the next development of the non-co-operation movement will be the adoption of general civil disobedience which may assume the form of refusal to pay taxes. But against this course special legislation will be of no avail for even ordinary law will be disobeyed. We, are therefore, of the opinion that all repressive laws should be immediately repealed. We take this opportunity to welcome the recommendation of the Committee that a Bill should be introduced on the lines of the Disorderly Public Meetings Act of England which makes disturbances at a public meeting an offence and provides a heavier penalty for disturbances during Parliamentary elections. The need for such protection against hooliganism has been specially felt in recent times and we should like the legistation to be introduced immediately, that is to say, without waiting for the next general election as the Committee seem to imply."

Indu Prakash (43), 26th and 27th Sept.

17. The *Indu Prakash* refers to the report of the Repressive Laws Committee, and says that as the Committee contained ultra-loyalists like Messrs. Gour and Samarth while none represented the nationalist, the Khilafatist or the Gandhi party or others of a really independent spirit found place on it, its report will not be appreciated by the public. It thinks that if a few men, like Messrs. Mazumdar, Kamat, Khaparde, etc., had been on the Committee, its report would have been of a different character and not of the semi-official nature it now presents. In its opinion, the report is on the whole disappointing though partly it accords with public opinion. The Committee should also have been authorised, the paper thinks, to deal with the provisions encroaching on public liberty contained in the Criminal Procedure Code, sections like 107, 108 and 144, and other Acts like the Police, the Forest and the Abkari, and remarks that a further Committee will have to be appointed hereafter to deal with them, for in some of them even a policeman's order is given the same status as that of law and the breach of it is made liable to punishment. Such full unrestricted authority having been given to Government officials in the ordinary laws they do not, as a matter of fact, feel need of any of the special laws. Some useless laws, the paper declares, will be repealed owing to the report of the Committee but others trenching upon the people's liberty will yet remain for some time to come. The importance of the report lies, the paper thinks, more in the general principles of administration which the Committee has laid down in it than in its actual recommendations. [In its next issue the paper remarks that the only thing the Committee has done is to recommend the doing away with eight enactments which had either gone out of operation or were on the point of expiry. As regards the enactments of which the Committee has recommended retention after certain amendments, the paper expresses the opinion that if the amendments are carried out the people of India would be permanently freed from the ever-hanging dagger of threatened deportations. Why should Government require the assistance of enactments authorising deportations without trial, the paper asks, when it possesses so many other laws under which agitators can be incarcerated ? As regards the other Acts of which the Committee has recommended the retention for a time in view of the present unrest in the country, the paper remarks that the reasons given for their temporary retention are not satisfactory. In its opinion the present non-co-operation and Khilafat movements will not last long as Mr. Gandhi has himself declared his determination to withdraw himself from agitation after December next, and moreover it is not proper to allow means of gagging constitutional agitation to remain in the hands of local officers.]

Kesari (110), 27th Sept.

18. The *Kesari* remarks that the new Press measure will no doubt somewhat improve the position of the Indian press. It however thinks that though the right of appeal to the High Court given in the case of forfeited literature is welcome, appeals should also be allowed to the District Courts for the sake of the convenience of people in the mofussil. It also complains that the Bill contains nothing to show as to when the new Act is to come into force and as to how the cases of securities taken or forfeited and of the presses declared forfeit under the old Acts are to be dealt with. It hopes to see these defects removed by the Select Committee.

Hindusthan (20), 26th Sept.

19. The *Hindusthan* declares that the repressive Laws Committee have insulted the non-co-operationists and the whole of India by recommending the retention of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Criminal Law amendment Act and endorses the view expressed by the *Independent* to the effect that in doing so the Committee were actuated by the motive of crushing the non-co-operation movement and that the Moderates have sacrificed the rights of citizenship for giving a blow to their political opponents.

Indu Prakash (43), 29th Sept.

20. The *Indu Prakash* welcomes the Indian Press Law Repeal and Amendment Bill, but referring to the power given in the measure to Government to declare forfeit any seditious newspaper or handbill, remarks that the provision is retrograde inasmuch as while under the present law the power of forfeiture is exercised after the taking of security, under the new measure it will be exercised without any previous warning. It hopes that the select committee will provide for the giving of warnings before allowing the powers of forfeiture to be exercised. It especially appreciates the removal of the sections about taking security and declares that Government must be thanked for removing this dagger ever hanging over the heads of the conductors of newspapers.

Karnatak Vaibhav (83), 27th Sept.

21. Commenting on the recommendations of the Committee on Repressive Laws the *Karnatak Vaibhav* says :—Although there was a non-official majority in the Committee it was wholly made up of Moderate luminaries. The Rowlatt Act died the moment it was born. The bureaucracy therefore wanted to get rid of its corpse by some means or other. As to the Defence of India Act, it being a war measure would soon have lapsed of itself. Thus in recommending the repeal of these Acts the committee did not benefit the country in any way worth mentioning. It merely served the interests of the bureaucracy. The vileness of the Committee is evidenced by its recommendations not to cancel the Seditious Meetings Act and the Conspiracy Act. It is clear from their report that the Moderate luminaries, having mortaged their reason to the bureaucracy, have only danced to its tune. The Committee are of opinion that there should no longer be such acts as Rowlatt Acts on the Statute Book as the people have been granted increased political liberty. If that be so, will not the same arguments apply to the Seditious Meetings Act and the Conspiracy Act ? The weakness of the Committee lies in their longing to crush the non-co-operation movement and thus create a favourable atmosphere for the working of the Reforms. An effort has been made to support their recommendations by quotations from the speeches of the late Mr. Gokhale; but the Committee has quite overlooked the opinion of such authorities on Law as the late Sir Rash Behari Ghosh and others. They have reiterated like parrots the very platitudes which the bureaucracy is in the habit of repeating for us so often and with such untiring energy. The Committee affects to have confidence in the present Legislative Council. If that be so the cancelling or otherwise of these acts could easily have been left to them without the Committee expressing its opinion one way or the other. The Committee says that there is a possibility of the spread of Bolshevism in this country, of conspiracies and terrible secret machinations. So long as the bureaucracy does not trust the people it is not likely to be free from the terror arising from such imaginary bogies.

Comments on the appointment of the Lytton Committee.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Sept.

22. "The committee recently appointed under the presidency of Lord Lytton, Under Secretary of State for India, to enquire into the position of the Indian students in England, has already made some fuss. But neither the composition of the committee nor the auspices under which it is working has inspired confidence in its capacity to uphold the interests of Indian students. The Assembly has done well in refusing to let the Government of India waste further Indian money on a vitiated inquiry. The country at large has never reposed any trust in the Indian Students Department. And with good reason, too, because the arrangement, on the face of it, is punitive in character and implies that Indian students are either too dangerous or too idiotic to be trusted alone while abroad. No restrictions whatsoever exist on the movenents of colonial students visiting Great Britain and there is no reason why Indian students alone should be humiliated by the imposition of a subtle despotism over them. If Lord Lytton's committee earnestly desires to improve the position of Indian students and obtain increased educational facilities for them at the British Universities, it cannot do better than tell the India Office promptly to shut down the Cromwell Road organization and also make the Universities fully realize that a stepmotherly treatment of Indian students will only mean greater strain to the already strained relations between India and England. The question is no longer one of grace on the part of the Universities or of benediction by an effets and obsolescent Government department. The question now is and will continue to be: Are the professions of racial equality sincere and are the English willing to see that the barriers that constantly remind Indians of their racial inferiority (so called) and humiliate them, are swept away? It is not yet too late to mend matters. Lord Lytton's committee will be doing credit to itself by taking full note of the feeling among Indians both in India and abroad, and recommending the prompt ending of the Cromwell Road establishment, which has become notoriously galling to the self-respect of Indian students."

Comments on the Bombay Rent Act Committee's recommendations.

Jam-e-Jamshed (21), 27th Sept.

23. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* remarks that the information has been given out that the report of the Committee appointed by the Government of Bombay to consider the question of continuing the Rent Act is now ready, and that it has recommended by a majority that landlords should be allowed to make an increase of 33 per cent. over the rents in force in 1915. Another recommendation of the Committee, according to the paper, is that the Rent Act should not be prolonged beyond two or three years more. The paper declares that neither of these recommendations will meet with the approval of the general public. The tenant class is for the most part made up of poor and middle class people, who are being crushed under the great burden of high prices, and they cannot afford to pay such a great increase as that of 33 per cent. In the opinion of the paper, an increase of 25 per cent. would suffice in the interests of both the landlords and tenants. As for the period within which the Rent Act should remain in force, the paper does not think that there will be any early improvement in the present conditions with regard to house accommodation and that if the tenants do not continue to receive the protection of the Rent Act for another ten years, a great hardship would be inflicted upon them.

Comments on the compensation offered to the Mulshi Peta agriculturists.

Kesari (111), 27th Sept.

24. The *Kesari* characterises the compensation proposed to be given by Government for the lands to be submerged by the Mulshi Petha Dam Project as quite the reverse of liberal, and also hints that there are likely to be mainpulations in the matter of the classification of the lands. It however remarks that it is no use discussing the matter as the Mavlas are prepared under no circumstances to surrender their holdings. It refers to the advice given by Government to the Mavlas not to be guided by the counsel of outsiders and wants to know as to who are actuated by real sympathy for the Mavlas—the officials who are going to deprive them of their lands to enable the Bombay people to have electric fans or those who are prepared to sacrifice themselves to save the lands of the Mavlas. It asks the Collector first to consider whether his action in expropriating thousands of Mavlas has the sanction of morality and then to take any further steps he wants to take. It would be better for him, it thinks, to refrain even now from taking a step that would earn for him the curses of thousands of agriculturists.

The Mulshi Peta Passive resistance movement.

Mahratta (6), 2nd Oct.

***25.** " On November 7th will expire the period of truce entered into by the Mavlas and the Tata Power Company in May last. The truce, as our readers know, left the Mavlas victors on the field.......... But much water has flown under the bridges since then. The Company had to eat the humble pie on the last occasion because of its many sins of omission and commission, legal and otherwise. The Government also observed strict neutrality in the matter not because of its appreciation of the justice of the cause of the Mavlas but because of the absence of a *locus standi* in the matter. But now the necessary agreement between the Company and the Government has been entered into and the Company to-day struts out proudly under the protecting wings of the Government. Thus the struggle becomes triangular, the Company and the Government pooling their resources together in the nefarious task of depriving the Mavlas of their hearths and homes, their temples and their villages, their traditions and their pride. Left to itself, the Company has shown its inability to continue the works and it has, therefore, now invoked the aid of the Government to set their grinding machinery of law in motion. Notices have been already issued and published in the *Government Gazette* under Section 6 of the notorious Land Acquisition Act and the land-grabbing continues merrily. And now, to top all, comes the notification issued by the Collector of Poona on 8th September last, notifying to the people that the Government have decided to acquire the lands in Mulshi Valley for the Tata Power Company........... It is a bold challenge thrown down by the Government to the Mavlas with a clear hint of the consequences. The mailed fist is also in evidence. Mr. Gupte, a member of the local Legislative Council, has pertinently interpellated the Government asking them to let him know as to who could buy the lands in the Mulshi Peta at the rates given above during the last ten years. The question, whatever may be the answer vouchsafed to it, goes deep and reveals the hollowness of the whole transaction. The notification has at the end a kick at the leaders of the Satyagraha who are condemned with the epithet 'irresponsible'. It need not be said that abuse of an opponent argues but weakness of the cause of the abuser. The Poona leaders have everything to lose and nothing to gain from a personal point of view and we can do nothing better than to fling the abuse back with equel force and greater contempt. It would not be out of place, at this stage, to re-mention the principles involved in this struggle. The Mavlas and their leaders rightly assert that no one has any power to deprive another of his lands, homesteads and temples without the free consent of the person that is deprived even under operations of a law. The Tata Power Company is purely a business concern and their project of the Mulshi dam is purely a business proposition. .... The question is not of money; it is of a principle......... It will be clear to the outsider who may not be acquainted with facts that this is a struggle for a principle, for breaking down the autocracy sanctioned by the Land Acquisition Act and for the maintenance of inviolability of individual right of holding the land and other property against all intruders, the Company and Government included. This justifies the cry of 'land or death' of the Mavlas.

Matters have gone too far and unless Government break off their unholy alliance with the Company and sympathetically appreciate the people's point of view, the situation bids fair to assume serious proportions. Already the sword of brute-force is being rattled in the scabbard. The Government will bring into operation all the offensive and defensive weapons in their legal armoury to coerce the Mavlas and their leaders and brute-force with all its hideousness will shine triumphantly over the vanquished Mavalas. But whose is the real glory ? The Mavlas will fight and suffer for a holy cause, the Company will strive after unjustifiable and, therefore, filthy extra lucre and the Government will cover itself with eternal shame for participating in this open day-light robbery under the garb of maintaining the dignity of law."

Lokasangraha (116), 30th Sept.

26. The *Lokasangraha* refers to the reported decision of the Mavlas in the Mulshi Petha to resort to Satyagraha in the event of the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Company resuming work on the dam in November next and declares that if the leaders could bring about a sympathetic Satyagraha movement, embracing the whole of Maharashtra, it would produce an excellent effect from the point of view of the Mavlas. It also writes :—This is mainly an affair of Indians. We cannot expect the English to have any sympathy for the Mavlas. They are enjoying themselves here by the grace of God and in the event of their luck going against them they will return to their own country. Many rulers like the English came here, enjoyed themselves some years and then disappeared into the womb of Time. It is the duty of the Indian Members of the Legislative and Executive Councils and the Ministers to safeguard the interests of the Mavlas and certainly not that of a Hayward or a George Lloyd. Why should these latter worry themselves about the Mavlas ? They will certainly spare no pains to safeguard the interests of those whose wellbeing they have at heart ! There are not a few Indians connected with the administration of this Presidency. It is the duty of these men to take up the cause of the Mavlas when their hearths and homes and their places of worship are threatened with destruction.

Proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office.

Sind Observer (9), 21st Sept.

27. "If Great Britain is anxious to transfer Aden to the Colonial Office, let her pay all the money spent by India on Aden for about a century. To take the place away after being fully developed with Indian money is doing injustice to India. And what of the wishes of the people of Aden, a large proportion of whom are Indians ? Why should they be taken away from the enlightened administration of Bombay and be placed under Somaliland which is a miserable Crown Colony ? Are the wishes of the people of Aden to be taken into no consideration at all in spite of high falutin about self-determination ? We think the India Office and Colonial Office should not, amongst themselves, dispose of a matter like this in a way befitting the Great Mogul only. The Government of India is intimately concerned in the matter and a debate must be raised in the Legislative Assembly firmly ventilating the Indian point of view in the matter."

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 2nd Oct., Eng. cols.

***28.** Referring to the propsal to transfer Aden to the Colonial Office, the *Kaiser-i-Hind* remarks :—"There are various valid reasons why the proposed transfer should not take place....... The history of Aden is so intimately associated with the history of British India that the former has come to be recognised as an integral part of the latter....... From a military point of view, Aden is the key of the most important naval highway to India, and as such it is but fair that India should hold the key herself for her own defence. Now that she has been placed on the path to self-government, it would savour of distrust in her capacity to enjoy it if she were deprived at the very outset of one of the chief strategic centres of her naval and military defence. But even more important than these considerations, which deal with the future status of India in the Empire, is the primary consideration of the interests of those Indian residents of Aden who have settled there for commercial or other purposes. The general attitude of European residents of Crown Colonies towards Asiatics, especially Indians, is too well known, and it is but natural that the Indian residents of Aden should feel misgivings for their future if the port is transferred to the

Colonial Office. We have before our eyes the example of East Africa where the Colonials are setting up a strong agitation against Indians merely on account of colour prejudice, despite the fact that the Indians have settled in the country long before them and have contributed the largest share in the development of the Colony. What guarantee is there that a repetition of the same story will not occur in the case of Aden at some future date? The bitter experience of all the humiliations that Indians have undergone both in the Crown Colonies and the Dominions has left on their minds an impression too deep to be erased by the mere verbal assurances of Mr. Montagu and Mr. Dennis Bray that the interests and status of Indians would be safeguarded."

Mr. De Valera's fight for the independence of Ireland.

Hindusthan (20), 30th Sept.

29. The *Hindusthan* gives a quotation from Mr. Bonar Law's speech delivered in 1920 in which he declared that Dominion Self-Government means that the inhabitants of a country have control of their whole destiny, and declares that the galling conditions under which Britain wants to bind down Ireland while making a pretence of giving her Dominion Home Rule are such as amount to taking away with the left hand what is given with the right. It holds up to India's admiration the attitude of Mr. De Valera who is reported to have said that the British Empire will have perished before Ireland would sacrifice its last man and concludes thus:—Is India prepared to make such a sacrifice for *Swaraj*? Only three months are left for India to answer the question.

England's difficulties in Ireland, Egypt and India.

Bombay Samachar (56), 29th Sept.

30. The *Bombay Samachar* refers to England's difficulties in Ireland, Egypt and India. It believes that the Irish question will be satisfactorily solved if it is referred to the arbitration of a neutral power. As for Egypt it expresses hope that Great Britain will trust Egypt and recognise the necessity of placing it on the footing of self-governing colonies with a view to putting an end to trouble in that country. It concludes by expressing confidence that Britain will not allow India to be another Ireland and that her statesmen will be able to solve the Indian question in a satisfactory manner.

Comments on the installation of Emir Feisul as King of Iraq.

Mufid-e-Rozgar (172), 3rd Oct.

31. Commenting upon the installation of Emir Feisul as King of Iraq the *Mufid-e-Rozgar* describes it as a farce and remarks that the Muslim world will not recognise him as King of Mesopotamia. The paper prophesies that Feisul's accession to the throne will usher in a new war. It declares that Feisul should be punished for his rebellious attitude towards his real master, and believes that the Turkish Nationalists will never allow an usurper like him to rule. The paper predicts that the time is not far distant when the whole of Mesopotamia will be ablaze with warfare and advises the British ministers to evacuate Iraq and earn the gratitude of the Musalmans by impressing love on their hearts.

The Bolshevists and the British Government.

Lokamanya (114), 29th Sept.

32. The *Lokamanya* refers to the complaint made by the British Foreign Office to the Russian Soviet Government about its having broken the commercial agreement with the British Government by continuing its anti-British propaganda in various countries. In the opinion of the paper the root of the complaint appears to lie in the apprehensions entertained by the British Government about the delicate unemployment situation at present prevailing in England. It points out that Bolshevist principles have already found a footing in England and may at any time be expected to break out in the shape of labour disturbances. It refers to the replies given by the Russian Government to the charges made against it and remarks that the present move on the part of the British Foreign Office seems also to have been intended to oust Bolshevist influence from Afghanisthan in which object the Dobbs mission seems to have failed. It expresses the apprehension that if the mission returns in October next without having gained its objects, it is likely that the British Government taking advantage of the present helpless position of Russia owing to the terrible famine may undertake an invasion of Afghanisthan during the coming cold season, in order to force the Amir's hands.

Reflections on the thefts on the G. I. P. Railway by certain European employees.

Rajakaran (131), 25th Sept.

33. Commenting upon the thefts on the G. I. P. Railway in which some European employees of the Railway Company are implicated, the *Rajakaran* writes:—While the bureaucracy are looting the people in broad daylight, their kith and kin elsewhere are doing the same thing by methods less exposed to public gaze. On the whole they are all thieves. While some are engaged in legalised loot, that in which others are engaged has not the sanction of the law. The Europeans in India have become degenerated and there are signs that our dependence upon others is about to come to an end. Immoral people cannot long exercise authority over people who are more God-fearing. There is no doubt that the days of European domination are numbered.

The Moplah rising.

Musafir (164), 17th Sept.

34. Popular opinion ascribes the Moplah rising to the attempts of non-co-operators to carry their movement among a fanatical people. Non-co-operators on the other hand regard it to be due to official repression and local grievances. But whatever the origin of the outbreak, Indian Home Rulers ought to learn a lesson from the outrageous conduct of the Moplahs, that it is easier to excite rather than check an uncivilised people. We are sure this trouble would have spread to other parts of the country had there been no strong Government like the British ruling over India at the present moment. Home Rulers might say that a National Indian Government would have quelled the rising with equal effectiveness. But they are mistaken. The strength of the British Government depends mostly on the European troops who can never prove false to them. A National Indian Government on the other hand would have to rely on its own Hindu and Mahammadan troops who are likely to side with their co-religionists the moment they are asked to put down a popular disturbance. Thus under a National Government the maintenance of peace and order would become impossible. We are, therefore, strongly of opinion that we should proceed slowly and attain our end by constitutional means only.

Navjivan (69), 25th Sept.

35. Mr M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—We have no doubt received a great set-back owing to the Moplah riots. Hundreds of Moplahs have lost their lives; even now they are being massacred. The result has been that the Swadeshi movement has been stopped in Malabar. It was the intention of Government to stop it, and they have got ample opportunity of destroying it altogether owing to the introduction of martial law. It is reported that when martial law was introduced, the *khadi* shirts of those who had put them on were torn and burnt. The *khadi* caps, spirning-wheels, etc., were also burnt. The result was that the *khadi* caps and the spinning-wheels which were used to be in evidence in the market of Calicut disappeared in one day. Had the Moplahs not gone mad, such a grievous result would not have ensued. We put on *khadi* and the *khadi* cap believing it our duty to do so. Nobody can make us give up *khadi* by threatening or frightening us. For its sake, that is, for the sake of Swadeshi we must be ready to die and we should work with greater enthusiasm for the spread of *khadi*.

Comments on the forcible conversions of Hindus by Moplahs.

Lokasangraha (116), 29th Sept.

36. The *Lokasangraha* refers to the forcible conversions of Hindus in Malabar, twits the Hindus with meekly submitting to the oppression of the Muhammadans, and declares that the latter would have moved heaven and earth if their co-religionists had suffered in like manner at the hands of the Hindus. It welcomes the decision of Dr. Kurtakoti, the Shankaracharya of Karvir Peeth, that the converted men can be re-admitted into Hinduism. It, however, asks Hindus to give up their antiquated ideas about religion, and to re-admit freely without elaborate ceremonies into the fold of Hinduism people who may be converted to other faiths by force.

Navjivan (69), 25th Sept.

37. Referring to the forcible conversions of Hindus to Islam by the Moplahs in Malabar, Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan* :—Let us consider this question a little further. The Government do not cut off the tuft of hair on our heads forcibly, but have they allowed our souls to remain with us? To me it appears that the violence of the Moplahs is trifling when compared with the violence of the Government. The Government officials deprived in a moment both Hindus and Muhammadans of their faith by wresting their *khadi* from the people. Who has deprived the Hindus and Moslems of their manhood? We are unable even to stand up against the armed force of Government. We were not in such a degenerate state in the days of Moghul rule. I am able even now to hit upon the means to oppose by means of arms the armed force of the Moplahs but though I claim to be somewhat conversant with the science of arms still neither can I find out, nor could the Ali Brothers find out, the use of arms against the armed force of the Government.

Connection of the Moplah riots with the Khilafat agitation.

Bharatvasi (157), 21st Sept.

38. Conflicting accounts have appeared in the press as regards the number of forcible conversions made by the Moplahs. The Congress Executive Committee's estimate of three only is simply ridiculous when placed side by side with that given by Mr. Rajgopal, the principal supporter of Mahatma Gandhi in Madras, who says that fifty Hindus have been forcibly converted to Mahomedanism. What is the cause of the conversion and the Moplah rising? It is the inability of Moplahs to understand what is Ahinsa or non-violence. Mr. Rajgopal has also taken that view. The non-co-operators however say that there is no connection between the Khilafat movement and the Moplah outrages. How can this assertion be made when some office-bearers of the Khilafat Committee themselves are involved in some of them. No one of course has charged any Khilafat leaders like Moulana Abdul Bari or the Ali Brothers with having instigated the Moplahs. But at the same time it cannot be denied that when religious passions are excited during the progress of a politico-religious movement, the ordinary man forgets Ahinsa and becomes a religious fanatic, aggressive and uncontrollable. This is true not only of the Muslims but the Hindus also. Non-co-operators and Khilafatists should clearly bear this in mind and stop spreading their doctrines any more.

Praja Mitra and Parsi (28), 27th Sept.

39. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* discusses at length the probable serious consequences that would follow, if the right claimed by the Khilafatists were granted, *viz.*, to preach, even against the law of the land, to the Muhammadans serving in the Army and the Navy that it is against their religion so to serve, and to advise them to leave the service. In this connection the paper refers to the forcible conversions of Hindus to Islam in Malabar by the Moplahs in the belief that by doing so they were rendering a service to their faith. It also recalls the instance of a minor girl forcibly converted to Islam in North India some time back. The paper further reminds its readers of the days of Muhammadan rule in India and the various taxes imposed on the non-Muslims and it asks those who claim the above right whether they will allow the British to impose similar taxes following in the footsteps of the Muhammadan rulers. Then the paper goes on to discuss the effects of granting such freedom to preach at will not only under British rule but even after India is self-governing and asks the readers to remember the Katarpur riots case. The paper concludes that religious freedom is undoubtedly a precious privilege but it must have also its limits, in the absence of which there is no guarantee that we shall not have to pass again through those disastrous Jehads, crusades and similar religious warfares of the dark ages.

His Excellency the Viceroy and the Moplah riots in Malabar.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Sept.

40. "The fact is that Lord Reading has surrendered himself to his entourage and succumbed to the seductions of Simla. He came to India to do justice after

hearing all sides. It is six months since he landed on these shores. He went straight to Simla and Simla has conquered him. Not once has he descended from the heights to move among the people, to find out from them what ails them. It is true he has had prolonged interviews with Mahatma Gandhi. Those interviews had their effect for the time being inasmuch as they led to the temporary abandonment of the unwise decision to prosecute the Ali Brothers. Since the interviews, however, Simla has had ample scope to reassert its charms. The only antidote against those charms is to be face to face with the people and their true representatives. Lord Reading did not try that antidote. The Moplah outbreak afforded him an excuse to break from his influences, to descend from the heights, to move among the people, to discover the true causes of the outbreak and to apply the right remedies. His Excellency failed to avail himself of the opportunity and to profit by the blunder of Lord Chelmsford. On the contrary, he has repeated the blunder by practically giving a free hand to his provincial lieutenants with the result that, as the *Hindu* says, 'judging from the way martial law is being used in Malabár one is led to think that history is beginning to repeat itself in a fashion that must be a revelation to those who believe in the chastening effects of the Punjab episode'. That is, however, not all. Lord Reading has committed a graver blunder, in allowing himself to be stampeded by the Moplah outbreak into embarking on a policy of intensive repression. The response which the country has made to the new policy has, however, demonstrated how successfully the people have disciplined themselves and assimilated the doctrine of non-violent non-co-operation. The complete success with which the people have controlled their feelings shows, as the *Tribune* says, 'how very far India has travelled during the last two years and a half towards its appointed goal'. Repression has never yet succeeded in achieving its purpose of overawing any people. Much less will it succeed in overawing a people who are successfully disciplining themselves and are determined to accept all sacrifices as are the Indian people. It is unfortunate that a statesman of the reputation and tradition of Lord Reading should fail to realise this and to employ the obvious means for an understanding and a reconciliation with the people."

Mr. Gandhi's manifesto in reply to the arrest of the Ali Brothers, etc., for tampering with troops.

Young India (11), 29th Sept.

41. "His Excellency the Governor of Bombay had warned the public some time ago that he 'meant business', that he was no longer going to tolerate the speeches that were being made. In his note on the Ali Brothers and others he has made clear his meaning. The Ali Brothers are to be charged with having tampered with the loyalty of the sepoy and with having uttered sedition. I must confess that I was not prepared for the revelation of such hopeless ignorance on the part of the Governor of Bombay. It is evident that he has not followed the course of Indian history during the past twelve months. He evidently does not know that the National Congress began to tamper with the loyalty of the sepoy in September last year, that the Central Khilafat Committee began it earlier and that I began it earlier still, for I must be permitted to take the credit or the odium of suggesting that India had a right openly to tell the sepoy and every one who served the Government in any capacity whatsoever that he participated in the wrongs done by the Government. The Conference at Karáchi merely repeated the Congress declaration in terms of Islam. Only a Musalman divine can speak for Islam, but speaking for Hinduism and speaking for nationalism, I have no hesitation in saying that it is sinful for any one, either as soldier or civilian, to serve this Government which has proved treacherous to the Musalmans of India and which has been guilty of the inhumanities of the Punjab. I have said this from many a platform in the presence of sepoys. And if I have not asked individual sepoys to come out, it has not been due to want of will but of ability to support them. I have not hesitated to tell the sepoy that if he could leave the service and support himself without the Congress or the Khilafat aid, he should leave at once. And I promise that as soon as the spinning-wheel finds an abiding place in every home and Indians begin to feel that weaving gives anybody any day an honourable livelihood, I shall not hesitate, at the peril of being shot, to ask the

Indian sepoy individually to leave his service and become a weaver. For has not the sepoy been used to hold India under subjection, has he not been used to murder innocent people at Jalianwala Bagh, has he not been used to drive away innocent men, women and children during that dreadful night at Chandpur, has he not been used to subjugate the proud Arab of Mesopotamia, has he not been utilised to crush the Egyptian? How can any Indian having a spark of humanity in him and any Musalman having any pride in his religion feel otherwise than as the Ali Brothers have done? The sepoy has been used more often as a hired assassin than as a soldier defending the liberty or the honour of the weak and the helpless. The Governor has pandered to the basest in us by telling us what would have happened in Malabár but for the British soldier or sepoy. I venture to inform His Excellency that Malabár Hindus would have fared better without the British bayonet, that Hindus and Musalmans would have jointly appeased the Moplahs, that possibly there being no Khilafat question there would have been no Moplah riot at all, that at the worst supposing that Musalmans had made common cause with the Moplahs, Hinduism would have relied upon its creed of non-violence and turned every Musalman into a friend, or Hindu valour would have been tested and tried. The Governor of Bombay has done a disservice to himself and his cause (whatever it might be), by fomenting Hindu-Muslim disunion and has insulted the Hindus, by letting them infer from his note that Hindus are helpless creatures unable to die for or defend their hearth, home or religion. If, however, the Governor is right in his assumptions, the sooner the Hindus die out the better for humanity. But let me remind His Excellency that he has pronounced the greatest condemnation upon British rule, in that it finds Indians to-day devoid of enough manliness to defend themselves against looters, whether they are Moplah Musalmans or infuriated Hindus of Arrah. His Excellency's reference to the sedition of the Ali Brothers is only less unpardonable than his reference to the tampering. For he must know that sedition has become the creed of the Congress. Every non-co-operator is pledged to preach disaffection towards the Government established by law. Non-co-operation, though a religious and strictly moral movement, deliberately aims at the overthrow of the Government, and is, therefore, legally seditious in terms of the Indian Penal Code. But this is no new discovery. Lord Chelmsford knew it. Lord Reading knows it. It is unthinkable that the Governor of Bombay does not know it. It was common cause that so long as the movement remained non-violent, nothing would be done to interfere with it. But it may be urged that the Government has a right to change its policy when it finds that the movement is really threatening its very existence as a system. I do not deny its right. I object to the Governor's note because it is so worded as to let the unknowing public think that tampering with the loyalty of the sepoy and sedition were fresh crimes committed by the Ali Brothers and brought for the first time to His Excellency's notice. However, the duty of the Congress and Khilafat workers is clear. We ask for no quarter; we expect none from the Government. We did not solicit the promise of immunity from prison so long as we remained non-violent. We may not now complain if we are imprisoned for sedition. Therefore, our self-respect and our pledge require us to remain calm, unperturbed and non-violent. We must have our appointed course to follow. We must reiterate from a thousand platforms the formula of the Ali Brothers regarding the sepoys, and we must spread disaffection openly and systematically till it pleases the Government to arrest us."

The arrest of the Ali Brothers and other leaders.

Swaraj (171), 28th Sept.

42. Government have started repression in right earnest. Moulanas Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali, Dr. Kitchlew and Pir Majdid have already been arrested. According to Government Press Note several other persons are also to be arrested. It looks as if all national workers will soon go to jail. This is a sure sign of our victory. This powerful Government which has terrorised the whole world has after all come to feel the effects of non-co-operation. For us this is a time of great trial. We must face it with the courage born of our undying faith in the justness of our cause. This is no occasion for anger or bitterness. Our

creed being non-violent non-co-operation, we must strictly adhere to it, however provoking the actions of Government be. We can reach our goal by non-violence only. We, therefore, appeal to all, and Muhammadans in particular, to keep absolutely calm and collected and carry on the national work with redoubled vigour until freedom is attained.

New Times (7), 22nd Sept.

43. " Peace and order in Karáchi—after the arrest of Ali Brothers and other leaders. What a disappointment to the bureaucracy !...... The bureaucracy believes in force; the mounted police is guarding certain quarters in Karáchi, the mounted police and military will be in evidence again at the forthcoming trial on Monday. They will, we have every hope, be disappointed for the struggle we are in is of a moral character, and to the bureaucracy's power we oppose our moral strength. Repression thrives on the people's violence and Government would only be too happy to shut down the whole movement if there be some riots in the country. The people have by wise self-restraint snatched from the bureaucracy a big chance to damn the movement....... The arrest of the leaders is a challenge to 77 millions of Muslims and many millions of Hindus. The challenge has, so far, been taken up in the right spirit....... Let us work for the release of innocent political workers not by violence, not by petitions to Government but by working out the programme of non-co-operation with a view to establish a Swaraj Parliament. We can establish the Parliament if we are united, if we are non-violent, if we make the Swadeshi campaign a success and if we develop the will to suffer. Thousands and thousands of us should be ready to go to jail. Some of us, many of us, may perish in the struggle; but our sufferings will be a witness to the world of our faith in freedom."

Gramya Swarajya (62), 27th Sept. ; *Praja Bandhu* (27), 25th Sept. ; *Gujarat Mitra* (15), 25th Sept. ; *Deshi Mitra* (60), 29th Sept.

44. The expected has happened The Ali Brothers have been arrested and they will be prosecuted at Karáchi. The people can easily guess the result of the prosecution. The main question we have to consider is whether the law exists for the protection of the people or their destruction. Do not the laws exist for protecting the people and maintaining peace and order ? If so, what purpose is served by arresting those who can maintain peace and order and by exciting the minds of people ? There must be some purpose behind the arrest of the Ali Brothers. The arrest must have been made either to prove that the laws do not exist for maintaining peace and order but for the use of the authorities, or for showing to the people that Government have no other course open to them. In the latter case the people should maintain a firm attitude with the conviction that their demands are quite legitimate. The people have made a strong resolve and have commenced an equally strong agitation. But since Government are not willing to part with their powers they have resorted to repression. However, if we remain united and firm in non-violent non-co-operation, we shall soon reach our goal. [The *Praja Bandhu* writes :—The Government of Bombay has at length unsheathed its sword ! The Government that depends on material wealth and earthly resources for its strength never fails to make use of them for maintaining its privileges though it is open to question whether these material resources enable it to secure success. The people that resolve to render the material resources of Government useless by their soul force can attain to independence in a short time. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is going to visit India in a couple of months. At present the hearts of Indian Moslems have been grieved by the news of the invasion of Angora by the Greeks. In these circumstances we do not think that Government have acted wisely in arresting and prosecuting the popular leaders of the Moslems. The *Gujarat Mitra* writes :—Government have arrested seven persons in connection with resolutions passed at the Khilafat Conference in its recent sessions at Karáchi. Why do not Government arrest other Congress leaders for a similar offence ? We are opposed to non-violent non-co-operation and still believe that we can secure justice from Government in the Khilafat and Punjab affairs by co-operating with them. Lord Reading has not been able to put an end to the non-co-operation movement during the six months of his administration. We are convinced that Government will not make any compromise with the non-co-operators. But Mr. Gandhi has acquired

so much power in the country that it would not be possible to put down his movement and Government would be involving themselves in trouble by trying to do so. The *Deshi Mitra* writes:—Will Government be able to remove discontent by the arrests or can they hope to be able to do so? Not at all. On the contrary the minds of the people will be inflamed and Govermnent will fail to achieve their object. The only way open to Government to pacify the people is to accept their demands.]

Insaf (66), 23rd Sept.; *Political Bhomiyo* (71), 30th Sept.

45. The Ali Brothers have been arrested for supporting the resolution of the Khilafat Conference asking the Moslems not to join the army. It has been proved long since that the resolution in question is quite in accord with the teachings of the holy Koran and still Government consider the people, who have advised people to put the teachings of the Koran into practice, as offenders and have locked them up in the Karáchi Jail for the present. Before making these arrests Government proscribed a Fatwa published by the learned Ulemas of India which cited the teachings of the Koran in support of the non-co-operation movement. We fail to understand the wisdom of Government in taking these steps. The Koran also contains the following:—'Resort to *Jehad* for the sake of Allah at the sacrifice of your body, mind and wealth.' Do Government mean to proscribe all such teachings? Government may clap all the non-co-operators into jail but they should neither proscribe the teachings of the Koran nor should they consider as offenders those persons who promulgate these teachings among the people. If Government are not preared to grant *swaraj* to the people and if they look upon the innocent people who strive for *swaraj* as rebels then Government may send their leaders to jail, and we would have nothing to say against it. The people on their part should take care not to cause any breach of the peace. Let us hope that both Government and the people will be careful in discharging their duty and that they will not use any brute force in the struggle. [The *Political Bhomiyo* writes:—The news of the arrest of the Ali Brothers must have been received with grief by the Indian Moslems. These brothers may have their own defects, there may be serious difference of opinion about their method of work, but in spite of all this there would be no exaggeration on our part in stating that all Moslems sympathise with them. We are of the opinion that if Muhammadans had persisted in their religious movement without associating themselves with the pernicious movement of non-co-operation they would not have had any reason to suffer disappointment and harm. However, we cannot help saying that the attitude of Government in the matter is rather strange. The wirepullers are allowed to do their work while their victims are clapped into jail. The leader of the non-co-operation movement can be held guitly of a graver offence than those committed by the Ali Brothers and he himself makes an open confession of the fact.]

Lokamanya (114), 28th and 29th Sept.

46. The *Lokamanya* says that the arrest of the Ali Brothers has given a fresh impetus to the boycott movement. Another gratifying result of the arrests, according to the paper, is that the Madras Presidency which was comparatively behind up till now in the matter of non-co-operation has made considerable progress in the desired direction. It also comments with satisfaction on the progress made by the non-co-operation movement among the student population in Bengal, as revealed by Sir Ashutosh Mukerji in his speech as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bengal, and expresses the hope that the All-India Congress Committee will make use of the present state of popular feeling in the country to inaugurate the Satyagraha movement in November next. [In the next issue the paper declares that the root of the prosecution of the Ali Brothers is to be found in the Repressive Laws Committee's report which has painted a most horrid picture of the present state of the country and attributes it to the non-co-operation and Khilafat movements. **It declares that the bureaucracy had long desired to prosecute the Brothers, but Lord Reading alone being against it the plan of confronting him with the Repressive Laws Committee's conclusion appears to have been devised by Sir Willam Vincent and his moderate co-adjutor Dr. Sapru, and regrets that Lord Rearding has at last been caught in the trap thus laid for him by the bureaucracy.]**

Shri Shivaji (143), 26th Sept.

47. Commenting upon the arrest of the Ali Brothers the *Shri Shiwaji* writes:—Do Government think that they would be able to remove the discontent in the country by such arrests? They are wrong if they believe that if they but clap into jail the leading non-co-operators the people will give an enthusiastic welcome to the Prince because of the absence of any one to preach *hartals*. They should have inquired into the causes of unrest before embarking upon a campaign of repression. They may plead helplessness in regard to the Khilafat wrong, but are they equally helpless in the case of the Punjab wrong? Why do they not bring to trial the offending officials? Why should these officials be paid pensions from the Indian treasury? Is it proper on the part of Government to prosecute the leaders on the plea of inciting to violence when they themselves first wronged the people? There will be discontent in the country so long as Government are not prepared to give justice to the people, even when they are perfectly able to do so and not only the non-co-operators but the whole country will cease to have any faith in British justice.

Shubhodaya (88), 22nd Sept.; *Arunodaya* (81), 26th Sept.

48. Referring to the arrest of the Ali Brothers and others the *Shubhodaya* says that seven leaders were arrested in secret and confined in dark rooms. It appears that arrangements were also made to delay the transmission by wire of the news of their arrest. From this it is clear that the authorities besides being afraid of touching the persons of these leaders were also uneccessarily obsessed with the fear that peace would be disturbed by their arrest. It is also probable that the authorities expected that these arrests would lead to breaches of the peace which would provide them with an opportunity to discredit the non-co-operation movement. The crime of the brothers is that they supported a certain resolution in the Karachi Conference. The gist of the resolution is that no member of the Islamic religion should serve the enemies of the Khilafat. This principle pervades through the sacred Koran. The Government may as well for that reason forbid the reading of the Koran in this country. We do not believe that Lord Reading adopted this policy of repression after a careful consideration of the whole problem. In our opinion he has not been able to disregard the advice of the hot-headed officials under him. [The *Arunodya* says that the bureaucracy has merely shown its meanness by arresting the Ali brothers and other national leaders.]

Director of Information and the Shankaracharya of the Sharda Peeth.

Lokasangraha (116), 25th Sept.

49. The *Lokasangraha* takes the Director of Information to task for describing the Shankaracharya of Sharda Peeth, one of the accused who are being prosecuted with the Ali Brothers, as an impostor. It points out that he is a learned divine and has a very large following and remarks that the Director has vented his spleen on him simply because he took part in politics. The paper calls on the Director to tender an apology to the people and to the *swami* for his attack on the latter.

Present repressive policy would prove injurious to the Empire.

Rajakaran (131), 25th Sept.

50. It was generally expected that Lord Reading would not fall a victim to the wiles of the bureaucracy and would not embark upon a policy of repression just on the eve of the Prince's visit to India. These hopes, however, have not been realised. The authorities seem to be determined to resort to repression with redoubled vigour. Both Egypt and Ireland are struggling to get free. It does not speak well for the statesmanship of England to incur the hostility of thirty crores of Indians at the very time when the Empire is in difficulties. History, however, teaches us that Imperial statesmen are always tempted to make an injudicious use of their power although they know that they are thereby doing a disservice to the state. They are able to maintain their power intact for some time by removing popular leaders and by employing the military to keep down unrest. But when wrongs are heaped upon wrongs, the Empire begins to fall to pieces. The next few years will show whether the British Empire proves an exception to this general rule or whether it too shares the fate of those that preceded it.

Responsibility of the nationalist leaders in the present unsettled state of the country.

Indu Prakash (43), 1st Oct.

51. The *Indu Prakash* refers to the present unsettled political conditions prevailing in the country and points out that people who have never given even a thought as to how the country is to be defended from foreign invasion, nay, who do not know how to keep even the gutters of a city like Poona clean, are bawling out for *swarajya* and abusing Government for not granting it at once. It also remarks that Mr. Ghandi's followers seem to be getting out of his control, though it is true that violence has not much been in evidence. It is not sure what effect the Ali Brothers' prosecution will have on the prevailing state of things. In its opinion this is the time of test of the nationalist leaders who have been creating unrest in the country throughout the last year, and it is to be seen whether they give the people the proper lead. It regrets that though there are many people in the country calling themselves Tilak's disciples there appears not one amongst them who possesses a thousandth part of his wisdom. The coming month, it says, seems to be full of anxiety and it is waiting to see whether the sparks resulting from the present friction between the people and the Government die out, or give rise to a great conflagration.

The potency and success of the non-co-operation movement.

Praja Bandhu (27), 25th Sept., Eng. cols.

52. "Long standing grievances against which Indians cried themselves hoarse for years together are being one by one removed with miraculous rapidity. [The paper here refers to the proposed repeal of repressive laws and proceeds :—] All this the co-operators may fondly claim to be the success of their efforts. But impartial observers cannot fail to observe the secret of their apparent success. The non-co-operators have created an atmosphere in which injustice and tyranny cannot last long. Injustice and tyranny last, because we submit to them. Once we refuse to submit to them, they are bound to disappear. Such is the potency of the matchless weapon of non-co-operation and if wisely wielded, it must bring us the object of our aspirations—*swaraj*."

The Khilafat agitation and the responsibility of the Government of India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Sept.

53. "Lord Reading has followed the misguided advice of those around him and has sanctioned a policy of repression without giving attention to the basic fact that the hearts of Muslims are lacerated and that a Government of India cannot rest until it has healed the wounds. Does Lord Reading realise that there would have been no non-co-operation movement if there had been no Khilafat and Punjab wrongs ? If his Government have found the effects embarrassing to themselves and have accordingly adopted a policy of repression and recently intensified it, have they earnestly attempted to remove the causes ? We earnestly ask Lord Reading what he and his Government have done in the matter of the Turkish Treaty to secure its revision in accordance with the dictates of justice and honour. The Moplah outbreak has, as we pointed out the other day, only stampeded Lord Reading into acquiescing in a policy of intensive repression. And in allowing himself to be so stampeded Lord Reading has proved his failure to grasp the reality of the situation and devise the right remedies. The failure is, however, mainly due to the fact that he has not shown himself to be stronger than the influences that surround him. The leaders of the non-co-operation movement have clearly shown him where the remedies for the situation lie. If His Excellency will not pay heed to what the non-co-operators have to say, let him pay heed to the advice of dispassionate observers in England—and, fortunately, there are a few such observers left in that country. 'The *Nation and the Athenæum* represents all that is best in English Liberalism of which Lord Reading is proud to be a votary. And this is the chief moral which this journal draws from the Moplah outbreak : 'These simple, ignorant men have been goaded to furious rebellion by what they have heard of our policy towards the Turks. The facts have certainly reached them in a distorted form, but the truth was bound to create anger even among educated and well-informed Moslems'."

Satyagraha in Sind.

Swaraj (171), 23rd Sept.

54. Terrible repression has begun in Sind to put down the non-co-operation movement. Government, however, is much mistaken if it believes that Sind can be cowed down by any severe measure. It is fully awake now and will give a fitting answer to the repressive policy of Government. A Conference of National workers is to take place at Karáchi on the 25th instant to consider what steps Sind should take in regard to Civil Disobedience and Swadeshi. Let us hope it will propose a programme of work that will upset the Sind officials. We expect that the great fight of Satyagraha will commence in this province. But before the Provincial Congress Committee permits it to begin, it should impress upon the people the absolute necessity of non-violence under all circumstances. Complete non-violence is the condition of our success. And we hope it will be faithfully observed by all.

Jam-e-Jamshed (21), 28th Sept.

55. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* express regret at the resolution passed by the Sind Provincial Congress Committee to start civil disobedience in the province from 1st November, It hopes that even now common sense will prevail in Sind and that during His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' stay in this country no such step will be taken as will bring a stain on India's great reputation for hospitality. The paper expresses surprise that educated non-co-operators have not yet realised the great dangers underlying civil disobedience.

Why Indians should boycott foreign cloth.

Shakti (170), 20th Sept.

56. Having despaired of getting any redress from the British Government for the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs, the Indian National Congress, held at Nagpur in December 1920, decided in favour of non-co-operation and declared its firm resolve to secure *swaraj* within one year. Since then Indians have been engaged in a non-violent war with this satanic Government. Many of them have sacrificed their all for the Motherland, and gone to jail. An important part of the non-co-operation programme is the boycott of all foreign cloth by 30th September. It is a trifling sacrifice when compared with what true lovers of liberty might do to gain their cherished object. But Sind unfortunately has, so far, fallen behind the rest of India in this respect. We would appeal to all the Sindhis to remember the injunction of Mahatma Ghandi and the parting words of their brave and patriotic countrymen who have gone to jail, and take a solemn vow not to have anything to do with foreign cloth after 30th September. We hope our appeal will not fall on deaf ears.

How *swarajya* is to be achieved by boycott of foreign cloth.

Kesari (110), 27th Sept.

57. The *Kesari* describes how *swarajya* is to be achieved through boycott of foreign cloth. In its opinion the bureaucracy, though outwardly independent, is solely dependent for its position on the support of the European mercantile community which, it points out, has all along opposed the reforms and is sure to again put forward its strong opposition when they come to be further revised. It is thus plain, says the paper, that in fighting for *swarajya* the first attack must be delivered against this commercial community and that is what is being done by the boycott movement. The stoppage of the 60 crores of cloth imports from England, the paper thinks, will give a severe shock to the European commercial community and thereby render the bureaucracy impotent. The way to deliver an attack on the bureaucracy itself will thus, according to the paper, be made open. It therefore calls upon the people to concentrate all their efforts on the strengthening of the boycott movement and on the production of indigenous cloth, without being misled by pseudo-economists.

A complaint against the Irrigation Department.

Kesari (110), 27th Sept.

58. The *Kesari* refers to the complaints of the holders of *bagayat* lands on the Mhaswad Canal and declares that great oppression is being exercised on them by the levy of unjust irrigation charges in spite of written agreements and prevailing practice to the contrary. It also points out that all complaints made in the matter to the authorities by the Pandharpur-Mhaswad Irrigators' Association have been of no avail. It expresses its apprehension that the present policy of the Irrigation Department will only end in irrevokable loss both to the ryats and to the Department.

Corruption in the Government Services.

Bombay Samachar (56), 27th Sept.

59. The *Bombay Samachar* dwells upon the evil of corruption prevailing in certain branches of public service whereby ordinary clerks lay by thousands in the course of a few years and higher officers have banking accounts of lakhs of rupees and expresses gratification at the appeal made by the Punjab Government to the people to co-operate with them in stamping out the evil from their midst. It suggests to the Punjab Government to utilise the services of the C. I. D. to investigate into the matter and hopes that other provincial governments will also take steps to put down the evil.

The Sind Commissionership should be abolished.

Bharatvasi (157), 20th Sept.; *Sind Vasi* (169), 20th Sept.

60. We are glad that the Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai has moved a proposition in the Indian Legislative Assembly for the abolition of all Divisional Commissionerships, including the Commissioner in Sind. In our opinion, other Commissioners may be retained, but the Commissioner in Sind should be done away with at once. The people of Sind have had a very bitter experience of the Commissioner's rule which alone is responsible for repression in Sind. The old plea of distance cannot hold now. By rail or boat Bombay is at present only 36 hours' run from here. The public should therefore agitate strongly for abolition, so that the Assembly may pass Mr. Harchandrai's motion. [The *Sindvasi* remarks:—Sind has fallen behind the rest of the Presidency in the matter of Local Self-Government. It has never received sufficient grants for its provincial roads. Its complaints never reach the Bombay Government. It got no benefit from the Reforms. There is greater repression in it than in the Presidency proper. The responsibility for all these things lies on the rule of the Commissioner in Sind. It should therefore end at once. It is urged by some that the abolition of the Commissioner in Sind will entail great delay in the disposal of work. As a remedy against it we suggest that the Governor of Bombay should pass three or four months every year in Karachi. We hope members from the Presidency will support the Hon'ble Mr. Harchandrai's motion.]

Comments on the Government of India's refusal to grant sanction to the introduction of Mr. Gupte's Drink Prohibition Bill in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Gujarati (14), 2nd Oct., Eng. cols.

*61. "Mr. Gupte of Poona has not succeeded in obtaining sanction from the Government of India to introduce his Prohibition of Drink Bill into the Bombay Leglislative Council. We are afraid such a bald announcement by the Government of refusal of sanction without a full statement of their position in regard to the drink question is apt to be misunderstood and misrepresented throughout the country. The general feeling of the people is in favour of prohibition, and only the other day the Indian Leglislative Assembly passed a resolution, which expressed sympathy with the temperance movement and had the approval of the Government of India. The drink question belongs to the category of transferred subjects and it rests with Provincial Governments to deal with it as they think proper.......... A bare refusal to grant sanction is a tactical mistake and it is a pity the Indian Government have not cared to take the public more fully into their confidence."

Bombay Samachar (56), 30th Sept.

62. The *Bombay Samachar* points out that the action taken by the Governor-General in declining to grant his sanction to the introduction in the Bombay Legislative Council of Mr. Gupte's Prohibition of Drink Bill and the ruling of the President of the Legislative Assembly to the effect that Mr. Bakshi Sohanlal's amendment to the resolution moved by Mr. B. R. Sinha sympathising with the

anti-drink movement was out of order inasmuch as it was not within the competence of the Indian Legislature to pass an act enforcing prohibition of drink, were both inconsistent with the plea urged by Mr. C A. Inns in the Assembly that the Legislative Assembly could not interfere in the matter of Excise as it was a transferred subject with the Provincial Governments. The paper is surprised at the decision of the President of the Assembly and calls upon His Excellency Lord Reading to issue a communique in the matter to clear up the question as to the rights of the Indian Legislature and Provincial Legislative Councils.

Comments on the trial and conviction of the editor of the *Hindu* of Hyderabad, Sind.

Mahratta (6), 2nd Oct.

***63.** " Last week while writing on the subject, we had remarked that this was the best time to study the operations of this law (of sedition) as an engine of oppression. Owing to the non-co-operation movement the accused in almost all such cases are not giving their defence and hence the trying magistrates have a free field before them. However, one can see that the old rusty law, made in the old dark days of unbridled bureaucracy, cannot, in the nature of things, embody the true principles. The trying magistrates have also the old-world notions and can neither dispense right justice nor reflect in their judgments the spirit of the age. Maharaj Vishnu Sharma, the editor of the *Hindu* of Hyderabad in Sind, was tried under sections 124-A and 153-A, Indian Penal Code, and was sentenced to three years' rigorous imprisonment. We are supplied with the translations of the three articles embodying the alleged sedition and we can say that it is a travesty of law to sentence the editor for those articles. This is not the place to enter into an elaborate argument on the point and we leave the subject here. But we request all interested in the rehauling of these sections to study the operations of this 'engine of oppression'."

Comments on the decision in the *Lokashahi* case.

Lokamanya (114), 28th Sept.

64. The *Lokamanya* referring to the sentences passed on Hadap and Lalit in the *Lokashahi* case remarks that the sentence of nine months' rigorous imprisonment passed on the latter was unduly severe and that the ends of justice would have been met by letting him off with a warning since his offence lay only in owning the press in which the paper in question was printed.

The Turkish victory over Greece and the Turkish Peace Treaty.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 2nd Oct.

***65.** " The Greeks have been completely worsted in their fight with the Turks. The messages of victories won and armies captured by them were mythical. The Powers have been awakened to their duty in respect of the belligerents, by an appeal perhaps from the defeated Greeks, and the question is to be considered by the League of Nations or the Allied Council. His Highness the Aga Khan has sent a message to the President of the Khilafat Committee.......We cordially support his suggestion. The Governments in India and in Great Britain have now a golden opportunity to right the wrong done by the omission to give due effect to the Prime Minister's famous pledge in the treaty of peace with Turkey. All sections of opinion in India, and all communities, are anxious to see this question settled in a manner which would redound to the credit of the British Government and to the peace and contentment of His Majesty's Indian Empire. As His Highness, the Right Honourable Syed Amir Ali and the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry are on the spot, they should at once be nominated India's representatives. We think there should be two Muhammadans and fortunately there is no difficulty in finding them. It is impossible to think of three more competent Indian representatives to plead the cause of India. There is no time to be lost. All Indian public bodies, especially those opposed to non-co-operation, should impress on the Government the necessity of immediate action."

Sanj Vartaman (30), 29th Sept.; *Praja Mitra and Parsi* (28), 30th Sept.

66. The *Sanj Vartaman* refers to the reports about the defeat of the Greek army at the hands of the Kemalists and the burning of villages by the former during its retreat. The paper blames the Allies for not raising any protest against the atrocities committed by Greece and on the contrary making a movement to bring about peace between Greece and Turkey. The paper sees no reason why the Allies should now think of intervention when Greece is losing though they did not think of it when it was winning and when they allowed their merchants to supply it with munitions of war. The paper then refers to the cablegram sent by His Highness the Agakhan to Mr. Chhottani asking him to move the Indian nation to bring pressure to bear upon the Government of India to get one Hindu and one Moslem appointed on the Peace Conference that will determine the terms of peace between Greece and Turkey. The paper suggests that the Hindu member should be nominated by the Indian National Congress and the Moslem by the Moslem League and concludes with the hope that Lord Reading will take up the suggestion with a view to conciliating Indian Moslem opinion. [The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* supports the suggestion made by His Highness the Agakhan in his message to the President of the Khilafat Committee, to the effect that India should be represented by one Hindu and one Muhammadan on the Peace Conference when the latter assembles to revise the treaty in so far as it relates to the relations between Greece and Turkey. It hopes that the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State will take up the suggestion and Government of India also will accept it and will exert all the influence at their command to get it accepted by the British Cabinet. The paper then refers to the progress of events which has brought about the necessity for such a conference to meet and revise the relations between Greece and Turkey. In its opinion Greece being heavily indebted to England might plead her inability to repay the debt unless she is allowed to retain the possession of those parts of Turkey which she at present occupies, and England might perhaps find it difficult to let go her debt unpaid, but it feels confident that however great the debt may be, England will not support Greece. By doing justice to Turkey, the paper believes that Turkey herself and the rest of the Muhammadans would well guarantee the payment of England's debt due to Greece, in order to achieve their cherished desire of restoring the *status quo* of Turkey.]

Rajakaran (131), 25th Sept.

67. Kemal Pasha has thoroughly routed the Greeks and has destroyed a large part of their army. The whites are adepts in lying and, therefore, the Greeks were boasting that they had captured Angora what time they were being beaten by the Turks. A victorious Turkey will infuse new vigour into all the Asiatic nations. If Zaglul Pasha makes good his threat to imitate the ways of Ireland, and if Kemal Pasha succeeds in freeing the Sultan of Turkey from the thraldom of the European nations, then European influence will be completely eliminated from the Islamic world. Why should these Europeans interfere in the affairs of each and every country ? Do they ever allow the Asiatics to interfere in their own affairs ? If the Kemalists form a powerful league of the Islamic nations after finally settling with the Greeks, the Europeans will not dare to molest the Asiatics again and again. The Kemalists have given a good drubbing to the Greeks and, therefore, the whites will have to adopt a more conciliatory attitude towards them at least for the present.

Mufid-e-Rozgar (172), 2nd Oct.

***68.** The *Mufid-e-Rozgar* feels jubilant over the Turkish victories against the tyrannous Greeks and pays a high tribute to the valour of the Turks as displayed by them in the defence of Angora. The paper hints that it was the European powers which had prompted Greece to crush the little army of Mustapha Kamal and feels glad that the designs of Greece have been frustrated. It hopes that the Turks will not conclude a peace unless and until Thrace and Smyrna are given back to them. The paper remarks that it is better for a self-respecting Musalman to die in honour than to live a life of dishonour in this world, and adds that it would be better if the Turks were effaced from the face of the earth than that they should yield to Greece. Referring to the message of congratulation sent by the ex-Kaiser to his brother-in-law, the King of Greece, the paper remarks that God is punishing him for his enmity to Islam. Proceeding the paper says that Mr. Lloyd George had torn the Treaty of Sevres into pieces because he felt convinced of the Greek victory and thought that the Turks were completely exhausted. It remarks that it is a divine miracle that the Sevres Treaty has been torn up by the hands of Mr. Lloyd George although the Musalmans had repeatedly entreated him to revise it. In conclusion the paper advises the Musalmans to declare unanimously that they will not be satisfied as long as the non-Muslim armies are not expelled from the Muslim lands.

The enemies of Islam are destroying it.

Insaf (66), 23rd Sept.

69. The *Insaf* publishes Urdu verses in Gujarati characters, in the course of which occurs the following:—Arise, O lion of God (Ali) from your place of sleep; arise, for Islam is girt round with calamities. Pharaoh is determined to destroy the true religion; arise with the rod of Moses in your hand. Arise, O ye martyrs of the plain of Kerbela, to save the honour of God's religion. Arise, for the shameless enemy are destroying the religion for which the house of Mastafa (Muhammad) destroyed itself. If you have any awe of the day of judgment, take your heads in your hand and arise. The Trinity has degraded the sacred Place; will you not even now arise, O men of God? The pure souls of the martyrs of the sacred place are saying (to you): "Arise now to exact the price of the blood of the innocent". Dajjal (the Moslem Anti-Christ) is rasing the Khilafat to the ground. Arise quickly from the West, O Miracle-making Mahdi!......... Shake the earth with the cry of "Allaho Akbar"; arise now if there is any feeling in your heart. O community of Mahommad rise again in the land of Yassab with the flag of Mahommad in hand. O Assim (the Poet), sighs and wailing will not serve the purpose now; if you must die, then rise now to die, O ye who have shame.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The Bombay Municipality and the extension of Municipal franchise.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Oct.

70. "Evidently the present Municipal Corporation of Bombay, elected on a narrow and conservative franchise, which excludes the majority of the citizens, is to be given a fresh lease of life, so that it may drag a wearisome and irresponsible existence, much to the misfortune of the city....... A correspondent suggested in a letter which we published on Friday that 'Government does not want to enlarge the electorate of the city till the Development Scheme is fully gone through'. Whatever the intentions of Government for postponing an urgent reform, their action—or rather inaction—is calculated to end colour to the suggestion of our correspondent. A Government which is out of touch with real public opinion may not realise the bitter feeling of hostility among the citizens at this putting off of the evil day. But is there any one alive to the distressing civic conditions of the city, who feels that the present Corporators have earned their title to the gratitude of the citizens? What acheivements have the Corporators to their credit beyond flouting public opinion and presenting handsomely illumined addresses and throwing away the money of the rate-payers on wasteful luminations?...... Strict justice demands the ending of the present Corporation and putting the power into the hands of the citizens and their true representatives, so that the affairs of the city may be carried on not in the interests of a small class of self-seeking plutocrats or titlehunters but with a view to bring hope and light to every home."

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the Railway Committee's Report.

Shubhodaya (88), 22nd Sept.

71. Referring to the recommendations of the Railway Committee, the *Shubhodaya* says that the Indian public has long held the view that the only remedy for the grievances of railway passengers is State managenmet of the Indian Railways. The attention of the public had therefore been concentrated on the Railway Committee in order to see how this point would be decided by them. The people have been waiting anxiously for the time when the administration of this subject will pass out of the hands of British merchants whose only desire is to make the concession as profitable as they can. Four members, including Mr. Shastri, have expressed themselves in favour of State management. The rest have recommended that the management should be in the hands of Indian companies amenable to the superintendence of the Government of India. Under these circumstances the final decision is left to Mr. Montagu. It will thus be seen that the nett result of the appointment of the Railway Committee is that a few white officials have obtained ample remuneration. The recommendations are pompous but quite sterile. Even if Indian companies are substituted for British ones no good is likely to result. As these companies will consist of merchants, they are not likely to look after the people's interests. We, therefore, hope that Mr. Montagu will decide on State management of the Indian Railways. The Committee have recommended an increase in railway fares. It is needless to say that this will mean additional hardship to the people.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIB MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Governmeni.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government :
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 7th October 1921.

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:

Interpellation in the — 7

British Rule:

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Punjab Muhammadan Association . . . . 29—34

Comments on the alleged grant of certain concessions to Colonel Frank Johnson 35

Comments on the *Labour Gazette* published by the Bombay Government 36

Comments on the proposed rehabilitation of Government securities . 37

Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office . . 38

Comments on the report of the Dhárwár Inquiry Committee appointed by the Congress 39

Comments on the report of the Repressive Laws Committtee . . 40

Comments on the resolution of the Ulemas to ignore the Government Order confiscating their Fatwa 41

How the Moderates have failed 42

Mr. Gandhi should have been allowed to proceed to Malabár to pacify the Moplahs 43

Passive Resistance . . . . 44 & 45

Protest against land acquisition by Government for military purposes at Deolali 46

Viceroyalty of Lord Reading bound to prove disappointing . . . 47 & 48

The Bombay Port Trust and Indian interests 49

The danger of allowing Government servants to take part in political movements 50

The inconsistency of Moderates in pressing for further constitutional Reforms 51

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' forthcoming visit to India . 1—5

Protest against associating — with horse racing when in India . . 6

Indians in the Colonies: Grievances of Indians in Kenya . . . . 53 & 54

Judicial matters: Comments on the acquittal of the accused in the Sinjhore Police torture case 52

Legislative Assembly: Resolutions passed in the last session of the — . 28

41 208—a CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation:

Comments on the Congress leader's manifesto . . . . . 14—22
Comments on the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and other leaders . 8—13
Dangers of mixing up religion with political questions 25
Mr. Gandhi's birthday 23
People should be prepared to face repression 27
Rumours about the probable arrest of Mr. Gandhi 24
The bureaucracy is leading the country towards revolution . . . 26

War: Turkey and Indian Mussalmans . . . . 55—57

LEGISLATION—

Comments on the Narvadari Bill 58

MUNICIPALITIES—

Compulsory primary education and the Poona Municipality 59

RAILWAYS—

Comments on the report of the Railway Committee 61
Reservation of Railway compartments for Europeans and Eurasians . . 60

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on a speech delivered at Dhrangadhra by the Agent to the Governor in Káthiáwár 62

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' forthcoming visit to India.

Kesari (110), 4th Oct.; *Vijayi Marátha* (151), 1st Oct.

1. The *Kesari* declares that the passing of the resolution for welcoming the Prince of Wales in the Bombay Legislative Council has exposed the real character of that body as the public outside is utterly opposed to any welcome being given to His Royal Highness and it expresses the hope that in case a similar question comes before the Poona Municipality, the elected members will not fail to do their plain duty in the matter as advised by a public meeting recently held in Poona. As regards the compunction, which, the paper says, some people might feel in following its advice and refusing to attend the functions in honour of the Prince of Wales at Poona, as it would mean an unintentional insult to the memory of the Maratha heroes who have fallen in the great war and of the great Shivaji, the paper argues that it was not actuated by any fraudulent motives in advising boycott of the functions as alleged by some, as its reverence for the Maratha heroes and Shivaji is well-known to all, but that it gave the advice as both the functions have been thrust into the programme of welcome to the Prince on no reasonable grounds. In its opinion, the foundation stone ceremony of the Shivaji memorial is intended more to do honour to the Prince than to Shivaji and the same remark applies to the unveiling of the Maratha heroes' memorial, for in its opinion the stone memorial erected in their name can never satisfy the Marathas in the army unless the racial distinctions in the matter of pay and rank between Europeans and Indians are at once abolished and not put off on one pretext or another as is being done. The paper further declares that the boycott of the Prince's visit cannot be construed as a breach of the law or as sedition as it is a matter of personal opinion whether to welcome the Prince or not and an alien Government like the present one cannot demand anything more from its subjects than obedience to its laws. It further declares that the titles of the King are an insult to Indian national feeling. Why, it asks, should he be called "King" of England and "Emperor" of India? Are the people of England men and those of India brutes? In the paper's opinion, the King ought to have given up the title of Emperor devised at the time of Lord Lytton, before giving effect to the Reforms Act of 1919. In support of its opinion that those who flock together at ceremonials such as those that have been devised for the Prince of Wales are generally inspired by self-interest more than by anything else, it gives quotations from Mr. George Wheeler's book entitled "Visit of the Prince of Wales" and Thackeray's "Four Georges" and declares that no body can force the general public to take part in the coming functions. The case would have been different, it says, if the Prince was going to bring the boon of *swarájya* with him, but there is no hope for it as evidenced by the recent discussion in the Legislative Assembly on the Reforms. [The *Vijayi Marátha* condemns the attempts made to induce the people to boycott the functions to be performed by the Prince at Poona and suggests that the Brahmin papers who have been trying to do so should be publicly burnt by those who have any respect for Shivaji. In its opinion, the Brahmins have been criticising the Maratha and Shivaji memorials simply out of the spirit of jealousy.]

Swarájya (147), 6th Oct.; *Lokasangraha* (110), 1st, 5th and 6th Oct.;
Lokasatta (117), 1st Oct.

2. **It is the height of shamelessness to keep the people discontented and at the same time to ask them to indulge in festivities. What right have the authorities to ask the people to make merry on the occasion of the Prince's visit when the country is in the grip of famine and when a campaign of repression is in full swing? The idea of the ceremony in connection with the Shiwaji momorial at Poona owes its origin to the desire of the authorities to attract large crowds. But since Shiwaji freed his people from the slavery of others his name is inseparably associated with the idea of liberty. It is futile, therefore, to make use of his name while encouraging slave mentality. Slave associations have been established at several places and the members of these will be invited to witness the ceremony. Can no one form any idea**

as to what Shiwaji will say when he sees all these slaves before him? The English must not be too sure that the stone statue of Shiwaji will not awaken strange emotions in the breasts of men who, they think, have lost all human instincts. [The *Lokasangraha* asks the Poona City Municipality to pass a resolution boycotting the Prince's visit. In a subsequent issue it writes:—The Viceroy should right the Punjab wrong if he is really anxious to establish peace in the country. He might say that it is not wholly in his hands to right the Khilafat wrong, but he cannot say the same thing about the Punjab. Lord Reading should even threaten to resign if the British Government object to his righting the Punjab wrong. Otherwise people will think that he was not sincere when he offered them his sympathy. To ask the people to give an enthusiastic welcome to the Prince while relegating the question of the Punjáb to the background, is to invite them to make merry while they are in mourning. In yet another issue the paper blames the Government of Bombay for proposing to spend about eight lakhs of rupees on the welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, when the country is not able to make both ends meet. According to the *Lokasatta* the only way to make the Prince's visit a success is to give the country *swarájya* of its choice.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Oct.

3. "The Government of Bombay have decided to set apart over eight lakhs of rupees for expenses in connection with the Prince of Wales' visit to this Presidency and the obedient Legislative Council will, of course, endorse the decision to-morrow. Other Governments, including the Government of India, are embarking on similar expenditure, when there is in the land so much misery and destitution caused by famine, disease and high prices to be relieved. In this folly the self-styled Nestors of our age are aiding Government in offering what the late Lal Mohan Ghose inimitably described as a pompous pageant to perishing people. Such folly as that of the bureaucracy in this country would have universally been condemned in another age and by any other people. But the 'co-operators', with the zeal and fanaticism of their new-found faith in the bureaucracy, have been applauding it, to spite, as they wrongly think, their political rivals. That is only one aspect of the case. There is another aspect also. And to illustrate it we may refer to the seemingly interminable correspondence that is going on between the Government and the Secretaries of the Ahmednagar Cattle Relief Fund.......... The whole correspondence which covers more than a period of nine months reveals a pathetic tale of official indifference and red-tape, by no means pleasant. The Committee consists of people who are not non-co-operators and whose faith in the bureaucracy is undimmed. Bearing in mind the fact that the work undertaken by the Committee was philanthropic and supplementary to the spasmodic efforts of Government, they were entitled to be treated fairly and squarely. If Government were unwilling to make the concession, the Committee need not have been kept in suspense for over nine months. Small as the matter is, it throws a lurid light on the attitude of Government."

Gujaráti (14), 9th Oct., Eng. cols.

4. "The whole expenditure of 8¾ lakhs of rupees in connection with the reception of the Prince of Wales seems to us, on the whole, to err on the side of extravagance. We can not congratulate the Honourable Mr. Lawrence, the Finance Member, on the reasons on which he asked the Council to vote the expenditure. He dragged the notorious sterling loan into the discussion for nothing and we do not think the Council became any way the wiser by their being reminded of what is generally regarded by the Indian people as an instance of gross financial jobbery. Nor was he happy in his contention that the Prince of Wales was coming here for the benefit of the people of India. It was equally wide of the mark to say that it was advisable to make an impression on the mind of the foreign visitors who would be present in India on the occasion. We certainly do not wish to lead them to believe that half-starved and ill-clad India was in a position to spend nearly a crore of rupees upon the visit of the Prince of Wales which is chiefly meant for his own political education. Again, it was utterly ridiculous for the Finance Member to advance seriously the argument that expenditure on a grand scale would enhance the financial credit of India in foreign countries. He is still obsessed by old bureaucratic notions of pomp and pageantry, and false ideas about the essentials of healthy public finance. We agree that Bombay should welcome the Prince of Wales in a fitting manner, but the principle of showy extravagance underlying the whole programme is open to objection and individual councillors did well to raise their strong voice against it in a dignified but courageous spirit."

Lokamanya (114), 7th Oct.

5. The *Lokamánya* refers to the speech made by the Honourable Mr. Lawrence in the Bombay Legislative Council in proposing grant of funds to meet the expenditure on account of the Prince's visit to Bombay and says it disproves the statement of His Excellency Lord Reading that His Royal Highness's visit has no political significance inasmuch as, according to Mr. Lawrence, the occasion was to be taken advantage of to remove from the minds of the foreigners the false ideas spread by a section of the newspaper press that discontent prevailed in India against the British rule and that the Indians were sunk in misery. It feels thankful that a responsible officer like Mr. Lawrence should have in this way exposed the intention of the bureaucracy to mislead not the Prince alone but also the numerous foreigners and newspaper correspondents who will be coming out to India in connection with the Prince's visit, that India was contended and happy under the British rule. It therefore hopes that not only will the people boycott the visit, but that the leaders will make it a point to interview the foreign newspaper correspondents and explain to them the real condition of things prevailing in India, so that some of them at least might be able to place before the countrymen the results of the British rule in India.

Protest against associating His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales with horse-racing when in India.

Servant of India (8), 6th Oct.

6. "The visit of the Prince of Wales to Poona (and other places) is to be celebrated by the holding of special race meetings. We do not pretend to know the private tastes of His Royal Highness—but it is not on a private visit that the King's eldest son is being sent to us. Nor do we wish to imply that His Royal Highness should have no relaxation of any sort, whilst undergoing the heavy task of so protracted a ceremonial visit of state. But we feel it our duty to protest warmly against a perpetration of the Anglo-Indian custom of making the gambling on the relative speed of some horses a state function. There was a protest against Lord Sinha perpetuating state balls at Government House: but if a Western dance offends against Indian taste, what must be said of the entirely alien institution of the Turf, which directly and still more so indirectly, through bucket-shops and 'sports clubs,' has ruined more fortunes and lives of the humble and ignorant masses than any other modern foreign-imported vice? Why there should be race meetings at all in India, we confess we do not know, seeing that there is no horse-breeding industry to safeguard, which is the stock excuse made in England. But, in any case we think that in the new India of the Reforms a stop should be put to officially countenancing this un-Indian mischievous form of amusement. We suggest to the advisers of the Prince of Wales that his coming could not be better signalised than by a radical cutting out of all race courses from the official programme of the Heir-Apparent of the Indian Empire."

Interpellation in the Bombay Legislative Council.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 7th Oct.

7. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification that the new system of answering questions in the Bombay Legislative Council which has been found to be unsatisfactory is to be replaced by the old one under which answers to interpellations were published and taken as read. The paper then remarks that many of the replies given by Government to interpellations are vague and betray a lack of confidence in the Council. The paper then refers to the remarks made by the President on the reply given by Mr. Hayward to

Mr. Trivedi on his asking a supplementary question and expresses the hope that Government will not give such replies as will deter the members from asking supplementary questions. It asks the members of the Council to study parliamentary procedure and to ask only pertinent questions and hopes that Government will in future be prompt in answering them.

Comments on the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and other leaders.

Raj Hansa (86), 1st Oct.; *Karnátak Mitra* (34), 29th Sept.

8. Regarding the arrest of the Ali Brothers and other leaders the *Ráj Hansa* makes the following remarks:—Is it likely that the greedy British administrators will ever consent to impoverish themselves by giving us *swarájya*? No nation has ever made a gift of *swarájya* to another of its own accord. France became free by means of a revolution. England obtained *swarájya* by beheading Charles I, by banishing James II and by fighting its bureaucracy to the very last. Even England,—famous for its liberalism as it was,—did not give *swarájya* to America of its own accord. America obtained freedom by waging a violent war against England. Indians are not cowards to give up the fight for *swarájya* by means of non-co-operation until their object is attained. [The *Karnátak Mitra* observes that by arresting Shri Shankaracharya of Sharada Peeth along with the Muhammadan leaders the Government has made an attack on the Hindu as well as the Muhammadan religion.].

Sindhi (167), 20th Sept.

9. What will be the result of the arrest of our patriots and leaders, is the question on every one's lips all over the country. There will be but one result, namely, the country will attain freedom. There is a strong rumour that 14 Congress and Khilafat workers in Sind will be arrested within a short time hence on one pretext or the other. The deliverance of our country not being possible without suffering, we hope our leaders will regard the jail as a place of pilgrimage and enter it cheerfully.

Lokamánya (114), 5th and 8th Oct.

10. The *Lokamánya* refers to the version given in the *Capital* of Calcutta as to how the prosecution of the Ali Brothers was finally decided upon and declares that the version fully proves the truth of the surmise that the idea of the prosecution originated with Dr. Sapru and Sir William Vincent and that Lord Reading having been won over on the strength of the Repressive Laws Committee's report, the Bombay Government was recommended to launch the prosecution. It regrets that Sir George Lloyd failed in the present instance to show his own strength as he had shown it during the times of the Satyagraha movement. In its opinion, the Moderates at Simla seem to be playing the game of rooting out the Nationalists from Indian politics on the strength of their official position and the prosecution of the Ali Brothers seems to be the first move in the game. It, however, hopes that the Nationalists will soon be able to turn the tables on the Moderates. [The paper declares in a further issue that as the prosecution of the Ali Brothers by Government is directed against the Khilafat agitation, it is the right of the Nationalists to offer themselves to be sacrificed along with the Brothers, in spite of what the opposite party may say to the contrary. In its opinion the victories of 'Gazi' Kemal Pasha over the Greeks have put new life into both Muhammadans and Hindus as the fight for the Khilafat does not now appear to be a hopeless one, and the result is seen in thousands of men courting prosecution by repeating and passing the Karáchi resolution. It declares that Government has by these occurrences been placed in a ridiculous fix, as, according to the *Tribune*, it is bound by law to prosecute all these thousands of people. In its opinion His Excellency Lord Reading's assurance given in the course of his reply to the Punjab Muhammadan Association that the Ali Brothers' prosecution was not intended as an attack on Islam was meaningless, as no one alleged that Muhammadans were being prevented from performing their religious practices. The Khilafat agitation for carrying on which the Brothers are being prosecuted is meant for securing a satisfactory Turkish treaty and it is the duty of the British

Government, the paper says, as advised by the ***Westminister Gazette***, to bring about such a peace at the earliest possible date and thus to relieve the Indian Government from its present delicate position of uncertainty in which it has been placed by England's attitude of partiality towards Greece. In the paper's opinion, Mr. Gandhi's way of thinking is practically the same as that of the *Westminister Gazette* and it, therefore, declares that the only wise course open to England is to bring about a just treaty with the Turks and thus abandon the policy underlying the prosecution of the Ali Brothers.]

Sind Sudhar (168), 24th Sept.

11. The prosecution of the Ali Brothers and others has furnished some newspapers with an excuse to charge Government with embarking once again on a policy of repression. They however forget that this time Government is simply enforcing the ordinary law of the land, which has to be put into operation against any one found breaking it. Law is no respecter of persons. And Government would be failing in its duty if it did not apply it to persons who violate it. To call such action repression is extremely foolish. Unfortunately the word repression has come to have a ridiculous meaning in regard to the political questions of this country. If the Government tries to prevent or put down any illegality, the ordinary man calls it repression.

Mahrátta (6), 9th Oct.

***12.** "The prosecution of the Ali Brothers and Shri Shankaracharya and their comrades at Karáchi raises the issue of freedom of speech and opinion in a definite form. The communiqué issued by the Government of Bombay on the eve of the arrest of the Ali Brothers leaves no doubt as to the motive of Government in this matter. The communiqué in a way throws down a challenge to the people of this Great Nation........ The manifesto issued by the leading Congress members of different provinces in India and the resolution of the Working Committee on the point, which are given elsewhere, proclaim to the world and to the Government that the people cannot allow their inherent right of freedom of opinion trampled down and crushed under the heels of the unbridled bureaucracy.......... To put it in crushed commonplace, the Nation has cast off the slave mentality.......... The Government wants to smother the right of free opinion even in the case of religious matters and thus indirectly stifle the attempts of the Nation to free itself. They have thrown down this challenge on pain of punishment, and the Nation has accepted it in all seriousness. Both are on their trial and we have to await future developments.......... It was expected that Lord Reading would grasp the situation and avoid the conflict, but it is clearly proved that he, with all his tall talk of justice and freedom, has been digested by the bureaucracy and he is now found to be singing to their tune only. There is no hope left of him. It is, therefore, found necessary to resort to the time-honoured weapon, and the Nation has, it seems, begun to wield it. There is a bitter struggle ahead. The bureaucracy has played its last trump card in the form of severe repression. They are holding the terrors of the prison before the eyes of the people, but it seems that so far, the jails are found to hold no terrors for patriots.......... The destiny of the Nation hangs in the balance. The issue is clear. The nation has accepted the challenge of the Government and it is certain that the people will come out as victors, as theirs is the cause of justice, of liberty and of freedom." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The prosecution of the Ali Brothers is a political blunder of the greatest magnitude and unless corrected in time it will be a veritable tragedy. For the impression has got abroad that this prosecution is a direct attack against the Khilafat movement. The Viceroy in his recent speech has repudiated this charge. But to every keen observer it will be clear that the present prosecution of the Ali Brothers is meant to deprive the movement of its very soul. Without the Brothers the Government think that the movement will be less intensive. But this policy of repression is bound to fail.......... The Government ought to know that the Muhammadan community is by nature and nurture a violent community. Its patience is almost exhausted. They have reason to believe that it is the British Empire that stands between them and the honour and the dignity of the Khilafat. It is earnestly hoped that

Government will not drive the Indian Muhammadan to do desperate things. To every Mussalman the call of Islam is higher than the call of a temporal power. Loyalty has its limitations. They have been reached. The plight of Islam is bitter, it will be more if the Government persists in its present policy. The Government are heading its success for a crisis and giving the Muhammadan only one alternative, *viz.*, *jehad.* Whether that *jehad* will be violent or nonviolent will depend upon the actions of the Government in the near future. But one thing is certain that even in this plight the true Islamic blood, proud as it is, will never submit meekly." At another place the paper remarks:—" The Karáchi resolution passed by the All-India Khilafat Conference at Karáchi, which forms the subject-matter of the prosecution of Ali Brothers, Shri Shankaracharya and their comrades, is being passed, word by word, in different meetings that are being held throughout the country. Is the Government going to prosecute all those who are taking part in such meetings? If it is true to itself and if Lord Reading does not wish to expose himself to the charge of personal spite regarding the Ali Brothers in connection with the 'apology' affair, all such persons must be prosecuted. If the Government does it, it will know that the Government, even when backed by all its resources, is powerless against a whole enraged nation. Being tied to the horns of this dilemma the Government will find that in such cases discretion is always the best part of valour."]

Hind Mitra (17), 2nd Sept.

13. The *Hind Mitra* refers to the decision of the Government of Bombay regarding the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and remarks:—The object of appointing Indian members to Executive Councils is that Government may get the advantage of their ripe knowledge and experience and respect their opinion specially regarding popular matters. There are no two opinions regarding Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla's and Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's foresight and ability to gauge public feelings and understand aright the present situation. In spite of this, we regret that a ruler like Sir George Lloyd possessing strong common sense was not led to accept the far-sighted advice of his colleagues. Whatev e may be the result of the inquiry, yet the agitation which has sprung up as a result of the arrests must have convinced His Excellency the Viceroy, His Excellency the Governor and their advisers already that they have only roused the quiet and peaceful nation by their thoughtless act.

Comments on the Congress leaders' manifesto.

Praja Mitra and Parsi (28), 8th Oct., Eng. cols.

14. " Several leaders of the non-co-operation movement have issued a manifesto proclaiming the right of every citizen to express his opinion freely on the propriety of serving Government, and reiterating that, in the circumstances stated, it is the duty of every Indian to give up Government service, civil and military, and take to other means of livelihood. The manifesto is, of course, the reply of non-co-operation to the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and others. Some such answer was expected. The implication is that, the Government having prosecuted the Ali Brothers and others for similar expression of views, must, from sheer logical consistency, also prosecute the signatories of this manifesto......... Government may or may not attempt the repression that is challenged. If they do, of course, there will be the confusion, disorder and bloodshed that are invited or at least anticipated. If they do not, it is possible, but just possible, that there may be a temporary defection on the part of Muhammadan soldiers in some places. But on the whole, the balance of advantage is on the side of ignoring these attempts at spending disaffection among soldiers and civilians. The effect of every act of repression has been to stimulate the nationalist agitation. Repression, even when justified, is as a matter of policy undesirable, for the simple reason that in nine cases out of ten it has an effect contrary to that calculated. The strength of the Government would appear to lie in being calm and unperturbed in the face of unprecedented provocation......... If the idea underlying these prosecutions is to prepare a calm and clear atmosphere against the arrival of the Prince no more grievous blunder could be imagined. The effect would be just the contrary. At any rate it is too late to try the experiment and await the results. It must create widespread bitterness and disaffection, and generally damp the spirit and ardour of the people. With regard to the manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi and his associates, it is useless to controvert the opinions and sentiments expressed therein. People will not give up their views, which are founded more on feeling than on fact, by contradicting them. The noteworthy thing is the spirit in which the manifesto is conceived. We have come to a stage in the development of Indian nationalism when force has lost its terrors, and for one lost leader there are ten ready to jump up and take the place. That, from the standpoint of nationalism, is the right spirit and it is only when such a spirit has come to stay that nations have been able to achieve their deliverance. It is the creation of this spirit of challenge that is Mr. Gandhi's great achievement. Otherwise in the shape of concrete results his achievement has been worse than nothing."

Indian Social Reformer (5), 9th Oct.

***15.** "The *Bombay Chronicle* published in its issue of Wednesday a document with the heading 'Leaders' Manifesto'. The manifesto is issued in the individual capacity of the signatories and consists of three sentences. The first sentence states that it is the inherent right of every one to express his opinion without restraint about the propriety of citizens serving under Government. Many persons, official and non-official, have often deprecated their inordinate longing for Government service and exhorted young Indians to prepare themselves for other and more useful walks of life. No assertion of this right was needed as no one has questioned it. This is quite a different thing from seeking to induce persons in the service of Government to leave their posts, especially in the police and the army. No Government can tolerate attempts to disintegrate the forces upon which, in the last resort, the community depends for protection of property, liberty and life. We are having a vivid object lesson in the Moplah outbreak in Malabár, the omission to make any reference to which in the manifesto does not reflect credit on the candour of the signatories. The verdict of the signatories on British rule will not commend itself to impartial students of history as right and true. It is as sweeping as the opinion of those who hold non-co-operationists to be either fools or knaves. British rule has certainly committed serious wrongs, but it has also rendered great services to India and her people, the greatest being that of endowing them increasingly with the power to correct wrongs and direct the policy of Government. The irony of the matter is that this verdict proceeds from persons who admire the Turkish Government. The British Indian system is, of course, capable of considerable improvement, and we are not very tender to its faults and shortcomings. But, with all its faults, it is any day immeasurably superior to the Turkish system. A Muhammadan friend of ours who has lived in Turkish territory is never tired of repeating that, if the non-co-operationists lived for a short time under Turkish rule, they would learn to appreciate it and British rule better. The opinion of persons so completely blinded by political prejudice, as to the duty of persons in the service of Government, will be appraised at its true value by everybody concerned. The manifesto would have been mischievous were it not so palpably absurd."

Lokamánya (114), 6th and 7th Oct.

16. The *Lokamánya* says that the Congress leaders' manifesto is symptomatic of the fearless spirit which is now pervading the nation and heartily congratulates the signatories on its issue. It points out that this is the first occasion in the history of the Indian National Congress when its leaders have boldly challenged Government to incarcerate them for their readiness to follow in the path of duty. The paper also refers to Mr. Gandhi's appeal calling upon the people to remain calm if he is arrested, and says there are strong rumours prevalent in the city that he is going to be deported under the Regulation of 1818. It thinks that the Ali Brothers having now been prosecuted in spite of Lord Reading's pledge not to touch them if they did not encourage violence, it logically follows that Government must prosecute Mr. Gandhi and also the other signatories of the manifesto. It feels confident that the bureaucracy is bound to be foiled in this struggle, if the people do their duty in the matter and successfully carry on the foreign cloth boycott movement and strengthen the Hindu-Moslem unity, and expresses the hope that they would act up to the advice given by Mr. Gandhi in case he is arrested. [In its next issue the paper refers to the *Times of India's* article on the Congress leaders' manifesto and says that the article is tantamount to an indirect admission of the mistaken policy adopted by Government in prosecuting the Ali Brothers. It scouts the paper's idea that Mr. Gandhi's failure to achieve *swarájya* is sure to bring him into utter disgrace at the forthcoming Ahmedabad Congress and declares that instead of forecasting what is to take place two months' hence, the *Times of India* should have directed its attention to the disgrace to which Government itself is being subjected by the passing over and over again, at meetings of thousands of people, all over India, of the Karáchi resolution for which the Ali Brothers are being prosecuted. In its opinion, any statesman having the interest of Government at heart would have pointed out to it the mistake committed in prosecuting the Ali Brothers and would have advised it to fearlessly take steps to correct it. It refers to the recent crushing defeat of the Greeks at the hands of the Turks and says that it appears as if they are going to be completely expelled from Asia Minor by the time when the Prince of Wales is timed to land in India. An opportunity would thus have been afforded to Government, it says, to gladden the Indian Muhammadans by the announcement at the hands of the Prince of Wales of the conclusion of a satisfactory Turkish treaty. But it regrets that the action taken by Government against the Ali Brothers has changed all that prospect, and it appears as if the brothers are going to be transported and other leaders too going to be incarcerated by the time the Prince arrives, thus making His Royal Highness' visit to India an inauspicious one to the minds of the people. It hopes, therefore, that Government would, in view of the Greek defeat, now show the statesmanship to retrace the steps it has taken in the matter of prosecuting the Ali Brothers.]

Lokasangraha (116), 7th Oct.; *Swarájya* (171), 6th Oct.

17. There is nothing illegal in the Congress leaders' manifesto. Every one has a right to give expression to his convictions. What right have the people who come from a distance of six thousand miles to say that we should be loyal to them? If the bureaucracy has the right to propound its own opinions, it cannot fairly deny the same right to the people. [The *Swarájya* refers to the prosecutions of the Ali Brothers and others and says that the manifesto is the natural result of the Government's policy of seeking to put out the fire by pouring oil on it.]

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 5th Oct.; *Indu Prakásh* (43), 6th Oct.

18. Lord Reading made it clear to his hearers how the allegations that the Karáchi prosecutions were undertaken solely with the object of attacking Islam, were baseless. Although the Khilafat movement is claimed to be a purely religious one, it cannot be denied that objectionable doctrines are being preached under its cloak. No Government could ignore a movement such as this simply because it was a religious one. Government showed a good deal of patience in regard to this movement for about a year past. Today a man can freely give expression to views which a couple of years ago would have earned for their author the epithet of crack-brained. This fact alone is enough to prove conclusively that Government have displayed considerable patience in the immediate past. [The *Indu Prakásh* refers in its leader to the Congress leaders' manifesto and points out that whereas formerly Indian soldiers and civilians were being called upon to sever connection with Government "irrespective of consequences", the present manifesto speaks of their finding "some other means of livelihood", which is a reasonable suggestion. In its opinion the present manifesto will fail to have much effect on soldiers as the Indian army mostly consists of Gurkhas, Afghans and Sikhs, the two former of whom are quite strangers to Indian politics. The manifesto, therefore, means in its opinion only this, that because Government says that it is improper to give currency to particular opinions, the leaders declare that they are determined to spread them. It thinks, therefore, that no more importance need be attached to the manifesto than to a boyish prank. As regards civilian employees, the paper expects the manifesto to have no effect whatever, as even today, it says, "wanted" advertisements in newspapers do not fail to call forth offers of service from hundreds of needy applicants.]

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 7th Oct.

19. Mr. Gandhi's hand is visible in every line of the manifesto. He and his followers blame the Government for sending Indian troops to fight the Turks. It must, however, be remembered that Mr. Gandhi spared no efforts to secure recruits for the army when the war was on. He maintained at that time that it was the duty of the people to unite in face of a common danger. Should he not have adopted the same attitude today? The Moplah atrocities would put into the shade a hundred Jallianwala Baghs put together. Mr. Gandhi, therefore, should have suspended his activities in view of the happenings in Malabár. It is the duty of every man who loves his country not to embarrass the Government needlessly at a time like the present. Mr. Gandhi says that he was obliged to give expression to the views contained in the manifesto because of the prosecution of the Ali Brothers. It is worthy of note, however, that he had advised the brothers to apologise for expressing sentiments similar to, nay even less objectionable than, those for which they are now being prosecuted. It is clear, therefore, that Mr. Gandhi has fallen a victim to a false idea of prestige and is committing the sin of launching the country into disaster. People naturally concluded from his utterances that they would get *swarájya* one year after the date of commencement of the non-co-operation movement. They have become disappointed as the year is over and they have not yet got *swarájya*. Mr. Gandhi is to blame for their dispppointment and it is very strange that he should add to their misery by issuing such a manifesto. We regret to see Messrs. N. C. Kelkar and M. R. Jayakar among the signatories to the manifesto, and it appears as if they had not the strength of mind to resist Mr. Gandhi's pressure to sign. It is unfortunate that Mr. Gandhi should be instrumental in encouraging a slave mentality among the people while himself condemning it.

Hindusthán (20), 5th Oct.

20. The *Hindusthán* refers to the manifesto published by certain non-co-operationist leaders calling upon the Indian people not to serve Government either in the civil or military departments. The paper regards the manifesto as India's declaration of independence and opines that Government must now either arrest all the signatories numbering about fifty or withdraw the prosecution against the Ali brothers for the sake of consistency. It declares that the follies of Government are helping to bring *swarádj* nearer to Indians and exhorts the latter to bear their trials with fortitude.

Gujaráti (14), 9th Oct.

***21.** "We do not think even Government will deny the right of any one in the abstract to express his opinion regarding the propriety of citizens serving in the Civil and Military department. The line of demarcation, however, between such a claim in a philosophical discourse and an exhortation to soldiers not to serve any longer under a particular kind of government is not altogether shadowy but admits of clear definition. Much will, of course, depend upon the circumstances of each case. The judgment pronounced in the manifesto upon the British Governments, its methods and the consequences of its rule is much too sweeping and biassed, and takes no account of human nature, historical facts and contemporary events. It is extremely one-sided. It takes no account of Turkish blunders and is oblivious of the course of Indian history during the last six or seven centuries.......... Just as we have a right to complain, our rulers have in their turn a right to be judged in the light of human imperfections and after making due allowance for the inherent evils of foreign domination and the weaknesses and defects of the people themselves. It is sad to find that the signatories, many of whom owe their moral and intellectual, economic and political outfit to the British

Government and western culture, should not have frankly put in a word of acknowledgment on this account but indulged in wholesale condemnation....... Leaving aside the legal aspect of the question, is it statesmanship, is it a wise and patriotic attempt, in order to gain self-government, to preach the doctrine that Indians should not only not serve the Government but that Indian soldiers and civilians should also sever their connection with the Government and find some other means of livelihood ?......... The questions with which the country is confronted are no personal questions at all. They affect the future destiny of almost a vast continent and of millions of people and we must strongly protest against precipitating the country into an unknown and unknowable abyss of inevitable chaos, confusion and destruction. The object which the promoters of meetings held for re-affirming the resolution of the Karáchi Conference have in view is to force Government to take action against them and thus add to the difficulties of the present situation.......... Though Mahatma Gandhi and his colleagues have unfortunately failed to realise the true significance of the present system of Government which, with all its defects, has shown a good deal of indulgence and toleration since the movement with such an avowed objective was inaugurated, we do hope that Lord Reading's Government will not depart from the liberal-minded attitude which they have so far maintained and which no well-read and fair-minded student of European and Indian history should fail to appreciate."

Young India (11), 6th Oct.

22. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—" Why should I not express my profound conviction, (1) that it is sinful to serve the Government in any capacity whatsoever, especially that of a soldier, (2) that it is sinful to drink intoxicating liquors, (3) that it is sinful to wear foreign cloth, (4) that it is sinful to gamble or speculate in foodstuffs or cotton ? The Government may, as it is carrying on a counter-propaganda, successfully draw recruits for civil and military employment, by various methods induce people to drink and wear foreign cloth and speculate in foodstuffs and cotton, and thus continue to govern so long as people intentionally or ignorantly co-operate with it. It will fall the day the people are convinced to the contrary. And just as I carry on my propaganda among the wine-bibbers and the cotton speculators to wean them from their evil ways, I claim the right to tell the soldier face to face what is his duty in accordance with my opinion. Why should the soldier be kept in ignorance of what is going on in the country ? Is the Government afraid that if he comes to know the truth he will no longer serve it ? A Government worth the name should be able fully to educate the soldiery and hold its loyalty. But in India everything is armed—peace, loyalty and opinion. Only the people are disarmed. Our duty, therefore, is clear. We must claim even though it be on the gallows, to hold and openly to express any opinion we choose, so long as we do not directly or indirectly cause violence. That is the battle of non-violent non-co-operation. It must be fought to the finish. I warn the public that the prosecution for 'tampering with the loyalty of the army' is but the precursor of prosecutions for tampering with the loyalty of the people to foreign cloth. What was the burning of the *khadi* vests and caps of the young men of Calicut ? What is the crusade against the students of the Vizagapatam Medical School, if it is not an insensate crusade against *khadi ?* But it is exactly the kind of test through which we must pass, if we are to gain *swaráj*. If it is true that this Government exists for its special interests which are antagonistic to those of the people at large, it must vindicate its position at any cost, and we must not be angry with it on that account. Its attempt at suppressing the growth of free public opinion is no new discovery. We have known these attributes of the Government, and it is for our knowledge of their existence that we are seeking to destroy the system under which it is being carried on. It exists for the slow but certain exploitation of India and her raw products, and for so enervating India as to make her perpetually subservient to the foreign exploiters, in other words, to imprison us in our own homes. And the system devised to bring about such a state of things is one of rewards and punishments, rewards in the shape of titles and emoluments for those who assist the system, and punishment, even terrorism, for

those who seek to end or mend it. So the Government is bound to make a desperate attempt to stifle all expression of opinion and all activity that would injure its special interests. Let us not delude ourselves into the belief that the Government has been generous enough to stay its hands up to the last moment. Let us admit at once that the Government is the most powerful and resourceful corporation the world has ever seen. It bides its time, it does allow its opponents to play; but its strikes immediately they betray seriousness. There can be no question of generosity about a robber who holds on to the stolen property as long as he ever can allow the robbed to make all the childish attempts possible for the recovery of stolen property, but is ready to cut him down as soon as he becomes serious and is likely to succeed in his attempt at recovery. When a robber acts in such a methodical manner, we consider him to be clever in his unscrupulousness and we regard him as hypocritical when he puts on the air of injured innocence. Our resourcefulness lies in not playing into the hands of this Government. We must not be goaded into madness and violence by its imprisonment whether mild or dramatic. We must not flinch from the gallows."

Mr. Gandhi's birthday.

Gujaráti (14), 2nd Oct.

23. The *Gujaráti* dwells on the significance of the celebrations on Mr. Gandhi's birthday which fell on the 28th September, and praises his numerous virtues, his extraordinary energy and steadfastness of purpose, the selflessness and honesty which characterised his services to the country. However much difference of opinion there might be with regard to Mr. Gandhi's ideals of *swaráj*, his views about untouchability, his advocacy of the boycott of Government schools, law-courts, etc., still there can be no doubt that as a result of his political activities, foreigners have given up their claims to superiority based on the colour of their skin, and the Indian people have become self-reliant and have lost all fear of the law and of imprisonment in the political field. In the opinion of the paper, by their love and veneration of Mr. Gandhi the Indian people show that they know how to appreciate unselfishness.

Rumours about the probable arrest of Mr. Gandhi.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 5th Oct.

24. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the thick rumours about the probable arrest of Mr. Gandhi who, it is said, is to be kept under partial arrest at Sábarmati, and expresses its belief that Government will not take such a step. It, however, warns Government of the serious consequences of Mr. Gandhi's arrest and reminds them that it is he who has averted many a disturbance from taking place in India by his preaching of non-violence. The paper draws the attention of the people to Mr. Gandhi's message headed "in case of my arrest" and exhorts them to carry it out to the very letter. The paper however states that it will consider the day on which Mr. Gandhi is arrested as a red letter day in the annals of India and will pray to God on that day to break the bonds of India and to give the people strength to maintain such peace and order as would redound to their credit.

Dangers of mixing up religion with political questions.

Sind Vasi (169), 29th Sept.

25. Religious and political questions were always kept apart by our former leaders. And we are inclined to think that they took a wise course in doing so. Mahatma Gandhi is the first among the country's leaders who has mixed up the two, by linking the Khiláfat question with his non-co-operation movement. Evidently he did so with a view to bring about Hindu-Moslem unity, but he could not have foreseen that the Khilafat question would assume such tremendous proportions as to be a danger to the country. The forcible conversions of Hindus in Malabár and the desolation of many Hindu homes are the direct result of the Khilafat movement. We had thought that after visiting the scene of Moplah rising, Mahatma would separate the non-co-operation movement from the Khilafat question, as championed by the Ali

Brothers, who are for religion first and for the country afterwards. But as he has not done so, we would request those non-co-operators, Hindus and Muslims, who joined the movement of non-co-operation solely through political considerations, to consider whether they should follow blindly what the Khilafatists want to do. The latter have now thought of starting civil disobedience. We do not see why non-co-operators, who are not Khilafatists, should also join in disobeying the laws of the country.

The bureaucracy is leading the country towards revolution.

Karnátak Vritt (84), 13th Sept.

26. The *Karnátak Vritt* publishes a contributed article entitled "The Signs of Revolution", in the course of which the writer observes:—When one nation has obtained complete dominion over another, it devises various means of killing the very life-principle out of the latter, so that it may remain in permanent subjection to itself. It strengthens its footing by always keeping the conquered people alive to their own weaknesses while teaching them to admire the superior virtues of their conquerors. At first the rulers try to remedy their grievances of the people, but after a time they leave the grievances unattended to and tyrannise over their subjects. This tyranny of the rulers is the first sign of revolution. Increased tyranny rouses the intelligent elements in the country to their duty towards their oppressed kinsmen. They turn their attention to the sort of education that is being imparted to them, to the way in which their wealth is drawn out of the country and the false pretexts under which their handicrafts are destroyed. This awakening among the leaders is the second sign of revolution. As a result of the heroic efforts of the leaders, this awakening is carried among the masses who, realising that the bureaucracy is the cause of their fallen condition, follow their leaders disregarding the interested advice of the bureaucracy. This is the third sign of revolution. Indictment of their rule by the leaders provokes the rulers to adopt measures of repression. Men in large numbers are banished, executed or imprisoned. Liberty of speech and writing and on occasions even religious liberty are unhesitatingly denied. This is the fourth sign of revolution. Discontent among the masses is the fifth sign of revolution. Suppression of their national institutions irritates the people and they then lose all their faith in the Government. Agitation among the subjects provokes the rulers into adopting severe repressive measures. Men, women and children are humiliated indiscriminately. Frightful massacres are resorted to. But this steels the resolution of the people to uproot the entire government. Government servants give up their employments. Soldiers refuse to fire upon and murder their countrymen. This is the sixth sign of revolution. Open rebellion, local and sporadic at the beginning but united and universal at the end, is the seventh and last sign of revolution. In the case of India, however, Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent non-co-operation makes the last step unnecessary for the attainment of *swarájya*.

People should be prepared to face repression.

Rájakáran (131), 2nd Oct.

27. When after every ten or twelve years the popular movement for *swarájya* grows in force the bureaucracy is in the habit of resorting to repression in order to put it down. Though the experience of the last thirty or forty years has shown the futility of this policy of repression, the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy has failed to learn a lesson from it. Instead of trying to lessen discontent by amicable methods it tries to put it down by launching prosecutions against public leaders and heavily sentencing them. Blinded by the possession of power the authorities neglect wiser methods and resort to unjust ways that exasperate the people. That severe repression should have been resorted to even under the regime of a wise and renowned politician like Lord Reading shows that British statesmanship is completely bankrupt. The people have been extremely uneasy. All classes are equally consumed by anxiety and every one is thinking as to how to get out of the present difficult situation. As a matter of fact there is neither sedition nor an attempt at rebellion in all this, but the bureaucracy find it convenient to brand it so with a view to put down popular movements. When the officials have thus begun repression for no earthly reason it is necessary that people should boldly face it. Recent events have destroyed the prestige of the law courts and the police and deprived jails of their terrors. The leaders of the people should, therefore, be prepared to go to jail, for then alone will the cup of sin of the bureaucracy be full to the brim.

Resolutions passed in the last Session of the Legislative Assembly.

Kesari (110), 4th Oct.

28. The *Kesari* says that several important resolutions were passed in the recent Session of the Legislative Assembly, but in each case the bureaucracy got them amended according to its own view and thus made them lifeless. It points out that though it was declared in the Assembly on behalf of Government that Abkari was a provincial matter, Mr. Gupte's Drink Prohibition Bill which he wanted to introduce in the Bombay Council was disallowed by the Central Government. This only shows, according to the paper, that Government cares only for its revenue instead of for principle. The paper then refers to the resolution regarding the new demands of the British Medical Council about Indian Medical students and declares it would fail to bring the Council to its senses. As regards the resolution about the revision of the Reforms, the paper admits that according to it the Parliamentary Commission will have to be appointed before 1929, but the resolution does not make it clear, it points out, whether the Commission is to come into existence only a couple of months, or some years before that year. The bureaucracy has thus succeeded, in the opinion of the paper, in getting this vague resolution passed by a sort of legerdemain, in place of the more definite amendment of Mr. Sheshgiri Ayyer.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Punjab Muhammadan Association.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Oct.

29. "Lord Reading prefaced his speech with the familiar unthinking condemnation of the non-co-operation movement as 'a movement which seeks to paralyse authority and can only lead to disorder and bloodshed, as experience has already shown, notwithstanding the exhortations to avoid it'. The non-co-operation movement does not seek to paralyse any authority except that which is not amenable to the will of the people and ultimately based on their consent. And it has not led and will not lead to disorder and bloodshed, the violence that has taken place, in some places, hitherto, having been the result of other known and ascertainable causes. This fact was never more strikingly demonstrated than by the disciplined response which the people have given to the policy of senseless provocation manifested in the prosecution of their leaders. No event has moved them so profoundly since the days of the Punjab nightmare as the arrest of their respected leaders, but a disciplined people have successfully withstood the shock and loyally adhered to non-violence. Lord Reading has failed to acknowledge this fact for reasons best known to himself as he has not also fully grasped the grounds of the Muslim demand in regard to Turkey and the Khilafat.......... A policy of repressing Muslim agitation, while the wounds remain unhealed and the cause of agitation unremoved, is as certain to be disastrous as it is foolish in the extreme. It is the tragedy of Lord Reading's failure so far that he has not grasped this all-important fact. His Excellency declared that 'no greater mistake was ever made and no greater injustice ever done than to assert that these (the Karáchi) prosecutions are intended as an attack upon the religion of Islam.' We readily believe that Lord Reading's Government did not intend these prosecutions as an attack upon Islam.......... What is an attack on any religion is a question that can only be answered by the followers of that religion. That Muslims regard the prosecutions as an attack on religion is evident to any one who has followed the course of events since the arrests were made. And in this matter, from the point of view of high policy, the Muslims, having regarded the prosecutions as an attack on their religion, it is the task of statesmanship to retrieve the blunder by withdrawing the prosecutions. When the resolution for which the leaders are being tried at Karáchi has been and is being openly passed at hundreds of meetings all over the country, to go on with the prosecutions without taking legal action against every one of the thousands, who have publicly reaffirmed the resolution, will be neither justice nor fair dealing, apart from the fact that it will be a deadly blow to the 'prestige' of Government or to what little is left of it. We are not speaking from the strictly 'legal' point of view with which we are not at present concerned, but from the point of view of high policy the aim of which should be to bring about a reconciliation with Islam, which we regard as the greatest problem of the British Empire at the moment.......... Our fellow-countrymen, Hindus as well as Muslims, seek peace because it is their interests which really suffer most. But the peace must be genuine and must be secured on honourable terms. As the deputation told the Viceroy 'there will be no peace in the Muslim world unless the question of the future of the Turkish Empire is solved to the complete satisfaction of His Majesty's Muslim subjects.' There will be no peace in India until a *swarájya* is established which alone can undo the Punjab wrong. Both questions are not impossible of settlement. There is a way if Lord Reading has the authentic spark of statesmanship in him to recognise it. It is the way of negotiation on the Irish model. Two essential conditions must be fulfilled before negotiations can begin. The Karáchi prosecutions must be withdrawn and all political prisoners released and the Government of India Act, like the Irish Home Rule Act, should be regarded as a dead letter."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 3rd and 4th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (20), 4th Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (56), 5th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 3rd Oct.

30. The *Sánj Vartamán* declares that the attempt made by His Excellency the Viceroy to pacify the excited feelings of the Moslems in his reply to the address of the Punjáb Muhammadan Association is not likely to be successful and wishes that His Excellency had observed complete silence about the arrest and prosecution of the Ali Brothers. It observes that Government have committed a blunder in launching the prosecution inasmuch as it will aggravate the feelings of the Indian Moslems. It then refers to His Excellency's narration of the services rendered by Britain to Turkey and expresses regret that His Excellency did not see his way to pronounce any opinion on the justice or otherwise of the Moslem demands in respect of the Turkish treaty. In its opinion the only way open to the Viceroy to pacify Indian Moslems is to accept the justice of their demands and to urge them on the British Cabinet, and to tender his resignation if they are not accepted. It then states that England has rendered no useful services to Turkey but rather she has, as is well-known to Indian Moslems, reduced that country to a miserable plight in conjunction with the Allies. [In its next issue the paper again refers to the public appeal for co-operation made by His Excellency Lord Reading in his reply to the address from the Punjáb Muhammadans' Association and declares that the appeal will fall on deaf ears as long as the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs remain to be righted. The paper feels convinced of the *bonâ fides* of Lord Reading but it calls upon him to meet the non-co-operators in a conference and to arrive at a compromise with them before the next sessions of the Indian National Congress with a view to making the Prince's visit a success, strengthening the relations between England and India, winning over the hearts of the Asiatic Moslems and establishing peace and prosperity in India. The *Hindusthán* ridicules Lord Reading for his hollow promises of giving justice to the Indian people which the paper thinks he has not been able to fulfil and opines that he has exposed his honesty to doubt by trying to persuade the deputation of the Punjáb Muhammadans' Association that England had adopted a neutral attitude in the war between Greece and Turkey. The paper urges that the Viceroy cannot possibly advance the argument about the religious tolerance of Government and illustrate it by his own appointment. It declares that there are at present only two religions in the world: one the religion of God and the other the religion of Satan and that the Christians and the Jews have leagued themselves for a common purpose; the Christians to establish their power over Moslem countries and the Jews to secure Palestine, and hence the appointment of a Jew as the Viceroy of India does not go to prove that the Government of

Great Britain have no intention of encroaching upon the rights of the followers of other religions. The *Bombay Samáchár* commends the reply given by His Excellency Lord Reading to the address presented to him by the Punjáb Muhammadans' Association to the thoughtful consideration of Indians of all shades of opinion and expresses gratification at the assurance given by His Excellency about his efforts to secure modification in the Turkish treaty bearing fruit. The paper calls upon the Indian Moslems to work in co-operation with His Excellency and to secure through him the acceptance of the suggestion made by His Highness the Aga Khan for the appointment of Indian representatives at the peace conference that will settle the terms of peace between Greece and Turkey. It further exhorts the Indians to give a sympathetic response to the appeal for co-operation made by His Excellency for the removal of grievances and the attainment of complete *swaráj.* The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* says that the Viceroy's remarks in connection with the reception to the Prince of Wales and the trial of the Ali Brothers are particularly important. Referring to the reply of the Viceroy to those critics who regard the prosecution of the Ali Brothers as an attack on Islam the paper says that it deserves a very careful consideration from all.]

Sind Observer (9), 3rd Oct.

31. In the course of its comments on the Viceroy's reply to the Punjab Muhammadan Deputation, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"We even now doubt the wisdom of the prosecutions launched in this city and we are glad to note that our view is shared by even the most responsible Indians and the moderate press of the country. Nevertheless, we share the view of the Viceroy that no religious freedom is interfered with in this country......... But we cannot agree with His Excellency in thinking that a policy of repression is not being pursued. Repression everywhere is in full swing. Persons considered obnoxious by the powers-that-be are being removed one by one on some charge or other. We know that all such persons are being proceeded against under the ordinary law; but that is not to say there is no repression......... As the law at present stands, the speeches and actions of any person can be brought under any section. Our complaint is only against the law, and we strongly believe that it is in need of a radical modification. Unless the law of sedition in this country is brought in line with that prevailing in England and other civilised countries, any political activity in this land can be penalised."

Indu Prakásh (43), 4th Oct.; *Lokamánya* (114), 5th Oct.

32. The *Indu Prakásh,* referring to His Excellency Lord Reading's reply to the Punjab Muhammadan Association's address, remarks that His Excellency seems to have used the occasion to veil his own real thoughts. It regrets that when the whole country is demanding a further instalment of Reforms, His Excellency should have said nothing in the matter in the course of his speech. As regards his reference to the Turko-Greek war and England's alleged assistance to the Greeks, the paper remarks that though it reminds one of the fact that His Excellency was once a practising Barrister and an Ambassador of the British Government, it contains nothing to show that he was once the Chief Justice of England. Referring to His Excellency's assurance about the revision of the Treaty of Sevres, the paper suggests that His Excellency ought to have mentioned the lines on which the revision was likely to take place. It also thinks that when His Excellency remarked that young civilians were not guilty of insolence towards Indians, he was apparently ignorant of the exploits of Mr. Cadell at Sirsi. As regards His Excellency's reference to the Ali Brothers' prosecution, the paper regrets that as he has avoided the principal question as to whether the Brothers have encouraged violence, all his other pleas for the step taken are useless. [The *Lokamánya* remarks that the occasion of the Association's address seems to have been purposely brought about to furnish an occasion to His Excellency Lord Reading to find an escape from the difficult position in which Government has placed itself by its sanction of the Ali Brothers' prosecution. In its opinion the recent victory of the Turks has brought about a vast change in the political position since the sanction was given and Government might be repenting that it gave the sanction at all as the step taken was likely to make the Government a laughing stock with the European statesmen in view of the changed conditions. It points out that when at the beginning of September the destruction of the Turks seemed from the news then received to be almost on the cards, the bureaucracy naturally became anxious to bring pressure to bear on the Indian Muhammadans that they may not resort to violence in their despondency and thus sanctioned the prosecution of their leaders. The bureaucracy thus tried to show its statesmanship from its own point of view but, the paper says, fate ordained otherwise, and Lord Reading himself has been obliged to come forward to save it from disgrace by assuring the public in the course of his speech that the prosecution of the Ali Brothers was not meant to be an attack on the Khilafat agitation or on Islam. The speech only proves, the paper remarks, that the good intentions of the Viceroy have not suffered total eclipse by the pressure brought to bear upon him by the bureaucracy led by Dr. Sapru and Sir William Vincent, and it wants to know whether His Excellency will take a lesson from this and leaving the bureaucracy to itself take counsel with Mahatma Gandhi and the Ali Brothers, or at least with men like Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

Indian Social Reformer (5), 9th Oct.

***33.** "The Muhammadan deputation which waited on Lord Reading on the 1st instant seems to have had no object except to give His Excellency an opportunity to explain the change of policy involved in the prosecutions recently instituted against Mr. Shaukat Ali, Mahomed Ali and other Khilafat leaders. The topics touched upon in the address which it presented to the Viceroy were, with a single exception, familiar, not to say stale, ones and there was nothing distinctive even in the manner of their presentation. The address did not refer to the Karáchi prosecutions. But His Excellency very properly took the opportunity, afforded by the deputation, to repudiate the imputation made in a section of the press that these prosecutions were intended as an attack upon the religion of Islam.......... The notion that the Government of India are hostile to Islam has merely to be mentioned to be dismissed as absurd by every one who has followed the course of Indian politics during the last quarter of a century. As a fact, we do not think that even the Khilafat leaders have ever brought this charge against the Government of India.......... His Excellency claimed with reason that great tolerance has been displayed and great liberty permitted to those who, basing their exhortations upon religion, had nevertheless preached extreme political opinions. The Government of India has not been surpassed, he added, in its manifest desire for peace in this direction. This wise policy was fully justified by the fact that Moslem sentiments have been sorely taxed by the happenings in Europe, and at such a time true statesmanship counsels sympathy and forbearance. His Excellency left it to others to judge whether this policy and the more recent efforts made by himself to promote peace have been successful. We have no hesitation in answering this question in the affirmative. Indeed, so conspicuous has been this result to all who can see beneath surface appearances that we confess we were surprised that it has been found necessary to depart from it.......... His Excellency appealed for support and co-operation from all classes in his endeavours to promote the peace and prosperity of the country. We may assure him that the country is as anxious to give him its support as he to get it. Government cannot be embarrassed but by their own mistakes. If reasonable grievances are redressed, there need not be the slightest anxiety as to the effects of unreasonable agitation. In this connection, we must express our deep regret that His Excellency has not yet made up his mind about the Punjab martial law offenders. The public had been led to expect an early decision which has not been forthcoming. Lord Reading knows that a state of suspense is the most fruitfuf soil for disaffection."

New Times (7), 6th Oct.

34. "Lord Reading in his Simla speech is at considerable pains to show that Britain is not antagonistic to Islam. If Britain be friendly to Islam, why this trouble over the Khilafat question? Who, what, stands in the way of a just solution?......... Can His Excellency deny that Britain is largely responsible for the Treaty of Sevres? And does not that Treaty abandon Smyrna to Greece? Does not every one know that the will of the inhabitants of Smyrna was not taken into consideration in promising away Smyrna to Greece? On whom, if not on Britain, rests a large measure of responsibility for the exhausting war in the 'Near East'?......... What is needed is not a revision of the Treaty, but repentance and renunciation of the policy which subordinates Turkey and the East to imperialisms of the West. 'I am very conscious', says Lord Reading, 'of the strength of Moslem feeling in India in all that affects the Khilafat and the Muslim religion.' Why then these arrests of the Ali Brothers and other leaders?......... The Viceroy's speech will carry conviction with no one who will take the trouble to look at the question from the Muslim point of view.......... Could Government, from its point of view, commit a bigger blunder than to make 'religion' the battle-ground of conflict between itself and the country?"

Comments on the alleged grant of certain concessions to Colonel Frank Johnson.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Oct.

35. "In reply to the question put by one of the members of the Legislative Assembly the following official answer was furnished the other day by Mr. A. C. Chatterjee. [Here follows the answer regarding concessions alleged to be granted to Colonel Frank Johnson.] It is thus that those whom the people of the country regard as guilty of oppression against themselves are favoured by their 'rulers'. In any other country, men of the Frank Johnson type would not escape the punishment they deserve, but in India they are selected for preferment and honour. Neither the Punjab nor the Burma Government can plead that they were ignorant of the exploits of the *ex*-Colonel or of the feelings of the public at large regarding them, but obviously, as the Burma Government have the frankness to express, these feelings do not enter into the calculations of the 'rulers' of the Punjab and Burma. They are not considered 'relevant'. The new Viceroy himself showed the way by the treatment he meted out to Sir J. P. Thompson. The attitude of the Punjab and Burma Governments is, therefore, 'correct' in the eyes of the Central Government."

Comments on the *Labour Gazette* issued by the Bombay Government.

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 6th Oct.

36. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* reviews the *Labour Gazette* issued by the Government of Bombay and remarks that it will prove to be very useful to the labourers. The paper is of opinion that it will better serve its proper purpose if some of the articles appear in the vernaculars, *i. e.*, the languages spoken by many of the workmen.

Comments on the proposed rehabilitation of Government Securities.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Oct.

37. "There are few sadder chapters in the history of Indian finance than that relating to borrowing. Ever since the British obtained a political footing in this country, the financial administration has been so thoroughly and systematically misconducted that almost every year we have found an increase in the total burden of debt imposed upon India on account of its connection with Britain. No one seems to have considered, in the century and more of British rule in this country, a comprehensive scheme for the avoidance and reduction and repayment of public debt. No one seems to have considered even the possibility of a scientific programme of borrowing. To-day, after all the professions of a modernised and humanised Government, we find the Financial Department declare, while reviewing the recommendations of the two Committees appointed to consider a scheme for the rehabilitation of Securities of the Government of India, that 'the Government of India are not yet in a position to state the precise action that they propose to take in the light of the recommendations of these two Committees'. The assurance that these recommendations will be considered carefully as soon as the future liabilities in the matter of new capital expenditure have been determined is only a fresh insult added to the original injury, inasmuch as it is futile to expect, with all the machinery of reconstruction yet non-existent or undeveloped, that the Government will be able to bring out any scheme for capital expenditure for a reasonable period, in the near future."

Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office.

Sanj Vartamán (30), 3rd Oct., Eng. cols.

38. "Let us declare most emphatically that the question of the transfer of Aden at this juncture is most inadvisable and inopportune.......... Indian blood, Indian money and Indian enterprise have contributed the lion's share in making Aden what it is at the present day... ...... We have no hesitation in saying that, let them camouflage their action how they may, this transfer is only another name for daylight plunder and spoliation. The transformation of Aden into a colony will sound the death-knell of Indian enterprise and Indian toil and trouble and the planting on the very shores of India of another South Africa and Kenya."

Comments on the report of the Dharwar Inquiry Committee appointed by the Congress.

Mahrátta (6), 9th Oct.

***39.** "We publish elsewhere important extracts from the report of the Dhárwár Inquiry Committee appointed by the Working Committee of the Congress. The Commissioners, Messrs. Abbas Tyabji, Bhavani Shankar Niyogi and Setlur, are all acknowledged jurists of experience and we think that every word they say or write will command the willing confidence of all people in India. The report was concluded after considering both sides of the question and decisions have been come to after scrutinising the evidence recorded before them. As one goes through the report one is more and more convinced that there was not the slightest provocation from the crowd, that the crowd was peaceful in behaviour and in intentions and that the order to fire was given purely by the mischievous and vindictive tendencies of Shivalingappa. We hope our readers will read the important report for themselves and be convinced of the disgusting and nefarious ways of the Dhárwár officials, great and small."

Comments on the report of the Repressive Laws Committee.

Young India (11), 6th Oct.

40. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—"The Report of the Repressive Laws Committee would have excited thrilling interest fifteen months ago. No one now cares whether these laws are repealed or retained. They have ceased to frighten us, because we have ceased to fear arrests and imprisonments. We are now seeking not repeal of particular laws or regulations but a total repeal of the system that has made them possible. We know now that the Government could have done (under ordinary law) all the things (with slight variations) that they have hitherto done under the laws that are to be repealed. Under pressure of necessity the law advisers of the Government have discovered a potency in sections 144, 107 and 108 of the Criminal Procedure Code of which they were before unaware. The fact is, that even if the ordinary law were to be changed without a change of spirit, the people of India will not benefit by it. Though, therefore, the report has no interest for the people, it is a document of abiding interest to the student of the political situation in the country. The report could have been written in identical language ten years ago by the most reactionary of the Civilians. .... We used to think the officials were wrong in overriding the people's wishes even though the latter might be in error. We argued to our complete satisfaction that we were the best judges of our own condition. But now a change has come over some of us. Some of us occupy the position analogous to that of the officials.......... Thus we are no better than before : probably, if not certainly, we are much worse off. For now there is not only a foreign bureaucracy to cope with, but we have also a national bureaucracy to contend against. Well has Lala Lajpatrai remarked in his forceful analysis of the report, that what we want is not a change of masters but a change of the system, a change in the relations between the people and the State. The latter must represent the people or be ended. The reason for the strange phenomenon disclosed in the report is to be found in the fact that the non-official members are irresponsible but they sincerely feel that they know our interests better than we. How can any tinkering, therefore, answer the aspirations of a people that are awakened and are prepared to suffer for what they understand to be their rights?"

Comments on the resolution of the Ulemas to ignore the Government order confiscating their Fatwa.

Sindvasi (169), 2nd Oct.

41. The Ulemas gathered at Delhi have defiantly declared that it is the religious duty of Muslims to ignore the order of confiscation and to continue printing and publishing the Fatwa, and that preaching and propagating of the contents of the said Fatwa should continue as before. This resolution clearly shows that with some Khilafatists the interests of the country are nothing as compared with what they conceive to be the interests of their religion. They seem to have forgotten that the Indian Mutiny of 1857 was brought about by Hindu and Muslim sepoys being led to believe that the British were destroying their religion. Those who are making frantic efforts in the name of religion to tamper with the loyalty of Muslims in the army cannot be regarded as believers in the doctrine of non-violence. It is the duty of all thoughtful and patriotic Muslims emphatically to repudiate the resolution of the Ulemas. The vast bulk of the people are not prepared to see an era of anarchy and bloodshed introduced in the country for the sake of the Turks. No one is entitled to inflict a mortal injury on the body politic in the name of religion.

How the Moderates have failed.

Gujarát Mitra (15), 2nd Oct.

42. At a time when the country is passing through a critical phase the Legislative Assembly met at Simla quite unperturbed by the events taking place in the country. The fact that the arrest of the Ali Brothers and other leaders has produced no effect upon the Assembly goes to show that it does not in the least echo public opinion and that the Moderates have become indifferent to questions affecting the real interests of the country. We are, however, glad to note that a democratic party is being formed within the Assembly. Our Moderate friends have become quite lifeless and have been deliberately keeping themselves out of touch with the critical situation in the country to the great detriment to themselves and the country. The non-co-operation movement has been greatly stimulated by this attitude of theirs. We hope that the new Democratic party will give the right lead to the country.

Mr. Gandhi should have been allowed to proceed to Malabar to pacify the Moplahs.

Deshi Mitra (60), 6th Oct.

43. We fail to understand why the authorities should have prevented Mr. Gandhi from proceeding to Malabár. Would he have created unrest there? We do not think Government officials would have the courage to say so. Mr. Gandhi would have tried to pacify the turbulent Moplahs, but the local officials in their pride seem to have overlooked the confidence expressed by the Viceroy in the honesty of Mr. Gandhi. Such high-handed actions on the part of Government officials lead to excitement among the people and shake the mutual confidence existing between the rulers and the ruled. We hope His Excellency the Viceroy will not fail to take to task the officials who have turned back Mr. Gandhi and have thus shown that they do not trust him. Let us hope that Lord Reading will take care to see that the Moplah riots do not bring his administration into discredit as the Punjab atrocities did that of Lord Chelmsford.

Passive resistance.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 7th Oct.

44. The *Sánj Vartamán* discusses the suggestion made in certain quarters that the country should resort to passive resistance by way of protest against the arrest of the Ali Brothers and other political leaders and opines that the country that has not yet been able to adopt the boycott of foreign cloth cannot be said to be fit to take upon itself passive resistance at the present stage. The paper, therefore, exhorts the public to act upon the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress and to concentrate all their energies upon Swadeshi and boycott and to leave the question of passive resistance for the decision of the next sessions of the Congress.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 5th Oct.

45. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* comments upon the proposed adoption of Civil Disobedience to the law by the non-co-operators. In the opinion of the paper such a step will produce results like the Jhallianwalla and the Malabár incidents as the people have not sufficiently imbibed the doctrine of non-violence and as they are likely to lose their heads at any moment. In this connection the paper refers to the days of Satyagraha and says that Mr. Gandhi himself then admitted that some educated men had a hand in the excesses committed by the mob at Nadiád and Ahmedabad as a sequel to his arrest. And if such was the case of educated men, what of the ignorant masses? The paper concludes with a request to the non-co-operators to wait and ponder over the question calmly. [Elsewhere in an English article the paper refers to the miserable condition of Russia to-day and says that Modern Russia is a terrible object-lesson to all humanity. The Bolsheviks, in the opinion of the paper, ignored the practical conditions of the country in order to establish a Soviet republic and reduced it to ruin. Similarly the makers of the India of to-morrow, the paper says, are tending towards the same stupendous mistake. They should therefore take a warning from Russia and cease playing with the passions, fury and fanaticism of the masses.]

Protest against land acquisition by Government for military purposes at Deolali.

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 5th Oct.

46. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* deals at great length with the question of land acquisition at Deolali for military purposes and protests strongly against stationing large bodies of troops in close proximity to the civil population who look upon the proposal to do so with great disfavour. It also declares that Government should particularly leave the land adjoining the Parsi Tower of Silence unoccupied by troops. The paper also draws the attention of Government to the fact that a part of the civil population is harassed by the military and appeals to Government to remedy this evil. It also requests Government to restore to their owners such lands as were borrowed by the Military authorities in war time.

Viceroyalty of Lord Reading bound to prove disappointing.

Bharatmata ( ), 1st Oct.

47. It may safely be predicted now that the Viceroyalty of Lord Reading will prove disappointing. It is good that the people were undeceived early. Since the Viceroy made so many professions of sympathy, he should have done at least one act which would have given real satisfaction to the people. The policy of the bureaucracy is in no way changed since the advent of Lord Reading. On the contrary he seems to have completely passed under its influence. No one will attach any value to the professions of a Viceroy who has still found no time to go through the Martial Law cases in the Punjab. Perhaps he will find no time till the Prince comes here! It appears to be his idea to earn the goodwill of the people by announcing the release of the prisoners on the occasion of the Prince's visit. It is really unfortunate that a statesman like Lord Reading should believe that he can placate the people by means such as these.

Hindu (160), 3rd Oct.

48. Lord Reading landed in India with 'justice' on his lips. All people, therefore, spoke well of him and hoped that he had come to heal the wounds of Lord Chelmsford's administration. This hope however has been shattered to pieces. There is no trace of his 'justice' yet. On the contrary repression is now more in evidence than it was before. He has proceeded against the Ali Brothers contrary to his promise that they would not be touched so long as they did not incite the people to violence. And in fact they have never preached violence. But it is no secret that along with Mahatma Gandhi and other Congress and Khilafat workers they have been openly creating disaffection against the Government. This however is the religious duty of every non-co-operator. Instead of arresting all these men, as it should do if it is consistent, Government has proceeded only against the Brothers, proving thereby that its object is simply to put down the Khilafat movement.

The Bombay Port Trust and Indian interests.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Oct.

49. "The disabilities of Indians arising out of the prevailing administration of the Port Trust are many. There is discrimination against Indian-owned ships in regard to assigning berths, against Indian firms receiving contracts or supplying stores; Indians are not given higher posts; inadequate provision is made for Indian employees as compared with European employees; Indians find great difficulty in the matter of the renting of godowns and in their dealings with the Port Trust Railways, besides undergoing minor annoyances arising from the fact that the European employees of the Trust seldom feel responsibility towards Indians and, therefore, deem that their power is due not to their office but to the fact that they belong to the ruling white race. When one examines the magnitude of the financial issues involved, it will be seen that it is not a purely sentimental grievance. The Port Trust spent over two crores of rupees last year out of revenue.......... Is it suggested that a single penny of the revenue of the Trust comes from any pockets except those of the people of Bombay? And how is this taxation amounting to over two crores of rupees a year, that is, roughly about the sixth of the entire provincial revenue, levied? Does it come up for discussion or criticism by any responsible body of Indians? Has the Legislative Council any voice in the matter? The Trust has raised wharfage and other charges from time to time so much so that there is a danger of Bombay as a port losing its premier position. The successive increases of wharfage charges by the Bombay Port Trust may be traced to extravagant establishment charges, to the provision of palatial housing for European employees, to the creation of numerous supernumerary posts filled largely by inefficient and costly English officers while the work could be done efficiently by Indians. The working of the Trust thus offends against the elementary principle of taxation that those who pay must have a voice in determining the expenditure. An attempt is now being made to prevent the Indian element on Port Trust Board from increasing and to maintain the same number of Indians as hitherto by whatever process they may be appointed. This the public of Bombay must not permit to be done. It is necessary that there should be a majority of Indians on the Board representing primarily Indian mercantile interests and also other Indian interests in the city. Government have in the past packed the Board by nominating numerous high officials, who have, in our opinion, no business to be there. We think the time has come definitely when a demand should be made for an Indian Chairman of the Bombay Port Trust as soon as the present incumbent of that office retires. It is a melancholy reflection in this connection that no improvement is attempted in spite of the fact that the Department is nominally under an Indian Member of the Executive Council. We have always believed that the bureaucratic system, which is fundamentally faulty, would lead to no improvement by merely putting an Indian at the top. Those who talk loudly about the 'New Era' in administration will find in this case a suitable illustration of how the demands of public opinion are set aside, Indian sentiments are flouted, and everything which helps the exploitation of the country in foreign interests continues unchanged."

The danger of allowing Government servants to take part in political movements.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 8th Oct.

50. The *Bombay Samáchár* dwells upon the dangers involved in Government servants taking part in political movements. It then refers to the office orders issued by the Collector of Dhárwár in the matter of the boycott of foreign cloth and declares that they are likely to induce petty Government servants to put forth exertions to retard the Swadeshi movement. It concludes by asking Government officials to express their approval or disapproval publicly but not to allow their subordinates to work either for or against any propaganda.

The inconsistency of Moderates in pressing for further Constitutional Reforms.

Hindusthán (20), 3rd Oct.

51. The *Hindusthán* associates itself fully with the resolution moved in the Legislative Assembly in the matter of admitting Indians to half the number of posts in the superior services of Government such as governors and judges of the high courts and also that moved in the Council of State for Indianisation of the administration and declares that the arguments urged against these resolutions go to prove that the bureaucracy do not want to let go their power and that the British rule in India stands self-condemned by its inability to produce Indians who in the opinion of the bureaucracy would be fit to govern the country. It also blames the Moderates for the weakness shown by them in not standing firm by the resolution moved in the Assembly and being taken in by the plausible plea that the passing of the resolution would encroach upon the prerogative of the Crown. [Elsewhere the paper dwells upon the awkward position the Moderates have placed themselves in by resolving to co-operate with Government in working the reforms and at the same time bringing forward a resolution like the one moved by Mr. Mozoomdar in the Assembly which amounts to asking for the grant of *swarâj*. It asks the Moderates either to trust implicitly in the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms or to join the non-co-operation movement.]

Comments on the acquittal of the accused in the Sinjhoro (Sind) Police torture case.

Musáfir (164), 24th Sept.

52. The judgment of the Sessions Judge of Hyderabad in the Sinjhoro Police torture case has created a stir in the country. And the reason is not far to seek. The public had been shocked beyond measure by the accounts of the accused Policemen's cruel and high-handed conduct, and quite naturally expected their conviction. An acquittal was never thought of, much less the acquittal of all the accused. We cannot however believe that the decision of the Sessions Judge, the highest judicial authority in the district, could be wilful or made through ignorance of the facts of the case. But it is plain from his judgment that the intermixture of fact and fiction in the prosecution story has led him to regard the whole to be a fabrication. And it is just possible that his decision was also influenced by the fact of the non-co-operators having a hand in the case. Whatever it be, the demand of the public for a retrial of the case is neither illegal nor unreasonable.

Grievances of Indians in Kenya.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 1st Oct., Eng. cols.

53. "When self-interest and selfishness are concerned and more especially when the bile of vituperation is to be emptied against the Indians, there is nothing to choose between the South African Whites and the Whites of Kenya.......... Former selfishness added to present jealousy has created the darkest possible atmosphere against the Indians not only in South Africa but in other places where the South African anti-Indian poison had spread and taken root. From General Smuts, from his previous record, we were expecting a change in the South African policy of Indian baiting. But even here disappointment is our lot. His assurance to the Kenya deputation is characteristic. He was sympathetic to the Kenya Europeans' position and stated that he realised the menace that was being created to the whole of African civilisation. A more preposterously foolish statement was never made by a responsible politician anywhere. This shows that not only they all are alike, but that in whatever guise a South African might pose and strut before the world, you have but to scratch him and a full-blooded anti-Indian is the result."

Servant of India (8), 5th Oct.

54. "When one analyzes the reasons put forward for a 'White Kenya', so called, one finds in the end three lines taken: that to abandon the Milner policy would be bad (1) for Indians, (2) for Africans, (3) for whites. The first line came first in time......... Of recent years this line has been largely abandoned. India herself is no longer being run on this line of argument, but has been found to be remarkably able to look after herself. And not in India only, but even in Kenya. So the Indian philanthropy 'stop' is no longer being used. Out comes the much louder 'stop' of the interests of the native African. It is the poor negro child-race which simply cannot be handed over to cruel exploitation by those cunning Indians. Besides, it is not only that he would be swindled and oppressed: there are moral dangers and......... (Here the voice drops and the insinuation is taken up by a grimace.) We must say we know nothing more nauseating than this kind of talk on the part of a race who have dispossessed the negro of his lands and exploited him as their slave. The aggrieved 'whites' of Kenya have appropriately gone to South Africa to get Boer help for their policy, and to South Africa we, too, would direct all who would know the extent to which dispossessing the natives has gone......... That the whites of Kenya are no different is proved by the infamous Labour Ordinance whereby the wretched negro people there are forced to work on plantations. Mr. Churchill in answer to a recent question in Parliament admitted that for the period February to December 1920, 2,208 persons had been thus supplied by the Government of the 'Protectorate' (save the mark) for forced labour on white plantations. From this one may guess how many more negroes work 'voluntarily' on these estates, to escape being forcibly drafted there!......... So much for the exploitation and oppression of negroes, not by Indians, but by the whites who profess such concern for the defence of negro innocence against Indian aggression. There remain the hints at sexual demoralization amongst the unspoilt African through contact with the moral laxity of these debauched Indians. There again facts as to the whites' own conduct towards the black womenfolk are so numerous that it is needless to go into the unsavoury notoriety which all whites have acquired in Africa. If statistics are wanted, they can be gathered from hospital admissions for venereal diseases, unknown amongst negroes until the advent of the superior white. In South Africa census reports will show the number of 'coloured' people, *i.e.*, mixed descent. Whether in other parts of Africa this distinction is shown in vital statistics we do not know. But we do know that throughout the length and breath of the African continent African women are deemed good enough to be prostituted for the benefit of the white male, but hardly ever to be married by him. And yet it is these people who are loudest in demanding protection of the African against Indian immorality! It will be observed that in our argument we have not tried to show that the Indian does not exploit, oppress and debauch the negro, but merely that the white does. Against the easy retort that two blacks do not make one white, we must point out that we are here merely concerned with assessing the truth value of the claims made by the Europeans themselves, *viz.*, that their cry for a 'White Kenya' is dictated by solicitude for the native African. That claim is false, utterly, palpably, nauseatingly false."

Turkey and Indian Mussalmans.

Gujaráti (14), 2nd Oct.; *Hindusthán* (20), 6th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 3rd Oct.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (53), 3rd Oct.

55. The *Gujaráti* traces the history of the events which led to the present war between the Greeks and the Turks in Angora, in which, according to the paper, the Turks have been victorious. The Greeks threaten, continues the paper, that if the Turkish provinces are not given to them, they will not pay back the money borrowed by them from England. The suggestion has been made to Indian Mussalmans that they should pay back Greece's debts to England and thereby save the Turkish provinces. But the paper does not think it advisable that a single pie should thus be paid to England by Indian Muhammadans. In its next article the paper expresses the opinion that in their struggle with Greece the Turks seem to stand more in need of fighting men and experts in the art of manufacturing munitions than of money, and that, instead of losing their lives or going to jail by fighting against the Government of India, it would be more advantageous for Indian Muhammadans to fight on the side of the Turks and help them to drive back their enemies. The paper does not believe that the Government of India would stop Indian Muhammadans from going to the help of the Turks. [The *Hindusthán* deals at some length with the intrigues of the Christian nations of Europe to drive away the Turks from Europe and insinuates that the Allies indirectly helped Greece in its attack upon Turkey and that now they are likely to frame the terms of Peace so as to prejudice the interests of Turkey and that it is on account of this fear that His Highness the Aga Khan wants that India may be represented at the Peace Conference. The paper warns the Allies to be just to the claims of Turkey lest the Moslem world be excited against them. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* dwells with satisfaction on the defeat of the Greeks in Anatolia by the Turks, and remarks that the victory of the Turks will spread joy not only among the Indian Muhammadans but among all the Indian people, and that universal satisfaction will be felt at the failure of Constantine's move to crush the Turks. The paper hopes that no efforts will be made to deprive the Turks of the fruits of their victory by means of political intrigues. It agrees with the suggestion of His Highness the Aga Khan that one Mussalman and one Hindu should represent Indians in the Conference for the settlement of the Turkish question. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* refers to a recent telegram stating that Greece is trying to make peace with the Kemalists, and declares that this shows that the Turks have defeated the Greeks and that the latter have become helpless against them. The paper indulges in high praise of the Turks and remarks that they have by their victories over the Greeks given ample and indisputable proofs to the European powers of their strength and valour. The paper urges the European powers whom Greece is said to have appealed for intervention to do their duty in a just and independent manner and help to restore to Turkey those Turkish provinces which Greece was trying to swallow with their help and countenance].

Political Bhomiyo (71), 7th Oct.

56. Will the Allies come to the rescue of Greece when she is defeated and save her from being rightly punished by Turkey? While retreating the Greek troops have burnt villages and have proved that they are unfit to rule over a Turkish province. It was wrong on the part of the Allies to have entrusted a Turkish province to Greece and now that Greece has proved its utter incompetence they should get it returned to Turkey or allow Turkey to punish her. Now is the opportunity for England! His Highness the Aga Khan has suggested the appointment of a Hindu and a Moslem from India on the Peace Conference but we do not think that a Hindu can understand the significance of the Khilafat question and would therefore urge the appointment of two Muhammadans from India and would suggest the names of the Right Honourable Mr. Amir Ali and His Highness the Aga Khan to represent India on the Peace Conference. Let us hope that Lord Reading will not fail to avail himself of this opportunity of pacifying India.

Insáf (66), 30th Sept.

57. There must be scarcely any Muhammadan or non-Muhammadan who must be unaware of the calamities that have befallen Islam, its followers, the Khilafat and its protector—Turkey. There is no end to the obligations conferred upon the world by Turkey. But the Moslems of the world have begun to think of nothing else but their ease and comfort and seem to have no idea of their duty of defending a Moslem power against the encroachments of a non-Moslem state. No other Moslem country except Turkey has done its duty to the Moslem world. But is not the Moslem world prepared to discharge its obligations to Turkey? Have they no regard for the teachings of the Koran? Can they secure salvation on the Day of Judgment without making a sacrifice of their wealth for the protection of Turkey? Many a widow and orphan is suffering hardships in Thrace and Smyrna. But they have refused the clothes sent from this country lest they be guilty of receiving help from the enemies of Islam! O Moslems, lend all possible monetary

help to Angora; subscribe to the Fund that is being raised for the relief of distress in that country and sacrifice your all in the interest of your religion.

LEGISLATION.

Comments on the Narwadari Bill.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Oct.

58. "At the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council, a bill further to amend the Bombay Act No. V of 1862 for the preservation of the Bhagdari and Narwadari Tenures, as amended by a Select Committee, has been tabled for discussion.......... Some useful amendments were to have been proposed by Mr. Dadubhai, in the event of Government pushing the bill through, but Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, who was in charge of the Bill, announced that its consideration would be postponed till the next session with a view to give the people concerned an opportunity of stating their views. What the Revenue Member meant by 'the people concerned', it is somewhat difficult to see clearly. If it was intended, as is obvious, that the Council should have more definite information concerning the views of the capitalists and industrialists, it was clearly unnecessary. The unwisdom of giving *carte blanche* to collectors, with their confirmed bias against independent landed proprietary, does not require to be demonstrated. As it is, we are unable to see that the amendment proposed by Government touches at all the rights of the villagers for better or for worse. It is an ill-conceived proposal whose effect would be to destroy one class of vested interest and create another, which in its incidence might prove worse than the first one; in other words, so far as the villagers are concerned, it will be like substituting for the reign of King Log that of King Stork. It is a pity that the Bill was not withdrawn altogether during the last session, but it is to come up again during the current session. The opposition has not whittled down a bit during these four or five weeks, and we shall not be surprised if it asserts itself finally. For the proposal, as it stands, is a bad piece of legislative bungling, which is not altogether rare in the history of the Bombay Government, and fully deserves to be thrown out in favour, if necessary, of a more comprehensive proposal for the improvement of the villagers' lot under the tenures which will prevent their unscrupulous exploitation by vested interests."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Compulsory primary education and the Poona Municipality.

Kesari (110), 4th Oct.; *Dnyán Prakásh* (40), 4th Oct.

59. The *Kesari* refers to the reshelving of the resolution about compulsory primary education at the last meeting of the Poona Municipality owing to less than twenty votes being recorded in its favour and remarks that though the question is shelved for the present, it can be said that its solution has been advanced a step further and that it is certain to be finally solved in the course of the current year. It hopes that the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye who is aware of the pecuniary condition of Poona will treat the matter as a special case and grant the Municipality's request for a three-fourths grant and thus help to solve the question. It feels confident that as soon as the Municipal Committee comes to know the concessions Government is prepared to make, the resolution will be unanimously adopted. Writing in the same connection the paper welcomes a Councillor's proposal to impose a terminal tax on all railway passengers coming to Poona to meet the education expenditure but says that Government is not likely to sanction it. It, therefore, remarks that unless some other source of revenue is devised the question of compulsory education is again likely to be postponed. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* expresses its disappointment at the failure of the Municipality to adopt the motion. In its opinion the decision is all the more regrettable since Government had expressed its willingness to bear two-thirds of the expenditure in the event of the motion being adopted by the Municipality. The paper blames the reactionary party, for this result, led by Mr. Shankarrao Lavate who opposed the motion mainly on the ground that the Muhammadans were against it, and expresses the hope that the motion will meet with a better fate on the next occasion.]

RAILWAYS.

Reservation of third class compartments for Europeans and Eurasians on railway trains.

Lokasangraha (116), 1st Oct.

60. The *Lokasangraha* protests against the practice of reserving a third class compartment on railway trains exclusively for the use of Europeans and Eurasians. It welcomes the assurance given by Colonel Waghorn on behalf of Government at the last meeting of the Legislative Assembly that this practice would be discontinued so far as the slow trains were concerned. It pleads for the complete abandonment of this practice and remarks that it owes its origin to the desire of the ruling caste to maintain its prestige among Indians.

Comments on the report of the Railway Committee.

*Gujaráti**(14), 2nd Sept.

61. The *Gujaráti* complains of the fact that the Report of the Indian Railway Committee should have been first published in England and only a telegraphic summary thereof communicated to this country, although as it mainly concerned Indian interests, it should have been first published in India. In its opinion such a state of things is not to be tolerated and an explanation with regard to it should be demanded in the Indian Legislature. The paper then goes on to describe the Railway policy of Government in India, and to make the usual indictment against Company management of Railways, which is carried in the interests of Europeans and Eurasians, and aims at squeezing the Indians in some way or other. In the opinion of the paper State management is the only panacea for all the evils of the Railway administration in India. The State already carries on the Postal, Telegraph, Irrigation, Forest and other Departments to the advantage of the people, and the paper, therefore, thinks that it can similarly take over and carry on with ease the Railway administration with benefit to the public.

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on a speech delivered at Dhrangadhra by the Agent to the Governor in Kathiawar.

Gujaráti Punch (16), 2nd Oct.

62. The *Gujaráti Punch* refers to the protest raised by the Káthiáwár Hitwardhak Sabha against a speech delivered by Sir Evan Maconochie at Dhrangadhra and remarks :—The Government of Bombay should consider the appeal made by the Káthiáwár Hitwardhak Sabha impartially and do justice to it. If Sir Evan was right in his arguments, he ought to have given a reply to the letter received by him from ten members of the Sabha. We cannot understand why he did not do so. The Agent to His Excellency the Governor in Káthiáwár ought not to have delivered a speech regarding certain state of affairs at a time of confusion and anxiety in Dhrangadhra. If he had but heard both the sides and not alluded to any party in his speech, it would have been after the manner of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd who generally takes steps or delivers speeches after carefully and cautiously considering each and every question. We hope that the Government of Bombay will take up the question of considering the appeal made to them by the Káthiáwár Hitwardhak Sabha. They should appoint a commission to inquire impartially into those measures of the Dhrangadhra State which may have wounded the feelings of the people and with reference to which the speech in question was delivered.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Bombay Legislative Council:
- Comments on the address to be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by the — 6
- Comments on the resolution in the — about encouragement of indigenous medicine 5
- The Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the — 4
- The seriousness of the agricultural condition of the Presidency . . 3

British Rule:
- Comments on the *Labour Gazette* 23
- Comments on the personnel and terms of reference of the Fiscal Commission . . . . 15—20
- Lord Lytton's Indian Students' Committee . . . . 21 & 22
- The parallel between Ireland and India 24

His Excellency the Viceroy: His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Punjab Muhammadan Deputation 1

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:
- Comments on the forthcoming visit of the Prince of Wales to India . 8—13
- Comments on the resolve of the Poona City Municipality not to present an address to — 14
- Protest against any expenditure during the visit of — 7

Indians in the Colonies: Comments on the Government of India's memorandum on the position of Indians in the Dominions . . . 51 & 52

Indian Legislature: Comments on the resolution about the purchase of stores in the Legislative Assembly 2

Judicial matters:
- Comments on the Chief Presidency Magistrate's decision in the Elphinstone College Hostel case 50
- Comments on the judgment in the Dharwar riot case . . . . 38—48
- Comments on the judgment of the District Magistrate, Násik, in railway train theft case 49

Non-co-operation:
- Appeal to Government to abandon the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and other leaders 26
- Comments on Mr. Gandhi's advice to Indians not to serve in the Army. 32
- Comments on the alleged orders of Government regarding purchase of safes for Government offices made by Messrs. Godrej and Company 33

H 230—s CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation—*continued*

Comments on the resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress regarding the relations of India with the neighbouring Independent States 34

Mr. Gandhi losing faith in the success of the — movement . . . 35

Necessity of boycotting Government service in any capacity . . . 30

Non-co-operation and the strike on the Assam-Bengal Railway . . 36

Reflections on the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and other leaders . 27—29

The Moplha riots 37

Well educated men no longer seek Government services 31

What Government must do to ease the political situation in India . 25

Press Act: The — and Chiefs of Native States 53

Public Service: The Bombay Government and the question of proportionate pensions for the I. C. S. 54

War: Appeal to England to capture the hearts of the Musalmans of the world by doing justice to Turkey 55

EDUCATION—

Government and expenditure on Primary education 56

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Punjab Muhammadan Deputation.

Swaraj (Sindhi) (171), 6th Oct.; *Sind Vasi* (169), 6th Oct.

1. In reply to the Punjab Muslim Deputation the Viceroy stated that in no other country the people enjoy so much freedom of speech as in India. His Excellency is mistaken if he thinks the people will be taken in by these boastful words. It is true several leaders who are propagating disaffection against the present system of Government have not yet been incarcerated. But that is because the Government does not want to bring the matters to a crisis which will bring its downfall. If Government has not yet resorted to its extreme step of repression it is because it still wants to have recourse to smooth methods to retain the people in bondage. Referring to the Ali Brothers' prosecution His Excellency refrained from offering any remarks as the case was *sub-judice*, although the whole world can predict the result of the prosecution. Mr. Kennedy knowing that the case would be committed to the Sessions actually went to inspect the Khalikdina Hall where he would have to try the case. The Ali Brothers, or for the matter of that all non-co-operators including Mahatma Gandhi have, no doubt, transgressed the law of the country, but, as pointed out by us on a previous occasion, if the law of the country is unjust and is only intended to empower the wicked bureaucracy, it is a religious duty of every lover of the country to disobey it. [The *Sindvasi* remarks:—We endorse the view of the Viceroy that religious intolerence has no place in the British Empire. As regards the repressive policy of the Government the Viceroy seems to overstate his case. No doubt all recourse to the repressive laws has been abandoned, but the use that has been made of the ordinary law has been rather excessive. We do not deny the right of Government to put down the mischievous propaganda of tampering with the loyalty of the Police and the Military, but a great deal of statesmanship is required to deal with such cases. To put down the present unrest a wise course for the Government would be to introduce a further instalment of reforms at an early date.]

Comments on the resolution about the purchase of stores in the Legislative Assembly.

Gujarati (14), 9th Oct.

2. The *Gujarati* tries at great length to show how India has always been exploited financially, commercially and industrially by the British Government for the benefit of England and English manufacturers and financiers, how during past 100 years not a single pie has been spent in India for the development of Indian trade and industries or in foreign countries to enable Indians to gain industrial training there, by a Government which claims to carry on the administration of India as a matter of pure philanthropy. The paper declares that this economic exploitation is one of the main causes of the hostile feeling created in the minds of Indians against England and that they will now no longer be taken in, however hard the foreign administrators may try to deceive them by their tall talk about justice, morality and truth. The paper does not believe that matters have improved in any way by the Stores Department having been removed from the control of the Secretary of State and a High Commissioner for India having been appointed, for the latter will still be under the influence of the Secretary of State and the English manufacturers. The paper fails to understand why the High Commissioner should be located in England and not in India. The paper also does not think that much good will result from the acceptance in the Council of Sir V. Thackersey's resolution on the subject of the purchase of stores for India, so long as the High Commissioner continues to be in London. In the opinion of the paper there can be no true *swaraj* unless two things are brought about, namely, India is freed from the financial domination of London and the Stores Purchase Department is removed from London and located in India. From a consideration of the evidence given by Sir William Meyer before the Indian Railway Committee, the paper comes to the conclusion that the sole aim underlying the present system of purchasing stores for India and inviting tenders for them is to benefit England at the expense

of India and to show undue preference to English manufacturers over those of other foreign countries. The paper urges the carrying on of strong agitation on this subject both in the Councils and outside with a view to testing the utility of the new Reforms, and concludes with the remark that if such looting of India in broad day-light is to be put a stop to for ever, it is necessary to demand that the Indian Stores Purchase Department be placed under the control of a committee of the Indian Legislature.

The seriousness of the agricultural condition of the Presidency.

Bombay Samachar (56), 14th Oct.

3. The *Bombay Samachar* expresses surprise at the statement made by the Honourable Mr. Lawrence at the last meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council to the effect that there was no cause for anxiety in the matter of crops in this Presidency, despite the report made by the Government of India to the Secretary of State to the effect that there was not sufficient rain in the southern portion of the Bombay Presidency during September. The paper is of the opinion that the Kharif crop in this Presidency has suffered owing to insufficient rain in some parts and excessive rain in others and that the prospect of Rabi is not very favourable. If then refers to the unsatisfactory state of the agricultural position throughout India and expresses the hope that Government will take prompt steps to mitigate the distress caused by high prices which also cause excitability and discontent among the people.

The Back Bay Reclamation Scheme and the Bombay Legislative Council.

Bombay Chronicle **(1), 13th Oct.**

4. "We have of late witnessed many a phase of the ways of the Government of Bombay in regard to the Reclamation Scheme. The scheme was not placed before the public till it was actually in operation and even then what little information about it has been vouchsafed to the public has been most reluctantly disclosed. Even to-day what the public know about it is, perhaps, not even half of what has been kept away from them. His Excellency the Governor said not long ago that he had taken up the scheme at the request of the citizens of Bombay. There is absolutely no record that the latter were hungering after the scheme. No act of the legislature was passed, no bill was introduced and no opinions were invited before this costly and chimerical scheme was launched. Even the Legislative Council was not consulted. One of the queerest things that has recently leaked out is the fact that orders for dredgers and other machinery for the Back Bay Reclamation were placed by the Government of Bombay so far back as May 1920 before due sanction was obtained!...... It is high time that the members of the Council ascertained their exact functions and position before they are required to endorse blank cheques and it is equally necessary for all the Councillors, the mercantile community and the citizens at large who are about to protest against the absolutism of the Development Directorate to demand a satisfactory answer to the questions whether huge schemes can be launched and orders placed with regard to them without consulting them."

Comments on the resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council about encouragement of indigenous medicine.

Lokamanya (114), 13th Oct.

5. The *Lokamanya* expresses its dissatisfaction at the form in which Rao Bahadur Kale's resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council for the encouragement of indigenous medicine was ultimately accepted by Government. It fails to understand the reason why the inquiry about the methods to encourage indigenous medicine is to be entrusted to a member of the Indian Medical Service instead of to a Committee as suggested by Mr. Kale when the want of sympathy of that service for indigenous medicine is so well-known and it expresses its apprehension that the inquiry will prove unsatisfactory to the public. At the same time it hopes that full advantage will be taken of the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye's announcement about the Local Boards being granted permission to open indigenous dispensaries.

Comments on the address to be presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales by the Bombay Legislative Council.

Hindusthan (20), 12th Oct.

6. The *Hindusthan* discusses the draft of the address to be presented to the Prince of Wales by the Bombay Legislative Council and declares that the name of the Prince has become a " household word " not so much by the " golden opinions " he has earned by his virtues as stated in the address but by the strong agitation that is being organised to boycott his visit. The paper then questions the right of the Council to call itself the new Parliament of this Presidency and declares that the Prince will be greatly amused by the reference to Henry VIII in the address.

Protest against any expenditure during the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Oct.

7. " His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is understood to have expressed a wish that the municipal corporations and other public bodies in this country intending to present addresses to him will not indulge in excessive expenditure in this connection and that he would much prefer if these public bodies devoted the funds to ' the alleviation of poverty and sufferings or to similar laudable objects of a public nature '. We cannot say as yet how our municipalities and other public bodies will respect this declared wish of the royal visitor, but it is obvious that the Government of India and the various provincial Governments do not think that the royal suggestion is addressed to them. The fact that there is widespread famine in some parts of the country and that there is acute distress all round owing to the prevailing high prices and scarcity of food grains, does not affect the various Governments' decision to spend at least half a crore of rupees from public funds over the Prince's tour. Half a crore or more will be spent by the Princes of India. Thus at least a hundred lakhs will have been squandered in pomp and pageantry while hundreds of thousands are in the grip of dire distress and while the Prince himself is anxious that there should be no extravagance and all available funds should be expended on alleviation of the poverty and sufferings of the people of India. That is how the Prince's countrymen, the ' rulers ' of this country, honour his expressed wish ! We say nothing here about the political unrest and the determination of the people to boycott the visit of the Prince, for it is clear that the bureaucracy, and its friends, the co-operators, have resolved to make it appear that the unrest and the determination are non-existent. It is this resolve and compact that are at the bottom of the feverish preparations afoot to make the reception to the Prince appear as ' magnificent ' as possible, without regard to expene or decency....... No satisfactory excuse was given to the Council by the Government for not placing the estimates of expenditure before the Finance Committee ; yet the Council, after a half-hearted protest, meekly submitted to the official dictation, because obviously any serious opposition to the grants would have been constructed *a la Sapru* as disloyalty and treason and we know sufficiently of the moral courage of even the staunchest ' Liberal ' in the Council to expect that these co-operators would have the hardihood to tell the official wasters his real thoughts on the callous extravagance they are indulging in for the so-called entertainment of the Prince. Entertainment forsooth ! In the face of the expressed wish of the Prince, the squandering of two lakhs on mere illuminations and three and a half lakhs on a reception on landing must appear as a direct insult to the Prince. We ask if it is too late for the official world to realise the indecency of their whole programme of ' entertainment '."

Comments on the forthcomming visit of the Prince of Wales to India.

Karnatak Mitra (34), 6th Oct.

8. The burning of foreign cloth in these days of widespread famine is regarded by some people as a wanton infliction of additional misery upon the country. But the expenditure which is going to be incurred in connection with the Prince's visit is not regarded by them in the same light. Princes, Emperors and such illustrious personalities are always welcome amongst us, especially when they came here on a mission of liberation for this enslaved and poverty-stricken country. The hospitality of the Hindus is proverbial and they will even lay down their lives in the discharge of this duty. When, therefore, these very people grumble and give expression to their resentment at the proposed visit of the Prince, it is clear that they must have a well-founded reason for this change of attitude. Such opposition had never been expressed before by the people notwithstanding the fact that these Royal visits had always been very expensive affairs. When King Edward visited the country in 1876 as Prince of Wales a sum of £60,000 had been sanctioned for his reception. Even this sum it is said did not suffice and that the actual expenditure incurred was still greater. The story, however, is an old one. The Duke of Connaught visited the country only the other day; and before a reasonable period has passed since a huge expenditure was saddled upon this country in connection with his visit, the Prince is now coming and that means a new burden upon the country. What does all this show, except that our rulers still regard India as a mine of gold ?

New Times (7) 8th Oct.

9. "Never in recent history was the country so deeply stirred by the national spirit as today. The thought is in the air that the country is at war with the bureaucracy. The arrests of the Ali Brothers and others have deepened unrest. Does any one expect the country to be in a proper mood to welcome the Prince ? ......As a matter of fact non-co-operators have resolved to boycott the Prince's visit; and while if the Prince comes, he will doubtless have receptions from the official class, it will not be the people who will join in the *tamashas*. Muslims and their Hindu sympathisers are in no mood to have *tamashas* when the Khilafat question remains unsolved and when many of the Khilafat and *swaraj* workers are in jail..... There is also the financial aspect of the matter. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has wisely expressed a hope that 'Corporations and other bodies would not incur excessive expenditure' in connection with his visit. The Prince's 'hope', however, will not be realised in the event of his visit; and the expenses incurred in connection with the visit will really be a tax thrown upon the people. Is it fair to use public funds for *tamashas* in which officials, not the people, will participate ? Is it fair to add to the burdens of the over-taxed Indian tax-payer ? There is poverty, there is suffering today in India. Is this the time to choose for a visit to India."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Oct.

10. "In utter disregard of the feelings of the people of this country the bureaucracy has persisted in its decision to bring His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India and is indulging in costly pomp and pageantry while still the wounds inflicted on the country are unhealed and the people are sore at heart. .... The bureaucracy knows but too well that the tour of the Duke of Connaught, also arranged for political reasons, proved an ignominous failure. It is with a view to safeguard against a repetition of that failure in connection with the Prince's visit that arrangements are being made to make the receptions and other ceremonies connected with the tour as grandiose as possible, regardless of cost and public decencies. The greater the aloofness of the public, the greater the *tamasha*—that seems to be the plan of the bureaucracy, out to hoodwink both Prince and the world at large about the real condition of things in this country and the feelings of the people towards the visit of the Prince......... It is superfluous to assure the Prince that the Indian people bear no ill-will towards him. On the other hand, it is a matter of profound regret to them that His Royal Highness has been made a tool by the Indian bureaucracy for its own ulterior purposes. It is a matter of regret also that with the exception of one or two journals in England, like the *Daily Herald* and the *Manchester Guardian*, the British Press should fail to take note of the real feelings of the people of India regarding the Prince's visit. But, in spite of all the official camouflage and newspaper barrage, it is impossible to believe that the Prince has not been apprised by now that there is strong feeling in India against his projected visit. Assurances, however, must have been conveyed to him by his official advisers that the Government of India are taking all steps necessary to make the visit a 'success', —from the spectacular point of view! But whatever the bureaucracy does, the people of this country have their own duty to perform which they must do unflinchingly—and that is to boycott the Prince's visit effectively, and they will do so because, in the words of the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee, the visit is a political move and is thus 'calculated to give strength and support to a system of Government that has resulted in a breach of faith with the Mussalmans of India and atrocious injustice to the people of India as during the Martial law days in 1919 in the Punjab and a system that is designed to keep India as long as possible from her birthright of *swaraj*'."

Kesari (110), 11th Oct.

11. The *Kesari* says that in the Reception Committee being now formed by Government on behalf of the Maharashtra to welcome the Prince of Wales to Poona outsiders figure more than those connected with the city. It alleges that the Sardars of all the three classes were called by wire to attend a meeting at Ganeshkind last Saturday and ordered to come down to Poona with the largest possible retinues on the occasion of the Prince's visit and remarks that the command could well have been issued through the post instead of making the Sardars undergo all the expense of personally coming down to Poona. It also says that it having been decided that the Prince riding on an elephant is to be followed by the Sardars on horseback, in the procession, many of the Sardars will not only have to purchase new horses but also learn horse-riding for the occasion. The paper also refers to the wish expressed by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales that no extravagant expenditure should be incurred by municipalities and other bodies in the matter of his visit to India and hopes that it will be duly attended to by all the people concerned. In this connection it expresses its surprise that the Bombay Legislative Council should have sanctioned such a heavy amount as eight lacs and seventy-three thousand rupees for the Prince's reception when many useful works of public utility are being actually starved for want of funds. It admits that the Moderate party in the Council did oppose the extravagance, but points out that Government succeeded in brushing aside their opposition with the help of its henchmen, thus exposing the real character of the Council.

Lokamanya (114), 15th Oct.

12. The *Lokamanya* referring to a recent speech delivered by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in connection with the unemployment problem in England says that it appears from what His Royal Highness said in the course of the speech that he is not coming to India to announce the grant of colonial self-government to India, but to see how far India can supply raw commodities to England and purchase manufactured goods from her. It appears as if, the paper remarks, the Prince and his companions are to form a Commercial Deputation for doing the work which the Manchester Commission which it was once intended to be sent out to India was going to do, and therefore the Prince's visit deserves to be boycotted as directed by the Congress Committee.

Sanj Vartaman (30), 10th Oct.; *Swarajya* (Gujarati) (62) 11th Oct.;
Bombay Samachar (56), 11th Oct.; *Gujarati Punch* (16), 9th Oct.

13. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has issued a timely warning to Municipal Corporations and other public bodies that may present addresses of welcome to him not to indulge in excessive expenditure. It is, therefore, to be regretted that the Government of India, the Provincial Governments and other public bodies have already begun to squander lakhs of rupees in making preparations for welcoming the Prince. The Bombay Legislative Council have voted eight lakhs of rupees for the reception of the Prince at a time when they cannot spare any money for introducing compulsory primary education in the Presidency. It is, however, a matter for gratification that some members of the Council objected to the heavy expenditure. The people would certainly ask Government as to whose money it is that they are squandering in welcoming the Prince. All the items of expenditure sanctioned by the Council are unnecessary. We would have nothing to say if the money came from the pockets of Government officials. But the money belongs to the very people who are the most wretched in the world, who fall a prey to starvation on the failure of a single monsoon and succumb to easy death on the outbreak of an infection. It is to be seen how far Government officials are prepared to respect the wishes of the Prince by curtailing the extravagent expenditure they mean to incur. [The *Swarajya* (Gujarati) writes:—The Government of Bombay have obtained the sanction

of the Legislative Council for spending nearly nine lakhs of rupees in welcoming the Prince and have shown that the members are mere tools in their hands. The Government of Bombay have not only fooled the members of the Council but have also set aside the Communique issued at Simla. The Government of Bombay can save a large sum of money from being turned into smoke if they are so disposed, and contribute the same towards the relief of the famine stricken in Jambusar and Waghra, Talukas in Broach District and the Panch Mahal District. But do the Government of Bombay care for the misery of the people? The *Bombay Samachar* writes:—The Communique issued at the instance of the Prince goes to testify to his high ideals, kind heart and sympathy for the afflicted Indians. We would have nothing to say against making the necessary arrangements for giving a fitting reception to the Prince, but the money that can be saved by curtailing the unnecessary items of expenditure should, in accordance with the Prince's wishes, be diverted towards the relief of the sick and the needy so that the memory of the visit may be cherished by the people. The *Gujarati Punch* writes:—It seems that in making preparations for the Prince's visit the officials want the people to give him a befitting reception from their own standpoint. We must say that the reception will be a hollow show and the officials will be mistaken in representing such a welcome as a hearty one even if the people will put on a smile when their hearts are stricken with grief. Should, however, the Prince on his landing make an announcement of *swaraj* being granted to India in a fixed period, he will receive an unprecedented and hearty welcome. Let us hope that while laying the foundation of the Shivaji memorial at Poona the Prince will also lay the foundation of India's *swaraj*.]

Comments on the resolve of the Poona City Municipality not to present an address to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Mahratta (6), 16th Oct.

*14. "A meeting of the councillors of the Poona City Municipality, specially convened for the purpose of considering the proposal to vote an address to the Prince of Wales when he arrives in Poona, was held on Friday last. A formal proposal of the proposition to vote an address was made by one councillor who owes his seat in the Municipality by nomination by the Government and it was seconded by another of the same genus. There was a short, brisk discussion in which some of the *johukumwallas* and moderates brought forth halting and limping arguments in defence of the proposition which were answered in relentless logic by the leaders of the nationalist party. Messrs. N. C. Kelkar, Kavade, Marathe, Talwalkar, Lawate, Manurkar, Gunjal and Dr. Lohokare crushed the opposition to dust and the proposition was rejected by the municipality. Will the Government learn wisdom and not force an unwelcome guest on the people? For the last month meetings were held in different wards of the city and a clear mandate was given to the representatives of the people not to vote such address and we congratulate those who voted against the address in obedience of that mandate and the mandate of the Indian National Congress. The city will be proud of its representatives for their bold stand."

Comments on the personnel and terms of reference of the Fiscal Commission.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Oct.

15. "The personnel and terms of reference of the much discussed Fiscal Commission are at last announced...... Sir Ibrahim Rahimatulla is a host in himself. With his tact and acumen, his experience and information there is not much danger of Indian interests being ignored by default. The theoretical side is well represented by Professors Keynes and Coyaji...... For the rest, the composition of the Commission announced must shatter what little hopes may have been entertained in non-official quarters in this country of any good resulting from its labours. Excepting the President and Mr. Coyaji none of the Indian members of the Commission have any title to that intimate knowledge of the economic problems of this country that may be considered absolutely necessary for the purpose; while of the European members it may safely be said that with the possible exception of one or two, none of them have up to now bothered themselves about the need of meddling with the tariffs drawn up by the Government of India's fiscal 'experts', save in

so far as these tariffs have affected adversely the vested interests of the European mercantile community or the investing public at 'Home'. The majority of the members of the Commission are not even second rate men. It would have been better if no commission had been appointed at all than that such a motley committee should have been entrusted with the important task of shaping the fiscal policy of this country. We have no hesitation in saying that the conclusions and recommendations of a commission like the one appointed will not be acceptable to the public of this country. If the Commission is to inspire any confidence in the public its personnel must be radically altered. If that is not done the Commission might as well have been still-born....... It is exceedingly regrettable that Lord Reading's Government should have so far ignored the public sentiment of this country as to word the terms of reference ambiguously enough to cause a possible difference of opinion. 'To examine with reference to all the interests concerned the Tariff Policy of the Government of India' may quite easily afford a handle to the *soi disant* friend of the Indian consumer for a plea of cheapness as resulting from unlimited freedom of trade. It would be the height of absurdity to appoint a commission which would reiterate what we have been so painfully familiarised with—the unceasing greed of a nation of shop-keepers. But when we find included in the terms of reference 'the question of the desirability of adopting the principle of Imperial Preference', we lose all patience. Even stark free trade is better than Imperial Preference. There is nothing in the entire system of political organisation which would make more effectually for the weakening of inter-imperial bonds, especially as between India and the United Kingdom. If the public opinion of this country has an influence with the Government of India, if the ultimate welfare of this country does at all count with the powers that be, if even the maintenance of the British Empire itself in its only acceptable form—a federation of equal and autonomous peoples—is at all prized, let this question be treated with the silence and indifferance it deserves, and let the Commission concentrate its inquiry on the only problem the country wants to be solved—the formulation of a practical and comprehensive scheme for the revival and encouragement of industries in India."

Sanj Vartaman (30), 12th Oct. ; *Praja Mitra and Parsi* (28), 10th Oct. ;
Bombay Samachar (56), 12th Oct.

16. The *Sanj Vartoman* expresses its disappointment with the personnel of the Fiscal Commission on the whole and declares that since the members appointed on the Commission do not possess any expert knowledge and do not command the confidence of the people, its report will not receive any support from the people. The paper, however, considers the Honourable Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla as fully competent to be the President of the Commission and has no objections to urge against the appointment of Messrs. Keynes, Coyajee and Narottam Morarji but considers the other members as quite incompetent. [The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* refers to the personnel of the Indian Fiscal Commission and trusts that such a commission presided over by so experienced a Chairman as Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoollah will do justice to India. The paper requests the Indian Fiscal Commission to accept the principle of borrowing money and buying goods for India in the cheapest market. It thinks that the Commission should also press for the freedom of allowing special facilities to foreigners to bring their factories to this country and start new industries. The *Bombay Samachar* expresses itself gratified at the appointment and personnel of the Fiscal Commission which, it says, consists mainly of Indian business men. The President and members, says the paper, cannot be unaware of the opinion of the Indian public in repect of fiscal matters. The people have plainly declared themselves for protection and for moulding the fiscal policy of India with the sole object of securing the good of the country. All other countries, continues the paper, have built up their trade and industries not on the principle of free trade but that of protection. As for Imperial Preference, the paper declares, it is well known what India thinks of this principle; the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the purchase of stores for India has clearly shown what India's plight would be if the policy of Imperial Preference were applied to it. In this connection also the paper exhorts the Indian members of the Commission to take up a strong attitude.]

Gujarati (14), 16th Oct., Eng. cols.

*17. "We cannot admit that the Indian section of the personnel could not have been made much stronger than it is and we wish that the claims of Professor Kale, Mr. Manu Subedar, Professor Shah, Sir Vithaldas Thackersy and Mr. Jamsetjee Ardesir Wadia had been more favourably considered. If some of them have been excluded for their pronounced views in favour of protection, then some others who have been chosen would have to be rejected on similar grounds. It is an unpleasant task to have to criticise the personnel of the Commission. But we do think that it ought to have been considerably strengthened by the selection of at least some of the gentlemen we have mentioned. On the whole we are not quite satisfied with the composition of the Indian section of the Commission....... The terms of reference are sufficiently wide. We do not think that the country has made up its mind on the question of Imperial Preference, firstly, because it is too complicated to be easily understood by the people at large and secondly because the required data for its study are not at all available to the general public. There will be nothing lost if an authoritative pronouncement were made by the Commission on the subject in the light of the views placed before it by competent and well-informed Indians and Europeans. The Government of India hope that in the event of some scheme of Imperial Preference being consistent with India's interests, India will not stand aloof from such a scheme but establish its solicitude for the solidarity of the Empire. Even according to the Government of India, such a scheme must first be found consistent with India's interests. That is a condition precedent to the manifestation of any desire on the part of this country to maintain the solidarity of the Empire."

Sind Observer (9), 11th Oct.

18. "After an unconscionably long delay the personnel and terms of reference of the Indian Fiscal Commission have been announced. Looking at the personnel, we may at once remark that in forming the Commission the Government of India have been guided by considerations of safety rather than of the best interests of the country...... We are really at a loss to know why in forming the Commission the Government of India should have thought it necessary to have an equal number of Europeans and Indians. The question of the tariffs of India is pre-eminently a question for Indians, judge it from whatever point we may. Indians are practically all the consumers and more than half the trade and industries of the country is in their hands. They constitute the majority of the tax-payers. It is true that a considerable part of the trade and industry of the country is carried on by Europeans but that does nor justify giving them an undeservedly high representation on the Commission. Moreover, the European members are men with fixed ideas and pronounced policies......... We may also state that in selecting the Indian members the best choice has not been made......... On reading the names of the Indian members one may ask, where do the Indian States come in? Have they no part or lot in the fiscal fortunes of India? The addition of a man of independence and experience like Sir M. Visweswarayya is not yet too late, and much may be done to assuage the feeling that is likely to be inflamed in the States by their having been left in the cold."

Indian Social Reformer (5), 16th Oct.

*19. "The terms of reference and the names of the members of the Fiscal Committee have been published. The Committee is asked 'to examine with reference to all the interests concerned, the tariff policy of the Government of India including the question of desirability of adopting the principle of imperial preference, and to make recommendations'....... The phrase 'with reference to all the interests concerned' in the reference is a curious one. There can be no vested interests concerned in a country's fiscal policy. If vested interests are not meant, the phrase is superflous as the Committee cannot obviously examine the fiscal policy without considering the interests affected by it. As for the composition of the Committee we think that there should be more Indian members selected from a wider field. It is impossible to say till we have the report to what extent it would command public confidence."

Mahratta (6), 16th Oct.

***20.** "We do not think that the announcement of the personnel of the Fiscal Commission will arouse waves of enthusiasm in the minds of the Indian people....... Firstly, the choice of the members is not entirely satisfactory. We do admit that they count among their number some financiers and economists of acknowledged repute and robust views on the economic problems. They are entitled to public respect and public confidence. But there are others, and they form the majority, who are either the over-indulged children of Government and at once the merest tiros in politics and economics or the most loyal and thoroughly obedient gubernatorial *johukumwallas*. We name no parties; but this much is certain that the Commission, as it is now constituted, is not a Commission of experts, nor is it wise to entrust the consideration of the most vital question of a country to a Commission of shreds and patches. The question which the Commission is called upon to consider is a large question affecting the life and death of the country. Non-experts or biased persons, if appointed as members, are simply like bulls in a china shop. Our second objection is with regard to the terms of the Commission....... The latter part of the terms has a marring effect. Therein the honourable bureaucracy of India has showed its hand and that bodes ill for India. We attribute no motives when we say that it is the long-cherished and high-prized intention of Government to foist upon us the adoption of this ill-starred baby of Imperialism by any means, fair, foul or forcible, and legalise what it is doing without the semblance of law to turn Indians literally into 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'....... It is not the part of wisdom to begin repairing one's house in a hurricane. Many men whose views might be of mighty importance to the Commission, are not disposed to exhibit them owing to the strange *impasse* to which the Government and the governed have come. The whole question, we think, might be, for the time being, adjourned till the atmosphere clears up and till the rulers and the ruled looked upon each other with the eye of friendliness and affection and cease to keep each other at arm's length."

Lord Lytton's Indian Students' Committee.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 16th Oct.

***21.** "The letters exchanged between the Secretary of State for India and his Under Secretary regarding the rejection by the Legislative Assembly of the vote for the visit of the Indian Students' Committee to India illustrate the peculiar state of mind which overtakes English politicians when dealing with Indian matters. Both Mr. Montagu and Lord Lytton make out that the visit to India of a Committee whose principal object was to remove the difficulties of Indian students in England was a part of the original programme. If so, why was it not provided for in the principal Budget, and why was it brought up in a supplementary one after one-half of the year was out? Then, Mr. Montagu raises pious hands in horror at the Legislature vetoing a grant for an enquiry proposed by the Executive Government. He has never known in all his experience such a thing to happen in the House of Commons. But has he ever known a British Government to propose such an enquiry? Lord Lytton's letter naively explains what it was that the Committee wished to learn from the proposed tour in India. [Here the paper quotes from the letter.] In other words, the main purpose of the Indian tour was to improve the Advisory Committees in this country which, Lord Lytton and his colleagues were told, were of no value. The last sentence is especially significant. The whole system in India is to be overhauled in order that the English Universities may be 'more anxious to overcome' the difficulty of admitting some hundred Indian students! As for Mr. Montagu's pained surprise, it is only necessary to mention that the omission of the grant was moved by such a staunch Liberal as Mr. Samarth and supported by another staunch Liberal Sir Sivaswami Aiyar. The vote, in fact, is indicative of the disapproval with which every party in this country has come to view Mr. Montagu's policy in respect of Indian finance."

Sanj Vartaman (30), 12th Oct.; *Jam-e-Jamshed* (21), 13th Oct.

22. The *Sanj Vartaman* expresses gratification at the attitude taken up by the Secretary of State in respecting the decission of the Legislative Assembly in refusing to sanction the grant towards the expenditure of the Lytton

Committee. The paper declares that the difficulties of Indian students are quite patent and no Committee need come to India to investigate them. In the opinion of the paper, the difficulties of Indian students can be solved by Government using its good offices for the admission of students to Colleges and factories and by removing the needless restrictions placed upon their liberty. [The *Jam-e-Jamshed* remarks that, owing to the refusal to the Indian Legislative Assembly to vote money for the tour of the Indian Students' Committee, a very important question, which caused bitterness between the Indians and Englishmen, has once more been shelved. The paper thinks that the complaint of Lord Lytton regarding the attitude of the Indian Legislative Assembly is just.]

Comments on the *Labour Gazette*.

Servant of India (8), 13th Oct.

23. "We congratulate the Government of Bombay on the excellence of the *Labour Gazette* which is issued by the Labour Department under the direction of so able a statistician as Mr. Findlay Shirras....... The price, however, of each number is fixed at one rupee, which places it beyond the reach of the general public among whom a good many may be expected to subscribe to so useful a journal. The paper used for its printing is needlessly costly. Another suggestion we could make, is, that since it is not meant for the labourer himself, the Department might bring out vernacular editions made suitable and interesting to him; or else as, an alternative, issue a series of leaflets."

The parallel between Ireland and India.

Mharatta (6), 16th Oct.

***24.** "The Irish struggle for freedom has a lesson of hope to teach to every down-pressed and depressed nationality. The Indian struggle for freedom affords all but a complete parallel to that of Ireland. The Simla Government has failed. The Reforms Act has failed even as a palliative. The passion for freedom is not to be quenched with such shadows of freedom. The accumulated political discontent has now manifested itself in the movement of non-co-operation. Political disappointment aggravated on account of the Great War has now been greatly embittered by shameful instances of racial inequality. The people have been driven to desparation not because they want it, but there is no way out of it. The engine of repression has called forth the best energies of the people. A wide-spread policy of intensive repression has undermined the respect for law and authority. It is the policy of repression that is the father of so much of generous enthusiasm of the present youth. India, too, has her Greenwood and her Black and Tans; nay, there are more Greenwoods and Black and Tans than the situation necessitates. The motive in India is the same as it was in Ireland, the method is slightly different. There, in Ireland, Dublin Castle failed to enlist the sympathy of the centre party, the Nationalist. But here in India the Simla castle has rallied all the so-called Moderate elements round its flag of repression and retaliation. The Moderates have merged themselves in the bureaucracy and are active aiders and abettors in the repression that is running amock throughout the length and breadth of this country. The central party in Ireland at least has no country to sell. In this only the parallel differs. The Moderates have sold their birth-right for the mess of ministerial pottage. Under their very eyes their former colleagues and co-workers are sent to jail in numbers for the crime of loving their country and yet not a single Indian Minister has resigned. But on the other hand, what little followers they have outside the Secretariat building they have kindly supplied as second line troopers to the official army of Black and Tans. Unprovoked firing on mobs, a callous and cold-blooded indifference towards the victims of their fun and frolic, vindictive convictions opposed to every cannon of justice, equity and good conscience are all the feathers which the Simla Government has to its credit no less than Dublin Castle. The so-called representative councils have supplied the ballast so that the cargo of repression may safely be delivered at every Indian threshold. But even in this agony the Nation is following the path of freedom with grim determination. The Congress Army is vast and is fast drilling and disciplining itself into organised and steady effort."

What Government must do to ease the political situation in India.

Bombay Samachar (56), 10th Oct.

25. The *Bombay Samachar* deplores the split that has been caused among the people at the very outset of the introduction of the new reforms and fears that the non-co-operation party will gain strength if the Khilafat question is not solved in a satisfactory manner. The paper, therefore, asks Government to express their readiness to gratify the political aspirations of the people by making a declaration to the effect that complete *swaraj* will be granted to them within a fixed period. The paper feels confident that such an announcement will clear the political atmosphere immediately.

Appeal to Government to abandon the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and other leaders.

Sind Observer (9), 6th, 7th and 8th Oct.

26. "We urge upon the Government even at this stage the reconsideration of the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and their friends. We will not refer here to the irregularities, which lawyers tell us have occurred in the conduct of the case in the lower court that, according to them, must vitiate the whole of the proceedings, if only the accused offer defence. They are being prosecuted for passing a resolution which, but for the Government resurrecting it from dead ashes, would have rested in the limbo of oblivion, and which, in the Viceroy's opening speech at Simla, did not interfere with the splendid loyalty of our troops. The value of such prosecutions consists in preventing others from following a similar course. The same resoulution was repeated word by word by thousands of people at Delhi and a conference in Behar has psssed it in an open session. The Ulemas are doing likewise. The subject-matter of the resolution forms the fourth part of the Nagpur Congress programme. We would like to ask how many thousands of people are going to be prosecuted for repeatedly passing the same resolution !...... We must deprecate very much the continuation of the trial on the eve of the visit of the Prince of Wales, and we have not ceased wondering why Government should have chosen this time, of all times, to launch a state trial of this nature when it is expected that His Royal Highness would apply some soothing balm to the lacerated hearts of many people in this country." [In its next issue the paper remarks :—"Those who have launched the prosecutions, if they wanted the visit of the Prince to this country to be a failure, could not have selected a worse season than this for proceeding with one of the greatest state trials of our times—a trial that has evoked feelings of indignation in many people and of anxiety in many more. It cannot be the intention of Government, which is bringing the Prince out to India, to make him the object of hostile demonstrations in the progress of his tour and to cause pain to the Prince and Their Majesties....... It has to be noted that the masses worship Mahatma Gandhi. If he gives the word—he is in a mood to give it now—the unofficial welcome, the welcome given by the masses of India to the Prince, will be conspicuous by its absence....... The dropping of the Karachi prosecution will undoubtedly act as a potent factor in silencing the troubled waters that are now deluging the country....... With all the emphasis we can command, we ask that the curtain be brought down on the Karachi trials." In a further issue the paper adds :—"Judging from the activities now visible everywhere in Karachi and Sind, who can deny that in a province consisting of nearly 80 per cent. of Muslims the trial of the five well-known Muslim leaders has not strengthened the hold of the movement ? The mass mind, accustomed to venerate Pirs, Moulvis and Moulanas, is astir with peculiar throbs. It is well known that the Government of Sind has no hand in the unpleasant job and has had merely to obey the orders of the superior Government and make the necessary arrangements. The Bombay Government is, to all appearances, now a house divided against itself. The arrests have not demoralised the non-co-operators and the leaders are preparing themselves for civil disobedience, whatever the consequences, while even moderate opinion expresses sympathy for the accused persons....... The cry of 'Islam in danger' having been raised—we may call it a false cry, but that does not affect the issue—Government have chosen a thoroughly bad ground to give battle to the arrested leaders and their friends. But it is not too late to reconsider the decision. Circumstances alter cases, and in the light of the new circumstances that have arisen, it will be very graceful on the part of the Government to yield and drop the prosecutions."]

Reflections on the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and other leaders.

Swaraj (Sindhi) (171), 5th Oct.

27. In a powerfully written article in the latest issue of *Young India*, headed 'Tampering with loyality', Mahatma Gandhi has given a crushing reply to Government in regard to the arrest and the prosecution of the Ali Brothers. He says that it is the duty of every Indian to tamper with the loyalty of the army and that it is our *dharma* to preach disaffection towards the Government established by law. In pursuance of this fearless statement, the Karachi Khilafat resoulution is being repeated and passed in meetings held all over the country. Let us see how many more men are going to be sent to jail by Lord Reading. He might say that the Ali Brothers and others, having broken the laws, must be punished. Our reply to that is that there is a limit to the observance of laws. As soon as any particular law ceases to be just, no one is under a legal obligation to obey it. We do not consider the Brothers and others as guilty of any offence. On the contrary, it is the Government and its supporters who have murdered justice, that are guilty. It is they, therefore, who should be prosecuted. We wonder why Mahatma Gandhi and several others, who also have done what the Ali Brothers are charged with, are not being arrested. If Government is consistent, it will arrest them at once. It is cowardice to catch two or three persons and allow hundreds to be at large. We may remind Government that repression can never put down our movement. It will not end unless and until our demands are fully satisfied.

Kesari (110), 11th Oct.

28. The *Kesari* declares that the mystery felt by most thinking men as to how the Government of India presided over by a lawyer and statesman like His Excellency Lord Reading should have sanctioned the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and others when neither the Khilafat Conference resolution nor the speeches made in its support contained any incitement to violence, can be solved by considering not the events that are taking place in India but those that have occurred in Anatolia. According to its belief, just when England was trying to wipe off the stain on its reputation of the breach of faith in connection with the Khilafat by a revision of the Treaty of Sevres, Greece like a spoilt child, not satisfied with what it had already received, drew its sword against the Turks and threatened to capture not only Angora but Constantinople itself, and England, being thus placed in a fix, lost its wits, and inspired by the sole but selfish desire to maintain peace in India made up its mind to arrest the pillars of the Khilafat agitation in the country and keep them confined till the Turko-Greek war was over and informed the Government of India accordingly. The paper however points out that fortunately for the Muhammadans and unfortunately for the British Government, the tables were soon turned and the Greeks were utterly defeated and pursued and the prosecutions, instead of putting down discontent in India as it was expected they would do, increased it a hundredfold with the result that thousands are openly re-affirming the resolution on which the prosecution has been based, and courting imprisonment. The defeat of the Greeks, in the opinion of the paper, now presents a fine opportunity to the British Government to conciliate Muslim as well as Hindu public opinion by an effective revision of the Turkish treaty regardless of what the handful of the insolent and unreliable Greeks might say. It further declares that it would be the height of unwisdom to continue the prosecution as the defeat of the Greeks has completely altered the situation. If, however, the paper says, Government, regardless of what took place during Lord Chelmsford's regime, is going to put down highhandedly public discontent, the people are ready to face the situation.

Hindusthan (20), 14th Oct.; ***Gujarati*** (14), 9th Oct.; ***Praja Mitra and Parsi*** (28), 11th Oct.; ***Gujarat Mitra*** (15), 9th Oct.; ***Hind Mitra*** (17), 9th Oct.; ***Deshi Mitra*** (60), 13th Oct.

29. The *Hindusthan* refers to the manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi and forty-seven other Nationalists endorsing the resolution of the Khilafat Conference

for which the Ali Brothers have been arrested and endorses the view expressed by the *Amrit Bazaar Patrika* that Government jails would not suffice to hold the thousands of persons who will sign the manifesto if the forty-eight signatories are arrested by Government. The paper expresses gratification at the stimulating effect produced by the arrest of the Ali Brothers and the Shankaracharya on the national movement and exhorts the public to abstain from violence under the most exasperating circumstances. [The *Gujarati* declares that nobody can deny that Mr. Gandhi has created an atmosphere of discontent against the present system of Government, that taking advantage of grave errors on the part of the administrators, he has destroyed the glamour about British justice and created great distrust with regard to it and has lowered the prestige of the British Government. In the opinion of the paper, the remedy for this state of things lies in the hands of the rulers; and unless they succeed in convincing the people that there is still justice, truth and disinterestedness in the administration of the country, there can be no peace and contentment in it, nor can the prestige of Government increase. The paper then dwells on the futility of prosecutions and imprisonments at a time like the present when hundreds of people are prepared to go to jail without defending themselves or making any complaint but after simply declaring that there is no justice at all, and declares that it must be considered the misfortune of the country if its rulers do not realise the true significance of such a state of things. It then refers to the proceedings at Karachi against the seven leaders and points out that it does not look as if Government's aim in instituting these proceedings has been realised, since the resolution of the Khilafat Conference at Karachi in respect of which these leaders are being prosecuted is being reaffirmed in public meetings all over the country and lakhs of copies of the Fatwa of the Ulemas proscribed by Government are being distributed. The paper discusses in detail the manifesto signed by forty-eight non-co-operationist leaders which was published on the 4th instant and the resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Congress the next day as well as Mr. Gandhi's letter advising people as to what they should do in case he is arrested. The paper remarks that Government are convinced of this much that where Mr. Gandhi is, there is no violence and therefore, it is not possible that they would be guilty of the folly of arresting him. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* remarks:—We declare that such a challenge as is given in the manifesto is double-edged and it does not depend upon the will of those who challenge as to when and how a reply to such a challenge should be given. As a matter of fact the resolution means something quite different from the advice which was given by the Ali Brothers to the army and the police. On the one hand the army and the police are advised that they cannot serve under Government in a manner consistent with their religion and on the other they are told that they should not leave of if their service if they are unable to support themselves independently. Is this argument not meant to dazzle those who feel for the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and consider it very unjust? Again Mr. Gandhi says that real purity consists in passing one's life in a prison, putting on the dress of prisoners and breaking stones or spinning or sweeping. How dangerous is this advice to the criminal classes? Does it not encourage them to commit crimes and go to prison? The *Gujarat Mitra* remarks:—The Governments of Bombay and India have acted very improperly in arresting the Ali Brothers. Will Government proceed against the forty signatories to the manifesto? The position of Government is very bad and it is committing one mistake after another. If Government is convinced that the non-co-operators mislead the army by means of their manifesto, what does it indicate? The Indian army is completly opposed to the foreign policy of the British Government. The objects of Government will never be served by suppressing such manifestoes. The *Hind Mitra* remarks:—This manifesto issued by the leaders of the country will prove to be an important document in the Indian political agitation because therein they have unanimously declared the object of their struggle. Really speaking, Government have given them an opportunity of doing so by means of their step. The *Deshi Mitra* remarks:—Public opinion cannot be suppressed by means of a policy of arrests. People by passing the Karachi resolution at many places want to show to Government that they have a right to do so. This shows that they do not care for arrests but on the contrary they are prepared to face them.]

Necessity of boycotting Government Service in any capacity.

Rajakaran (131), 9th Oct.

30. Opinion is divided as to the propriety of the resolution of the Congress asking people to cease practising in law courts. There cannot, however, be any doubt that no class of people do greater disservice to their country than the men who enter Government service and thus help foreign and tyrannical rulers to consolidate their power over their own countrymen. Instead of saying that the English are subjecting us to injustice and oppression it would be more correct to say that we contracted the fatal habit of submitting meekly to injustice and oppression because some traitors from among us accepted the slavery of others and thus helped them to rule over us for about a century past. The resolution of the Khilafat Committee which has created so great a stir at present requires the Muhammadans not to serve in the army. The Muhammadans may or may not serve in the army, but so long as both the Hindus and the Muhammadans willingly come forward to serve in the Civil departments, we must be supposed to be assisting Government to practise repression and oppression upon our own people. All self-respecting persons should boycott Government service. Every educated person should form a resolution that he would not give the least assistance to the foreign bureaucracy to strengthen its power over his countrymen by accepting service under it. The whites lord it over us because they are able to get faithful *hamals* to serve under them in the Police and other departments on a mere pittance. If the foreign Sultans cease to get Indians to fill the lower posts in the Police, Coustoms, Forest and such other departments will they bring white *hamals* from England to carry on the administration here? It is a great sin to serve the English. Why quote the Koran in support of this advice? Which of the Hindu Shastras sanction the service of foreigners and men professing other faiths? Viewed from the standpoint of religion it is most sinful to serve the English or to accept their rule. But when we lost our *raj*, people began to take pride in the service of the *mlechchhas* and the high-salaried men among us began to pose as our leaders. Why prosecute the Ali Brothers alone? Why do not Government prosecute the whole nation? Not only according to the Muhammadan religion but according to our religion also it is a great sin to serve foreign rulers to help to keep in subjection our own countrymen. The wise among us have been guilty of this sin during the last hundred years and that is why we are on the downward path. Government have wounded the religious feelings of the Hindus by prosecuting the Shankaracharya of Dakore. The fact that a Hindu Shankaracharya is prosecuted while nominal Hindus like Sir Chimanlal and Mr. Paranjpye form part of the present Government shows the extent to which we have degenerated owing to our slavery of the last hundred years. An act may be an offence under the Penal Code. But the Muhammadans attach more weight to their religion and Koran than to the Penal Code. Besides, the Penal Code was never prepared with our consent. Foreigners have made that Code binding upon us penalising any acts they liked. If it is wrong under the Penal Code to commit treason against the State, why is it not equally wrong under that Code to commit treason against the people? It is clear that the Penal Code is a work compiled to further the interests of foreigners. The Hindus and the Muhammadans are being crushed under the weight of slavery and poverty because they ignored the tenets of their respective religions. It is contrary to the Hindu religion to serve in any capacity under the English. Thousands of people should meet together and take a vow that they would not serve the English in any capacity, military or civil, even if they were to starve. We shall then know how the English manage to imprison all these people. The battle for power has commenced only now. Government will find that the Hindus and the Muhammadans are really united. The Moplahs may have persecuted some loyal Hindus. But it must be remembered that they killed some Muhammadans also who were in Government service. The base white editor of the *Times of India* publishes false accounts about the happenings in Malabar but no one should believe in them. Times have changed and jails have no terrors for our educated men. The assessors in the Dharwar shooting case declared that none of the accused was guilty although both of them were non-Brahmins. In view of this opinion of the assessors the whole trial must be considered to have been a mere farce. The authorities are unwilling to bring Shivlingappa to trial and so all sane people are of opinion that a miniature Jallianwala Bagh was enacted at Dharwar. The incapable gentleman, Lord Reading, is peacefully slumbering at Simla. Had he really any regard for justice, he would have ordered that Shivlingappa should be tried for murder and Messrs. Painter and Marsden removed from Dharwar. What is the use of talking about giving justice? If you enlist our young men in the army and ask them to fire upon us, we shall unhesitatingly advise our countrymen not to serve you in any capacity. We should also cease to have any respect for those who are in the service of Government. Nay, we should even ostracize such persons from all social and religious functions.

Well educated men no longer seek Government services.

Lokamanya (114), 14th Oct.

31. The *Lokamanya* referring to the call made by the Working Committee of the Congress and in the Congress leaders' manifesto to the people not to accept Government service and also to give it up, remarks that the movement against Government services is not a new one in India but over a quarter of a century old and was first launched in Maharashtra by the late Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar by resigning his post. The movement has since been spreading, the paper says, and now most of the abler educated men are to be found outside Government service, which is mostly manned by dregs unfit to perform any other work. Forty years back, according to the paper, most of the public movements in the mofussil were initiated by Government servants like the late Mr. Mahadev Govind Ranade, but that class of Government servants has since come to an end and they are now mainly engaged in obstructing public movements and even that capacity they are losing. The paper declares that though the bureaucracy may be able to keep up the routine of the administration going with the help of such incapable public servants, it would not be able to put the slightest effective obstructions in the path of the *swarajya* movement. The path of Government, the paper declares, is likely to be made even more difficult with the awakening of the Muslim nations in the neighbourhood of India. The paper, therefore, declares that in view of all this it is the duty of Government to insist that the Khilafat question should be solved to the satisfaction of the Muslims by the British Government.

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's advice to Indians not to serve in the Army.

Bharatwasi (157), 4th Oct.

32. The ways of Mahatma Gandhi are really beyond our understanding. He knows that the Moplahs have committed terrible outrages on the Hindus of Malabar, and that, but for the army, the extent of their original activities would have been very much larger than it is at present. And yet he has advised the common people in Madras not to serve under the British Government in any capacity, whether as soldiers or civilians. We shudder to think what would be our condition if all Indian soldiers acted on this extraordinary piece of advice and left the army. In such a contingency, will Mahatma Ghandi and his followers tell us who will protect the country against internal disorder, such as has been created by the Moplahs, and against external attacks, such as are only too frequent on the frontier? The Moplahs have declined to accept Mahatma Gandhi as their leader. They say he is a *kaffir*. And if they, who are our countrymen, have such poor regard for the Mahatma, we wonder what regard the Afghans and Frontier Mussalamns will have for him.

Comments on the alleged orders of Government regarding purchase of safes for Government Offices made by Messrs. Godrej and Company.

Navjivan (69), 9th Oct.

33. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—A fresh and dirty instance of the way in which Government is at present non-co-operating with us is that of Mr. Godrej. This charitable gentleman has contributed money to the Tilak Swaraj Fund to be spent on the elevation of the depressed classes and the temperance movement. Government have, therefore, issued a private notice that the safes made by Mr. Godrej should not be bought for any Government Department. What should people do except non-co-operate with a Government which is so dirty and malicious?

Comments on the resolution of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress regarding the relatons of India with the neighbouring Independent States.

Hindusthan (20), 11th Oct.

34. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has taken a momentous step regarding the declaration of India's foreign policy. No thoughtful man can raise a doubt regarding the truth of the resolutions passed. It is evident that the present Government cannot undertake any serious work as our representative. In the present circumstances, it is both desirable and welcome that the Working Committee, as the representative of India, should warn foreign States. We admit that the Indian National Congress is not in a position to take any practical step regarding this serious question at present, but that does not mean that the Indian National Congress has no authority to lay down the principles governing this question in order to place before the public the desire of the people.

Mr. Gandhi losing faith in the success of the non-co-operation movement.

Dnyan Prakash (40), 15th Oct.

35. The *Dnyan Prakash* says that the recent speech made by Mr. Gandhi in Bombay clearly shows that he has begun to lose faith in the ability of the people to carry on the non-co-operation movement until success is attained. It refers to the progressive decline in the sale of *khadi* in Bombay as announced recently and remarks that that kind of cloth will soon cease to attract any customers. It alludes to Mr. Gandhi's remark that he would recommend satyagraha soon after swadeshi proves to be a success, and observes that people would wish that swadeshi should fail rather than that they should be exposed to the horrors that follow in the wake of Satyagraha.

Non-co-operators and the strike on the Assam-Bengal Railway.

Dnyan Prakash (40), 9th Oct.

36. The *Dnyan Prakash* blames the non-co-operators for advising the employees of the Assam-Bengal Railway to go on strike and then leaving them in the lurch. It declares that Dyerism pales into insignificance before the indifference shown by these leaders to the sufferings of their misguided countrymen whom they sacrificed to their political ambitions. The paper expresses its surprise that even Mr. Gandhi has nothing to say about the conduct of his followers who have been instrumental in depriving a large number of poor people of their means of livelihood.

The Moplah riots.

Swarajya (Marathi) (147), 13th Oct.

37. The *Times of India* publishes ghastly details of the atrocities committed by the Moplahs on the Hindus with a view to discrediting the non-co-operation movement. The *Times* should, however, remember that it is a double-edged weapon that it is wielding which strikes both the assailant and the assailed. On perusing the account published by the *Times* the question naturally arises as to what the white soldiers of Government were doing while he Hindus were being persecuted by the Moplahs. Why did they not make these atrocities impossible ? The whites asked us to surrender our arms telling us that they would keep us from all harm, and is this the kind of protection that they have to give us ? Why do the people give taxes to Government ? Do they pay taxes in order that they may be persecuted before the very eyes of the white soldiers who are paid from these taxes ? The English always boast that we owe immunity from Afghan invasion because of their presence here. The Moplah rising proves the futility of this boast. We wonder what these people will do if the Afghans really come here since they are taking such a long time to quell a minor rising. The fact that they are unable to give the necessary protection to the Hindus in spite of their having such a large army makes two suggestions possible, *viz.*, they have become less vigorous or are anxious to embroil the Hindus with the Muhammadans. Either supposition, if true, is equally derogatory to the prestige of Government.

Comments on the judgment in the Dharwar riot case.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Oct.

38. "The Lord Chief Justice of England came to India to vindicate justice. Not the least grim irony of his brief 'reign' has been the frequency with which justice has been dragged into the mud in a manner seldom experienced before. We had first the judgment in the Khoreal shooting case. Then came the gross miscarriage of justice in the Sinjhoro Police Torture Case. But it is in political cases that the new pattern of 'British justice' has markedly manifested itself. If the martial law tribunals of the Punjab throttled justice beyond recovery two and a half years ago, the oridinary criminal tribunals, which have tried non-co-operators in various parts of the country have vied with each other, so to say, in preventing the faith of the people in the even-handed adminstration of justice being revived. The most melancholy instance of this dangerous tendency is afforded by the so-called judgment in the Dharwar shooting case. We cannot persuade ourselves to believe that any person, if he is truly alive to what is happening around him, can, after reading the judgment, retain the faith that justice, so far as political cases are concerned, is functioning in this land. On Tuesday we published some extracts from the judgment of the Sessions Judge and they give a vivid idea of the impartiality and anxiety to arrive at the truth which this 'dispenser of justice, pure and unadulterated', has displayed in the discharge of his task. We shall not attempt to analyse his judgment. There is no need to do so; for, from the extraordinary way this farce of a trial has been conducted from the very beginning, the public had ceased to expect that the accused would get any justice at all and they were not mistaken. The judge was given the help of two assessors to enable him to arrive at the truth—and he has only flouted their opinion, just as another judge, in the Sinjhoro torture case, flouted the opinion of his assessors when that opinion went against the police. Thus whether the police are complainants or accused, the opinions of assessors so long as they go against the police, are unacceptable. One of the fundamental principles of law is that the main object of the prosecution should be not to secure the conviction of the acccused but to help the court to arrive at the truth. How have both the prosecution and the court respected this principle in Dharwar? About 40 persons were wounded as a result of the firing by the police at Dharwar and the police were fully cognisant of this fact, and yet only one of them, a policeman, was produced as a witness in the case and the others were not summoned at all! Why? Because the police feared that they would all give the lie to the police story! On the other hand, about a hundred so-called eye-witnesses of the rioting were produced in court. What was the meaning of this manœuvre on the part of the police, if it was not the prevention of the leakage of the truth? And yet the judge did not deem it necessary to summon a single of these wounded men as witnesses because he says it was not his business to do so! It did not strike him as anything strange that those who were actually wounded by the firing and who, thus, could be proved beyond a shadow of doubt to have been present on the scene, should not be called to give evidence, while those, the evidence of whose presence at the scene depended on their own sole testimony, should be summoned as witnesses. Then, again, the judge saw no necessity at all for the production of Mr. Sabnis as a witness in his court, though in the beginning the greatest emphasis had been laid by the police on the testimony of this 'most independent' witness and he had been made to depose in the lower court. Mr. Sabnis having given evidence very damaging to the police story, the prosecution suppressed him altogether in the Sessions Court and the Sessions Judge, though pressed to summon him, refused to do so, because forsooth it was not his business to do so! It is difficult to avoid the impression throughout the case that the Judge did not consider it his business to arrive at the truth. He had before him only the police version and he says that was all that he needed in his investigation of the truth! If the accused fail to test the truth of the charges against them, he thinks that it is not his business either. It only simplified his task! When the judiciary of the land has come to entertain such a high view of its calling, how shall we expect to find the spirit of justice reigning in our midst? Those interested in knowing the truth, unadulterated truth, about the Dharwar firing, will find in the report of the Commission appointed by the Congress the full facts of the case related without bias and without exaggeration and, having regard to the circumstances of the case, with amazing restraint of langauge and feeling. As for the accused, we congratulate them all on their splendid heroism. We trust that for the sake of the reputation of the late Lord-Chief Justice of England at least, if not for anything else, the matter will not be allowed to rest where it is and that justice will at last be vindicated. For the present the public can only ask: Where is justice ?"

Mahratta (6), 16th Oct.

***39.** "When one keeps side by side the verdict of the two non-Brahmin assessors, the judgment of the Sessions Judge and the Inquiry Committee Report, one is likely to be stunned by the effect of contrast exhibited by the three....... For our part, we do not wonder at the judgment at all. The ways in which the proceedings of the court were conducted, how important witnesses were suppressed, how the accused were treated, all these things and many others are all too well-known to the public. The relations subsisting between the Dharwar people and the Dharwar officials had, for long months, been strained to breaking point and the latter were bidding their time to wreak vengeance. This is not a figment of imagination, but a stubborn fact proved by the mad vapourings of the District Magistrate. The awaited opportunity came and the inmates of the gubernatorial Pandemonium had had their fill. The Sessions Judge with all his sublime sense of British Justice, which is nothing more and nothing less than an exploded myth, might say whatever he pleases but we have no ghost of a doubt that the whole affair was a got-up one and we know people are solidly behind us when we thus asseverate...... One dominant thing is abundantly clear and it is this: the course of British Justice is through and through poisoned and further to expect justice from these people is to wish figs to grow on thistles. There is only one way-out possible; the system under which such milk-and-water justice is dispensed must be mended or ended. The first is unthinkable, the second remains. It behoves all of us therefore, to concentrate on the achievement of the latter by every means of which one is capable."

Lokamanya (114), 14th Oct.

40. The *Lokamanya* discussing the Sessions Judge's judgment in the Dharwar shooting case, remarks that if a judge more capable and more careful for the reputation of the British Government had been in his place he would not have been guiltyof the outrage of sentencing the accused in the case as Mr. Waterfield has done. The verdict of the assessors, it admits, was not binding on the judge under the law, but it cannot be said, it says, that the end of the law has been achieved by trampling their verdict underfoot. It points out that whatever the sections under which the accused in the case were charged, it is an admitted fact that the prosecution was of a political character and as such it was the duty of the judge to decide the case in accordance with the accepted canons in such matters and to acquit the accused by accepting the assessor's verdict. In England, the paper declares, no judge would have dared to sentence the accused in similar circumstances. Mr. Waterfield's judgment, the paper says, is a model of irresponsibility, as he has tried to dispose of the assessors' verdict with the simple remark that their reasons were not convincing. It refers to the open protests made by the accused in the course of the trial that they did not expect to get any justice from Mr. Waterfield, and says that any other judge in his place would have either declined to proceed with the trial or would have given a better thought out judgment to prove his own impartiality. The paper further points out that the judge does not appear to have made any effort to meet the accused's allegation that there was as a matter of fact no riot and that the prosecution was launched by the Collector and the District Superintendent of Police simply to take revenge on the congress and khilafat leaders in Dharwar. The paper also says that the judge had no business to say in the course of his judgment that Shivalingappa was justified in giving the order to fire and that the conduct of the Police was marked by exemplary patience as the points were not before him for decision and the accused had especially warned him not to say anything in the matter. In its view, this opinion expressed by the Judge has practically relieved Government from the necessity of holding any further inquiry into the shooting affair and it declares that the bringing of this irrelevant issue clearly proves the utter uselessness of his judgment. It considers the Congress Committee's report a hundred times more valuable than the judgment of the Sessions Judge.

Kesari (110), 11th Oct.

41. The *Kesari* referring to the Sessions Judge's decision in the Dharwar shooting case remarks that Mr. Painter must have been highly pleased to see Mr. Kubbur sentenced to three years' hard labour as he had once expressed to him his wish to have him imprisoned at least for a year. What has Government gained, it asks, by Messrs. Painter, Shivlingappa and Company thus winning their game ? People have ceased to consider those who are sentenced by Government law courts as *badmashes* and therefore they attach no value whatever to the decisions of such courts but give more importance to the decisions of courts which are now being organised by themselves. The verdict, it remarks, given by the Congress Committee in its report on the shooting case is that the Police have magnified a small affair into a big riot, that none of the accused except two were present on the spot at the time, that the Police fired without first giving warning and that they subsequently raised the outcry of incendiarism and looting to gain their own ends and manufatured panchnamas as they liked. The world now fully knows, the paper declares, how the whole matter was got up by the bureaucracy and how it constantly interfered with the course of justice and how the evidence against Messrs. Mudvedkar and Joshi was cooked. It notes with regret that the heavy sentences passed by the Sessions Judge relying upon the evidence of worthless witnesses clearly show how even the judiciary under Government has become possessed of the spirit of repression. It offers its congratulations to the accused upon the unequalled courage shown by them in the course of the trial and upon thier fulfilment of thier vow of satyagraha in not defending themselves before the court and declares that their incarceration instead of strengthening bureaucratic rule is bound to shake it to its foundations and to put fresh life in the anti-drink and *swarajya* movements.

Servant of India (8), 13th Oct.

42. "Ever since the Dharwar shooting incident, there has been a strong body of public opinion which considers that the circumstances did not at all justify the shooting. Impartial outsiders who conducted enquiries on the spot also came to the same conclusion. Rao Bahadur Chitale tried to give expression to this view in the local Legislative Council by asking for its adjournment and several others put interpellations regarding the incident. But the President, rightly or wrongly—wrongly, in our opinion, as we said on a previous occasion—disallowed them on the ground that the matter was *sub judice*. But now that it is so no longer, we press once again for the appointment of an independent committee to find whether the circumstances necessitated the firing. The trial itself cannot be said to have cleared the point though the judge has passed an obiter dictum on it, because what the court was required to decide was not whether the firing was justified but whether the accused were guilty of the charges framed against them. Even with regard to the case itself one cannot help feeling that the conduct of the officials has not been above reproach and that they were responsible for its acquiring the colour of the Brahmin-non-Brahmin controversy. One cannot also help regretting the unfortunate non-co-operation attitude of the accused, who, by cross-examination, could have well exposed the true nature of the prosecution evidence. But reverting to the appointment of the Committee, we hope that Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla, who, as President of the All-India Muslim League in 1913 (quoted in the *Servant of India* of 28th July 1921) said that in every case of firing there must be an independent enquiry, will see before taking up his new duties that the principle enunnciated by him so long ago will be given effect to now."

Dnyan Prakash (40) 14th Oct.

43. The *Dnyan Prakash* says that the accused in the Dharwar shooting case made a mistake in not calling evidence on their behalf in the Sessions Court, and remarks that they cannot be said to have adhered to their cherished principle of non-co-operation since they made lengthy statements before the court with a view to proving their innocence. It blames the Government of Bombay for not appointing a commission immediately after the firing to inquire whether there was justification for it or not and asks them to appoint one now. It expresses the view that the fact that the assessors found none of the accused guilty of any offence will naturally lead the people to believe that they must all be innocent. It observes that the Sessions Judge need not have gone out of his way in declaring that the police were fully justified in firing upon the people since he had only to decide whether the accused were or were not members of an unlawful assembly. The paper advises the accused to recognize the futilty of non-co-operation, to appeal to the High Court, and thus try to get themselves acquitted.

Lokamanya (114), 13th and 15th Oct.

44. The *Lokamanya* strongly denounces the Sessions Judge's decision in the Dharwar shooting case and says :—The late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji used constantly to quote Gladstone's maxim that the strongest Government cannot save itself from destruction if it does injustice. As Mr. Dadabhai is no longer alive to remind our persent Government of the above maxim, we dare to bring it to its notice. Such fearful injustice has been committed in the Dharwar case from the beginning to the end that it is impossible that it would be condoned by the Almighty God. Government will soon learn by experience that the satanic doings of Shivlingappa, Painter, Waterfield and Company have violently shaken not only Maharashtra but the whole of India. It should bear in mind that the very non-co-operation movement to suppress which the case was launched will spread like wild fire throughout India as the result of the prosecution comes to be known to the people and that the conflict between the people and Government will grow fiercer day by day. We have of course nothing to say if Government thinks it desirable that this conflict should assume an aggravated aspect just at the time when the Prince is to be brought out to India, but if Government does honestly wish to avoid the situation we think it our duty to suggest that it can be done by accepting the conclusions arrived at by the Congress Committee, two of the members of which have occupied high judicial positions in the two premier Native States of Baroda and Mysore, and by immediately releasing the innocent patriots who have been sent to the Yeravda Jail, and by transferring Messrs. Shivlingappa, Painter and Waterfield from Dharwar at least. But will Government show the required statesmanship ? It is said that God first makes them mad whom He wishes to destroy. The statesmanship or the absence of it that Government shows in the present case will prove whether it still possesses some sense or has lost it completely. [The paper in a subsequent issue declares that the sentences passed in the Dharwar trial really mean the launching of a fearful threat against the picketing movement by the drunkards and by those who have espoused their cause. When the history of drink prohibition in the Presidency comes to be written at some future date, the paper remarks, the historian shall have to record that the judicial authorities were mean and cruel enough to sentence gentlemen of the town of Dharwar to three years' imprisonment for a trifling damage done to a liquor-shop, and that the Police did not hesitate to kill three persons and to wound forty or fifty others for the same offence. The incident proves, according to the paper, that the authorities in India will not at all hesitate to commit incendiarism and murders under the guise of law with a view to put down the anti-drink agitation and that the movement is bound to fail unless the people are prepared to sacrifice their belongings and their lives in fighting against the crowd of the lawful *budmashes* that are lending their support to the liquor-shop-keepers. The paper elsewhere dwells at length on Mr. Waterfield's judgment and says that though Mr. Painter's hand has been clearly in evidence in the matter of the firing, the judge pretends not to be able to see it. Mr. Waterfield should understand, the paper remarks, that it is a long-established and well-known practice with the bureaucracy to terrorise the people by firing upon them and if he pretends his ignorance of the practice nobody will believe him. It also blames the judge for not having called as witnesses several persons who were prepared to give evidence about 21 out of the accused not having been present at the place of the offence, on the ground that it was the duty of the accused to call them, and declares that it was the Judge's duty to call them under section 540 of the Criminal Procedure Code and hopes that the higher authorities will call him to account for having failed in performing that duty.]

Lokasangraha (116), 13th Oct.; *Swarajya* (Marathi) (147), 13th Oct.; *Pragatik* (129), 10th Oct.

45. Who can fail to admire the courage of the accused in the Dharwar shooting case ? They deserve to be praised and honoured by their countrymen.

The Dharwar affair gives an idea of the present policy of Government. This prosecution is one of the attempts to stab the non-co-operation movement in the dark. Government seek to crush the patriots but they must remember that they themselves will come out bruised in the end. Ye patriots, India weeps for joy to see her sons making such glorious sacrifice. She will not forget to give you a whole-hearted welcome when you come out of jail. [The *Swarajya* assures the accused in the Dharwar shooting case that they have the full sympathy of their countrymen. According to the *Pragatik* British statesmen ought to know that repression is powerless to suppress the desire of the people to be free.]

Indian Social Reformer (5), 16th Oct.

***46.** "The judgment on the whole leaves behind an uneasy feeling that all the persons convicted might not have been guilty of the offence charged against them. In paying a tribute to the forbearance of the Police, the Judge ignores his own estimate of the situation before and after the Sub-Inspector's arrival. The Judge himself does not seem to be quite sure of his own ground. The attitude of the accused during the trial can only be described as perverse, but that does not make any difference to the validity of the principle that no one should be punished for an offence of which he is not proved indubitably to be guilty. We take it that in the vagueness surrounding this incident, Government will, as a matter of course, appoint an independent committee to investigate the circumstances in which firing was repeatedly ordered."

Hindusthan (20), 14th Oct.

47. The *Hindusthan* declares that in the Dharwar shooting case the Sessions Judge has not done justice but white washed the actions of the police by discarding the opinion of the assessors. The paper opines that the report of the Congress Committee on the Dharwar shooting goes to strengthen the popular belief in the implication of the police in the affair. The paper concludes by saying that the decision of the Sessions Judge affords an additional proof of the depth of degradation to which the bureaucracy has sunk.

Karnatak Vaibhav (83), 9th Oct.; *Navin Bharat* (   ), 8th Oct.

48. We are sure there is not a single individual who is not shocked and deeply distressed by the strange judgment which was delivered in the Dharwar shooting case. The judgment has raised the heroes of Dharwar still higher in our estimation and our hearts go out to them in full sympathy. In the eyes of the people they are completely innocent. Though in a British court of justice they have been regarded as dacoits and murderers who wanted to kill Shivlingappa, the court of the people has acquitted them long ago of these foul charges. One has only to read the judgment of the British court side by side with the report of the Congress Committee, in order to realize who are innocent and who are the true culprits. The assessors who were sitting as *panchas* in the court could see the truth clearly and in their opinion all the accused were innocent. And the grounds on which they based their decision were such as would carry conviction even to a child. It is a matter of regret that the judge alone could not grasp the truth of their remarks. When the assessors declared that the witnesses were lying the judge is said to have asked in a tone of surprise whether all of them were liars. But has not the judge himself acquitted four of the accused notwithstanding the fact that evidence was given against them by the same persons who gave evidence in the case of others who were convicted? Are the witnesses then trustworthy in some cases and false in others? Is this British justice? The Congress Committee has examined witnesses on both sides, while the Sessions Judge heard evidence from one side only. His view, therefore, is necessarily one-sided and there is nothing wrong in saying that. [The *Navin Bharat* says that the evidence which was given in the court showed clearly that the accused were incapable of committing the offences with which they were charged and that there were no grounds for believing that the offences were committed by them at all. The paper adds that the judge does not appear to have given due consideration to the evidence before him and that the acquittal of four of the accused will in no way satisfy the people that justice has been done in the case.]

Comments on the judgment of the District Magistrate, Nasik, in railway train theft case.

Jam-e-Jamashed (21), 14th Oct.

49. The *Jam-e-Jamshed* refers to the judgment delivered by the District Magistrate of Nasik in the G. I. P. Railway thefts case and sarcastically remarks that this instance of justice mixed with kindness is highly interesting. The paper thinks the Magistrate has a very tender heart, and it wishes he would continue to administer such justice mixed with mercy in deserving cases without any distinction of colour. In some quarters it is alleged, says the paper, that such mercy would never have been shown to an Indian; and it thinks there is undoubtedly some truth in this contention. One cannot but admit the truth of this allegation, the paper continues, when one compares the punishment awarded to a European convicted of theft with that awarded to an Indian in a similar case or in a political prosecution. In support of its contention the paper cites the case of Dr. Paranjpe of Yeotmal (Berar) who in spite of his failing health has been assigned the work of breaking metal in jail. It hopes that all judges and magistrates who have to decide cases of political prisoners will administer justice tempered with mercy.

Comments on the Chief Presidency Magistrate's decision in the Elphinstone College Hostel case.

Kesari (110), 11th Oct.

50. The *Kesari* remarks that the sentences passed by the Chief Presidency Magistrate in the Elphinstone College Hostel case were very light in view of the seriousness of the offence of assault committed and asks its readers to imagine what the sentences would have been if the position of the two parties to the case had been reversed and the students had been the accused. It congratulates the students for having persisted in carrying on the prosecution in spite of the efforts of the Magistrate to bring about a compromise, which, in the opinion of the paper, he had no business to make.

Comments on the Government of India's memorandum on the position of Indians in the Dominions.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Oct.

51. "The secretive ways of the Government of India are a puzzle to the people of this country. They have just now made public the lengthy memorandum they had prepared for submission to the Imperial Conferance through their nominees, the so-called representatives of India. There is nothing in the document of an extra-confidential character. It is only a statement of the Government's view of the case regarding the position of the Indians in the self-governing dominions of the Empire. This being so, one wonders what prevented the Government of India from publishing the document when the conference was in session. We can think of no high reasons of state that necessitated secrecy about the memorandum. On the other hand if the memorandum had been published at the time, it would have materially strengthened the hands of the spokesmen of the Government in their fight for India's right....... It is, however, some consolation to know that the resolution which the conference adopted with regard to Indians was prompted by the Government of India, though up to now the general impression in India had been that the conference formulated the resolution spontaneously in recognition, as it were, of India's newly raised (?) status. Indeed, the gramophones of Imperialism, both in this country and in Great Britain, had freely and sedulously propagated such a view, expecting, no doubt, that India would be garteful in her turn to the Imperial Government and the Dominions for thus 'voluntarily' coming forward to concede the just claims of her people. We see, however, now that the move came originally from the Government of India themselves. The idea of inviting Dominion statesmen to visit India has also originated from the Government of India and did not, as the public here have been led to imagine all along, spring spontaneously in the brain of Mr. Sastri. The Government of India failed only to make one more suggestion—and that is, that the Dominion statesmen should extend a return invitation to the 'representatives' of India to visit the Dominions, for then the puppet show would have been well stage-managed from beginning to end. Unfortunately for the puppets, the villain of the piece, namely, South Africa, has broken away from the strings and till he is brought in a line with the rest, there is little hope of the show proving a success."

Mahratta (6), 16th Oct.

***52.** " Full three months after the Imperial Conference, the Government of India has seen its way to publish a Memorandum about its views regarding the position of Indians in the Dominions. The Memorandum only helps to disprove the bombast of Mr. Shastri, that although a nominee of Government he would act as the Indian people's representative. Everything is cut and dry in this Memorandum, which Mr. Shastri seems to have uttered parrot-like before the Imperial Conference. It is also significant that the Memorandum all along speaks in the name of 'the Government of India' or 'India' of course as governed by a foreign Government established by a foreign law, and not in the name of the Indian people, thus once more falsifying Mr. Shastri's claim to speak in the name of Indian people. For the rest the Memorandum was as well not published. To quote an instance of Government's wonted pusillanimity, it admits that the number of Indians domiciled in Canada and Australia is small and still makes merry over the readiness and good will shown by these two countries in carrying out heads (2) and (3) of the Reciprocity Resolution. And what are these heads? No. 2 asks for facilities for visits and temporary residence for non-labour purposes. No. 3 permits domiciled Indians to bring in their wives and *minor children provided that not more than one wife and her children would be admitted for each Indian* (note the italicised portion). This is the much-vaunted 'equal partnership' and 'full rights of citizenship' even for the Domiciled Indians. In short, the proposals put forth resemble the bartering away of an Arabian horse for a shabby pony. We can expect nothing better at the hands of the present bureaucratic Government, for like attracts like. It is no use speaking about the freedom of Indians in the Empire so long as we have not won *swarajya* in our own land, for after that, the freedom would follow of its own accord as a corollary follows a theory."

The Press Act and Chiefs of Native States.

Kathiawar Opinion (23), 9th Oct., Eng. cols.

53. " The speech which Lord Reading delivered on the 2nd of September to the members of the Council of State and Legislative Assembly will be read with feelings of grave dissatisfaction and concern by the subjects of Indian Princes. Alluding to the repeal of the Press Act, the Viceroy said that his Government will have to make some provision for the protection of his 'friends and allies'—the Ruling Princes—against the attacks of the Press, when the Press Act is removed from the Statute Book....... And what has been so far the significance of the protection afforded to Indian ruling princes by the magnanimity of the English Government? As powerful and as autocratic as Czars in their own territories, they are immune from outside criticism also....... With almost Czaric institutions of Government to keep them down, with the sovereign Government only too ready to strengthen their fetters; and with not liberty enough to complain outside their house of their want of liberty, being gagged in their own, the 'Indian States' subjects are easily the most hard-pressed and cionsequently the most dwarfed in growth of all the civilized people of this earth. Surely the English, as a people, have fallen from their exalted character. Britain was the reputed nurse of liberty—she was the red-handed revolutionaries' heaven of rest. She welcomed anarchists, she honoured nihilists, she hugged to her bosom the professed foes of constituted governments. Garibaldi and Mazzini, Kossuth and Kropatkin, could count on England's support,—the sympathy and the support of the country which sheltered them. But now in India her Government is determined to take under its protection those who still believe in the Divine Right of Kings to govern as ill as they please, those who have the traditions of the French Bourbons and the Russian Czars for their codes of Government....... The policy of the Government towards the Indian States is in the highest degree dishonest ethically, whatever it may be politically. It has told the Indian Princes practically, if not in so many words, 'Govern as ill as you please. You have undertaken to help us against your countrymen in time of need; and we, too, shall help you against them, against your countrymen, when you need our help '. Therefore, it is that Indian Princes who are so obliging to every Englishman in their territory, are so wantonly autocratic in their dealings with their subjects."

The Bombay Government and the question of proportionate pensions for the I. C. S.

Hindusthan (20), 10th Oct.

54. Sometime back certain members of the Indian Civil Service sent a memorial to the Government of India asking for proportionate pension after ten years' service and the Government of India referred it to the Provincial Governments for opinion. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd placed the matter for consideration before his Executive Council with the hope that his colleagues would favour the demand made by the members of the Indian Civil Service. For is it not the duty of every loyal councillor to give every possible facility to the Civilians who serve India so strenously ? The European members of the Council did not disappoint the Governor but the two Indian members showed signs of dissent. A certain resolution was passed by the Council but Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla added a strong minute of dissent making it clear that the demand made by the Civilians was unjust and that the special privileges enjoyed by the Civilians were allowed to them on the understanding that they should gain experience by a long stay in this country and give the Indians the benefit of that experience. In these circumstances, Sir Ibrahim held that no pension need be given to Civilians who retired before completing thirty years of service. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad endorsed this view and signed the minute of dissent. His Excellency Sir George Lloyd and the two European members of the Council expressed some hesitation in forwarding the minute of dissent to the Government of India and according to our information they were forced to yield when Sir Ibrahim warned them that he would take serious steps. The non-co-operation movement has been started with a view to breaking the power of the bureaucracy and now that the movement is gaining strength we can understand the demand made by the civilians. A drowning man catches at a straw and so Government servants are trying to secure all possible advantages, be they justifiable or otherwise. Every one knows that this will not last long. The partiality shown by the Executive Council goes to show that, however enamoured the Co-operators may be of the Reforms, the hearts of European officials are swayed by selfishness and greed as of yore. The European members of the Executive Council of the Government of Bombay must have been moved by the consideration that if they rejected the demand of the ordinary Civilians their own demands of the same kind would meet a similar fate some day. It is a matter for joy that such low thoughts were not harboured by the two Indian members of the Council. Co-operators and non-co-operators should congratulate Sir Ibrahim and Sir Chimanlal upon viewing the question from the point o view of justice and the good of the country.

Appeal to England to capture the hearts of the Musalmans of the world by doing justice to Turkey.

Mufid-e-Rozgar (172), 9th Oct.

55. Writing on the question of the Turkish Peace Treaty, the *Mufid-e-Rozgar* reminds England of her responsibilities as being the greatest power in the world. It expresses surprise that Germany, although she began the war, has suffered little while the Turks have suffered innumerable losses, and adds that of all the belligerents Turkey has suffered most. The paper entertains the hope that England and Turkey will again unite. It asks England to take advantage of the present situation and capture the hearts of the Musalmans of the world by doing justice to the Turks and the Khalif of Islam. Referring to the atrocities committed by "the barbarous Greek hordes ", the paper suggests that an indemnity should be demanded from Greece for all the losses inflicted on Turkey by her forces. It demands that the Greeks should evacuate the Turkish territories which they have usurped, It is confident that the Turks will not enter into any peace treaty with Greece until every Greek soldier is driven away from Thrace and Smyrna. The paper concludes by requesting the British ministers to utilise the present opportunity and by praying for the safety of the Khaliph and the Khaliphate.

EDUCATION.

Government and expenditure on Primary Education.

Praja Mitra and Parsi (28), 15th Oct.

56. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* remarks that from the work which the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye did in and outside the Council for education, it was expected that there would be a great advance in education in his period of office. The paper regrets that he is not as enthusiastic after becoming a Minister as he was before. It remarks that the question before the Primary Education Committee would have been very easily solved if the head of the Education Department had called a conference of the officers of the Educational Department of the Presidency instead of entertaining a staff at a huge expense for the purpose. It regrets that Indians cannot as yet leave off this roundabout method, and remarks that it is their misfortune that while the Government can get funds for any other expenses it likes, it has no money to spend on education. It opines that the responsibility of the Government does not become less because the Education Department is entrusted to a Minister and remarks that it is not becoming on the part of Government to starve this Department. In conclusion it wishes that the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye will wake up and abstain from taking any steps which are opposed to his original policy. It is of opinion that there can not be anything more regrettable than the fact that during the regime of a minister like the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye education instead of progressing should move in a retrograde direction.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIB MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Alleged evil plight of Kaira District passive resisters against impost for punitive police 5
Bloodshed likely at Mulshi Peta if Government make use of force . 13
Comments on an enactment regarding assaults on Europeans in force in the North-West Frontier Province 6
Comments on the appointment of the Fiscal Commission . . . . 1—3
Comments on the coming Disarmament Conference 8
Comments on the relations between Afghanistan and the Government of India 10
Co-operators and non-co-operators should uproot this lawless and irresponsible Government 4
India likely to suffer for relief of the unemployed in England . . 11
Protest against the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office . 9
The Lytton Committee can inquire into grievances of Indian students without coming to India 12
Treatment of political prisoners in jail 7
Development of Bombay: The Bombay Development Department . . 48—51

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to Poona . . . 21—23
Protest against the proposed expenditure on welcoming— . . . 14—20
Indians in the Colonies: The grievances of Indians in Kenya . . . 52 & 53

Judicial matters:

Comments on the judgment in the Dharwar shooting case . . . 39—46
Comments on the sentence passed on the editor and the manager of the *Zamindar* of Lahore 47

Non-co-operation:

Actions like the prosecution of the Ali Brothers will bring about the ruin of Government . . . . 29 & 30
Alleged inconsistency of accused non-co-operators declining to make a defence and at the same time putting in statements, etc. . . 33
Comments on the manifesto of the non-co-operationist leaders . . 31 & 32
Comments on the non-co-operators' advice to soldiers to leave the army 27
Comments on the prosecution of Mr. Deshpande . . . . . 24 & 25

H 243—6 CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded*.

Non-co-operation—*concluded*

Comments on the split in the Congress executive regarding the convening of the next All-India Congress Committee meeting . 35 & 36
Definition of a Mussalman's loyalty to earthly powers 28
Harmfulness of the — movement 38
Indians should not serve Government in any capacity 34
Reflections on these 'exceptional' times 37
The people should not depend upon Government for protection . . 36
Why the arrest of the Ali Brothers was decided upon ?. . . . 26

War:

Asiatic States must combine against the aggression of Europe . . 54
Comments on the attitude of the Allies towards the — between the Greeks and the Turks 55
Comments on the latest phase of the Turko-Greek — 56

MUNICIPALITIES—

A complaint against the Poona Municipality 60
Comments on the attitude of Government towards the scheme for widening the Bombay Municipal franchise 59
Comments on the Government Resolution on the non-co-operating Municipalities . . . . 57 & 58

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the prosecution of Mr. N. C. Kelkar and others at Bhor . 61
Complaint about non-delivery of newspapers by Post Offices in Dhrangadhra State 62

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the appointment of the Fiscal Commission.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Oct.

1. " The questionaire of the Fiscal Commission, published recently, affords grounds for some serious anxiety. It has been framed by the President in consultation with such members of the Commission as he had been able to meet, and is consequently a document necessarily imperfect....... We have again and again protested against the possibility of this inquiry degenerating into an abstract, academic disquisition, in face of the unamnimous opinion of the people in favour of a protectionist policy. We regret the eminent chairman of the Commission should have lent his authority so far to disregard the undoubted sentiments of the people as to imply that there is even an arguable possibility for a policy of imperial preference or that there is even a semblance of a doubt as to the country's opinion....... Judged from the questions, the inquiry is going to be rigorously confined to the value of traiffs in promoting industries. There are only three questions which might well have been combined into one—relating to the effect of foreign exchanges on the growth of industries (questions Nos. 53, 54, 55). Banking and transport facilities—both by railway and by shipping—are left severely alone making one wonder if the Commission has realised the full significance of transport on the industial growth of a country..... But all these considerations strengthen the complainant that the Commission would be gravely mistaken in its object if it discusses only the tariffs and their effects, and omits to formulate a comprehensive scheme of protection for India's national industries—no matter in what manner and through what channel the actual protection is afforded."

Gujaráti Punch (16), 16th Oct.

2. " If one were inclined to take only a cynical view of the case, India would appear to be the most fertile field for the growth of Commissions. And the nation of shop-keepers that has invented them, having found a propitious soil for their growth, has reduced their rearing to a fine art, practised on a pretty commercial scale..... The people of India have been made to witness their birth so often that their very name now stinks in their nostrils....... In the first place, there was no need for a Commission to determine the Tariff Policy of India. Even if it were not for the fact that Indian opinion with respect to it was fairly well-known, the simple fact that India is a land of vast yet unexplored industrial potentialities, that the people of this country grovel in poverty and that the finances of the Government of India are all but on the high-road of bankruptcy, ought to have been enough to make it clear to our Simla Gods that there can only be one Tariff policy for India if it is not to be inconsistent with reason and sanity—and that is of judicial protection....... The Government of India would be committing a serious and irrevocable blunder if it were to think of making the Tariff Commission provide an excuse for forcing Imperial Preference on this country. One of the most deplorable features of British Rule in this country is its economic exploitation. And yet forcing Free Trade on India, however unjustifiable from the Indian point of view, may be passed down as economic fanaticism. But Imperial Preference has quite a selfish air about it which no amount of verbal camouflage can conceal. Besides, it is more dangerous than Free Trade can ever be and its forcing upon India, particularly at a time when England herself is adopting Protection would be like shutting the door, or at least providing one more ground for ultimately bringing things to that pass, of an Indo-British peace and amity. It is all very well to talk of Indian ' extremism ' and such like shibboleths. But does the Government of India ever realise that the strength of the Indian ' extremist ' lies in the misdeeds of that body ? The easiest way to dislodge the Indian ' extremist ' is to make the latter a thing of the past. However, the Government of India seems to be in no mood for it, and the Tariff Commission is one more proof of it.. That is the only impression which a perusal of its personnel and terms of reference carries with it and if it is to be improved, the only way to do it is to strengthen the independent Indian element in it. Will the Government of India do it ? "

Bombay Samáchár (56), 18th Oct.

3. The *Bombay Samácáhr* takes note of the questionnaire of the Indian Fiscal Commission and remarks that the questions seem to be framed by the Commission with the sole intention of safeguarding the interests of India and the Indian people. The paper hopes that the recommendations of the Commission will prove beneficial to India if the Commission works on the lines indicated by the questions. The paper considers the time allowed for answering the questions as too short and hopes the President will do all in his power to get it extended.

Co-operators and non-co-operators should uproot this lawless and irresponsible Government.

Young India (11), 20th Oct.

4. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in *Young India* :—" The reader will recollect the assault instigated by the District Magistrate of Bulandshahr upon Mr. Tiagi who was being tried in his court and who was, therefore, under his protection. I have now before me the apology he tendered to the accused....... It is evident to me that the apology was offered under pressure, even as Sir Michael O'Dwyer was made to apologise to the late Council for his offensive remarks. Insincere and mechanical as the wording is, at that very sitting the magistrate broke his promise of giving the accused a patient hearing by expunging from his statement a passage which he did not like. This assault by the magistrate raises an issue of the gravest import. Could such a man occupy the position of a magistrate for a single day under any civilized Government ? Could, for instance, the Lord Chief Justice of England assault a prisoner being tried before him and still retain his high office ? If the Government of India was not in reality a lawless and totally irresponsible Government the magistrate would have been suspended and prosecuted as a common felon. An assault by a judge upon an accused, whilst he is on his trial before that judge, is not an ordinary assault that could be treated lightly. There should be a limit even to co-operating patience. Do the Indian ministers concerned feel an easy consicience over the magistrate's crime against the nation ? Or do they think that they have no responsibility because the magistrate does not belong to their department ? A non-co-operator's duty is simple. Each such violation of law and morals on the part of Government officials must result in making us more determined in our purpose. We may not be satisfied till the system under which such atrocious conduct is possible is uprooted."

Alleged evil plight of Kaira District passive resisters against the impost for punitive police.

Hindusthán (20), 15th Oct.

5. The *Hindusthán* protests against the alleged highhanded manner in which the impost on the people of Kaira District for the maintenance of the punitive police is being exacted by confiscation of cattle and valuable property of the people and deplores the indifference shown by the popular leaders of the non-co-operation party towards the passive resistance organised by the people affected by the unjust impost. The paper calls upon Mr. Gandhi to give his early attention to the question and to give guidance and advice to the unfortunate people of Kaira who have so far been shifting for themselves.

Comments on an enactment regarding assaults on Europeans in force in the North-West Frontier Province.

Nusrat (new), 20th Oct.

6. Commenting on an article in the *Zamindar* of Lahore regarding an enactment in force in the North-West Frontier Province which lays down the extreme penalty for all who assault Europeans, the *Nusrat* writes as follows :—The question is whether this piece of legislation has been devised for their poor subjects by Government who always boast of their Western civilisation and whose agents never cease from declaring that the British Government established in India is based on law. Is there any civilised government in the world which can go to the extent of calling this law as law which is in vogue in the dark land of the North-Western Provinces ? We feel sure that if this law as prevalent there is entitled to be called a law then tyranny and oppression, barbarity and cruelty cannot be found anywhere. What has become of those promises of Lord Reading in which he says that the distinctions of colour and race will be removed and what has become of those meetings held in England in which Lord Reading's justice and law were highly spoken of? It is a pity that the reins of government in England and India have passed into the hands of such persons as have dishonoured the good name of England by breaking pledges and by committing various acts of injustice. Especially the treatment which the present Government of England is meting out to Muhammadans in every part of the world, has wounded the heart of every Muslim, and there is not a true Muhammadan who has not begun to look upon England as the enemy of Islam. In our opinion the time has come when the British Government should rectify their past mistakes and black deeds. But it should be remembered that if England does not give up her present cruel attitude, then this injustice and lack of generosity would reduce to ashes the very existence of Britain, and then nothing will be left to be done but to repent. [The paper here quotes a passage from the *Zamindar* in which it is alleged that an Indian was sent to the gallows for merely striking an Englishman with an axe, and then continues:—] We request the Government of Lord Reading to interfere with the affairs of the Frontier and put a stop to unparalleled barbarities of this kind. The Viceroy has done nothing up till now; he should at least do this much to do away with this autocracy: the Home Member should be asked to explain why this barbarity is allowed on the frontier. May God reward Sir Sivaswami Aiyer who had brought forward a resolution in the Council recommending the union of the Frontier province with the Punjab! In fact the best solution of the Frontier problem is this that it should be amalgamated with the Punjab.

Treatment of political prisoners in jail.

Lokamánya (114), 20th Oct.

7. The *Lokamánya* takes exception to a statement in the *Hindu* that political prisoners get a worse treatment in Sind than anywhere else in India, and points out that except perhaps in the U. P., where a new circular for treating political convicts as first class prisoners is reported to have been issued, such prisoners are harshly treated everywhere in India. It complains that Mr. Lalit, recently sentenced in the *Lokasháhi* case, has been assigned the task of grinding forty pounds of corn per day and declares that to put political prisoners to such hard work in these days is the height of cruelty and vindictiveness. It appeals to the Honourable Mr. Paranjpye to see that Mr. Lalit who has once worked as a member of the Servants of India Society is given better treatment than that accorded to robbers and dacoits.

Comments on the coming Disarmament Conference.

Lokamánya (114), 20th Oct.

8. The *Lokamánya* refers to the forthcoming Disarmament Conference at Washington and says that though the Right Honourable Mr. Sastri is going to attend it as India's representative, nobody will take care to notice his presence there, as he will be only dittoing Mr. Lloyd George. At the same time it thinks that the honour done to Mr. Sastri gives colour to the rumour about his being soon appointed Governor of an Indian Province. In its opinion the conference has its origin in the apprehensions felt by America that Japan, with the help of her increasing armaments, would succeed in wresting the supremacy of the Whites in the Pacific. It declares that America and the European nations have formed a conspiracy against Japan as they do not want to admit the Yellow man into partnership with the white people in the matter of exploiting the resources of the world and desire that Japan should confine her activities to her own bleak islands and at most the snow-covered portions of Eastern Siberia, and with that end in view mean to stop her from executing her naval programme. It remarks that Japan has accepted invitation to the Conference as a matter of form though she knows its objects and declares that as the future of Eastern Asia and as a matter of fact the whole of Asia depends upon Japan's ability to escape from the difficult position in which she has been placed, India can only pray to God that the plot against her may fail and that she may have unrestricted opportunities in the future for increasing her naval power.

Protest against the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office.

Gujaráti (14), 16th Oct.

9. The *Gujaráti* discusses the question of the transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office. The paper points out that the real reason why England wants to secure the control of Aden has not been disclosed in the various discussions on the subject in Parliament and the Indian Legislature. According to the paper the reason lies in the fact that India is on the point of securing the full rights of *swaraj* and that, therefore, England is anxious to secure the control of this port, which is one of the keys to the sea-route to India, Australia and New Zealand, before full *swaraj* is granted to India. The paper is of opinion that when India obtains full *swaraj* all the keys of the sea-route to it should be in its own hands. It also points out how much reliance Indians place in the ability of the Colonial Office to protect the rights of Indians against the encroachments of the Europeans in the Colonies. But if, after all, it is necessary that Aden should be given as a present to England, it should be done on the clear understanding that India has not to contribute a single pie towards the protection of the fort and port of Aden and that the rights of Indians shall on any occasion be the same as those of Englishmen in Aden.

Comments on the relations between Afghanistan and the Government of India.

Hindusthán (20), 18th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 21st Oct.

10. The *Hindusthán* refers to the absence of news from Afghanistan in the matter of the Afghan deputation and the signing of a commercial treaty between Russia and Afghanistan and declares that the failure of Britain to win over Afghanistan and Persia to her side affords a clear proof that she has become bankrupt in diplomacy. The paper thinks that Afghanistan is likely to prove a menace to India owing to its friendship with Russia and though in its opinion Indians have nothing to fear from Afghanistan, England may have to arrive at an agreement with that country in the interests of the Empire and hence it advises her to grant *swaraj* to India before taking any step in that direction. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* notes that while Afghanistan has concluded treaties with other countries no result has as yet come out of the negotiations which were going on between the Government of India mission and the Afghan Government. The paper declares that such a state of affairs does good neither to India nor to Afghanistan, and it is of opinion that this question should be taken up in an altogether different light. It thinks that the present Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief who sympathise with the people and want to reduce the military expenditure to a reasonable extent can really do much if they are given a free hand in the matter. In conclusion, it emphasises the necessity of abandoning the present foreign policy of India and remarks that the best way of conciliating Afghanistan is to hand over to it as a mandatory all the territory which belongs to those tribes which have been continually harassing India.]

India likely to suffer for relief of the unemployed in England.

Lokamánya (114), 22nd Oct.

11. The *Lokamánya* refers to the programme for the relief of unemployment in England outlined by Mr. Lloyd George before Parliament and says that it appears as if it is intended to give any number of concessions to British capitalists in the colonies and dependencies like India for finding work for the British unemployed It is afraid that India is likely to be raided by the British capitalists for the sake of this loot, and says that the tears shed by His Excellency the Viceroy during his recent visit to Cashmere about the lack of railway communications in that State appear to have their origin in the British Government's plan for affording relief to the unemployed in England.

The Lytton Committee can inquire into grievances of Indian students without coming to India.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 17th Oct.

12. The *Bombay Samáchár* deals at great length with the difficulties of Indian students in England and the alleged failure of the Students' Advisory Committee to mitigate them. It then refers to Lord Lytton's Committee and opines that it can easily inquire into the grievances of Indian students in

England and suggest remedies without coming to India. It suggests that the Secretary of State should make the training of Indian students the preliminary condition of the contract for the purchase of stores from British manufacturers.

Bloodshed likely at Mulshi Peta if Government make use of force.

Vijayee Marátha (151), 15th Oct.

13. Writing about the Mulshi Peta affair the *Vijayee Maratha* declares that it is a foregone conclusion that in the end it is the Mavlas alone that will have to suffer, though even now their condition is extremely pitiable. As they have been cunningly instigated by the *savkars* and tricked by the Nationalists of Poona, it would be the duty of Government, the paper says, to solve the question of taking up their lands after strictly safeguarding their interests. It suggests that ample compensation should be granted to them to enable them to free themselves from the clutches of the *savkars*, and lands also should be given to enable them to maintain themselves. All this should be managed, it says, without haste and in an amicable manner and it thinks that the notified scale of compensation being too low will have to be abandoned. If instead of doing this Government tries to forcibly drive the Mavlas out of their lands, bloodshed, in the opinion of the paper, would certainly follow and the whole blame in the matter would lie at the door of Government.

Protest against the proposed expenditure on welcoming His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Servant of India (8), 20th Oct.

14. "Though the Finance Member of the Bombay Government disclaimed any intention of making the expenditure on the Prince of Wales' visit lavish, the proposal to spend as much as Rs. 8¾ lakhs upon it cannot but be looked upon as sheer extravagance. The arrangements at Apollo Bunder, he said, were to be on the same scale as when Their Majesties visited India in 1911. Surely there is some difference between the Prince's tour and Their Majesties' Coronation visit, and also between pre-war and post-war conditions. It is proposed to spend no less than Rs. 3 lakhs on a temporary pavilion to accommodate about 3,000 persons for a couple of hours and Rs. 2 lakhs on the illumination of public buildings. Such proposals the Finance Member prefaced with the remark that the Prince was a true democrat who wished to meet the people with as little ceremony and ostentation as possible. The democratic Prince would surely be more pleased if the money was spent in his name on useful institutions like hospitals than on a *tamasha*. But the reasons given by the Finance Member for this expenditure were even worse than its lavishness. Frontier unrest, Moplah rising, riots in isolated places, etc., have been magnified and distorted, it would appear, so as to convey a very wrong impression of the condition of India to distant countries. Representatives of the chief organs of the world's press were accompanying the Prince, and should our expenditure not be such as to give them a correct idea of the happiness and prosperity of the people? Another reason adduced was that if economy was practised on this occasion the financiers of the world would doubt the financial stability of the Government of India. It is, indeed, impossible to improve on such reasoning! Only, no journalist worth the name, and least of all a financier, will permit himself to be gulled by a *tamasha*."

Mahrátta (6), 23rd Oct.

***15.** "Preparations are going on apace for the reception of the Prince of Wales who is going to be thrust as an unwelcome guest on an unwilling host....... The Nation has done well in demonstrating in unmistakable terms its unwillingness to welcome the Prince. The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress has decided upon a general *hartal* on the day of his arrival. Hundreds of public meetings held throughout the land have declared their resolve not to have anything to do with the visit. The municipalities of Lahore and Poona, the capitals of the Punjab and Maharashtra, respectively, have thrown out proposals even to vote an address of welcome. Under ordinary circumstances in private life a man feels chary to enjoy hospitality that betrays a rift in the lute. The more so in respect of a great Prince. But none so blind as those who do not see. Frantic efforts are being made to collect the Rajas and their retinue and they are naturally taken to be the main factors in making up the *tamasha.* The Rajas are mere puppets in the hands of the bureaucracy and they will have perforce to make a brave show....... If the Prince's visit is to produce only a hollow nothing and leave in its trail an impoverished treasury, a greater sense of humiliation, and a flattered bureaucracy, it is as well not undertaken at all. The last peg on which the bureaucracy desires to hang its claims for such a visit, are the exploded doctrines of the divine spark in kings, but that also cannot buttress their fabrics. These doctrines are outgrown and jar even on the ears of proverbially loyal Indians. The visit is organised for political objects and although there is absolutely no grudge against the amiable personality of the Prince, the responsibility of drawing him in the vortex of current politics lies only on the heads of those who planned his vistit at this time. We advise all our countrymen not to be drawn into the controversy and tread dangerous ground but keep away from all ceremonies connected with the Prince's visit in obedience to the mandate of the Indian National Congress."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 20th Oct.

16. The *Sánj Vartamán* protests against the decision of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to present an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales on behalf of the merchants of Bombay. The paper maintains that the Chamber may present an address to the Prince on its own behalf but has no right to do so on behalf of the merchants of Bombay without consulting them. The paper then refers to the irregular procedure adopted by the Managing Committee of the Chamber in not placing the question of the address of welcome on the agenda and considering the question when some of its members had left the meeting under the impression that the meeting was over. The paper then points out that the address of welcome to the Prince, by the Bombay Municipality on behalf of the citizens of Bombay, is opposed to the wishes of the people while those to be presented by the Trustees of the Parsi Panchayat and the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau are laying false claim to being representative of the Parsi Community and the mercantile interests of the city respectively.

Gujaráti (14), 16th Oct.

17. The *Gujaráti* points out that the people do not consider it desirable that, in the existing financial stringency, very heavy expenditure should be incurred by Government in connection with the Prince of Wales' visit. The paper refers to the desire expressed by the Prince that money should not be wasted on costly addresses and caskets, and opines that similarly His Royal Highness would not approve of money being wasted on illuminations, fire works, fancy fairs, etc. It exhorts Government also to practise economy in this matter and set an example to others by honouring the wishes expressed by His Royal Highness. It then adversely criticises the expenditure of nearly nine lakhs proposed to be incurred by the Bombay Government and the argument urged by the Honourable Mr. Lawrence while asking the Council to sanction it, *viz*,. that most of the money would be spent in this country. In this connection the paper points out that no doubt the workmen employed would be Indians but the materials used in the decorations, illuminations, etc., would all be of foreign manufacture. The paper also expresses surprise at the provision of Rs. 1,62,000 for the police and military protection of the Prince. If the Prince is to be thus hemmed in by the police and the military how can it be urged that he comes to see and meet the people face to face ?

Praja Bandhu (27), 16th Oct.; *Hind Mitra* (17), 16th Oct.;
Sayáji Vijaya (73), 20th Oct.

18. On the one hand His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales has expressed his desire to the effect that only a small amount of money should be spent in welcoming him and on the other the Government of India, the Provincial Governments and other bodies have begun to spend lakhs of rupees after making arrangements for his welcome. The bureaucracy in the Bombay Presidency has thought fit to spend money on fireworks and illuminations in the city for three days instead of establishing a good scholarship in the name of the Prince. In such times of deficit in the treasury, the Government of Bombay has not shown the least amount of wisdom in thus spending money extravagantly. It should be the duty of Government to show India to His Royal Highness in her true colours. It

appears that it is designed to conceal the true state of India from His Royal Highness by means of empty show, by showing that the Indian people are prosperous and by giving an idea to His Royal Highness of the excellence of the administration of the bureaucracy. If the Prince really loves his people, he cannot but express his displeasure at the expensive show which is made against his wish. [The *Hind Mitra* writes :—The desire expressed by the Prince of Wales shows that he is not totally unaware of the state of affairs in the country. The authorities may think that their invitation to His Royal Highness to visit India will support their political object, but in spite of our respect and loyalty for the Prince of Wales we unhesitatingly declare that his visit is not only out of place in the present state of affairs in the country but it is also undesirable. The *Sayáji Vijaya* writes :—We are surprised that the expenses which are to be incurred for welcoming the Prince of Wales are quite opposed to the desire expressed by him. Can the amount voted not be reduced in a proper measure and spent on objects of popular benefit ?]

Lokamánya (114), 22nd Oct.

19. The *Lokamánya* controverts the opinion expressed in England that the Prince of Wales was going to India for the sake of lakhs of Indian soldiers who have taken part in the war but who have had no occasion up till now to have a sight of him and declares that it is impossible that these soldiers can be in any way anxious to have a sight of the Prince, inasmuch as such of them as fought for the British and won for them the German East Africa must be repenting for what they have done in view of the treatment, worse than that by the Germans, now being accorded to Indians in that part of Africa by the British, while such of them as fought in Palestine and Mesopotamia and thus helped to cut off portions of the Turkish Empire and to place the Khilafat in jeopardy must be feeling apprehensive as to how they will have to pay for the sin they have committed. The paper, therefore, thinks that the Indian soldiers will not at all be anxious to see the Prince while suffering from such pricks of conscience.

Chitramayá Jagat (Marathi) (100), Aug.-Sept.

20. Mr. Damodar Vishwanath Gokhale writes in the *Chitramaya Jagat* :—The Viceroy told us the other day that it was not right to boycott the Prince of Wales since he was in no way connected with our politics, and that we should welcome him as our future Emperor. He also reminded us that Indians were known for their hospitality and that they must not depart from their traditions on the present occasion. Such arguments are wholly fallacious. If the Prince of Wales does not interest himself in the problems that affect us vitally, how can he lay claim to our hospitality ? Has he ever shown by word or deed that he is conscious of the fact that we were subjected to any such wrong as that of the Punjab ? How can those who are indifferent to the welfare of the people and who have not the power to right their wrongs claim to be Kings ? India knows of no rulers who were content only to be called Emperors and who left the bureaucracy free to benefit itself at the expense of the people. India would even accept the autocratic rule of the King-Emperor, but she is no longer willing to submit to the autocratic rule of the numerous Emperors that make up the bureaucracy. You can ask us to give a welcome to the Prince only if you give us *swarajya* and not otherwise. Besides the guest too should choose the proper time for the visit. Why should he force his hospitality upon the host when the latter is in mourning ?

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to Poona.

Indu Prakásh (43), 17th Oct.

21. The *Indu Prakásh* regrets to see that the Prince of Wales while at Poona is to be taken in procession for the foundation stone ceremony of the Shivaji memorial not through the town but by a side road over a temporary bridge. It opines that His Excellency the Governor has not been properly advised in the matter and suggests that the old settled route for Princes and Chiefs entering Poona, *viz.*, that *via* Gar Pir and the Moti Chowk, should be adopted in the present instance.

Rájakáran (131), 16th Oct.; *Swarájya* (Marathi) (147), 20th Oct.

22. The Prince of Wales is visiting Poona contrary to the wishes of the people. The Governor and the Native Chiefs are welcome to dance attendance on him

when he comes here. The bureaucracy cannot, however, expect to enlist the support of the people to their acts so long as repression is in full swing in India. We congratulate the 19 members of the Municipality who defeated the resolution to give an address to the Prince on their sense of duty. [The *Swarájya* says that Government are purposely delaying the release of the Martial Law prisoners in the Punjab until the Prince comes here so that the people may think that his visit was productive of good. It tells Government that expedients such as these will no longer give real satisfaction to the people and that the only way to appease them is to give them *swarájya.*]

Kesari (110), 18th Oct.

23. The *Kesari* expresses satisfaction at the rejection of the motion placed before the Poona Municipality for giving an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales, but points out that though the popular side ultimately won a considerable support was forthcoming for the Government's side showing that it was still powerful in the Municipality. It considers the arguments adduced in favour of the address to be delusive and declares that though the Prince, being the guest of Government, may be welcomed by it by an extravagant expenditure of the people's money against their wishes, the insult thus given to the people should not be aggravated by making the free citizens in the cities to present addresses while they are in a sort of mourning. As to the native Princes and Chiefs the paper points out that their old condition of slavery still continues and that they will not fail to bring with them large numbers of followers to Poona to crowd the streets as desired by the officials. It, however, calls attention to the incongruity of telling the Prince that he is being welcomed by crowds of the people of Poona when as a matter of fact the local municipality has refused to give him an address, and the crowd in question are to consist of followers brought down by Chiefs belonging to places outside Poona.

Comments on the prosecution of Mr. Deshpande.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 18th Oct.

24. Scarcely was the Dharwar prison cleared of its inmates when another hero stepped into it. He is not an ordinary hero, but he is the foremost commander of the Karnatak. The army of non-co-operators is unlimited. Hosts of brave soldiers are flocking to the banner of the Mahatma like the waves of the sea. Trying to disperse this huge army is like attempting to stop the onrush of the waves by means of a reed. But the bureaucracy has lost its head and is evidently in a perplexity. The thought that its majesty and grandeur are now doomed sends thrills of pain through its limbs. It has set itself the task of exterminating the non-co-operators and every day new persons fall victims to its policy of repression. Lord Reading said that he would not take any measures against non-co-operators so long as they refrained from acts which were likely to incite to violence. But these professions have remained with him in the hills; while the bureaucracy in the plains is carrying on an incessant campaign of repression. We have listened to the speech of Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande but we do not remember any words having been spoken by him which could have the effect of inciting to violence. Besides, how is it that the bureaucracy remained silent for such a long time and why did they not launch the prosecution immediately after the speech was made? It was believed by some people that the policy of Government was to allow the leaders to go scot-free while arresting their followers. But this is a mistaken idea. It may be said, without the least hesitation, that the bureaucracy has let lose the mad hounds of repression, intent on biting everybody without distinction of persons.

Kesari (110), 18th Oct.; *Lokanáyak* (115), 14th Oct.

25. The *Kesari* refers to the arrest of Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande of Belgaum and remarks that from the extracts from his speech at Navalgund on which his prosecution is based, it appears that the advisers of Government have not been in their senses in advising the prosecution. For though the speech was in Kanarese it points out there was no Kanarese shorthand reporter present at the occasion which gives rise to doubts as to whether the sentences put in his mouth were at all uttered by him and moreover some of the sentences are such as show not even the slightest trace of sedition while others are of such an impractical

character that no reasonable man would ever give utterance to them. And yet, it says, there is not the least doubt that Mr. Deshpande is going to be cast into prison for sentences which he never uttered, just as in the Dharwar case individuals not even present at the place of the disturbance have been convicted and sent to jail. The paper, therefore, comes to the conclusion that the hitherto peacefully disposed Governor of Bombay has come completely under the influence of the bureaucracy and that he means to enforce whatever repressive measures Messrs. Painter, Simcox, Moysey and Henderson might suggest. [The *Lokanáyak* welcomes Mr. Deshpande's arrest as a sign of the ending of the night of dependence and of the rise of the sun of *swarajya.* It asks the people to follow the examples of their leaders and go to jail without loss of time as jail is the place where the sanad for *swarajya* is to be had.]

Why the arrest of the Ali Brothers was decided upon?

Lokamánya (114), 17th Oct.

26. The *Lokamánya* declares that the communique issued in London by the India Office in connection with the arrest of the Ali Brothers proves that their arrest and detention was first decided upon at Simla in view of the victory which Greece was expected to gain over the Turks and that the search for sedition in any of the speeches delivered by them was undertaken afterwards. It also surmises that if the opinion of Mr. Sapru and others had proved to be adverse to the prosecution of the Brothers just like that of the Advocate-General of Bombay, the Brothers would have been deported under the Regulation of 1818 instead of being prosecuted. Referring to the advance of the Turks and the continued retirement of the Greeks in Asia Minor, the paper declares that there are clear signs of the defeat of the Greeks having produced a feeling in favour of the Ali Brothers and the Khilafat movement in England as evidenced by the utterances of a paper like the London *Times* which is calling for a stoppage of the war in Anatolia in order to safeguard British interests in Mesopotamia, Persia and Afghanistan and points out that with another crushing defeat of the Greeks the British will be obliged to frankly admit the mistake committed by Simla in arresting the Ali Brothers.

Comments on the non-co-operators' advise to soldiers to leave the army.

Bháratwási (157), 11th Oct.

2[illegible] There have been many important revolutions in the world. The French Revolution and the recent Russian Revolution are known to all. How did these revolutions succeed? It was only after the revolutionists had secured the support of the army to their cause. If Mahatma Gandhi did the same it is possible his revolution might also succeed. But the non-co-operators' revolution instead of bringing *swaraj* will bring about the country's ruin. They are asking the soldiers to surrender their arms to Government and go and sit at home. A fine revolution this! The Mahatma prefers "anarchy" to British rule. But the Moplah outrages have taught us the real meaning of "anarchy". We ought to remember that incidents like those in Malabar and Malegaon have happened in Sind also. It is true that some moulvis have spoken against forcible conversions. But all moulvis are not with the Khilafatists. Several of them regard Mahatma Gandhi as an idolator and therefore a *kaffir*. Supposing the police and army are no more and these latter call upon Muhammadans to start a *jehad* against those who oppose cow-slaughter, will not their *fatwas* be considered to be true according to Islam which regards all idolators as *kaffirs* and cow-slaughter as a lawful practice? We have not forgotten that only recently the Mussalmans of Shikarpur vehemently opposed the proposal of the Hindu Municipal councillors to stop cow-slaughter in the town of Shikarpur. It is quite true that there are several Muhammadans in Sind who would never commit any mischief. But their number is very small. But the vast majority of Sindhi Muhammadans are illiterate and fanatical and would certainly play havoc after the disappearance of the police and the army. In these circumstances, we would request non-co-operators to consider well what they are doing. It is quite certain that their present step will ruin the country.

Definition of a Mussalman's loyalty to earthly powers.

Insáf (66), 14th Oct.

28. There is no other power except God to whom a Moslem can bow down and obey. 'Do not obey man if in obeying him you have to disobey God': such is the injunction of the holy Hadis and it teaches us that obedience, subservience or loyalty to man can go so far only as it does not involve disobedience to God and so far as loyalty to man does not amount to revolt against God. But when the commandments of God and orders of man conflict with each other, then obedience and loyalty (to man) must come to an end, all agreements and contracts must be broken and all connections and friendships must be severed. Opposition then must be offered to all, authority of all must be rejected, pride should be shown to all and revolt must be declared against all. Severity should take the place of softness, pride that of humility, and disobedience that of obedience, because all connections have been severed and pledges broken When we have been enjoined by the Quran to obey even the Lord of the two worlds, the prophet Muhammad, so far only as his orders are righteous, what other emperor, what power, what religious or political leader can there be whom we should obey even after he practises oppression and indulges in sinful actions? The world and its Empires are ephemeral and their pomp and their bureaucracies must one day come to an end; the angels of Revenge and Destruction sent by God will descend upon the earth with their weapons of change and revolution and will destroy their castles, and blunt their swords, their armies will be devastated, their guns will not be able to protect them, their treasures will be of no avail to them, their powers will be destroyed and their crowns of pride will fall from their heads and their thrones and their pomp will appear mere vanities. At that time, what will be the condition of those Mussalmans who have disobeyed the Lord of all the worlds and accepted a clod of earth as their Emperor and looked upon his commandments as superior to those of God? "It will be told to them: 'Call ye upon those Lords and Emperors of yours whom you considered as your God and whom you feared as your God.' They will call but they shall not receive any answer." [Quran.]

Actions like the prosecution of the Ali Brothers will bring about the ruin of Government.

***Hindu* (160), 8th Oct.**

29. It appears to us that the bureaucracy is fast approaching its end. Otherwise it could not have taken this most unwise step of prosecuting the Ali Brothers. The Karachi Khilafat Conference resolution was almost forgotten by the people at large. But this prosecution has caused it to be proclaimed in a thousand meetings attended by thousands of people. Thus it is certain that it will reach the ears of the soldiers in the army, a result which a wise Government would have been very anxious to avoid. But now it is all done, and Government has only to thank itself for the consequences of its senseless action. Let us see what it will do now. Will it send to jail the thousands, nay lacs, of people who have been supporting the Karachi Khilafat Conference resolution in the meetings held all over the country under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi? We, of course, are very glad at this senseless step of Government, because it is such actions that will bring about its ruin, and clear the road for Indian's march towards *swaraj*.

Lokamánya (114), 19th Oct.

30. The *Lokamánya* refers to a report published by the *Democrat* of Allahabad to the effect that Lord Reading has made up his mind to arrest Mr. Gandhi in spite of the advice to the contrary of Messrs. Sapru, Shafi and Sarma, and says that it is not unlikely that the want of statesmanship shown by His Excellency in the arrest of the Ali Brothers might be repeated in the case of Mr. Gandhi also. It, however, appeals to him not only to refrain from embarking on that unstatesmanlike adventure but also show his wisdom by withdrawing the case against the Ali Brothers, inasmuch as, as warned by the *Leader*, Mr. Gandhi's arrest will cause an unbridgeable gulf to be opened between Government and Mr. Gandhi's followers.

Comments on the manifesto of the non-co-operationist leaders.

Sind Vási (169), 13th Oct.

31. Two manifestoes, one published by the Congress Working Committee and another signed by Mahatma Gandhi and 49 others, have been issued by non-co-operators within the past few days. In both it is pointed out that it is the duty of every Indian solidier and civilian to sever his connection with Government and find some other means of livelihood. In other words, all Government servants are advised to starve or beg, but serve Government no longer. We wonder how such an insensate and irresponsible piece of advice could have emanated from so many wise people. The Congress Working Committee lays stress on two things, *charkha* and boycott of foreign cloth. The *charkha*, however, yields hardly three annas per day. Government servants, therefore, would not consider it worthwhile to give up service and take to it as their means of livelihood. The boycott movement also will not continue long. The best way, according to us, of stopping the use of foreign cloth is to put heavy duties on its import. The recently appointed Fiscal Commission might recommend the adoption of such a course. But if it does not, foreign cloth will again be in great demand in India.

Gujarát Vartamán (63), 19th Oct.; *Bhárat Sevá* (13), 21st Oct.

32. Commenting upon the manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi and other national leaders, the *Gujarát Vartamán* writes:—Suppose for the sake of argument that the troops lay down their arms as advised by Mr. Gandhi. Then the result will be that Government will not be able to protect their subjects, and robbers and freebooters will terrorise the people in broad daylight and India will be converted into another Russia. Will the *badmash* element in the country follow Mr. Gandhi's advice about self-purification? Certainly not. Will then Mr. Gandhi raise an army to protect the life and property of the people? What will the white-capped army be able to do, if it is at all raised? It will not fail to join the *badmashes* to terrorise over the people. It will thus be seem that the manifesto will prove a curse to the country. [The *Bhárat Sevá* also dwells upon the evils that might ensue from Indians resigning thier posts in the Army and the Police as required by the manifesto, and calls upon the citizens of India to take steps to save the country from the chaos into which the country is being dragged by the non-co-operators.]

Alleged inconsistency of accused non-co-operators declining to make a defence and at the same time putting in statements, etc.

Gujaráti (14), 23rd Oct., Eng. cols.

*33. "One of the most absurd principles preached by non-co-operators is that none of them should defend himself in a court of law. In practice the precept has been ignored in several instances to a more or less extent....... In the Dharwar Riot case the Sessions Judge has noticed the fact in his judgment that, though the accused had alleged that they had refrained from taking any part in the proceedings in the Court of the Committing Magistrate or in the Sessions Court, they had raised constant objections or made many applications in both Courts. They had also put in long written statements and argued the case in their defence for about a week. This was, in our judgment, the right course to follow according to the fundamental principle of self-defence. But it was quite inconsistent with the precept issued by the leaders of the non-co-operation movement. The accused have in their written statements made all sorts of allegations against the witnesses for the prosecution without cross-examining them or producing their own evidence in rebuttal. Is that fair, honourable and consistent with the principles of truth and justice?...... We would much rather prefer to see non-co-operators doing their utmost to vindicate their innocence according to law than making deplorable exhibitions of gross inconsistency between their precepts and practice. We write in this strain not with a view to fault-finding but with the object of making non-co-operators and their leaders realise how they themselves are discrediting their movement by their strange doings and how their abstention from self-defence is apt to be ascribed to the interested promptings of a guilty conscience in many instances."

Indians should not serve Government in any capacity.

Rájakáran (131), 16th Oct.

34. The English are adepts in the art of imposing their rule upon others. They made slaves of us long ago but we have been all the while ignorant of the fact that we are really slaves. The judge who sentenced Lokamanya Tilak to transportation for six years was an Indian and the soldiers who fired volleys into the crowd in the Jallianwala Bagh at the bidding of General Dyer were also Indians. When England declared war on Turkey, Muhammadan soldiers from India went forth to fight against their co-religionists, and the Hindus too did not scruple to fight with the Turks although they were Asiatics like themselves. The English finding that our conduct was such as would become real slaves rewarded us with the Rowlatt Act and such other measures as soon as the war was over. After this experience of the last hundred years the Muhammadans began to inquire what the Koran had to say on this subject and they now find that it is sinful for Muhammadans to enter the service of others and fight with their own co-religionists. According to the Hindu *shastras* also it is sinful to serve *Mlenchhas* who hail from other countries and who do not profess the religion of the Aryas. Indians now thoroughly realise that their conduct hitherto was most foolish. We committed the heinous sin of imposing upon our own countrymen the slavery of others and we are now reaping the fruit. That is why we think it necessary now to advise our young men not to serve the present foreign Government in any capacity.

Comments on the split in the Congress executive regarding the convening of the next All-India Congress Committee meeting.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 19th Oct.

35. The *Sánj Vartamán* questions the right of the President of the Congress to cancel the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee convened on the 4th November 1921 by the Working Committee of the Congress and declares his step to be *ultra vires*. The paper is of the opinion that the passing of the resolution of the Khilafat Conference by the Working Committee of the Congress at various public meetings is tantamount to a challenge to Government either to arrest all those who supported the resolution or to release the Ali Brothers and the other accused who are being prosecuted at Karachi. In these circumstances the paper thinks that there is an imperative necessity of the All-India Congress Committee meeting and arriving at a unanimous decision. In conclusion it says that the opponents of the Congress should not be given any excuse to believe that there is a split in the Congress Camp.

The people should not depend upon Government for protection.

Swarájya (Marathi) (147), 20th Oct.

36. If Government are unable to give the necessary protection to the people in Malabar through their soldiers, they should say so. They should invite the Hindus to enlist as volunteers and should send them to assist the regular troops. If the authorities are not able to quell the rising and at the same time deny the people the means of defence, then an impossible situation will arise. The Hindus should now cease running away leaving behind all their belongings. The people in every village should meet together and form a resolution that they would defend themselves without waiting for outside assistance. The happennings in Malabar have taught us that we must no longer depend upon others to protect us.

Reflections on these "exceptional" times.

Gujaráti (14), 24th Oct.

*37. The *Gujaráti* prefaces its account of a Behar case in which two Indians were accused of insulting a European planter at Motihari in the Champaran District with the following remarks :—It is true, as the Behar Magistrate remarks, that the present times are exceptional. But who has brought about these exceptional times ? The times have become exceptional because the administrators of the country have given the go-bye to justice. Mr. Gandhi has brought it about that those officials who were exercising autocracy should tremble at public opinion. For this the officials should give him special thanks ; for if even now the officials will not be warned and will not learn how to behave towards the people, the exceptional times will go on becoming more and more exceptional. Why are the times exceptional ? Because the people have awakened and come to realise their own rights and dignity, because they can assess at its true value the education imparted in Government schools, because they know in whose interests the present administration of the country is carried on. The times are exceptional because the days of autocracy based on the prestige of olden times are numbered. It is not surprising that under such circumstances the officials should be puzzled as to what to do and should have recourse to bludgeon rule, firing on crowds and exemplary punishments.

Harmfulness of the non-co-operation movement.

Ráshtra Veer (133), 16th Oct.

38. Referring to the situation in Ireland the *Ráshtra Veer* says that the only lesson that India can derive from the Sinn Fein movement is that resort to violence for obtaining political rights is suicidal. It goes on:—Although the non-co-operationists are trying to show that their movement is non-violent, it need not be said that it is bound ultimately to develop into Sinn Feinism. In all the disturbances that have taken place at several places ever since non-co-operation was launched, it is the Indians that have always come to harm and not Government. Though the non-co-operationists are trying to show that they have had nothing to do with the Moplah disturbances, is it not obvious from their leaders not coming forward to pacify their district, that they approve of violence? They may perhaps plead their lack of influence with the Moplahs; if so, there is all the more reason to restrain their suicidal movement with determination. For if the non-co-operationists cannot even do so much as dissuade the Moplahs from committing atrocities even when the power of the British administration is yet intact how will they be able to protect the public from other similar disturbances in the event of the administration getting a little relaxed? And for this very reason it would be extremely harmful for Indians, unarmed as they are, to support the non-co-operation movement.

Comments on the judgment in the Dharwar shooting case.

Servant of India (8), 20th Oct.

39. "The refusal by the accused to lead evidence in this trial no doubt render the work of the Court easy from the narrow legal point, but it leaves the judgment without any moral support. Holding that there was an unlawful assembly the Judge concludes that all the accused who were present at the time of the commission of various offences were criminally liable, whether they actually took part in committing those offences or not. And as for evidence of their presence, the Judge repeats the formula, in the case of most of the accused, that 'so and so states that he was at the meeting throughout, but calls no witness to prove this; the prosecution evidence is thus unrebutted and I find him guilty of the offences with which he is charged.' This no doubt is good law..... Still, the fact remains that the judgment is to all intents and purposes an *ex parte* judgment and fails to produce the conviction in the public mind that justice had been done. The Judge has gone out of his way to record a 'finding' that the firing which took place on the occasion was absolutely necessary and did not exceed the necessities of the situation. This dictum has absolutely no value and has no evidence to support it. There are several ugly facts in regard to the incidents which the Judge has not attempted to investigate, *e.g.*, (1) an armed force was collected at 6-30 P.M. on the fateful day, when no disturbance had taken place; (2) if the police apprehended serious danger at so early an hour, why was no magistrate apprised of it? (3) how could the *tatti* be set on fire three times when all along there were armed policemen 'who stood on the edge of the gutter between the *tatti* and the main road?' (4) a policeman in mufti was found among the wounded; (5) firing took place in all directions, and even from the verandah of the police thana where no riot is alleged to have taken place. All these points and many others are material to the inquiry, and yet without the slightest attempt at inquiring into them, the Judge claims to have ascertained the facts. The statement of Venkatesh Tiwari [Ex. 121 on the Congress Commissioners' file] raises a presumption against the police, which no Government which cares for its honour can afford to ignore. A high official, himself concerned with the affair in a prominent manner, admitted that, in the absence of defence by the accused, the Sessions Court's judgment, however good in law, would fail to satisfy the outside public and that he would himself advise Government to take steps to justify the firing to the public. Only an independent investigation can secure such a result."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th and 18th Oct.

40. "Dyer when he had finished his 'job' by firing 1500 rounds of ammunition into the unarmed crowd in Jallianwala Baug, did not consider it his 'duty' to enquire if any of his victims, not quite dead, required medical aid to keep them in the land of the living. This novel, if somewhat shocking, idea of 'duty'

appears to be slowly, but steadily, permeating the official mind and manifesting itself in action in various ways. Does the official see tea-garden 'cooly' strikers suffereing by the road-side from starvation or from disease or a whole set of them suffering from injuries received from a too rough-handling by Gurkha troops—it only serves them right! It is none of the business of officialdom to look to their sufferings or injustice, for were they not the followers of the non-co-operation movement and were they not shouting 'Mahatma Gandhi-ki-jai?' If a non-co-operating prisoner is ill-treated in jail and complains of the treatment to a superior official, the latter, more often than not, thinks that it serves the fellow right, for what business has a non-co-operator to complain to a representative of the 'Satanic Government'? Even Mr. Waterfield could not help remarking in his Dharwar judgment that 'the accused if innocent have only themselves to blame if they be convicted on account of their refusal to call evidence'. It is none of his business to call for and weigh the evidence and see if the accused are really guilty. What right have non-co-operators to expect 'justice' or humanity at the hands of the agents of Government? That appears to be the idea which is gaining ground." [In its next issue the paper writes:—"The Dharwar case was pre-eminently a political one. The proper procedure would have been to appoint an impartial committee of inquiry possessing the confidence of the public which would have gone into the whole question of firing and the incidents connected therewith and which would have apportioned blame and materially helped in fixing the guilt. But the Government of Bombay did nothing of the kind. It has been very properly urged—and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, one of the Executive Councillors of the Government of Bombay, urged this years ago—that there should be a public inquiry in every case of firing, but though reckless firing on the slightest pretext has now become rather a rule than the exception, Government are very chary of appointing committees of inquiry....... No one in his senses would believe that Congress and Khilafat workers would commit the heinous offences attributed to them and that they would lead the rioters against the Police with the intention of murdering them. The accused have as much to do with rioting and attempted murder as the man in the moon. Such is Mr. Waterfield's anxiety for the good name of the Police that he travels beyond the case and quite unwarrantedly holds that the Police behaved with exemplary patience and moderation; that the firing on the mob was amply justified and was ordered after proper warning and was kept well under control. It is well to bear in mind that the Congress Committee have come to quite the opposite conclusion and hold after a patient and exhaustive inquiry that the firing was thoroughly unjustifiable. We do not think Mr. Waterfield was called upon to pronounce his opinion in the justifiability or otherwise of the firing. His irrelevant, unwarranted and mistaken judgment in this connection will not command any weight. The Police cannot be exonerated by the uncalled-for certificate of Mr. Waterfield. The issue can be properly tried only by an impartial commission of inquiry. And so far as the overwhelming majority of the people are concerned, they had such a commission in the Congress Committee of Inquiry. Two of the members of the Commission are eminent ex-judges of the Baroda and Mysore Chief Courts and the third is a leading advocate. Their findings have been accepted by the people. If their conclusion is not acceptable to Government—if they are anxious to revise the faith of the people in the even-handed administration of justice—they owe it to themselves to appoint an independent Commission which will command the confidence of the public. Mr. Waterfield's judgment does not convince us in the least that anything like justice has been done in the matter."]

Gujaráti (14), 24th Oct.

***41.** The *Gujaráti* reviews the incidents in connection with the Dharwar shooting affair and Mr. E. H. Waterfield's judgment in the Sessions case in connection therewith. The paper points out that the initial injustice done in this matter by the Bombay Government was to refuse to hold an inquiry with regard to the firing. It dwells on the great injustice done to the accused who have been convicted on the interested evidence of the Police. Mr. Waterfield, the paper remarks, refuses to believe the evidence of liquor-shop-keepers and their servants on the ground that they are under the thumb of the Police; how then can he believe in the evidence of the Police themselves? Is it possible, asks the paper, that those who teach others to tell lies and give false evidence will themselves speak the truth ? It is said, remarks the paper, that not a single policeman was killed and not one of them had to remain in the hospital for 24 hours, and still firing was resorted to three times. In the opinion of the paper it would not be wrong on the part of anyone to say that the Dharwar shooting incident has brought a stain on the administration of Sir George Lloyd. It is still necessary, it concludes, for him to open his eyes.

Kesari (110), 18th Oct.

42. The *Kesari* considers Mr. Waterfield's judgment in the Dharwar shooting case not a calm judicial pronouncement but the production of a mind exasperated by the accused's attitude of defiance towards his court. It ridicules the attempt made in the judgment to defend Mr. Painter and other officials against the charge of trying to crush the Khilafat and picketing movements and says that no one will believe the arguments hypocritically put forward by the judge, in the face of actual facts. The paper then goes over the principal points in the case and the evidence produced by the Police in support and expresses surprise how Mr. Waterfield could have been satisfied with the evidence. It declares that even a superficial consideration will show the case to have been got up by the Police and that Mr. Waterfield too must have come to the same conclusion, but that it appears from portions of the judgment that he must have made up his mind to punish the accused being stung to the quick by their expression of disbelief in his sense of justice and their refusal to tender evidence in their defence before him. The article concludes with congratulations to the accused in the case, who have, the paper says, shown to the world by great self-sacrifice, how British rule in India is based not on justice but on the brute force exercised by the bureaucracy and how necessary it is to divest the bureaucracy of that authority and place it in the people's hands.

Lokanáyak (115), 14th Oct. ; *Chaitanya* (98), 10th Oct.

43. Injustice reigns supreme in Dhárwár. The beastly officials not relishing the pure atmosphere of the place have caused it to be corrupted at the hands of that hellish demon Shivlingappa, worse than the pariah, and wolves like Painter after vilely persecuting the good men of the place have satisfied their wicked souls' hankerings by drinking the patriots' blood. But the goddess of justice promises these patriots who have suffered, that they shall in return enjoy the highest bliss hereafter for they have sacrificed themselves for the uplift of the motherland. The whole world is in sympathy with them and their countrymen are prepared to follow in their footsteps. May the Moderates see this specimen of justice administered by the satanic bureaucracy with whom they have co-operated by turning traitors to their motherland ! They must know that their association with those whose hands are soiled with the blood of their murdered fellow-countrymen will ever remain a heavy burden of sin on their shoulders. As to the non-Brahmins who have been shamelessly siding with Government as against Brahmins we would say :—Do make friends with foreign thieves and scoundrels and ruin your own hearths and homes with their help ! Base men who turn traitors to their own country—seek to have carnal knowledge of their own mother—cannot be expected to have any regard for their brethren ! The decision will be wholly powerless to produce on the people the effect desired by the bureaucracy. Jails have no terrors for the people and they are now looked upon as places of pilgrimage. [The *Chaitanya* says that now that the case has been decided, Government should appoint a Commission to inquire whether the Police were justified in firing upon the people or not. If Government at all cares for the lives of the people, says the paper, it must appoint the Commission. Otherwise the idea will gain ground that as in the view of Government its officers can do anything they like with the people, there is no recourse left to them but to bear everything in silence.]

Lokamánya (114), 21st and 22nd Oct.

44. The *Lokamánya* declares that Mr. Waterfield was unfit to try the Dharwar shooting case as according to what it has heard, he himself for some time had considered himself unfit to try it having taken part in discussing it with his friends at the local club and elsewhere. But later on, it says, something unknown took place, and he changed his mind and unhesitatingly took up the case. It declares that Mr. Waterfield committed a serious mistake in going against his mind's inclination inasmuch as, if he had refused to try the case, he would have saved himself from earning the degrading title of a 'Champion of the bureaucracy'. [In its next issue the paper tries to prove that if the reasons given by Mr. Waterfield for discharging four of the accused in the Dharwar shooting case had been applied by him in the matter of the rest of the accused he would have had to discharge them also. It is surprised to find that witnesses whom the judge has held to be untrustworthy in Mr. Divakar's case have been considered to be reliable for convicting other accused. It fails to understand why the enmity between the Lingayats and Brahmins in Dharwar which Mr. Waterfield has pointed out as his ground for disbelieving the allegations made by the Lingayat witnesses against certain of the Brahmin accused whom he has discharged was not considered sufficient ground for discharging the rest of the Brahmins. It considers Mr. Waterfield's whims to be solely responsible for the attitude he has taken up and declares that had he not been actuated by partiality for the prosecution he would never have conducted himself in a way quite unbecoming to a judge. It points out that though the judge appears from his judgment evidently to be in doubt as to whether Mr. Guttal was at all present at the place of disturbance, he has not given him the benefit of his doubt, and declares that this alone is sufficient to prove that Mr. Waterfield has not acted as a judge in the case but as a partizan of the prosecution. It expresses the hope that the Secretariat officials still have sufficient sense of justice to see the injustice done in the case.]

Ráshtra Veer (133), 16th Oct.

45. In the opinion of the *Ráshtra Veer* though either of the mutually adverse conclusions about the shooting at Dharwar being justified or not arrived at by the Sessions Judge and the Congress Committee cannot be said to be wrong in view of the one-sided evidence produced before them, they would fail to give satisfaction to the general public. It, therefore, suggests that Government should appoint a separate committee of inquiry with a view to arrive at a final decision as to whether the circumstances at the time of the disturbance justified the firing by the police or not.

Shubhodaya (88), 13th Oct. ; *Karma Veer* (82), 14th Oct.

46. The great self-sacrifice for which the heroes of the Karnatak have now prepared themselves, after setting aside all selfish considerations, will not fail to awaken feelings of extreme joy and exultation in the hearts of all who are yearning for the new era. No doubt everybody will be grieved to know that Kamal Mahabub, as yet of a tender age, has been consigned to the prison for fining some drunkards. But has not this action of the Magistrate helped to bring the day of redemption nearer ? The Karnatak, after hearing the decision of the court that the hero was guilty of attempted murder, will not fail to shower curses on the court. The fact that our courageous pleader, Mr. Mudvedkar, was condemned as a vulgar criminal will certainly rouse feelings of bitter resentment. There is no doubt that the judgment which maintains that Mr. Wamanrao who was scarcely in a condition to move from his home was throwing stones of the size of mountains will be condemned as shameful. There is no doubt that the Court's decision that Annacharya, who always kept himself leagues away from any scenes of disturbance, was committing offences like dacoity and rioting with the active support of but one leg is certain to raise the ire of the public. But on a closer survey of the situation it will be found that such a self-sacrifice on the part of the people is essential for the attainment of our goal. We had hoped that though the accused did not offer any defence, the judge's innate sense of justice would assert itself and justice would be done to the accused ; but we have been grievously disappointed. Our innocent compatriots have thus been offered up as sacrifices to the god of injustice. Should the sight of this injustice fail to move the people of the Karnatak with feelings of indignation and make them strive their utmost to attain *swaraj* by means of non-violent non-co-operation they will prove themselves to be greatest cowards in the world. [The *Karma Veer* writes :—Statesmen have opined that the rule of the bureaucracy is the rule of demons of this earth. The people of Dharwar have contributed twenty-three victims to the human sacrifice which was started some three months ago by one of these demons, *viz.*, Mr. Painter. So Mr. Painter's thirst for blood has been quenched and the joy of co-operators is unbounded. The police after all are people who have sold their souls for a mess of pottage. It was quite natural therefore that the bravery of Shivalingappa should have been utilised for cutting the throats of his own countrymen. And what should we say of the co-operators who, hiding themselves behind the *purdah*, join hands with Government in their sinful actions? But considered from whatever point of view their object has been defeated. The strength of the co-operators has been broken. The death of Government has drawn near. Not a hair of the non-co-operators is shaken and they are as strong as ever.]

Comments on the sentence passed on the editor and the manager of the *Zamindar* of Lahore.

Nusrat (new), 22nd Oct.

47. Commenting on the sentence of three years' rigorous imprisonment passed on the Editor of the *Zamindar* and its aged manager, the *Nusrat* remarks that the family of Maulana Zafar Ali has been very conspicuous in its strenuous efforts for the country and the nation. It says that repression is always the last weapon in the hands of the ruling nation, and the people's ideal will be realised as soon as that weapon gets blunt. It declares that the best sons of every nation have gone to jail for the sake of liberty and adds that India should not be an exception to this rule. In conclusion, the paper congratulates the Punjab on the sacrifices and hopes that many more will go to jail.

The Bombay Development Department.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Oct.

48. "The issues which are coming up before the public meeting of the citizens of Bombay in the Town Hall on Saturday next are of great importance. The issues are also of great interest to all political parties in this country. To the non-co-operator the manner in which the schemes for the development of Bombay have been, in the main, carried out afford one additional example of the tendency of the present adminstration to help the exploitation of this country in the interest of non-Indians and, in the matter of higher appointments, to relegate Indians to the humiliating position of subordinates. For them the history of the development of Bombay is a revelation of how schemes can be devised in secret conclave, either in this country or in the United Kingdom thousands of miles away, how they can be superimposed without reference to local needs or local opinion, how crores of rupees worth of orders can be placed without publicity being given to the fact or without any consultation with the so-called Legislative Council, how notwithstanding all the tall talk about 'Reforms', highplaced personages can, autocractically, make appointments and unmake them without any reference to cost or the dominant Indian sentiment, commit this country to an outlay of crores of rupees, appoint consulting engineers and in many a respect act as if India was a field for exploitation. These have been, we regret to observe, the dominant features of the development policy of the Government of Bombay during the last few months. It is certain that the legacy left over for responsible leaders of the people, as a result of this policy, is not likely to be altogether a bed of roses. They might find that the borrowing powers of the Province have been fully worked out on showy and unnecessary projects. They might find that the revenues of the Province have been completely mortgaged for some years to come so as to cripple many a legitimate effort towards educational and industrial progress. It is on these grounds that every non-co-operator will welcome expressions of protest, in whatever shape, against this policy. Such protest when it emanates under the auspices of the Central Indian Chamber of Commerce is all the more to be welcomed if it will have any effect. We despair of such effect in the adamantine system under which we live, but we would encourage every legitimate attempt of the people to prevent lavish and extravagant expenditure being incurred out of funds raised either by way of taxation or by way of loans on objects the utility of which is at best extremely doubtful. For those who are not non-co-operating with the Government the issue is of still greater import. There is a school that stoutly believes in the carrying out of the 'Reforms' and that believes that justice could be done to Indian sentiments and to Indian interest if the act of 1919 were worked honestly and for all its worth. To those who hold such a view we would point out that the Act of 1919 specifically leaves all matters of local interests as 'Transferred Subjects' to be handed over to Ministers responsible to the Councils. Notwithstanding this clear dictum, the Government of Bombay have, with or without the concurrence of the Government of India, decided to make Bombay Development a 'Reserved Subject'. Having made it a 'Reserved Subject' they have, in most respects, grossly mismanaged the affairs relating to it. They have ignored popular wishes and sentiments. Even to their own Councils they have allowed very meagre opportunities for information and discussion much less for control. They have set up a mimicry of an Advisory Committee on which no self-respecting man ought to work. They have, by placing orders in the United Kingdom and by entrusting most of the higher positions to Europeans, sacrificed the interests as well as the sentiments of the people of Bombay notwithstanding the magniloquent promises at the time of the raising of the loan which have not been kept. Those who are finding fault with Mahatma Gandhi and with other leaders, who have remained loyal to the Indian National Congress, for having abandoned a regular line of day-to-day criticism of Government, must now decide whether they have themselves carried out their programme satisfactorily. They must ask their conscience whether they find in the manner and method of the Bombay Development Department nothing that offends their political creed."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 21st Oct.; *Hindusthán* (20), 18th and 21st Oct.;
Bombay Samáchár (56), 22nd Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 21st Oct.

49. The *Sánj Vartamán* dwells at great length upon the insanitary condition of Bombay due to the existence in the city of houses which are unfit for human habitation and the failure of the Bombay Improvement Trust to provide sanitary dwellings for the poor classes. The paper expresses fear that the reclamation of the Back Bay under the Development Scheme will prove a curse to Bombay as it will stop the flow of pure air into the heart of the city. The paper urges that the Development Department should be entrusted to the Bombay Municipality. The paper then refers to the alleged highhanded policy adopted by Sir Lawless Hepper and His Excellency Sir George Lloyd in connection with the Development Department which, in its opinion, has led Sir Chimanlal Setalvad to tender his resignation of his seat in the Executive Council and it lends its support to the resolutions which are to be passed at the public meeting to be held in the Town Hall, Bombay, on Saturday the 22nd instant, under the auspices of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau and suggests that a vote of censure against the Development Department should be passed at the said meeting. [The *Hindusthán* criticises the working of the Development Department and characterises it as highhanded and unmindful of public criticism. It then refers to the information elicited at the last sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council in the matter of contracts having been given before obtaining the sanction of the Government of India for the development schemes and the rumours about the resignation of the Member in charge of the Development Department owing to the curtailment of his powers over the Department, and wishes that the protest meeting that is to be called by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau on the 22nd October 1921 will press for the resignation of the autocratic officials of the Department. In a subsequent issue the paper endorses the resolutions to be moved at the public meeting of the citizens of Bombay and exhorts them to be present at the said meeting to stop the loot in broad daylight of crores of the people's money. The paper wonders if there is any one among the public whose blood does not boil to see public money wasted in the most autocratic manner by the Development Department officials. The *Bombay Samáchár* endorses the resolutions to be passed at the public meeting to be held in Bombay in the matter of the working of the Development Department and suggests that the meeting should pass an additional resolution pressing upon Government the necessity of expediting and expanding their scheme for providing housing accommodation for the poor and middle classes. The *Praja Mitra and Parsi* thinks that the Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber have erred in selecting the present time for convening the meeting to protest against the Bombay Development Department and remarks that they have thus endangered their arrangement for presenting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It wishes that the Committee should convene the meeting on some day after the departure of the Prince from Bombay. The paper doubts whether, looking to the importance of the question, it will be considered by the meeting as soberly as it ought to be. It hopes that looking to the strong opinion which the Committee holds in the matter, Government in consultation with the Committee will be prepared to decide the matter in such a way that there will be no need for any meeting.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Oct.

***50.** "We are aware that since the notification of the Town Hall meeting, great efforts, obviously inspired, had been made behind the scenes to secure its cancellation at the eleventh hour, but, fortunately, these efforts proved futile. Those, who had hoped that the demonstration would not come off after all, are obviously deeply chagrined that the meeting was held and they are now seeking to vent their disappointed feelings by discrediting the proceedings....... We do not, however, wish to dwell on the misrepresentations of quarters interested in minimising the strength of the public feeling over the Development question. It is, as we have said, for the Government to decide whether they would further aggravate matters by ignoring the growing public feeling. The resolutions adopted at Saturday's meeting admirably express, except in regard to the Back Bay Scheme, the deliberate opinion of the vast majority of the public of this city who have taken any interest in the activities of the Department and devoted any thought to the constitutional aspect of the subject, and the services rendered by the Indian Merchants' Chamber in this respect have been most praiseworthy. There has been a deliberate violation of the constitution and no amount of plausible explanations of the step can disguise the attempt to deprive the people of their rights. If anything, the resolutions have erred on the side of moderation. Besides the abandonment of the Back Bay scheme, the meeting should have demanded, as suggested by some of the speakers and the president, that all the Indian members of the impotent Advisory Committee should forthwith resign and that no Indian, possessing a grain of self-respect, should consent to step into the place of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, if he resigns, unless 'Development' is made a Transferred subject. But have the 'Co-operators' the requisite moral grit to do so?"

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 24th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 24th Oct.; *Sánj Vartamán* (30), 24th Oct.

***51.** The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* characterises as disgraceful the attitude shown by non-co-operators in the meeting which was held last Saturday under the auspices of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to protest against the Bombay Development Department. The paper appeals to Government not to take into consideration such disturbances as took place at the meeting and requests them to grant the demand of making the Development Department popular and thus strengthen themselves against the mischief of the non-co-operators. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also refers to the unbecoming attitude displayed at the meeting by the non-co-operators towards Mr. Lalji Naranji who was to have taken the chair, and remarks that by trying to assert themselves they have caused serious detriment to the resolutions of the public meeting and have indirectly supplied the bureaucracy with a good weapon to fight against them. The *Sánj Vartamán* considers the resolutions passed at the public meeting as a vote of censure against His Excellency the Governor and some of his executive officials. The paper is of the opinion that Mr. H. P. Modi clearly showed how Government had violated the reform scheme by keeping the Development Department as a Reserved subject and that the Honourable Mr. Sethna showed the weakness of the Advisory Committee. It suggests that His Excellency the Governor should now move the Secretary of State to convert the Development Department into a Transferred subject and then place it under the supervision of a strong Advisory Committee and asks Sir Lawless Hepper to work under it. It also suggests that the Advisory Committee should resign in a body if the Government of Bombay refuse to place Sir Lawless under them. The paper declares that the public meeting in refusing to have Mr. Lalji Naranji as their president rightly expressed their disapproval of his highhandedness in resolving to present an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales at one of the meetings of the managing committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and emphatically states that the meeting was not solely composed of non-co-operators but that many prominent moderates were present on the occasion.]

The grievances of Indians in Kenya.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Oct.

52. "If Reuter's Nairobi correspondent is correctly informed regarding the proposed terms of settlement of the Kenya question, there would be nothing surprising in the report that reached this country a few days ago that the Indian leaders in Kenya have rejected the terms which were offered to them at a private interview by Sir Edward Northey, the Governor. A glance at the terms, now disclosed, will show that they can never be acceptable to Indians, as they assign to them, both in theory and in practice, status and privileges inferior to those granted to the Whites, who are numerically fewer....... It is difficult to believe that the terms which the Governor of Kenya has offered to Indians are the ones which the Colonial Office, at the instance of Mr. Churchill, is prepared to recommend for Indians. If they have really emanated from the Colonial Office, we can only express our amazement at the ideas of fairness and imperial obligation inspiring those who shape the Colonial policy of Great Britain to-day,—not to speak of the open defiance of the resolution passed by the Imperial Conference and solemnly endorsed by Cabinet Ministers....... It is stated that if the negotiations conducted by Sir Edward Northey fail a Royal Commission will be appointed to investigate the problem. But we fail to see what there is for the Royal Commission to ascertain which the investigations of Sir Edward Northey and Mr. Churchill have failed to disclose. The facts of the situation are as clear as they can be. It is only the will to do justice that is lacking. Unless His Majesty's Government are prepared to see justice done to Indians, of what earthly avail will the Royal Commission be?...... Indians will never submit to such wrongs, whether it is the Kenya Government or His Majesty's Government who are responsible for the injustice. And it is the duty of Lord Reading's Government to bring this fact home to the British Government now and immediately.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 17th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 18th Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (56), 19th Oct; *Hindusthán* (20), 18th Oct.

53. The *Sanj Vartaman* discusses the terms of settlement offered by the Governor of East Africa to the Indians residing there and declares that the terms are, on the whole, derogatory to the self-respect of the Indians inasmuch as they deny them their natural rights and place them on a lower footing than Europeans. The paper thinks that the knowledge of the English language as a qualification for voters will debar many Indians from the franchise and the reservation of the highlands for Euorpeans will perpetuate the wrong under which the Indians are groaning. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* regrets that the British Government is to some extent prepared to ignore the resolution passed at Imperial Conference owing to the bluffing attitude of the Whites in Kenya Colony and the policy pursued by the restless Secretary of State for the Colonies. The paper hopes that the Government of India will be as firm, regarding the question of the Indians in Kenya, as they have hitherto been. The *Bombay Samáchár* considers the terms offered by the Governor of East Africa to Indians residing there as inadequate and insulting to the self-respect of the Indian people and hopes that the Indians in East Africa will reject them and will continue to agitate for equality of treatment. The *Hindusthán* stigmatises the terms as unjust and opines that they are not likely to secure the approval of the Indian people.]

Asiatic States must combine against the aggression of Europe.

Bombay Chornicle (1), 22nd Oct.

54. "We published yesterday two important Reuter messages. One of them referred to the announcement made in Paris that the text of the Perso-Afghan Treaty has been published in Teheran, one of the clauses of which lays down that if one of the countries is at war with a third Power, the other country will try with all its resources to prevent that Power's success. The other message contained the report from Angora that the Persian National Assembly decided to send a special delegation to the National Turkish Assembly, and that a delegation has already

left Teheran. The important thing that emerges from these messages is the indication of the growth of solidarity among Asiatic countries. One lesson has been brought home to Asiatics more vividly than any other, as a result of the Great War and the 'Peace' that ended it. And it is this that Europe still regards Asia as a field for economic exploitation and political aggrandisement and that if the aggressive economico-imperialism of the West—which was the ultimate cause of the Great War—is to be effectively combated, Asiatic countries must not only assert their national independence but must abandon their past attitude of mutual suspicion and jealousy—an attitude cleverly fostered by European statesmen and diplomats—and combine together in a confederation of friendly Powers having no fear of and no designs on their neighbours. The treaty between Persia and Afghanistan, the friendly relations already existing between the latter and Angora, the rapprochment between Turkey and Persia and, last but not least, the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress on foreign policy, are a proof that this lesson has been learnt with profit and every Asiatic must rejoice over the fact. For a self-reliant Asia with all its members bound together by a tie of friendship is the strongest bulwark against the Prussianism of Europe and, therefore, the surest guarantee of the peace of the world."

Comments on the attitude of the Allies towards the war between the Greeks and the Turks.

Mufid-e-Rozgár (172), 16th Oct.

55. The *Mufid-e-Rozgár* is very much perturbed at the state of affairs now prevailing in Anatolia. The paper accuses the Allies of partiality towards the Greeks inasmuch as the Ottoman power in Constantinople has been and still is under the heels of the Allies. It questions the right of the Allies to be in possession of Constantinople and inquires how long the Mussalmans will go on tolerating this insult. The paper says that if the Allied Powers possess any spark of justice then they will immediately evacuate Constantinople and thus allow Turkey to oppose the Greeks with full strength. It expresses its regret that the just demands of 40 crores of Mussalmans are not making any impression on the British Government. The paper refers to the internal weaknesses of the Mussalmans and says that the non-Muslims are taking advantage of them. It remarks that if the Turkish Government had been free the Græco-Turkish war would have ended long ago.

Comments on the latest phase of the Turko-Greek war.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 20th Oct.

56. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the recent defeat of the Greeks at the hands of the Turks and thinks that the allies should now plainly tell the cowardly Greeks that their safety depends upon restricting themselves within the boundaries of their country and preserving friendly relations with Turkey. In the opinion of the paper, the British Government should do so especially in order to satisfy their crores of Muhammadan subjects. It requests the Allies to calmly consider their policy relating to Turkey during two decades before the war, which will show that the Allies should treat Turkey with more sympathy, and it assures them that they will be able to strengthen their own position by doing so in future. In conclusion the paper assures them that there will be no need of Leagues of Nations or Washington Conferences if they do so.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the Government Resolution on the non-co-operating Municipalities.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Oct.

57. "The latest resolution of the Bombay Government in the Transferred Departments furnishes a test of the sincerity of the powers-that-be in their attitude towards 'the progressive realisation of responsible government' in this country....... The only question that has to be determined is whether the Municipalities have the power to do what is for the civic good of the populations concerned, and in this matter, as in others, the sole test is whether what the Municipalities are doing is conducive to the greatest good of the greatest number. For, we recognise there is in every organized society a small minority which can

never see eye to eye with the majority. The determining factor has, therefore, always been whether a particular question has the majority behind it, and, judged by this standard, the Municipalities of Nadiad, Surat and Ahmedabad have no cause to regret the step they have taken. The majority of rate-payers in these Municipalities are with their representatives on the committees, and what opposition there is comes from a heterogeneous fraternity of 'co-operators', reactionary officials and their henchmen. The Government resolution points out that 'the only powers which they (the Municipalities) can legally exercise are the powers conferred upon them by Government in the Bombay District Municipal Act'. Well and good; if so, we find that the action taken by these Municipalities is by no means illegal. According to our reading of the relevant sections of the Act, there is nothing in the Act which prevents Municipalities from declining to receive Government doles where they find the receipt of such doles is accompanied by conditions that strike at the root of their independence and restrain them from achieving the purpose for which they exist. The resolution says that the Municipalities are 'free' to exercise the powers conferred on them by the District Municipal Act. If that is true, what becomes of their freedom if they are to be dragged before the courts for every act of theirs which is bound to be disagreeable to one section or another of the population according to the circumstances of the case?..— The resolution refers to certain rules made under section 58 of the Act prescribing the independent authority of the Municipalities in respect of public education and we are aware that, in cases of real abuse of authority, Government have reserved to themselves power to interfere with the action of erring Municipalities, But it would hardly be contended that the action of the three Municipalities under reference in any way constitutes a transgression of legitimate authority. If that had happened to be the case, surely any responsible Government would not have hesitated to take steps to prevent such transgression, and it is open to Government, in such cases, to take action under sections 178 and 179 of the Act. But, clearly, Government have no case for any such action as is contemplated by these sections...... The better course would have been to construe the sections of the Act prescribing the 'obligatory' discretional functions of Municipalities in a just and liberal spirit and trust to the good sense of the Municipalities themselves to do what is conducive to 'public good, health, convenience or comfort'. But evidently an inveterate hatred of non-co-operation and non-co-operators has sbsessed the counsels of Government to the prejudice of good sense and discretion."

Hindusthán (20), 20th Oct.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 22nd Oct.

58. The *Hindusthán* comments on the Government resolution on non-co-operating municipalities and considers that it is very unbecoming on the part of the Government of Bombay to have advanced threats to the Municipalities of Surat, Ahmedabad and Nadiad for having refused the educational grant. The paper contends that these municipalities are not prepared to submit to Government or any laws made by them and that they would respect the opinion of their constituents by administering their affairs in accordance with the wishes of the people they represent. The paper considers it the depth of degradation on the part of the bureaucracy to have suggested to the tax-payers to launch prosecutions against the non-co-operating municipalities on subtle questions of law. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi*, while commenting on the Government resolution on non-co-operating municipalities, hopes that those persons in the Nadiad, Ahmedabad and Surat municipalities who are concerned will calmly consider the resolution as a timely warning to them. The paper still wishes that these municipalities would wisely come to the right path and not compel Government to take more harsh steps. It also hopes that the tax-payers too will calmly consider the suggestion made to them in the Government resolution and try to bring their municipalities to the right path.]

Comments on the attitude of Government towards the scheme for widening the Bombay Municipal franchise.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Oct.

59. "If the Government of Bombay were earnest about reconstituting the Corporation by the end of this year, they would have had little difficulty in inducing the Council to pass the Bill to amend the Bombay Municipal Act if not in the July session at least during the beginning of the session this month so as

to allow the electoral roll to be rectified in time for the next elections. On the other hand the Corporation, too, deliberately postponed its verdict so as to remove all chances of the next elections being held under altered conditions. The Municipal Commissioner also appears to have silently acquiesced in these unworthy tactics. Otherwise, if there was an inclination on the part of the Municipal Executive to keep itself ready for the change, the notification in regard to the electoral roll could have been issued long ago, in anticipation of the Legislative Council sanctioning the retention of the Rs. 10 franchise. It was only the rectification of an existing roll that was needed and not the preparation of any new one. But the Municipal Commissioner has preferred to wait, lest a little effort be wasted by a chance adverse verdict in the Council! Thus, the enemies of democracy have been playing into each other's hands and have succeeded in postponing for a time the fruition of the new proposals. The public meeting held on Sunday protested against the reactionary attitude of the City Fathers, but what of the apathy and dilatoriness of the Government of Bombay? The Bill to amend the Municipal Act is being unnecessarily delayed by them. The public should demand that the measure should be submitted to the Council withtout further delay and that steps should be taken to hold the elections on the basis of the extended franchise immediately after the retirement of the present Corporation."

A complaint against the Poona Municipality.

Ráshtra Veer (133), 16th Oct.

60. The *Ráshtra Veer* points to the Brahmanical water tanks and burning ground at Poona as an evidence of the satanic character of the Peshwa's rule and says that, though that rule is now no more, those signs of Brahmanical *zulum* still continue in spite of the attempts made by certain councillors of the Poona Municipality to get rid of their reserved character, chiefly owing to the opposition of the Brahmin majority. Interpellations in the Bombay Legislative Council regarding the matter, the paper regrets, met a similar fate, and it declares that it is the duty of Government to intervene and redress the grievance of the non-Brahmins. In case Government do not come forward to intervene the paper asks the non-Brahmins to carry on vigorous agitation and get the partiality removed.

NATIVE STATES.

Comments on the prosecution of Mr. N. C. Kelkar and others at Bhor.

Lokasangraha (116), 17th Oct.; *Swarájya* (Marathi ((147), 20th Oct.;
Dnyán Prakásh (40), 18th Oct.; *Kesari* (110), 18th Oct.

61. The news that His Highness the Chief of Bhor did not allow Mr. N. C. Kelkar and others to deliver lectures at Bhor and that he served them with summonses on their disregarding his orders, will be considered by many as a proof of his servility. We have been receiving many complaints about the administration of Bhor and we are convinced that unless the ruler is speedily changed the condition of the State subjects there will go from bad to worse. There are numerous states in India and looking to the manner in which they are administered one would almost wish that they had ceased to exist. These states are like boils on the body politic of India and their administration makes us hang down our heads in shame. There people are not allowed even as much liberty as is allowed in British territory. Do the Chiefs realise that the very institution of Native States has now become so very antiquated that they would vanish the moment they cease to enjoy the protection of the British power? Indeed it is most unjust that a man should exercise authority over the persons and property of lakhs of people simply because he happened to be the son, either real or adopted, of any particular individual. The Chief of Bhor should remember that he would be disturbing a hornet's nest if he lays hands on Deshabhakta Kelkar. The man who is not afraid to twist the British lion's tail will certainly not mind the bark of a dog. [The *Swarájya* advises the Chief to read aright the signs of the times and to settle the matter amicably. The *Dnyán Prakásh* declares that it is the height of injustice to prohibit popular leaders even from reading out to their audiences a few extracts from the Montagu-Chelmsford Report bearing on the status of the subjects of the Native States. It indignantly remarks that the order of the Chief was so exasperating that people who are generally opposed to civil disobedience

thought it to be their duty to ignore it. The paper, however, assures its readers that the incident at Bhor is in no way connected with Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement. The *Kesari* also warns the Chief of Bhor that unless he mends his methods of administration in accordance with the changed spirit of the times, matters are likely to be carried to extremes.]

Complaint about non-delivery of newspapers by Post Offices in Dhrangadhra State.

Saurāshtra (new), 15th Oct.

62. If the news we have received is true, it seems that in some villages in the Dhrangadhra State the local postmasters or postmen hand over newspapers, etc., directly to the Police Patel. One of our subscribers sent subscription money to us by money order three or four days ago, and yet the post-office sends us back the newspaper sent to the same subscriber with the remark 'The owner refuses to take delivery'. How improbable it is that the subscriber who has sent money should refuse to take delivery of the very first issue of our paper! We think that the Postal Department should inquire into this matter immediately and punish the guilty persons. It should also warn all the servants of the Postal Department of all the villages of the Dhrangadhra State.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 28th October 1921.

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TRAL REGISTRY
28 NOV 1921

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule :

Comments on the Ahmedabad Mill Strike 32
Comments on the debate in the House of Lords on Indian affairs . 28—30
Comments on the impost in connection with additional police levied in some villages in Kaira 31
Comments on the Moplah rebellion 33
Feared exploitation of India to remedy the unemployment evil in England 24
Prospects of settlement of the deadlock at Mulshi 27
Protest against another dam being constructed by the Tata Company in the Maval Taluka 26
Protest against sentences of death being passed on certain persons in connection with the Moplah disturbances 34
Reflections on the Divali Holidays 35
Reflections on unemployment in England 25

Development of Bombay :

Comments on the public meeting in Bombay to protest against the Bombay Development Department . . . . 10—12
Protest against the Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme . . 13

Excise :

Bombay Government's attitude towards the drink prohibition movement 18
Complaint about delay on the part of the Bombay Government to appoint the promised committee to inquire into Government's — policy . 19

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales :

Comments on the reasons given by the Honourable Mr. Lawrence for spending money on the visit of — 7
The address to the Prince of Wales by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau . . . . 8 & 9
The visit of — . . . . 1—6
Indian Legislature : Comments on the debate in the Legislative Assembly on corruption in the Government services 20
Indians in the Colonies : The Status of Indians in Kenya 21

Judicial matters :

Comments on the decision in the Shere *satyagraha* case 17
Comments on the judgment in the Dhárwár shooting case . . . 14—16

Paragraphs.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation :

- Alleged inconsistency in the views of non-co-operators about the duty of Moslems to fight against a foreign invader 51
- Appeal to the people to fight for the motherland 40
- Comments on a message to the Dheds recently circulated among the Dhed community 39
- Comments on the apology tendered by Pir Turab Ali Shah of Sind . 44 & 45
- Comments on the arrest and prosecution of Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande 42
- Comments on the draft statement of the foreign policy of the Indian National Congress . . . . 48 & 49
- Commenss on the Press Note regarding the attitude of Government towards non-co-operating municipalities . . . . . . 36—38
- Comments on the prosecution of the Ali Brothers 41
- Mr. Gandhi's explanation about the Tilak Swarajya Fund . . . 46
- Non-co-operation will destroy itself 47
- The effect of non-co-operators' appeals to Indian soldiers to leave the army 50
- The fate of Musalmans who help Government in their wars against Musalman lands 52
- The time of trial prophesied by Mr. Gandhi is at hand . . . 43

Press Act : Complaint that the — of 1910 has not yet been repealed . . 22

Public Service : Necessity of abolishing the Revenue Commissioners' posts 23

War :

- Comments on the amicable relations between the French and the Turks . . . . 54 & 55
- Indians must help Kemal Pasha 53

EDUCATION—

Alleged retrograde policy of the Educational Department under the new reforms 56

MUNICIPALITIES—

District Municipal Act should be amended to make primary education compulsory in all Municipal areas 57

NATIVE STATES—

The Chief of Bhor should cancel his orders against the holding of public meetings in his State 58

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

New Times (7), 21st Oct.

1. "A guest comes when invited. The majority of the Indian people have repeatedly urged that India being in mourning is unable to invite His Royal Highness at present. The question arises:—Who invites the Prince? A Government which does not repsresent the Indian people. We do not know with whom the idea originated; it may be the British Government, after consulting the Indian Government, decided to request His Royal Highness to visit India. The decision to send the Prince at this juncture to India is construed by non-co-operators as an attempt on the part of Government to exploit the visit for political purposes prejudicial to India's demands....... India is a land of villages. How many villages will the official organisers of his programme include in his tour? As a matter of fact, the Prince will be denied opportunities to know real India, to see for himself how poor, how miserable the majority of the people are in this unhappy country. The Prince will simply be called to some *tamashas* in the 'Native States' and in big towns like Bombay and Calcutta. In any case, why couldn't the Prince's visit be postponed to a time when India might be in a normal condition and not as today, in the midst of a mighty struggle against the bureaucracy?"

Young India (11), 27th Oct.

2. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"The reader must not be surprised at the title [Honour the Prince] of this writing. Supposing that the Prince was a blood brother in a high place, supposing that he was to be exploited by neighbours for their own base ends, supposing further that he was in the hands of my neighbours, that my voice could not effectively reach him and that he was being brought to my village by the said neighbours, would I not honour him best by dissociating myself from all the ceremonial that might be arranged in his 'honour' in the process of exploitation and by letting him know by every means at my disposal that he was being exploited? Would I not be a traitor to him if I did not warn him against entering the trap prepared for him by my neighbours? I have no manner of doubt that the Prince's visit is being exploited for advertising the 'benign' British rule in India. It is a crime against us if His Royal Highness is being brought for personal pleasure and sport when India is seething with discontent, when the masses are saturated with disaffection towards the system under which they are governed, when famine is raging in Khulna and the Ceded Districts and when an armed conflict is raging in Malabar: it is a crime against India to spend millions of rupees on a mere show when millions of men are living in a state of chronic starvation. Eight lacs of rupees have been voted away by the Bombay Council alone for the pageant. The visit is being heralded by repression in the land. In Sind over fifty-six non-co-operators are in gaol. Some of the bravest of Musalmans are being tried for holding certain opinions. Nineteen Bengal workers have been just imprisoned including Mr. Sen Gupta, the leading Barrister of the place. A Musalman Pir and three other selfless workers are already in gaol for a similar 'crime'. Several leaders of Karnatak are also imprisoned, and now its chief man is on trial for saying what I have said repeatedly in these columns and what Congressmen have been saying all over during the pass twelve months. Several leaders of the Central Provinces have been similarly deprived of their liberty. A most popular doctor, Dr. Paranjpye, a man universely respected for his selflessness, is suffering rigorous imprisonment like a common felon. I have by no means exhausted the list of imprisonments of non-co-operators. Whether they are a test of real crime or an answer to growing disaffection, the Prince's visit is, to say the least, most inopportune. There is no doubt that the people do not want His Royal Highness to visit India at the present juncture. They have expressed their opinion in no uncertain terms. They have declared that Bombay should observe *hartal* on the day of his landing at Bombay. It is a clear imposition upon the people to bring the Prince in the teeth of their opposition. What are we to do in the circumstances? We must organise a complete boycott of all functions held in the Prince's honour. We must religiously refrain from attending charities, fetes or fireworks organised for the purpose. We must refuse to illuminate or to send our children to see the organised

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It is a clear imposition upon the people to bring the Prince in the teeth of their opposition. What are we to do in the circumstances ? We must organise a complete boycott of all functions held in the Prince's honour. We must religiously refrain from attending charities, fetes or fireworks organised for the purpose. We must refuse to illuminate or to send our children to see the organised illuminations. To this end we must publish leaflets by the million and distribute them amongst the people telling them what their duty in the matter is and it would be true honour done to the Prince if Bombay, on the day of his landing, wears the appearance of a deserted city. But we must isolate the Prince from the person. We have no ill-will against the Prince as man. He probably knows nothing of the feeling in India, he probably knows nothing about repression. Equally probably he is ignorant of the fact that the Punjab wound is still bleeding, that the treachery towards India in the matter of the Khilafat is still rankling in every Indian breast, and that on the Government's own admission the reformed councils contain members who, though nominally elected, do not in any sense represent even the few lacs who are on the electoral rolls. To do or to attempt to do any harm to the person of the Prince would be not only cruel and inhuman, but it would be on our part a piece of treachery towards ourselves and him, for we have voluntarily pledged ourselves to be and remain non-violent. Any injury or insult to the Prince by us will be a greater wrong done by us to Islam and India than any the English have done. They know no better. We can lay no such claim to ignorance, we have with our eyes open and before God and man promised not to hurt a single individual in any way connected with the system we are straining every nerve to destroy. It must, therefore, be our duty to take every precaution to protect his person as our own from all harm. In spite of all our effort, we know that there will be some who would want to take part in the various functions from fear or hope or choice. They have as much right to do what they like as we have to do what we like. That is the test of the freedom we wish to have and enjoy. Let us, whilst we are being subjected by an insolent bureaucracy to a severe irritation, exercise the greatest restraint. And if we can exhibit our firm resolve to have nothing to do with it by dissociating ourselves from its pageant at the same time that we show forbearance towards those who differ from us, we would advance our cause in a most effective manner."

Lokamánya (114), 26th Oct.

3. The *Lokamánya* considers that the most important business transacted at last Saturday's Town Hall meeting was not the passing of the previously settled resolutions against the Bombay Development Department but the expression of the unanimous sentiments of the meeting in favour of the boycott of the Prince's visit. In its opinion if anybody wishes to know how very opposed Bombay is to the Prince being given a public welcome he should read the speeches made at the meeting.

Hindu (160), 21st Oct.; *Swaráj* (Sindhi) (171), 21st Oct.

4. The public are doubtless aware that the Bombay Legislative Council has sanctioned nearly nine lacs of rupees for the Prince of Wales' visit to Bombay. It is probably not generally known that the Council was approached for sanction to the expenditure actually after the necessary orders had been passed by Government. The Council was blindly told that the amount had already been spent away. An ugly feature of the whole proceeding was that when the discussion was going on, in the gallery were to be seen the Governor and some 40 or 50 soldiers whose presence seems to have overawed several members, as will be seen from the voting. With a few brave exceptions, all voted for the Government's proposals. We are very sorry that instead of taking the Government to task for having spent so much money without proper sanction, they have supported it and that at a time when the country is passing through a terrible famine. [The *Swaráj* makes the following remarks on the same subject:—Government has always been telling the people that their representatives in the Councils enjoy complete liberty of action. If that is so, will Government explain the presence of the Governor and some 40 or 50 soldiers in the visitors' gallery in the Bombay Legislative Council on the day when the Government's proposal of spending 9 lacs on the Prince of Wales' visit to Bombay was under discussion?. Was it not a mockery for Government to approach the Council to sanction the amount when the expenditure had already been incurred?]

Swarájya (Marathi) (147), 27th Oct.; *Lokasangraha* (116), 24th Oct.

5. Many desires are attributed to the Prince of Wales and one of these is that he is anxious to meet the disabled Indian soldiers. As a matter of fact it is

impossible that the Prince can ever think of these men. Did he ever think of them up to this time? And supposing that he *does* think of them now, what good can he do to them? They will all be confined in some place when the Prince arrives and will again be thrown on the mercy of the world when he leaves. They are not likely to get anything more substantial than a few pushes in the crowd. [The *Lokasangraha* writes:—There is absolutely no reason why Indians should either love or hate the Prince. They cannot but be apathetic on the occasion of the visit of a gentleman who can neither harm nor do them any good.]

Servant of India (8), 27th Oct.

6. "Through Reuter's special service the Indian public are permitted to know what the view of 'an authority on India' is regarding the object of the Prince of Wales's visit to India. Interviewed by a *Daily Mail* representative, this authority gave out—let us hope he was not inspired,—that the Prince was coming here because many thousands of Indian soldiers who had fought in Mesopotamia were longing 'to see him face to face and receive at first hand from him something of his thanks for their faithful and unflinching service'. In that case vigilant members of the legislatures might well propose that the expenses of his tour, which may come to about Rs. 50 lakhs, ought to be met by the War Office. The Prince's visit is now a settled fact and we shall welcome him as gracefully as circumstances permit, though we wish a more suitable time had been chosen. But we might be spared explanations which are more amusing than convincing."

Comments on the reasons given by the Honourable Mr. Lawrence for spending money on the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Swarájya (Marathi) (147), 27th Oct.

7. The reasons Mr. Lawrence, the Finance Member of Government of Bombay, gave at the meeting of the Legislative Council as to why it was necessary to spend a sum of eight and a half lakhs of rupees on the welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, were very important indeed! People generally are not acquainted with the real difficulties of the Government but Mr. Lawrence has given them full publicity! In the opinion of our thrifty Finance Member eight and a half lakhs of rupees must be squandered with a view to creating an impression in the minds of the visitors from the different parts of the world that India is happy and contented and not seething with discontent as she is represented to be. The other reason that he gave was that our money-lenders in London, who have made us advances at a high rate of interest, must not believe that we are unable to spend lavishly even on the welcome to the Prince of Wales! Both these reasons are very sensible and quite true too! We suggest that the National Congress should post printed copies of these reasons to the several visitors who are coming with the Prince and to the money-lenders who have made advances to the Government. Those people will then know how attempts are being made openly to throw dust in their eyes at the expense of the poor people of India! The action of Government is like that of a limited concern which declares large dividends to conceal huge losses from the share-holders!

The address to the Prince of Wales by the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 26th Oct.; *Bombay Samáchár* (56), 28th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 26th Oct.

8. The *Sánj Vartamán* considers the explanation issued by the supporters of the proposal for giving an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales on behalf of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau as quite lame and illogical and holds these people responsible for the *impasse* caused by their refusal to convene a general meeting of the Chamber and considers their threat to resign if any constitutional steps are taken against them by the general meeting that is proposed to be called as unreasonable and calculated to break up the Chamber if put into execution. [The *Bombay Samáchár* on the other hand considers it very far sighted on the part of the Managing Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to have decided to present an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales and thus secured an opportunity of making their views known to the Prince when their rival body, the European Chamber of Commerce, is going to present the Prince

with an address. It considers the agitation engineered by certain members of the Indian Chamber to get the decision of the Managing Committee reversed by the general body as very ill-advised and hopes that the general body will recognise the neccesity of upholding the decision of the Managing Committee. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the difference of opinion among the members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau regarding the question of presenting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and advises the President and the members of the Committee not to resign as suggested by some people. It exhorts them to convince a majority of the Chamber that the resolution to offer welcome was passed after duly considering the interests of the Indian Merchant Community. In the opinion of the paper, the Prince of Wales should be offered a welcome because he comes to India to get information about everything concerning the country. It remarks that the Chamber should make use of this opportunity of telling the Prince how English manufacturers are favoured at the cost of Indian industries and the interests of Indian merchants, and how keenly Indians feel about the Punjab and Khilafat questions, about the exchange and military policy of Government, and about the position of Indians in the Dominions.]

Sánj Vartamán (30), 25th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (20), 25th Oct.;
Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 26th Oct.

9. The *Sánj Vartamán* declares that the arbitrary decision of the Managing Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to present an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales cannot be considered as binding upon the whole body and expresses the hope that a general meeting of the Chamber will soon be called in response to the requisition signed by more than seventy of its members and that that meeting will cancel the resolution of the Managing Committee in the matter of the proposed address to the Prince. The paper then quotes Reuter's summary of an article appearing in the *Observer* and says that the comments of the paper on the Prince's visit to India make it quite clear that there is a political motive underlying the visit and that the bureaucrats want to show that only a handful of Indians are discontented while the large majority is loyal and contented. The paper states that Indians, as a whole, are loyal to the throne and the Royal family, but bitter discontent is prevailing in the country and the people have lost faith in British justice and it does not think that the Prince will in any way succeed in improving the situation by his presence in this country. The *Hindusthán* dwells upon the highhandedness of certain members of the Managing Committee of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau in resolving to present an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales and fails to see why a general meeting of the Chamber was not convened to decide the question. The paper hopes that the general meeting that will be called in accordance with the requisition of about 250 of its members will vindicate the position of the Chamber and pass a vote of censure against those members of the Committee who tried to lower its dignity and self-respect. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the difference of opinion in the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau regarding the question of presenting an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and remarks that the resolution for the purpose was passed in accordance with current practice and adds that the charge of irregularity is baseless. In the opinion of the paper, it is both short-sighted and mischievous to insult the members of the Commttee of the Indian Chamber by calling a special meeting of the Chamber. In conclusion, the paper wants to know if these non-co-operating members of the Chamber, who maintain that the Chamber should also non-co-operate in accordance with the mandate issued by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, have themselves given up their trade with foreign countries.

Comments on the public meeting in Bombay to protest against the Development Department.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 26th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 27th Oct.

10. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses the hope that Government will give a careful consideration to the resolutions passed at the public meeting held at the Town Hall, Bombay, on Saturday last and that they will do all in their power to conciliate public opinion despite the unseemly scene created at the meeting over the question of the election of the president. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* hopes that Government will not set aside the resolutions which were passed at

the meeting which was held under the auspices of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau to protest against the Development Department but will consider this important question seriously and try to change the working of the Development Board in accordance with public opinion. It remarks that the public are very much dissatisfied with the working of the Development Board and they will be completely justified if they complain to the Secretary of State about it. In the opinion of the paper it is necessary to increase the powers of the Advisory Committee in order to make its voice more effective. It inquires as to why it cannot be changed into an executive board. It remarks that if Government want to secure the co-operation of the people in order to make the working of the Development Department successful, they ought to conduct it in accordance with the wishes of the people. In conclusion, it asks Government to keep the meetings of the Developement Board open to press representatives and sarcastically remarks that the Government of Bombay will not require the sanction of the Secretary of State for doing so.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 30th Oct., Eng. cols.

*11. "The non-co-operators who kicked up a row at last Saturday's Town Hall meeting in order to prevent Mr. Laljee Naranjee, the President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber, from taking the chair, have by their unruly conduct done harm to the cause taken up by the Chamber. The object of the meeting was to protest against the working of the Development Department. It had no connection with political matters; but the unreasonable manner in which the non-co-operation element behaved on the occasion has provided the critics of the Chamber with a pretext to belittle the importance of the gathering by saying that it was composed mostly of non-co-operators and convened merely with a view to get up an agitation against the Government. As a matter of fact it was a meeting in which several well known co-operators took a prominent part. The principal resolutions were moved and supported by co-operators one of whom is a member of the Council of State. This ought to convince the Government that the purpose of the meeting was not to create a meaningless opposition to the Development Scheme but to make it clear that as the Scheme is meant for the benefit of the people of Bombay and is financed with their money they have a right to expect that their representatives should have some effective control over the management of the Department to which this important work has been entrusted."

Kesari (110), 25th Oct.

12. The *Kesari* refers to the Town Hall meeting against the Bombay Development Department and says that the uproar caused at the meeting by the name of Shet Lalji Naranji, President of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau, who had cunningly got the Chamber to pass a resolution welcoming the Prince of Wales, being proposed as the Chairman, showed how keen the Bombay public was to boycott the Prince's visit. Another thing noticeable, the paper says, was the way in which Mulshi Petha *satyagraha* was being taken as a model everywhere, for Shet Narayanji Dayal, while protesting against the operations of the Development Department in Salsette at the meeting, declared that if Government refused to listen to their appeals, they would follow the example of the Mavlas of Mulshi Petha and launch *satyagraha*.

Protest against the Bombay Back Bay Reclamation Scheme.

Nusrat (new), 26th Oct.

13. The *Nusrat* charactarises the Back Bay Reclamation Scheme as an assault on the pockets of Bombay citizens. It says that every citizen will agree with the Scheme on principle, but remarks that it will not be for the benefit of the general public but of the wealthy and the so-called civilised people alone. The paper further remarks that lakhs of rupees will be wasted on the engineers and European contractors concerned. It doubts if the reclaimed land will be utilised for the public good. It thinks the present moment to be inopportune to undertake the Scheme, especially when the country is in such a disturbed condition. It suggests that the question of the sanitation of Bombay requires immediate attention and advises the public of Bombay to lodge a strong protest against the Scheme.

Comments on the judgment in the Dharwar shooting case.

Hind Mitra (17), 23rd Oct.

14. Commenting upon the Dharwar shooting case, the *Hind Mitra* writes :— The way in which the Sessions Judge of Dharwar has conducted the inquiry shows that his object in doing so was to put down the *swarájya*, Khilafat and picketing movements. Really speaking, as the Congress Committee declares, this was a case of the police *versus* the people in which the police got the full advantage of the local feeling against the Dharwar Brahmins and could thus bring forward such witnesses against the accused as they liked. As a matter of fact, this disturbance was one reated by the police in which shooting was absolutely improper. The Sessions Judge was not right in relying principally upon police evidence in such a case. His judgment clearly shows that he was eager to maintain the prestige of the police. It proves that this case was conducted in order to prove certain conclusions about the Khilafat, *swarájya* and picketing movements and justify the unjustifiable firing by the police. The whole chapter of the Dharwar Case shows that Government have committed an unmistakable blunder in not accepting the principle of appointing an independent commission to inquire into a case in which the people are fired upon.

Lokamánya (114), 27th and 28th Oct.

15. The *Lokamánya* says that if the *panchnamas* in the Dharwar shooting case be examined along with the other evidence given in the trial they would clearly show how the local officials intrigued to bring about the incarceration of the non-co-operators for whose blood Mr. Painter was thirsting. It points out that one of these *panchnamas* was regarding a dead body found in a gutter at the very place where *panchnamas* regarding the damage to the liquor shops were made in Mr. Painter's presence, and the fact that the dead body was discovered by a stranger and not by the Police showed the latter's sense of duty. The paper refers to another *panchnama* in which it is stated that 'blood has fallen out upon his (*i.e.*, Shivalingappa's) dress', and asks if the fact was true why was not his blood-stained dress produced in the court? The fact appears to be, it says, that the allegation about his having been injured and bled was not true. [In its next issue the paper examines the remaining *panchnamas*, *viz.*, exhibit No. 98 and exhibit No. 107, and comes to the conclusion that the former *panchnama* on which the structure of the prosecution was according to the paper wholly based is utterly unreliable and therefore asks its readers to imagine what terrible injustice has been done in the case. It declares that as a result the patriots who should have been today passing their days happily in Dharwar are doing convicts' tasks at Yeravda in company with robbers and dacoits, while Shivalingappa, Painter and Comapany who ought as a matter of justice have been working as convicts at Yeravda are enjoying themselves at Dharwar. It regrets that Government should not as yet have any idea as to the extent to which it has been lowered in the estimation of the public by the extraordinary judgment in the case.]

Indian Social Reformer (5), 30th Oct.

*16. "We called attention last week to the distribution of casualties during the firing on the crowd by the Police at Dhárwár on the first of July, as an index of the composition of the crowd. Of 39 wounded 3 were Brahmins, 18 Muhammadans and 18 non-Brahmin Hindus including 8 Lingayats. Besides these, there were three Muhammadans killed. The contrast between these proportions and those of the men accused of being present in and partaking in the offence of the crowd, is noteworthy. There were 29 accused of whom 15 were Brahmins, 13 Muhammadans and one non-Brahmin. The Brahmins, according to this distribution, would seem to have taken the largest part in making the disturbance. How is it then that only three of them were among the wounded, while no less than 18 non-Brahmins suffered on account of the offence of a single casual non-Brahmin in the crowd? As we said last week, there can be no doubt that those who were wounded were present in the crowd and unless the Police directed their fire at the most innocent point of the crowd it is not easy to account for the vast difference between the numbers wounded and accused of Brahmins and non-Brahmins. *Prima facie*, the wounded men were all guilty of the offences charged against the unwounded and yet only two of the wounded were among the accused. Were they not put on their trial as the wounds they received were deemed sufficient punishment for their offence ? In that case, why should the same consideration not have been extended also to the two who were accused ?"

Comments on the decision in the Shere Satyagraha case.

Kesari (110), 25th Oct.

17. The *Kesari* declares that injustice has been done to the accused in the Shere *satyagraha* case though the Sub-divisional Magistrate who tried it has expressed the opinion that the conduct of the accused was disinterested while the servants of the Tata Company were the first to come to blows. The decision, the paper remarks, gives an idea as to how justice is blindly administered under the British Government. It congratulates those of the accused who chose to go to prison instead of executing a bond to keep the peace for six months but regrets that men like Messrs. Bapat, Ranade and the two Deshmukhs should have been thus handicapped just at the present critical time when *satyagraha* is about to begin at Mulshi. In the opinion of the paper the prosecution was launched by the Company in the present case not to secure compensation for damages but to put obstacles in the path of the coming *satyagraha* at Mulshi and regrests that the Magistrate should have abetted the Company in carrying out its objects by clapping up the above-noted four *satyagrahais* in prison for a period of six months. It however declares that the step taken by the Magistrate will not at all frighten the people of Mulshi and feels confident that they will not fail to carry out their *satyagraha* as previously settled.

Bombay Government's attitude towards the drink prohibition movement.

Kesari (110), 25th Oct.

18. The *Kesari* takes exception to the attitude taken up by the Bombay Government with regard to the drink prohibition question and says that not only does it not do anything for the spread of temperance which it says it favours but it comes in the way of municipalities and local boards if they want to spend a portion of their funds for stopping drink as exemplified by what has been done by it in the case of moneys voted by the Thana Local Board and the Násik Municipality to assist picketing of liquor shops. It scouts the argument about disturbance of public peace put forward by Government for withholding the grants and suggests that in order to gauge the real intentions of Government in the matter, some of our Local Boards and Municipalities should vote grants not for picketing but for helping the cause of the temperance movement. The paper then refers to the deadlock in the Násik Municipality caused by the majority of its councillors refusing to transact any business until the President Mr. Oka, against whom a vote of censure has been passed for his opposition to Municipalities' money being used for picketing, resigns, and declares that the people would not care even if the Municipality is suspended as they are no longer afraid of such steps.

Complaint about delay on the part of the Bombay Government to appoint the promised committee to inquire into Government's Excise policy.

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 30th Oct., Eng. cols.

*19. "In the last session of the Bombay Legislative Council Mr. Chudilal Mehta, the Excise Minister, stated that he intended to appoint a strong representative committee to go over the whole question of the future excise policy of the Government. This is the second time that such an assurance has been given, but nothing seems to come out of it. We wonder why there is so much delay in the appointment of the proposed committee. The question of framing a suitable excise policy has to be faced with boldness and promptitude for many people are looking forward with great anxiety as to the course which Government will adopt. The time for the annual sale of licenses to vendors is drawing near and the present license-holders cannot understand why Government are still sitting silent instead of coming to a definite decision. We hope that the Minister in charge of the Excise Department will now make a definite move for the appointment of the committee that has been so long delayed."

Comments on the debate in the Legislative Assembly on corruption in the Government Services.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Oct.

20. "In its Simla sessions the Legislative Assembly was forced to hold a farcical debate on the evils of corruption in the administration. A Madras member made the modest suggestion that a Committee—there were still a few M. L. A.'s attached to less than half-a-dozen Committees—should find some means of putting down corruption in the administration. When three-fourths of the afternoon had been spent in gossip and denials, it almost appeared that there was not much corruption at all in the country, and in the end the discussion closed with the assurance of the Home Member that departments would be circularised about the 'principle' that there must be no corruption in the Services. How seriously at variance with facts the debate was, may be seen on a casual reference to the full proceedings. Is the whole Assembly, with a very few exceptions, engaged in a conspiracy of denials? Ugly facts described usually by the terms repression, bribery, exploitation, financial quackery, racial discrimination—these facts, which still exist, are explained away or ignored and in the atmoshpere of unreality so created, the legislators enjoy the pleasantries alike of the Council Chamber and the Chelmsford Club. The strident protest of the speakers against corruption sank into a low whisper, when many of them actually knew that even officials had ceased to enlarge on their collective rectitude after the story of supplies, Commissions and Controls. They had the audacity to assume that corruption in India was an evil associated with poor subordinates who were not there to answer the charge and point out the plague-spots. It is hardly fair that portly worthies who are mean enough to pester subordinates for ducks and eggs and fish should, on mere presumption, be held up as patterns of virtue and the poor man, deliberately under-paid, be pilloried as the sole offender. Have instances of graft been unknown among higher officials? Every man acquainted with the superior traffic of business, must look with contempt upon the efforts during a full dress debate to make scape-goats of the poor. The Home Member was wrong in dilating on the moral imperfections of 'lower ranks', when the bureaucracy has never sought to make an example of highly-placed offenders. Later in the proceedings, Mr. Innes complacently asserted that the rumour of the Government having been cheated of nine crores in connection with munitions, was an exaggeration. It may have been a few crores less, but who will believe that the sharks, who deal in lakhs, are enabled to carry on their business with the connivance of the 'lower ranks'? The public know too much about these things and Government are condemning themselves by exonerating or perhaps not detecting, big offenders. After blaming the 'lower ranks', the Home Member piously hoped that better education might improve their moral qualities. We have our own views of the effect of clerk-manufacturing education, but the speculation conceals the fact that the biggest scourge is the educated bandit in employment. Lord Bacon was better educated than the Indian menial, but he knew something of money, and, if instead of being Lord Chancellor, he were a modern Controller of Grass, during two months' drought he might have made a fortune without a scandal. Lord Westbury was a genius, a 'cultured gentleman'. We do not believe that a grind in godless education is a credential of trust-worthiness. What is wanted is the stern discipline of service, a working code of merciless supervision that weeds out the corrupt administrator. A single officer in high station can demoralise a whole system by his example, and we are centuries past the indulgence of the eighteenth century when Company servants had their heyday. We have got a highly paid detective agency. Is it for lack of corruption during the last five years, that it has not been able to run a few jackals of considerable size to earth? We do not for a moment condone the existence of corruption among the subordinate staffs, but it is grossly unfair to wax indignant over their faults and to assume immaculate reputation for bigger embezzlers. The convention of hush-hush and mutual adulation possibly led non-official members to listen to the remedy of educating the 'lower ranks', and in the end the real scandal was more concealed than exposed...... The vital indictment was avoided by all, but it is understood that the Assembly efficiently dealt with the problem of corruption, by almost talking it out of existance!"

The Status of Indians in Kenya.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Oct.

21. "It is high time that the Government of India were made to realise that sweet words butter no parsnips and that Indians will not allow the question to rest at that. They should not rest content with repeating what statement the Governor of Kenya has made. Their duty is to voice the Indian feeling in the matter—emphatically and promptly. The promise to nominate one Indian to the Executive Council and four Indians to the Legislative Council instead of two as at present will not placate Indian feeling or sentiment, and if anything it is bound to aggravate the discontent among the people over this question. That the 'white' agitators have played their cards well is quite apparent, but we fail to see why our bureaucratic masters, who constantly profess a jelous solicitude for the rights and honour of Indians, should fall in with the whims of the white settlers in Kenya by waiting on their pleasure instead of acting immediately. The supine attitude of the Government of India will, we hope, help to disillusion the 'Co-operators' as to the earnestness of the former to champion the rights of their countrymen abroad and secure for them more than illusory freedom—both in principle and practice. If the Government of India are in earnest they must make it clear to Mr. Lloyd George's Government that the situation in Kenya must be dealt with and Indians placed in the full enjoyment of their rights at once. There should be no delay as well as no compromise."

Complaint that the Press Act of 1910 has not yet been repealed.

Kesari (110), 25th Oct.

22. The *Kesari* complains that though it is now several months that the repeal of the Press Act of 1910 was recommended it is still borne on the statute book and enforced as in the instance of the *Vijaya* newspaper to be newly started at Vardha in the Central Provinces. It mentions the efforts made by the publisher of the paper to get the security of Rs. 2,000 demanded in respect of it reduced, and comes to the conclusion from what passed between the publisher and the Magistrate that there seems to be a good deal of truth in the rumours about the Press Act not being soon repealed and about the amounts already deposited not being returned even after its repeal. It characterises the Press Act as a serpent which does not fail to bite even when at the point of death.

Necessity of abolishing the Revenue Commissioners' posts.

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 29th Oct.

23. The *Dnyán Prakásh* pleads for the abolition of the posts of Revenue Commissioners and remarks that His Excellency the Governor acted most improperly in not allowing the motion on this subject to be discussed in the Bombay Legislative Council. It points out that the Bengal Legislative Council has appointed a committee to consider whether these posts could be safely abolished and asks the members of the Local Council to take steps to re-open the question.

Feared exploitation of India to remedy the unemployment evil in England.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Oct.

24. "What patrticularly interests us in the speech of the Premier [on unemployment] is the reference to Indian Railways. We are so used to gratuitous solicitude for Indian interests by British statesmen, that we begin to fear lest the report of the Railways Committee be used as a handle to bleed India for the benefit of Britain. It would, of course, be nothing new in the annals of our joint relations that the lamb should be found too tempting to be allowed to escape when the wolf is famishing. But in the past the operation has been carried out with a certain degree of camouflage which concealed from the patient the fact that the blood-letting was performed not because it was at all necessary for his recovery but because somebody else had greater need of that blood. Now it is different. The Premier has frankly stated that they would look to India to make good the havoc wrought by depressed industry in England, that they would expect us to place our orders for railway and all other material in England and Scotland in spite of the report of the Stores Committee, in spite of the revelations of a huge difference in prices between English articles and similar products of America or Germany, in spite of the advantage of favourable exchanges with other countries. We do not expect the Government of India effectively to protest against such open loot. As in duty bound, when faced with it, they will only explain it away by high-sounding nonsense about Imperial Preference and the like."

Reflections on unemployment in England.

Nusrat (new), 25th Oct.

25. Commenting upon the Unemployment Problem in England the *Nusrat* remarks that if matters go on in the same strain, England is sure to become bankrupt. It expresses its surprise that in the proposed remedy the greed of territorial acquisition is not lost sight of. It traces the genesis of unemployment and thinks that the slump in trade has resulted on account of England's hostility towards Islam and Russia. The paper asks England to be friendly to Islam, Russia and Germany if she wants to tackle with the problem successfully. After refering to the state of feelings prevalent in all the Eastern countries, the paper remarks that if Great Britain seeks the friendship of all these countries then she should either dismiss Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Lloyd George himself should change his own attitude.

Protest against another dam being constructed by the Tata Company in the Maval taluka.

Kesari (110), 25th Oct.

26. The *Kesari* calls attention to the operations undertaken by the Tata Company to construct a dam at Somavdi in the Maval which is to submerge Uksan and other villages, and says that the people had no inkling about the matter until the Company's men appeared on the neighbourhood. The plans being known, the paper writes, the people have taken steps to establish a body called Somavdi Land Protection Association backed up by the Taluka Sabha, to bring about a stoppage of the construction of the dam. It declares that it is the duty of the people to destroy the Tata Company as there is no saying where it will launch its operations and so gradually convert the fertile tract of the Maharashtra in the neighbourhood of the Western Ghats into another Champaranya. The paper further remarks that the Company, however powerful it may be, has to bend its neck before *satyagraha* and boycott as evidenced by the fact that though it had previously refused to give information to the Bombay Congress Committee as to the use of indigenous and foreign yarn in its mills, it has now supplied it and even announced its intention to use Indian yarn alone in the future on seeing that its mills were threatned with boycott.

Prospects of settlement of the deadlock at Mulshi.

Kesari (110), 25th Oct.

27. The *Kesari* remarks that the decision in the Shere case may be said to be a prelude to the *satyagraha* campaign at Mulshi which is to begin on the 9th November or which may be postponed for some weeks owing to the putting off of the Tata Company's operations for the sake of the Prince of Wales' visit to Poona. It points out that though the *satyagraha* movement at Mulshi is mainly sentimental, the Mavalas who have gained it are not fools quite devoid of common sense. They do understand, it says, that on occasion people have to part with their lands for public purposes and they would not have so obstinately stuck to their lands had they been required for the construction of an irrigation reservoir for agricultural purposes. And, even in the present case, it points out, had the Tatas somewhat loosened their purse strings from the very beginning they would have secured many of the lands long back. But their highhandedness combined with the shameless abetment on the part of Government has, in the paper's opinion, spoilt matters and therefore the political leaders cannot be blamed for what has happened. The leaders, it says, have before this tried to bring about a compromise and even now they are not unprepared to work in the same direction, but what can they do, it asks, if Government refuses to budge an inch from the position taken up by it? And yet, the paper remarks, even now there are people in Mulshi, and their number is not small, who are prepared to come to a compromise if the Tata Company, the Government and some disinterested third party put their heads together and suggest a good way out of the difficulty. The overtures of these people have hitherto failed, the paper points out, owing to the defiant attitude of the Tatas and the Government and they would not be able to do anything hereafter also if that attitude be persisted in. The single object of the movement in Mulshi, the paper explains, is that the Mavlas should not suffer and if after the real state of things has been explained as above anything undesirable happens hereafter Government will be held wholly responsible for it.

Comments on the debate in the House of Lords on Indian affairs.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 28th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (20), 28th Oct.; *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* (28), 28th Oct.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 28th Oct.

28. The *Sánj Vartamán* declares that Lord Sydenham has done great disservice to England by presenting an exaggerated and misleading account of the present situation in India before the House of Lords and expresses gratification that he failed to make an impression on the House. The paper, however, believes that the House of Lords does not seem to be rightly informed about the strength of the non-co-operation movement and is under the delusion that the Prince of Wales will be enthusiastically welcomed by the people of India and it emphatically states that the Prince will not receive a hearty welcome in India as long as the grievances of the people remain unredressed and the Khilafat question is not satisfactorily solved. [The *Hindusthán* deprecates the irresponsible and ill-informed speech made by Lord Sydenham in the House of Lords, but agrees with him in believing that a series of disasters has befallen India and that the authority and prestige of British officials in India has suffered a severe blow since the assumption of the office of the Secretary of State for India by Mr. Montague. The paper, however, does not agree with Lord Sydenham in thinking that these results are due to the introduction of the new reforms, but ascribes them to the passing of the repressive measures like the Rowlett Act and the perversion of justice by the law courts. The paper declares that Lord Curzon also is quite out of touch with India as disclosed by the wrong statement made by him to the effect that the Prince of Wales will receive an enthusiastic welcome in India. The *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* remarks that it is a wonder that both Lord Sydenham and the non-co-operators want to upset the present system of administration in India in order that there may be anarchy in this country. In the opinion of the paper Lord Curzon has rightly said that India will be very grateful for the message of good will which the Prince of Wales will carry with him and it prays that God may grant the good sense to the non-co-operators to utilise as best they can this additional opportunity of bettering the interests of India by means of the visit of the Prince of Wales. The paper remarks that the admission of Lord Chelmsford, that the clamour against British race superiority in India should not be ignored, is very important, and it congratulates him on the same. It adds that he has shown high wisdom in condemning the design of creating a panic on account of the non-co-operation movement and remarks that he was right when he told the British public that the Moplah disturbances have struck a heavy blow to Mr. Gandhi's movement and that therefore it is not necessary to take any special measures to put down the dying movement. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* wonders as to how Lord Sydenham came to know of rebellion and sedition in India when the Indian people do not know anything about it. The paper remarks that Lord Sydenham's speech in the House of Lords shows that he cannot bear to see India marching towards *swarájya*. It agrees with Lord Curzon when he said that Lord Sydenham has raised this question at a very inopportune time and that it will create misunderstanding in India. It expresses its satisfaction at the defence put up by Lord Chelmsford on behalf of Mr. Montague. In the opinion of the paper Lord Chelmsford has rightly said that the Moplah disturbances have opened the eyes of Indians and that they have struck the severest blow to Mr. Gandhi's movement.]

Lokamánya (114), 28th Oct.

29. The *Lokamánya* refers to Lord Sydenham's recent utterances in the House of Lords on the position in India and Lord Curzon's reply to him, and declares that the Government of India having already launched the campaign of repression in the country, Lord Sydenham need not have come forward to lend his own helping hand to it. The Dharwar prosecution, it says, has left in the shade the Sydenham regime in this Presidency and declares that Lord Sydenham himself could not have harried the people more than they are being at present. The Ali Brothers' prosecution, it points out, has already exasperated the Muslims all over India and the sentence of transportation to be passed upon them just before the arrival of the Prince in the country is bound further to deepen the gloom. What more, the paper asks, could Lord Sydenham have done had he been the Viceroy to present the country to the Prince of Wales in a distracted condition ?

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Oct.

30. "Leaving alone the Sydenhamite reactionaries, we find that the Under Secretary for India and the late Viceroy are hardly able to understand the spirit and the meaning underlying the 'revolt of the East' against Western domination. Lord Chelmsford was constrained to admit 'that the dominating factor in the Indian situation is the race and colour issue', but he tried to explain it away as something not peculiar to India alone but to the wide world. He must have considered it too damaging to British prestige and racial pride to admit that the issue in India was not going to be settled by the offer of Kindergarten reforms or the dilution of an exploded system of Government. The meaning of non-co-operation is far deeper than that; it is a protest unprecedented in history against the continuance of a system of Government that has emasculated the manhood of India and imposed upon it a form of subjection that is more dangerous because it is subtle...... The forced visit to India of the Prince of Wales, which is being hastened in spite of the open and declared opposition of the people, on politicol grounds, is not likely to restore the vanishing faith of the people or make for amity, peace and goodwill between India and Great Britain. While there is no personal feeling behind the opposition to the Prince's visit, people have realized that the bureaucracy is trying to exploit royalty for its own ends and in spite of the inspired panegyrics in the Tory-cum-capitalist Press of England, the Prince's visit is bound to prove most inopportune, and to deepen the feeling of discontent in this country. The Lord's debate on the Indian situation was characterized by a singular lack of information and breath of outlook which is not surprising. But Lord Lytton's gratuitous re-iteration of 'complete confidence' in Lord Willingdon and his Government is reminiscent of what was done two years ago in the case of the Punjab. His statement that if there was to be any extension of self-government, it must be the result of the proved experience and not because demands had been made by individuals, shows that our 'masters' and their mentality remain unchanged. If the Government of India Act, which proclaims to the world the arrogant claim of the British Parliament and people to determine the time when and stages by which India is to be given 'doles' of self-government, is an insult to the self-respect of her people, Lord Lytton's statement is a challenge which the Indian people will take up. The whole of Nationalist India will welcome the exposition of British opinion towards India and Indian affairs afforded by the Lords' debate as a fresh stimulus to them to realize that their salvation rests in their own hands, and translate into action the mandate of their Parliament—the Congress."

Comments on the impost in connection with additional police levied in some villages in Kaira.

Hind Mitra (17), 23rd Oct.

31. Commenting upon the levy by Government of an additional tax on men above the age of fourteen in some villages of the Kaira District in order to maintain additional police to prevent thefts on the B. B. and C. I. Railway, the *Hind Mitra* remarks:—The practice of attaching the property of those people who refuse to pay this unjust tax has become very scandalous. Government should immediately amend it for the sake of their good name and the purity of the administration. There is another complaint to the effect that school teachers in these villages have also to pay this tax. We are sorry to say that the highhanded officials have not shown courtesy towards such a respectable class as teachers who have nothing to do with the railway thefts. The decision of the Collector is insulting not only to the teachers but also to the whole Educational Department, and the officials of this department should not allow it to pass unnoticed without a protest.

Comments on the Ahmedabad Mill Strike.

Swarájya (Gujarati) (62), 25th Oct.

32. Commenting upon the threatened Mill Strike at Ahmedabad, the *Swarájya* remarks that the mill-hands have become so proud that they ask the owners as to what kind of sizing and yarn they use. The paper inquires as to how they can demand a bonus and asks if they have spent any more money on improving themselves and their families. It asks the mill-hands to show their fitness and tells them that there is no manliness in thus threatening to strike and causing misery to others. It states that Mr. Gandhi's advice to them is strange and that it is a political blunder. It adds that Mr. Gandhi deals a severe blow to the Swadeshi Movement by asking the mill-hands to leave work. The paper inquires whether Mr. Gandhi is not causing harm to non-violent non-co-operation by thus stirring up the mill-hands, and whether he is not committing the great blunder of alienating the rich from the non-co-operation movement by doing so, just as he kept away the educated people.

Comments on the Moplah rebellion.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 24th Oct.

33. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the exaggerated reports about the forcible conversion of Hindus by the Moplahs and cites with approval the Press Note issued by the District Magistrate of Calicut in the matter. The paper is of opinion that those who are circulating false reports with a view to breaking the Hindu-Moslem unity are doing a great disservice to the country and calls upon all patriotic citizens to take steps to counteract the mischief that is being done by irresponsible persons to the cause of the unity.

Protest against sentences of death being passed on certain persons in connection with the Moplah disturbances.

Sind Observer (9), 21st Oct.

34. "Telegrams from Malabar state that sentences of death are being awarded to certain individuals found guilty of 'waging war against the King'. From this distance and with the scanty material available to us, we are not in a position to judge of the justice or otherwise of these judicial pronouncements. But may we draw the attention of the authorities, particularly of the Viceroy, to the utter undesirablity, to use no stronger expression, of the sentences being carried out? We may, in the first place, point out that the atmosphere amidst which these trials are being conducted and the sentences are being given is anything but judicial. The spirit of vindictiveness and deidacticism (*sic*) more than of justice seasoned with mercy prevails here and the laws of criminal jurisprudence do not avail. Secondly, the courts and tribunals in the disturbed region cannot be said to be quite competent, composed as they are not of high class judicial talent, and the very fact that there is no appeal to the High Court, a very essential factor in the administration of the law regarding murder trials, vitiates the decisions, which are necessarily hasty and probably incorrect or accurate. For instance, we know how 'waging war against the King' was construed by the martial law judges of the Punjab, and was made to cover a multitude of honest political activities, and how a boy of nine was convicted of 'waging war against the King!' ".

Reflections on the Diwali Holidays.

Gujaráti (14), 30th Oct., Eng. cols.

*35. "Nowhere in the country is there a disposition to enjoy holidays and celebrate festivals with that cordiality of feeling and generous spontaneity of action which used to be a marked feature of the celebrations of Hindu festivals. 'What will happen now'? 'What is going to be the future of India'? Such are the questions that are being asked everywhere. The feeling of deep suspense and anxiety has permeated all classes of the Hindu community. Our Moslem countrymen are no less unhappy and anxious....... Racial estrangement has been growing and the gulf between the rulers and the ruled widening, though opportunists and blind defenders of racial and political prestige may find it inconvenient to acknowledge such a grim reality and the causes that have brought it about..... We do not know if Government really understand even now the magnitude of the problem they have to face. We trust they will not lose sight of it amidst the celebrations and rejoicings in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It would be nothing but a colossal blunder to do anything of the kind. What message of good will and sympathy His Royal Highness is going to deliver to the people of India no one knows. But it is absolutely certain that glowing platitudes about the glories of the British Empire and spectacular shows entailing an outlay of lakhs will not enable him to win the heart of the country. These are some of the thoughts that crowd upon one's mind at the approach of the Diwali."

Comments on the Press Note regarding the attitude of Government towards non-co-operating municipalities.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 25th Oct.; *Navin Bhárat* (36), 24th Oct.; *Ráj Hansa* (86), 26th Oct.

36. Referring to the Press Note recently issued by Government defining their attitude towards non-co-operating municipalities, the *Karáatak Vaibhav* says :—The Government, in issuing this Press Note after a protracted deliberation extending over a period of four or five months, have no doubt exhibited their profound knowledge of law and their priceless treasures of logic. The Government argue that the education of children will suffer if grants are rejected by the municipalities. But if we consider how Government is squandering its money by maintaining a highly paid hiechary of Inspectors and Deputy Inspectors and by fitting up costly articles of furniture in their schools, it can be easily realized that the municipalities by rejecting the grants can still afford to meet the expenses of education from their ordinary resources, without being under the necessity of imposing fresh taxation for the purpose. The municipalities are not suckling babes to be frightened by threats about the misuse of money. It is nowhere laid down that the municipalities should conform to the kind of education which might be dictated to them by Government. What the law requires is that the municipalities should take steps to provide, as far as possible, education which might be deemed proper. The municipalities can alone determine what kind of education is to be introduced in their schools and as a matter of fact the municipalities which have rejected Government grants are providing education of the kind they think best. But Government say that this constitutes a misapplication of funds. But is not Government liable to the same charge when it collects local fund from the ryots of villages in which they have not started a single school for the education of their children? Cannot the ryots follow the advice offered by the Government themselves and sue them for this misuse of their money? [The *Navin Bhárat* and *Raj Hansa* make similar comments.]

Young India (11), 27th Oct.

37. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—"The Government of Bombay note regarding the Ahmedabad, Surat and Nadiad municipalities shows that it refuses to see the writing on the wall. Its dictatorial tone is now no longer in keeping with the rising spirit of the people. Its incitement to the individual ratepayers to sue the councillors who believe they have performed their duty is hardly dignified. The proper course for the Government was to let the municipalities take their own course and not to invite trouble. As it is, the Government note is calculated to precipitate a crisis. The councilors must take up the challenge and dare the Government to disregard the municipalities if they choose. The municipalities must have the right to misgovern themselves if they wish. If a city is misgoverned, it is as much the ratepayers' fault as is the councillors'. But our wise Government, whilst recognising the independent existence of the municipalities, wants to stick to the letter of the law which killeth and would itself rule instead of letting the municipalities alone so long as they do not cost the Government anything. The municipalities must now take up the challenge and prepare for action on their part. Government may succeed in getting a few ratepayers to file suits. That will be the least it can do. The most it can do is to disband the municipalities concerned. And the most of the Government should prove most welcome, if only the protestants are a strong body. Assuming that they are, they must simply educate the ratepayers to understand what is happening and to prepare them for battle. I can see *swaráj* peeping even through the Government note if the latter take, and the former are ready, for action. So long as there is no disbandment, the municipalities have all power; as soon as there is disbandment the

Government is powerless, assuming of course that the ratepayers are strong, intelligent and united. The ratepayers are all that, but they require to be organised for action. Hitherto the people have been the football of officials or so-called representatives. Non-co-operation enables the poeple to become the players in the game. Representatives must represent or they perish."

Hindusthán (20), 24th Oct.

38. The *Hindusthán* declares that the Government Resolution in the matter of the non-co-operating municipalities is intended to deal a blow to such municipalities and opines that the latter have acted within their rights and have done nothing unconstitutional in refusing Government grant for educational purposes and that they cannot be said to have misused the funds at their disposal as hinted in the Resolution. The paper considers it very wrong on the part of Government to have incited the co-operators to institute legal proceedings against the non-co-operating Municipalities and calls upon the Municipalities of Surat, Nadiad and Ahmedabad to make a firm stand against the assaults that are being made on them by Government and exhorts other municipalities to join the nationalist movement by refusing Government grants.

Comments on a message to the Dheds recently circulated among the Dhed Community.

Navjivan (69), 30th Oct.

***39**. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—A Gujarati leaflet entitled "A Message to the Dheds" has been circulated by Government among the Dheds. The leaflet states that a rumour has been set afloat amongst them to the effect that the houses of those Dheds who will not join in the non-co-operation movement will be burnt and that Government will not afford them any protection. The message adds that the said rumour is false and declares that steps are being taken so that "every class of people may take their own stand without any differences whatsoever". If any one has advanced any threat to the Dheds or has burnt the houses of anyone he does not deserve to be called a Hindu or an Indian. I cannot believe that any such threat as alleged has been advanced by any one. But supposing that such a threat has actually been advanced may I ask what protection Government are going to afford to the Dheds against it? What have Government done for the Dheds? Have Government afforded the Dheds any protection against abusive language used towards them on the railways by insolent Hindus? Have Government afforded any protection to these people who are harassed by Government officials themselves in courts of law on finding them to be Dheds? Have Government protected the people who have no wells, dwellings or schools? I should very much like to know what improvements Government have effected in their lot. Government have no doubt amply subjected them to forced labour, converted many of them into beef-eaters and have encouraged their bad habits. They have not improved their moral condition even by a jot. They have no doubt lately allowed them to convene a Town Hall meeting for the purpose of honouring the Prince of Wales. But Government have been prompted by purely selfish motives in doing this. To the best of my knowledge this will be the first meeting of the untouchables in the Town Hall. This is mere flattery or bribery. Government are eager to enlist the sympathies of any who would like to take part in honouring the Prince. In doing so Government are insulting the Prince and abusing his name for achieving their own selfish ends. If the poor Prince were to know in what manner he is going to be honoured it would be a matter for doubt whether he would at all come to India. But if he comes, knowing all this, it would show the extreme limit of the discipline of the British people; both the King and his subjects are prepared to make any sacrifice where duty is supposed to call for it! Were such a sacrifice not made for low selfishness, those who are prepared to make the sacrifice would fit themselves for eternal salvation.

Appeal to the people to fight for the motherland.

Swadharma (new), 20th Oct.

40. Gunavant Ramchandra Deshpande contributes some verses to the *Swadharma* of which the following is a substance:—Fellow-countrymen of Aryavarta prepare yourself for action. The motherland is in her last fearful gasp. Make a vigorous effort to save her while yet there is any hope left. How can you think of enjoying yourselves at such a time ? Why does not the God of death destroy you while thus enjoying ? Fie upon me, fie upon you ! What shameful condition is this ? You living corpses ! may your hearts now at least melt and may the liquid reach the feet of God to be turned into nectar and showered back upon the earth for the relief of her distress ! While the heaven was covered with dark clouds, a *mahatma* with two banners in his hand one marked with the *swastika* and the other with the crescent brought about union between Hindus and Muslims, but wicked demons have trampled the banners under foot and proved the truth of the adage that evil thoughts precede destruction. Shameless beings ! you have been mortally insulted by the Dharmguru being brought into peril by the usurper of power. The dart of insult has pierced your heart and yet you do not wake up ! Have you sold away your manliness ? Let us fight unitedly with those who have dared to insult the Muslim crescent. The hour for fighting without arms has arrived. May you pour your blood upon the earth in good time. It is well to die smilingly at the hands of the wicked. The villains refuse to give even a pinch of earth to the sons of this land of gold. May you not give it. We shall recover the lost glory now. When the cup of sins is full the glory flies. This saying of the great will never fail. Arise, this is the proper time. The goddess of the battle-field awakens you. Show your bravery now even if you lose your life while bathed in blood. May you fight with energy though unarmed !

Comments on the prosecution of the Ali Brothers.

Rájakáran (131), 23rd Oct.

41. Government expected that the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and their co-accused would weaken the non-co-operation movement but their expectations have not been realised. Thousands of people now meet together and pass the very resolution on which the Karachi prosecutions are based. Lord Reading will not fail to be disappointed if he hopes to achieve the desired end by resorting to repression. The men who advised him to pursue the present policy of repression must be very stupid indeed. The bureaucracy is as obdurate as ever although it is confronted with a number of difficulties. It cannot get rid of its habit of resorting to injustice and oppression until it is finally destroyed. Firings and prosecutions no longer terrify the people. Why do the authorities hesitate now to prosecute the thousands of people who re-affirm the resolution passed by the Khilafat Conference at Karachi ? The tyrannical and barbarous authorities should remembeer well that they dare not arrest and imprison thousands of people. The bankrupt bureaucracy have not the means to feed all these thousands in prison. This senseless body has completely lost its mental balance, and is employing means to repress the people the futility of which has been proved. There is no doubt that in the present struggle the stupid bureaucracy will be wiped out of existence.

Comments on the arrest and prosecution of Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande.

Model (25), 23rd Oct.

42. Commenting upon the arrest and prosecution of Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande of Belgaum the *Model* writes :—It is quite natural that the name of Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande should be in the Government's " holy " list because he is a well-known leader of the Deccan. We wonder how Government think of safeguarding the law by the threat of imprisonment in a country where there are such heroes who look upon the jail as a palace. Two years ago it was considered disgraceful to go to jail but now the people think it a disgrace to be out of jail. It should not escape the notice of Government that all men whether rich or poor are prepared to sacrifice themselves for the freedom of India. We congratulate Mr. Gangadharrao on his prosecution.

The time of trial prophesied by Mr. Gandhi is at hand.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Oct.

43. " The news of the arrest of Mr. Yakub Hassan must have come to the public with a certain amount of surprise, seeing that a general impression had been prevailing in the country that the authorities in the various provinces, who now appear to be acting in some sort of concert, would await the result of the trials at Karachi before engaging themselves in the game of knocking

down the 'tall poppies'. But the public should not, perhaps, be surprised at the activity of the Madras Government, who believe that they have got a special dispensation from Simla to do and behave as they like. In order to justify one false step taken by them the Madras Government are obliged to resort to another and in this way their 'zeal' is taking them to lengths of which they themselves must have had hardly any idea when they started on the slippery path. It is not difficult to discover the object of the order of the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Madras in prohibiting a mass meeting and procession organized under the auspices of the Madras Khilafat Committee regarding the Karachi resolution and the *fatwa* of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema of India. The order was made under section 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which has in recent times been prostituted for political ends. The avowed object of the order was, of course, the usual one of pathetic inanity, namely, to prevent apprehended disorder which exists nowhere except in the imagination of panic-stricken bureaucrats. But the real motive underlying the abuse of authority was to prevent the citizens of Madras from doing what has been done in other places without any interference whatsoever from officials and without producing any of the undesirable consequences of 'riots, affray, and other disturbances of public tranquillity'. Acts like the one under reference are the mere straws showing how the official wind is blowing in this country, and we agree with the *Hindu* in the view that the time of trial prophesied by Mahatma Gandhi is at hand. But we do at the same time feel encouraged by the signs of the times that Indians will face their trial with courage and steadfastness."

Comments on the apology tendered by Pir Turab Ali Shah of Sind.

Hindu (160), 22nd Oct.; *Sind Vási* (169), 22nd Oct.

44. We are not inclined to write at length on Pir Turab Ali Shah's apology. It must, however, be observed that if the Pir felt that he did not possess endurance enough to put up with the hardships of jail life, he need not have entered the field of non-co-operation at all. In his apology he says that the contents of his speech as reported by Government are correct. Well, if that is so, he ought to have made the confession at the outset and expressed his regret and cheerfully awaited the punishment that might have been inflicted on him, because the making of a speech such as he has made is contrary to the principle of non-co-operation. To all those who cannot tread the path of non-co-operation and who are not prepared for self-sacrifice, our advice is to quietly sit at home. They must not deliver exciting speeches and then tell lies and turn cowards. If they play with edged tools they should not mind the consequences. [The *Sind Vási* remarks :—When Pir Turab Ali Shah was arrested, non-co-operators confidently asserted that he was a brave man who would cheerfully go to jail. But the abject apology tendered by the Pir yesterday shows what poor stuff he is made of. The example of this Pir and that of Pir Mahbub Shah should suffice for the non-co-operators and khilafatists. These men, before they excite others, had better improve themsleves with a view to producing men who are ready to make any sacrifice for the country.]

Bháratwási (157), 22nd Oct.

45. On Thursday last when the case against Pir Turab Ali Shah was called on for hearing in the Sessions Court at Hyderabad, the Pir tendered a written apology whereupon the Government withdrew the case against him. The Judge, Mr. Clements, then shook hands with him and took him to his chamber where some refreshments had already been provided for him. This is one side of the picture. On the other hand, Mahomed Buksh, volunteer, who was being tried on that day was refused similar indulgence and sentenced to six months' imprisonment although the offence of which he was convicted was not so heinous as that of Pir Turab Ali Shah. While the alleged offence of the Pir was that of waging war against the King, Mahomed Buksh's was that of tampering with the loyalty of the army. What is still more surprising is that the Public Prosecutor pressed for a severe sentence to be passed on the accused Mahomed Buksh. May we enquire the reason of this differential treatment? To us the difference appears to be due to the fact that the Pir was an influential man and Mahomed Buksh a poor man. We are extremely sorry at the display of favouritism by officials. At the same time we do not approve of the conduct of the non-co-operators and khilafatists who are out only to show themselves off without being ready to suffer. It must be remembered that the apologies tendered by Pir Muhbub Shah and Pir Turab Ali Shah are more than mere expressions of regret. They are plain admissions on their part of incitement to violence. What became then of the doctrine of non-violence avowed by these gentlemen ? Do non-co-operators realise that statements such as these nullify their work ?

Mr Gandhi's explanation about the Tilak Swarajya Fund.

Dnyán Prakash (40), 27th Oct.

46. The *Dnyán Prákásh* says that the explanation given by Mr. Gandhi in the *Young India* of 20th instant with a view to convince the people that the subscriptions to the crore fund did not fall far short of the figure announced by him and that the management of the fund is in trustworthy hands will hardly set at rest the doubts that have been raised in certain quarters. It further observes that the knowledge that the fund has not actually reached the figure announced by Mr. Gandhi, and that the leaders are not yet in a position to state definitely the amounts collected by them will make the people sceptical about the proper disposal of the fund. It points out that the crore fund is the only item in the non-co-operation programme which is considered as a solid achievement to the credit of Mr. Gandhi and that if it is found that the accounts of that fund too cannot stand the test of a close scrutiny, then the whole movement of non-co-operation will not fail to receive a severe shock.

Non-co-operation will destroy itself.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 30th Oct.

***47.** " Any one who gives a little thought to the subject must realise that, given sufficient time, non-co-operation must destroy itself. The first phase of this self-destructive quality has declared itself in a majority of the members of the Working Committee resolving to non-co-operate with their own President for the year, Mr. Vijaya Raghav Acharya. The same process will be gone through with Mr. Acharya's successors and ultimately with Mahatma Gandhi himself. Mr. Vijaya Raghava's fault is that he insists on taking the paper constitution of the Congress as a binding statute, while the dominant party in the movement regards it as having a binding only when it suits its purpose that it should. Unfortunately, Mr. Acharya is too old to begin to learn the art of drafting grandiose constitutions, on paper, and following in practice the good old rule, the simple plan of the exigency of the moment. The venerable and nominal President can use his time better than by citing Blackstone to his recalcitrant colleagues. We have had recently the Gita solemnly cited as endorsing the *charkha* cult and in a battle of quotations Mr. Acharya cannot achieve anything so remarkable. The fact is when you are sure of your audience you can say anything that comes uppermost to your lips or pen without fear of contradiction. Pandit Motilal Nehru sweeps aside Mr. Acharya's authorities with the remark that the Congress is a law unto itself, which being interpreted means that whatever the pandit says is law unto the Congress for the time being. When a publicist has worked himself up to this state of mind it is idle to argue with him and he must be left to the operation of the law of non-co-operation which ordains that those who rise by it shall fall by it. One of these days, it will be ordered that those who wear more than a loin-cloth are not fit to hold office in the Congress hierarchy, and those who now exult over Mr. Acharya's ineffectual constitutionalism will have to mourn their conventional adherence to clothes beyond the allotted minimun."

Comments on the draft statement of the foreign policy of the Indian National Congress.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Oct.

48. " The Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at its last meeting held in Bombay adopted the draft of a statement on the foreign policy of the Congress and the people of this country and resolved that it should be published and discussion invited thereon with a view to final adoption of the statement, in its original or modified form, at the forthcoming meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi. The draft statement makes it kown to the neighbouring and other States that the Government of India in no way represent Indian opinion—a fact which is known well enough to both the

Government and the people of this country as also to all outsiders who have cared to penetrate beneath the surface of things....... The statement has been necessitated by the peculiar circumstances in which the people of India find themselves at the present day, but also by the trend of events to the east and west of this country. The whole of the western half of Asia is in the melting pot, while a conference is sitting at Washington to settle the future of not only the eastern half but of the whole world as well. It is necessary in such circumstances that the world as a whole and the various States interested in India severally should know the true mind of India and the wholly pacific intentions of the Indian people, apart from whatever misrepresentation of their feelings and opinions may be circulated abroad. The statement prepared by the Working Committee is most opportune....... We owe our present position to the fact that hitherto we have been content to remain under the tutelege of others and have allowed the latter to strengthen their hold on us by our craven fear of our neighbours as though we ourselves had lost our manhood and were not able to defend our hearths and homes. And, worst of all, we have accepted, without question, the ideas that our 'rulers' have taught us regarding our neighbours, the dangers of invasion of our country, and our foreign policy and not least our own capacity to defend ourselves. Now we have awakened from a long sleep. We are determined to be self-reliant. But we cannot remain isolated. We have our part to play in the world. The world needs us just as we need the world and Asia needs our help more. We have no designs on our neighbours. We need, therefore, have no fear from any one of them. And if any of our neighbours, say the Afghans, the Bolsheviks or even the frontier tribes, have any designs upon us, we must tell them that we are prepared at all costs to defend our country. We are not afraid of them nor do we covet anything that belongs to them. We must tell them so, so that the world may realise that we are at last awakened."

Bhárat Seva (13), 28th Oct.

49. Mr. Gandhi and his friends seem to think that our neighbouring countries will not invade us. But Indians should give a careful consideration to the question of our defence. The Moslem countries in Asia have begun to form themselves into a league and they have a perfect right to do so, but India should take a warning from it. The non-co-operators will not be able to effect the breakdown of Government, but supposing that they are able to do so then we would not rely on the assurance given in certain quarters that the neighbouring Moslem countries will not invade India. Besides, it must be borne in mind that every Moslem is first a subject of the Khalif according to his religion and then a resident of the country in which he is domiciled. Even Mr. Gandhi has admitted that the Ali Brothers are Moslems first and Indians afterwards. If the majority of Moslems in India are of this opinion then the Hindus, Jains, Parsis and Christians of India would one day be involved in a great danger. India needs *swaráj* but we would prefer the British to the Afghans or the Turks till we have not secured complete *swaráj*.

The effect of non-co-operators' appeals to Indian soldiers to leave the army.

Young India (11), 27th Oct.

50. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"The prosecution of the Brothers and their companions and the manifesto have reached the barracks, and soldiers are inquiring how they can support themselves if they leave. One correspondent asks on their behalf as to what would happen to them under *swaráj*. As for the first, the Working Committee has shown them the way. Every soldier can easily become a weaver and carder. Carding requires strength of arm which every soldier must have. And a carder in Bombay earns anything between two to three rupees per day. Many weavers of the Punjab have left the handloom for the sword of the hireling. I consider the former to be infinitely preferable to the latter. I refuse to call the profession of the sepoy honourable when he has no choice as to the time when and the persons or people against whom he is called upon to use his sword. The sepoy's services have more often been utilised for enslaving us than for protecting us, whereas the weaver to-day can truly become the liberator of his country and hence a true soldier. A friend has suggested that agriculture should also be added to weaving and carding advised by the Congress. It cannot be as an immediate measure, because agriculture cannot be taken up with ease, and it requires a capital outlay which renders it impracticable for our purpose. What will happen during *swaráj* is easily answered. The soldiers will not then be hirelings, but they will form the national militia for defensive and protective purposes alone. They will have a voice in the moulding of the affairs of the nation. And they will certainly never be sent to cut down inoffensive Turks or Arabs in the West or equally inoffensive Chinese or Burmese in the East."

Alleged inconsistency in the views of non-co-operators about the duty of Moslems to fight against a foreign invader.

Bháratwási (157), 19th Oct.

51. The Ulemas' *fatwá* asking Muslims to leave the army and Moulana Mahomed Ali's statement in Court that according to Islam it is better that the whole world should be destroyed rather than that a Muslim should kill another Muslim, have led many thoughtful people to enquire as to what would India's condition be under a Home Rule Government in the event of an invasion by a Muslim Power, for example, Afghanistan, Persia or Turkey. A person from Aligarh, signing himself "Alim", answers the question in the *Sind Observer*, by saying that in such a contingency, the Ulemas will ask Muslims to fight against the invader. That is all very well. But if the Ulemas do not do so, what will be the state of the Hindus? Mr. Mahomed Ali said some years ago that Indian Muslims would fight the Turks if they attacked India. Recently, however, he declared that Muslims would not only not fight against them, but positively help them. Two months back Moulana Abdul Bari gave a different *fatwá*. Really these conflicting *fatwas* have confounded us completely and made us extremely anxious about the ultimate fate of our dear country.

The fate of Musalmans who help Government in their wars against Musalman lands.

Insáf (66), 21st Oct.

52. In continuation of its last article [*vide* paragraph 28 of W. R. No. 43 of 1921] the *Insáf* writes:—A cloud of unrest has darkened the peace of the world. The light of the religion of God is being swallowed up by the darkness of infidelity. Are you not yet ready to turn your face from the worldly kingdom and to declare your allegiance to the Empire of God? Our ancestors were "cruel towards infidels and kind towards their co-religionists" [the Qurán], but we have become insolent towards our own co-religionists and are disgracefully subservient towards aliens. We have disobeyed God and have adopted as our masters the owners of a few worldly islands and have become their servants. O you who claim to be Moslems! Do you wish to revolt against God and to make peace with the worldly authorities of whose powers you are afraid? Do you mean to fall victims to the delusions of this world and to forego the bliss of heaven? What reply will you give to God when He declares you to be fit for hell alone? O Moslems! Fear God and his prophet at least for a while and if you cannot do that then sever your connections with Islam so that you may not set a bad example to the other simple and ignorant Moslems. [Elsewhere the paper publishes an article by Badr Nizami 'Ráhati' in which he writes:—There are certain Moslems who do not obey or fear God but are under the domination of Satan. Such persons consider the threshold of a European as their Madina and momentary happiness as their heaven. These people, when they see the difficulties into which Islam is involved, think of trying to remove them, but the thought of worldly goods, titles and honours comes in their way and they keep quiet. Such persons are regarded as *Munáfiq* hypocrites in our religion and their fate is worse than that of infidels and our religion requires us to non-co-operate with them along with the enemies of Islam. It is clear from the Qurán and Hadis that a man cannot keep connection with Islam and its enemies at the same time. The Qurán has the following injuction in respect of oppressors and the enemies of Islam:—"They have renounced God, the prophet and truth and have become friends of Satan". And of such it is commanded: "Slaughter the friends of Satan and verily the followers of Satan are very weak". The Quran in many of its verses enjoins us to practise non-co-operation against the enemies of Islam as well as those hypocrites who help the enemies of Islam and who do not practise non-co-operation against them and do not renounce titles and accursed honorary posts received from Government and practice in their courts. Those Moslems who have not served Islam but have rendered disservice to it by subscribing to war loans and rendering service in the army and elsewhere should think of the consequences of their actions. A Hadis of Bukhari says: "He who raises his weapon against us Moslems, is not one of us." Says the Sura-e-Nisa in the Qurán:—"Eternal hell is the punishment for him who has knowingly slain a Musalman and the wrath and curse of God will be upon him alone and severe punishment has been prepared for them." Will they ponder on this matter whose money has contributed to the utter destruction of Moslem families by gun fire, and to the reduction of many Moslem women and children into widows and orphans and whose swords have slain thousands of Musalmans in the field of battle?

Indians must help Kemal Pasha.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 27th Oct.

53. "If France is prepared to support Turkish claims to Thrace and Smyrna and if Italy is not opposed to the same, we ask who it is that stands in the way of a just reparation to Turkey for the wrongs done to her under the iniquitous Treaty of Sevres. Indian Muslims have been hearing all along that though His Majesty's Government may be ready to do justice to Turkey, there are other 'Allies' whose wishes have to be consulted. Who are these Allies apart from the French and the Italians? Do British statesmen believe that the Muslims, especially the Indian Muslims, are so thick-headed that they cannot see through the diplomatic camouflage?....... It may also be noted that His Majesty's Government are unable to guarantee that they will not lend their support to the Greek Ministers to raise a loan in London to fight the Turkish Nationalists. And yet Great Britain is the 'greatest Muslim Power on earth'! What is Lord Reading doing?....... If realising the truth about the Indian feeling in regard to the Treaty of Sevres, Lord Reading really feels himself unable to do anything except Chelmsford-wise to give utterance to platitudinous sympathy, surrender himself to his entourage and his provincial satraps and embark on a campaign of repression—well, then, it will be apparent that the Indian people have been nourishing a delusion in expecting from him the statesmanship that the occasion demands. That statesmanship can only be displayed by one who is great enough to realise the inwardness of the situation and foresee that for the British Empire the conciliation of Muslims is the greatest problem of the moment and that that Empire is not worth ten years' purchase if the problem is not solved satisfactorily. Lord Reading has still the opportunity to show that he possesses the authentic spark of statesmanship that may illumine the path for him. Meanwhile, the duty of Indians, especially Muslims, is clear. If Britain refuses to move and call upon Greece to evacuate Asia Minor and Thrace, the only way to secure that evacuation is through victory to the arms of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal. The only way in which India can help Kemal Pasha to be victorious is to supply him with the most needed sinews of war—money. British 'statesmen' will not give the assurance that any attempt of the Greek Ministers to raise a loan in London would not be sanctioned. The refusal bears an obvious interpretation. What will be the answer of India? She must help Angora with money—by way of loan or gift; for Kemal Pasha is fighting not only for Islam, but for Asia. His victory means the emancipation of Asia. And the emancipation of Asia means the peace of the world."

Comments on the amicable relations between the French and the Turks.

Nusrat (new), 28th Oct

54. Commenting on the reported agreement between France and Turkey, the *Nusrat* says that since the conclusion of war, the French attitude towards the Turks has not been inimical at all. It hopes that the recent agreement arrived at between the French Government and the Kemalists will prove to be the beginning of French friendship, and thinks that there is every hope that France will henceforth take greater interest in bringing about the Greco-Turkish settlement. The paper expresses its surprise at the indifference and animosity of the British Government although it claims to be the greatest Muslim power. It is at a loss to understand why Mr. Lloyd George is so well-disposed to the Greeks. The paper remarks that some people attribute this unfriendly sattitude to the ill-luck of the

Muhammadans but there are others who take it as the beginning of the fall of the British world-power, inasmuch as the anti-Islamic policy of Mr. Lloyd George has turned the Muslim world against Great Britain.

Nusrat (new), 25th Oct.

55. The *Nusrat* is jubilant over the news of a defensive alliance having been recently concluded between Persia and Afghanistan. The paper says that the need of such an alliance was felt for a long time past so that the Islamic powers might not be trodden any longer under the feet of Europe. It laments over the extinction of the Khilafat and adds that most of the Islamic powers have one by one fallen a prey to the so-called march of "civilisation". It remarks that the alliance has created hopes of recovery of the sick Muslim world. The paper prays that the alliance may be of a permanent nature and suggests that all the remaining Muslim States, Anatolia, Azarbaijan, Kurdistan, Turkistan, Bokhara, Arabia, Mesopotamia and the rest, should also join the alliance. The paper predicts that as soon as this is done no European domination, however strong, would be able to harm Islam. It accuses the present ministry of England of breaches of faith towards Musalmans and adds that it is on account of such things that every Muslim has begun to hate England. In conclusion, it warns the Musalmans to become united as otherwise the territorial greed of Europe will bring about their total annihilation.

EDUCATION.

Alleged retrograde policy of the Educational Department under the new reforms.

Praja Bandhu (27), 23rd Oct.

56. It is now a year and a half since the Education Department was placed under a Minister. But how has education progressed under him? He has begun to reduce training schools! The training school in Sind has been closed and orders have been issued for the closing of other similar schools in the Presidency from the 1st December next. Will not trained teachers be required when primary education is made free and compulsory? Does not the closing of the training schools support the supposition that the want of trained teachers will be advanced as an argument against carrying out the scheme of free and compulsory primary education? Mr. Paranjpye at the time of assuming office declared that he would resign if he did not approve of the policy of the Education Department. Should we then suppose that he approves of the present policy of that Department?

MUNICIPALITIES.

District Municipal Act should be amended to make primary education compulsory in all Municipal areas.

Jágaruk (44), 19th Oct.

57. The *Jágaruk* regrets that there is no hope of compulsory primary education being provided for in the next Budget and suggests that instead of wasting time in awaiting the Compulsory Education Committee's report, the Minister for Education would do well to effect immediate amendments in the District Municipal Act, compelling all municipalities to adopt compulsory education in their respective areas. If the question of the introduction of compulsory education in villages be dependent upon the Committee's recommendations, it says, then the Minister should at least start opening new village schools wherever they may be necessary. It deplores Government's inaction in this connection last year and demands that this year at least two thousand new schools should be opened in villages with a population of five hundered and over. The paper also draws attention of the Minister to the anomalous condition prevailing in many of the village schools in the Sátára District in matters of room, number of teachers, etc., and hopes he will take steps to remedy them.

NATIVE STATES.

The Chief of Bhor should cancel his orders against the holding of public meetings in his State.

Kesari (110), 25th Oct.

58. The *Kesari* says that the Chief of Bhor's prosecution of Messrs Kelkar, Kothari and others had produced such unfavourable impression at Wai (Satara) that when he recently visited the place not only was his offer to feed the local Brahmans rejected by them, but no barber could be found in the town to shave him, and that even the local Mamlatdar was unable to do anything to stop this social boycott of the Chief. It understands that the people in the State are anxiously waiting for the outcome of the prosecution and that if the Chief's orders against holding of public meetings in the State are not soon done away with they mean to hold meetings in contravention of them and take the consequences. It, therefore, appeals to the Chief to recall the mischievous orders, and thus avoid a crisis.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 5th November 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry on the working of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore 15
Comments on the Government Communique on the strictures of Mr. Gandhi on the Kuki expedition 12
Comments on the *Labour Gazette* published by the Labour Office, Bombay 17
Comments on the Mulshi Peta struggle between the Tatas and the Mavlas 11
Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office . 22
Comments on the reported treaty between Persia and Afghanistan . 21
Egypt should be given perfect independence 20
England's attitude towards Egyptian independence 19
Fiscal and Commercial grievances of India 13
India should be called a Dominion and not a Dependency . . . 18
Protest against the rumoured cession of Berar to His Exalted Highness the Nizam . . . . 8—10
Protest against the treatment of political prisoners in Indian jails . 23—25
The constitutional position of the Governor of a Province . . . 7
The financial position of India 14
The work done by the Bombay Labour Office 16

Co-operative Credit: Comments on the Government Scheme to co-ordinate the work of the Agricultural Department and — Societies . . . 57

Development of Bombay: Comments on the public meeting at the Bombay Town Hall in connection with the Development Department . . 55

Excise: Complaint that the promised — Committee has not yet been appointed 58

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's visit to India. . . . . 1—6

Judicial matters:

Comments on the acquittal of Private Chaffe by the Punjab High Court . . . . 42 & 43
Comments on the judgment in the Dhárwár shooting case 40
Comments on the judgment in the Karachi trial . . . . . 26—39
Comments on the judgment in the Malegaon riot case 41

Paragraphs

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation :

Alleged failure of the movement for boycott of foreign cloth . . . 54

Comments on the Government resolution on non-co-operating municipalities . . . . 49 & 50

Contrast between the British Government's attitude towards the Sinn Feiners and the Government of India's attitude towards non-co-operators 44

Exhortation to enlightened and patriotic Indians to shun the new Councils 51

Object of Government in prosecuting the Ali Brothers has failed . . 45—47

Reflections on the Diwali . . . . 52 & 53

Why non-co-operators must go to jail 48

Public Service : Who should succeed Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoolla as Member of Council 56

MUNICIPALTIES—

Necessity of improving the drainage of Lonavla (Poona) . . . 59

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's visit to India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 31st Oct.

1. "To what deplorable extent Mr. Srinivas Sastri has lost touch with the realities of the situation in India during the few months he has been away from this country is revealed in the letter he has contributed to the *Times* on the subject of the Prince of Wales's visit......... We cannot believe that Mr. Sastri wishes deliberately to throw dust into the eyes of the ignorant by misrepresenting the true feelings of the Indian people in respect of the Prince's visit. We prefer to take the more charitable view—though an eminent 'Co-operator' has not hesitated in private conversation to condemn Mr. Sastri's letter as positively dishonest—and assume that Mr. Sastri is ignorant of the deep indignation which the unwelcome visit of the Prince at this juncture is raising in the hearts of all Indians with the exception of a microscopic minority....... Mr. Sastri himself is doing a disservice to the British public, not to speak of the disservice to his own country, by concealing the truth about India from them. He is lulling them into a false belief that India is bubbling over with enthusiasm over the projected royal visit. If the people of this country are really anxious to honour the Prince and participate in the rejoicings over the visit, why is the Prince not allowed to passs through the really Indian quarters of a city like Bombay ? If the Prince is anxious to meet the 'people of Bombay', why is he to be forced to be driven through comparatively uninhabitated and unfrequented roads like the Esplande, Hornby and Queens Roads, and the crowded localities like Kalbadevi, Girgaum Mandvi, Bhuleshwar, Bhendi Bazar and so on kept at arm's length ? The bureaucracy is out to hoodwink both the Prince and the British public. Mr. Sastri shuts his eyes to such trickeries and wishes us to believe that the Prince is coming to fraternise with his 'Loyal subjects'! The people of India refuse to countenance such a patent fraud on the entire world. Yes, as Mr. Sastri says, there is only duty ahead of them ; and it is to boycott all functions connected with the Prince's tour and thus to prevent the success of the sinister efforts to mislead the world ; Indians will do their duty to themselves and they cannot be false to the Prince."

Mahrátta (6), 6th Nov.

*2. "The Prince of Wales is reported to have sailed for India and will be here in a few days. The Indian National Congress had declared its view on the question a year before and the All-India Congress Committee has asked people to observe *hartal* on the day of his visit. We need not say that there is absolutely no personal quarrel with the Prince as such and there need be no mistake made about it. In spite of the Viceroy, we believe that he comes here as the guest of the bureaucracy in India—India never sent its invitation—and that bureaucracy has been a party to the oppression and humiliation of India in the matter of the Punjab and the Khilafat. Surely he will be used for their rehabilitation. And for this reason, India cannot give him a hearty welcome. We repeat what the *Modern Review* wrote regarding the Duke's visit: 'Any Indian who understands in what capacity the Duke (in the present case the Prince) has come to India and who loves and respects his country, will certainly have nothing to do with the Duke's visit. Such a man will shun processions, darbars, illuminations and all that sort of thing. We have been insulted beyond measure, we have been subjected to inhuman oppression. We are, therefore, in mourning. It would be cowardly, servile, sinful hypocrisy for us to wear gala dress and go out as merry-makers and decorate and illuminate our houses'."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Nov.

3. "The Indian people are willing, nay eager, to welcome the Prince of Wales with open arms, if he comes to India after the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs are righted and their country's demand for *swaráj* is met to their satisfaction by arrangement with Britain. They entertain nothing but the deepest feelings of respect for the Prince himself as for his august father, but they love their honour too much to let the bureaucracy mislead the world as to their real feelings by exploiting the Prince's visit for its own ends, that is, for perpetuating the present system of administration that is out of touch with them and has lost their confidence.

Their quarrel is not with the Prince but with this system....... 'Any injury or insult to the Prince by us will be a greater wrong done by us to Islam or India than any the English have done '. These words of Mahatma Gandhi are as unequivocal as they are eloquent. In fact in boycotting all functions in connection with the Prince's visit the Indian people will be honouring the Prince the more. His visit despite protestations to the contrary is meant to create the illusion in the mind of people outside India and especially the British people that all's well with India, that her people are satisfied with the present policy of the Government of India and the British Government. The Indian people regard it as a duty they owe to their country to protest against this propaganda of deception. And they have no doubt the Prince will fully appreciate their attitude, and as he loves his own country, he will respect the feelings of those who place the honour of their country above everything else. But it is not yet too late for the Prince's visit to be made an occasion of universal rejoicing throughout the country. Lord Reading has but openly to make the cause of Turkey the cause of his own Government and to make it a point of honour between himself and Mr. Lloyd George's Government, to undo the Punjab wrong and to enter into negotiations with the Congress for the settlement of the demand for *swaráj*. Will Lord Reading rise to the occasion ? Or is this hope of a desperate kind ? "

New Times (7), 3rd Nov.

4. " The Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew, Pir Mujadid of Sind and two other learned Muslim divines are in jail and are receiving the treatment of ordinary convicts. The feeling in Karachi is strong. The way to express it is not to lose self-control but to carry out the *swadeshi* programme and to boycott the Prince's visit. Much yet needs to be done to sustain to success the *swadeshi* campaign in Sind. And we should, in a disciplined way, boycott the Prince's visit. It should be made clear to the masses that there is to be absolutely no ill-will against the person of His Royal Highness. Nor must there be any thought of boycotting the gentlemen who may for one reason or another associate themselves with any of the functions which the bureaucracy may organise in connection with the Prince's visit. Will the Karachi Municipality respect popular sentiment and reject the motion for an address to the Prince ? The last meeting of the Corporation showed clearly the view of the people of Karachi on the subject....... That there is an overwhelming popular opposition to the Prince's visit was, with commendable frankness, stated by the President himself....... Karachi must not forget the examples set by the Lahore and Poona municipalities,—both having refused to vote an address to the Prince. Again, would it be a pleasant situation, from the Municipal point of view, if the ddress is asigned by about 40 members and not by all ? "

Hindusthán (20), 2nd Nov.; *Bombay Samáchár* (56), 5th Nov.;
Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 2nd Nov.

5. The *Hindusthán* declares that India has made up its mind to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales so that when he returns home he might use his influence to get the wrongs of the Indians righted and expose the faults of the bureaucracy. The paper points out the futility of the suggestion made by Mr. Sastri in the *Times* that Indians should join in according a hearty welcome to the Prince. [The *Bombay Samáchár*, on the other hand, refers to the growing desire on the part of the Indian people to welcome the Prince of Wales. This desire, according to the paper, has been stimulated by the efforts of the non-co-operators to boycott the visit and the pronouncements made by the Prince at Gibraltar and Malta. The paper feels sure that the hit made by the Prince at the Colonies that do not recognise the rights of Indians as British citizens in his speech at Malta will not fail to make an impression on the Indian people and that they will now ask the non-co-operators in the words of the Prince used in opening the parliament of Malta whether they are not prepared to accept the trusteeship of the people in the interests of the future generations. The paper concludes with the hope that the visit of the Prince will succeed in impressing upon the non-co-operators the advisability of making the reforms a success. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* also remarks that inspite of the discourteous attitude of the non-co-operators towards the Prince of Wales and the clamour of the non-co-operationist organs, the heart of the Indian people is sound, as is shown by the fact that the inhabitants of all those places which he is to visit are eager to give His Royal Highness a fitting welcome. In the opinion of the paper, the non-co-operators have destroyed the national unity which is necessary for winning freedom for the country and adds that people have now been able to see through the hollowness of the movement of non-violent-non-co-operation.]

Lokamánya (114), 30th Oct.

6. A correspondent writes in the *Lokamánya* :--The bureaucracy has done harm to the famine-stricken people of India by proposing to spend huge sums of money on the welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It is making a great mistake if it thinks that it can atone for its innumerable sins by incurring this heavy expenditure. The bureaucracy whose motto is "Divide and rule" proposes to erect a memorial to Shivaji. This memorial is a bait and although the Moderates and the sycophants have taken it, the common people will not be taken in by such devices. If the bureaucracy really wants to atone for its sins it can do so by giving *swarájya* to India and not by erecting a memorial to Shivaji. How can the people who destroy the *raj* of Shivaji fittingly raise a memorial to him? For them to do so is to add to the humiliation of the people. The idea of the memorial is conceived with the object of creating divisions among the people. Otherwise this sudden solicitude for the memory of Shivaji on the part of the bureaucracy which had hitherto smelt sedition in Shivaji celebrations becomes inexplicable. But people can now see through the bureaucracy's cunning and they have, therefore, no sympathy with the object. Even the holy water of the Ganges must be rejected when it is offered in an unclean vessel! [The writer then says, that if the bureaucracy really wants to raise a lasting memorial to Shivaji it should restore his *gadi* at Sátára as it existed prior to 1848, should see that the Mavlas are not deprived of their lands in the Mulshi Peta, should prohibit cow-killing, should release political prisoners, should give *swarájya* to India, etc, etc.]

The constitutional position of the Governor of a Province.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Nov.

7. "The following from a correspondent is worthy of consideration :—'In the last sessions of the Bombay Legislative Council, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar as its President gave a ruling which, if its implications had been properly appreciated, would never have failed to evoke strong protests from the people's representatives. It was given in the course of the debate on the Government demand for a supplementary grant of Rs. 85 lakhs for operations connected with Bombay development. The scheme of the development of Bombay being the child of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, his name naturally figured prominently in the various criticisms which the non-official members felt bound to make. In the opinion of the President any mention of His Excellency's name was against parliamentary practice and as such must be avoided. He added by way of explanation that as His Excellency was a representaitive of His Majesty, whom it was the English practice to regard as above politics, he (Sir Narayan) had no hesitation in following the Speaker's example in disallowing any futher reference to His Excellency....... Sir Narayan seems to suppose that the Governor's position is analogous to that of His Majesty in England. It is, however, a mistake to think so. Not only is the Governor not a diminutive replica of the King, but there appears to be little in common between the functions of both. If the Governorship is the Indian counterpart of any office in England, it is that of the Prime Minister, and not of the King. He should, therefore, be no more beyond public criticism than the Prime Minister. Like the latter the Governor also has some State departments directly under his charge. As is well-known, Sir George Lloyd is responsible for the administration of the Political and Foreign departments and his identification with the development of Bombay involving an expenditure of crores upon crores of the taxpayer's money is so complete that he cannot possibly escape criticism at the hands of the public for some obviously objectionable doings of the Bombay Development Directorate. The President's attempt thus to screen him from public censure on the ground of his being above politics is thoroughly unjustifiable and is sure to be looked upon by the members of the Legislative Council as constituting a serious encroachment on their rights and privileges as

the accredited custodians of public interests. It is to be hoped that the non-official members of the local legislature will take prompt measures to bring home to the proper quarters the mistaken notion as to the Governor's constitutional position, which forms the basis of the President's ruling in question.'"

Protest against the rumoured cession of Berar to His Exalted Highness the Nizam.

Sind Observer (9), 3rd Nov.

8. "'We learn from an esteemed correspondent', writes a contemporary, 'that the approaching visit of the Prince of Wales is likely to be signalised by the cession of the Berars to His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government'. It is further stated that the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit to Hyderabad (Deccan) might be taken to announce that decision. No words, we are sure, will be considered too strong to characterise this most objectionable proceeding on the part of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, and it is to be ardently hoped that the apprehended transaction will not materialise. But unfortunately the Government of India is not unaccustomed to making such territorial changes ......Of the justice. from the legal point of view, of the claims of the Nizam for the Berars, there is not the least doubt. But in the administration of provinces and the government of men, there are many essential points to be considered other than strictly legal justice which, in a case like the present, cannot be the main consideration. Have the people of the Berars been consulted on this question of the transfer? Should they or should they not be consulted? Are they mere chattel to be transferred from owner to owner, keeper to keeper? Or are they individuals with the rights of men—with the right to choose the rulers they want and the sort of administration they require?......It would be the nadir of political and moral degradation on the part of the Government to announce their rumoured decision through the mouth of the Prince of Wales when he goes to Hyderabad. The bureaucracy has a clever knack of getting things of this sort done for it by some Royal personage. But that won't do this time, for we are not going to accept 'settled facts' thrust upon us without our consent....... We desire to know what exactly is the object of the Government of India in agreeing to the threatened transfer, if they have agreed at all. Is it due to a belated pricking of the conscience? Or is there anything hidden, which more than meets the eye?"

Servant of India (8), 3rd Nov.

9. "The rumour that the Berars will be restored to Hyderabad is gathering strength and there is reason to believe that it is well-founded. If the population affected have no objection we do not propose to enter a protest, however repugnant such a measure may appear to the conscience of the country at large. But it is a matter which should be left entirely to the wishes of the people. The world is now too advanced, particularly after so much blood has been shed in the name of self-determination, for a population to be handed over from one Government to another as if they were only a herd of cattle. The people of the Berars should, therefore, lose no time in expressing their wishes in the matter. It is to be hoped that under no circumstances will His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales be made the mouthpiece for a declaration on this subject as it is one which is sure to stir the feelings of the country deeply."

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 3rd Nov.

10. The *Dnyán Prakásh* strongly condemns the rumoured proposal to restore Berar on the occasion of the Prince's visit to His Exalted Highness the Nizam and points out that British administration in spite of its various shortcomings, is in many respects better than the autocratic rule of Indian Chiefs. The paper hopes that the proposal will be abandoned in view of the serious discontent it is likely to give rise to among the people.

Comments on the Mulshi Peta struggle between the Tatas and the Mavlas.

Servant of India (8), 3rd Nov.

11. "It is feared that the Mulshi Peta trouble will begin again this week. In this affair it is difficult to support the position of either party in its entirety. That it is a public purpose (we are not using here a legal phrase) for which the lands are being acquired no fair-minded person can deny; and for that reason we cannot lend our moral support to the contention of the owners, that on no account will they part with their lands. Unable to go with them the whole length, we, however, deeply sympathise with them in their many just complaints against the Bombay Government which, we must say, have not been sufficently considerate to these expropriated persons. To dismiss them with a small money compensation, which anyone with a sympathetic imagination will perceive will be squandered away by them, if they are not again settled on suitable land in a different locality, is not only unjust but inhuman. The Government are behaving altogether in a cavalier fashion in this matter and are guilty, according to popular belief, of barefaced partiality for a commercial concern. We do not believe that the failure on the part of Government to show tender regard to the feelings and interests of the Mulshi Peta people is owing to a desire to help the Tatas, but the suspicion cannot be entirely dispelled until the State takes over the whole business itself and conducts it under the control of the legislature. Such a measure is to be warmly commended on other grounds also. It will perhaps not provide an immediate escape out of the *impasse* that has arisen, for the *satyagraha* may still continue; but in that case the world will know that right is on the side of Government instead of the *satyagrahis*. As matters stand, however, the Government will lack the moral force which is needed to beat down the *satyagraha* movement."

Comments on the Government Communique on the strictures of Mr. Gandhi on the Kuki expedition.

Young India (11), 3rd Nov.

12. Mr. M. K. Gandhi wrties:—"A friend has sent me a Government Communiqué on my reference to the Kukis during my Assam tour. I am sorry I did not see the note for many days after its publication. But even as it is, I am unable to withdraw anything I have written. My informants told me that true facts were hushed up. Who would have known anything of the diabolical acts of the Punjab Government during the Martial Law days but for the Congress inquiry? What did the public know of the cruelties practised by the military during the revolt of 1857 till Kaye and Malleson lifted the veil? Who knows the true facts of many an expedition undertaken to punish our neighbours from time to time? I am in a position to say that even now the public do not know much if anything at all of the fiendish cruelties practised in the Punjab during the dark recruiting days. I have evidence in my possession which was submitted to the Punjab Government which I have withheld from the public because I was not able for want of time to follow up the details that came to light. I have seen enough of denials that cannot possibly be denied in an authentic manner. I have, therefore, deliberately preferred the evidence of the most respectable men of Assam to the authoritative but interested statement on behalf of the Government. I am reluctantly obliged to adhere to the note on the Kukis contradicted by the local Government. A *Statesman* correspondent paints the Kukis in the blackest colours. I do not know the tribesmen. I hold no brief for them. They may be worse than they are painted. But if I was an officer in command of a punitive expedition, I would not be guilty of the atrocities that were attributed to the expedition by by my informants."

Fiscal and Commercial grievances of India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Nov.

13. "An emphatic protest has just been made by the Indian Merchants' Chamber against the indifference with which the Government have treated the past representations of this body. The list of complaints made to the Finance Department or to the Industries and Commerce Department is a long one; but in very rare instances have those remonstrances or complaints been satisfactorily dealt with. Lord Reading has come out to this country with too many plaudits, too high a reputation, too great expectations for us not to feel serious anxiety owing to the comparative *status quo* he has maintained so far. Higher reputations than Lord Reading's must vanish before the storm that his predecessor in office had aroused. Almost the first act of the Reading regimé in the financial sphere, was the 7 per cent. sterling loan—as unblushing a loot as was ever perpetrated upon this country. The ramedies suggested by the Indian Merchants' Chamber for the indifference or neglect shown to their representations are, in the circumstances, not the only effective assurances we can obtain. The appointment of one or two *Indians* may or may not bring that sympathy in the affairs of our Government which is to-day entirely lacking. But it will not offer the radical and only cure for these evils which a complete responsibility of the Executive to the representatives of the people will provide. Particularly in the Finance Department unless the Member in charge can command the support of the majority in the legislature,—unless we compel important financial questions to be disposed of only on the vote of the majority in the Legislature, there will be no security that the scandes like those of Reverse Councils and the 7 per cent. sterling loan will not be repeated. We are, therefore, under no illusions in regard to the appointment of Indians to such high posts. All we expect is that by disillusioning themselves on incontestable proofs in regard to their ability to do any good with the existing machinery of Government, our Moderate friends will learn the lesson of national solidarity in our struggle for *swarâj* and help to consolidate all forces to achieve the common goal."

The financial position of India.

Gujaráti (14), 6th Nov.

*14. The *Gujaráti* estimates that there will be a deficit of five to six crores in the Indian Budget at the end of the current financial year and speculates as to what steps should be taken to meet this deficit. In the opinion of the paper no improvement in the financial position of India can be expected unless the military expenditure is reduced, and unless steps are taken to purchase military stores and Railway material in this country and factories are opened in this country for manufacturing them. The paper expresses great indignation at the cruel manner in which India's money is being looted under the present system of purchasing stores in England, whose sole object is to benefit English manufacturers and English labourers. The paper warns Government that evil consequences will result if they try to increase the burden of taxation or issue more paper currency or float new loans without trying to put a stop to the looting of India's money that is going on at present. It also declares that in the last resort members of the councils will have unanimously to refuse to vote grants for Military, Railway and other expenditure.

Comments on the appointment of a Committee of Inquiry on the working of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 6th Nov.

*15. "We are glad that the Government of India have decided to appoint a Committee of Enquiry to examine the working of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore during the last ten years, and to make recommendations for its management and future policy and the lines on which the Institute should be developed. But we do not see the need of obtaining the services of Sir William Pope from Cambridge to preside over the Committee. There are two or three Indians one of whom can guide its proceedings far more effectively than any one from an English University, and it is high time, after our experience of English Universities and the British Medical Association, that we stood on our own feet and gave up hanging on to the coat tails of English educationists who do not understand our problems and who suggest reforms which inevitably lay the foundations of another similar enquiry in a year or two. The Chairman of the Committee need not be a scientist but he must have a large outlook on the country's scientific needs. We do not wish to imitate the prevailing method of making recommendations insidiously or bluntly for a post. Mr. Shafi knows where to look for the right Indian, if he can divest himself of the hoary superstition that an English educationist alone is competent to preside over such a Committee of Enquiry. We hope it will be a strong Committee and not made up of nominees of this or that complexion in Indian politics, as Committees nowadays appointed by the Government of India have a tendency to be. A good party politician is not necessarily the best man to sit on Committees which deal with subjects demanding study and application."

The work done by the Bombay Labour Office.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 3rd Nov.

16. The *Bombay Samáchár* refers to the good work of compiling useful statistics and workmen's daily budget done by the Labour Office and expresses the hope that the information collected by the office will serve a very good purpose in settling disputes between capital and labour in this Presidency. The paper considers the grant of seventy-five thousand sanctioned in the budget for the expenses of the office as quite inadequate for its requirements and hopes that the Legislative Council will recognise its importance and supply it with ample funds in future and refrain from the folly of starving it.

Comments on the *Labour Gazettte* published by the Labour Office, Bombay.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 6th Nov.

***17.** "We have received the October number of the *Labour Gazette*, published monthly by the Labour Office, Secretariat, Bombay. A section of public opinion seems to regard this enterprise as a useless waste of money, but we think that the *Gazette* has a place to fill among our periodicals, though we cannot say that it can do so unless it is something more than the scrappy, gumpot-and-scissors affair that it is. The *Gazette* at present seems to be without a central idea to give unity and purpose to its contents. This is a defect which is inevitable in all official periodicals, and the *Gazette* can never be wholly free from it. The absence of any reference to the *charkha* and *khaddar* movement in this or the last issue, is inexcusable in a *Labour Gazette*. We do not mean that the editor should have tilted at the non-co-operation movement, but he could surely have placed before his readers a review of the position of the hand-spinning and weaving industry in the country, its relation to the mill industry and to the import trade in cloth, the progress made by it so far as it can be ascertained, and the progress it will have to make for it to supplant the mills and foreign cloth. There is a large marginal section of the public which can be influenced by a reasoned exposition of facts, and the reason for the existence of the Labour Department, as explained by His Excellency the Governor in the last number, is to make a constant supply of reliable facts continuously available to this, which in the last resort is the deciding, section of the public. An exposition of the satistics of prices two months old is of scientific as well as of antiquarian but not of current interest. And that, too, is done entirely without reference to wages, whereas the exhibition of prices and wages in relation to each other is necessary to make the matter of interest to Labour. The Editor's short 'Month in brief' does not require a special Gazette to find publication."

India should be called a Dominion and not a Dependency.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 2nd Nov.

18. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that Lord Curzon has shown great tact in calling India "a great Dominion" in the last debate in the House of Lords. The paper requests the Government of India to take immediate measures to introduce the word "Dominion" instead of "Dependency" in all legal enactments pertaining to India and other political documents. It also asks the Government of India to request His Majesty's Government to change the designation of His Majesty the King in such a way that the Dominions may be effectively apprised of the changed status of India. It trusts that Lord Reading's Government will seriously consider this question and use all its influence with His Majesty's Government to make this change soon.

England's attitude towards Egyptian independence.

Nusrat (new), 30th and 31st Oct.

19. Writing on the British policy with regard to Egyptian independence, the *Nusrat* remarks that Egypt was a Turkish possession before the war, but during the war she was instigated to raise the standard of rebellion by means of false promises of independence, and adds that she must have realised by now that after severing her relations with the Khalif of Islam she has fallen into the net of British power. The paper thinks that the Indians and specially the Musalmans of India will feel jubilant over the grant of independence to Egypt, but declares that England is not entitled to tackle with the problem of Egyptian independence in any way inasmuch as Egypt has never recognised the British protectorate over herself. It doubts the sincerity of the proclamation about independence, and says that many a time similar declarations have been published, but every time new interpretations have been put on them. The paper lays emphasis on the point that independence has been recognised only "in principle" and wants to know how long Egypt will have to wait before it is recognised "in practice". It concludes by saying that the only true leader of Egypt is Zaghlul Pasha, and it fears that Adly Pasha will prove false to the country. [In its issue of the 31st October the paper reverts to the question of Egyptian Independence and reviews the conditions incorporated in the agreement. It doubts the sincerity of British intentions in depriving Egypt of Alexandria and guarding the defences of the Suez Canal. The paper opines that Egypt cannot be said to have enjoyed independence so long as she is not the mistress of her own finances and free to enter into foreign relations. It considers the agreement to be unjust and an attack on Egyptian liberty.]

Egypt should be given perfect independence.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 4th Nov.

20. The *Bombay Samáchár* discusses the conditions under which independence is to be given to Egypt and opines that she will not get even a shadow of independence by the proposed terms, some of which would reduce her status even below that of the Colonies. The paper asks England to give up her policy of suspicion and adopt that of confidence in her dealings with Egypt especially at the time when Persia and Afghanistan have gone under the influence of the Bolshevists.

Comments on the reported treaty between Persia and Afghanistan.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 31st Oct.

21. Commenting upon the agreements entered into by Persia and Afghanistan with the Bolshevists, the *Bombay Samáchár* remarks :—British diplomacy has failed in Persia and Afghanistan. No better result can be expected so long as Lord Curzon is at the head of the British Foreign Office. There is no doubt that Persia and Afghanistan would repose greater trust in England than in the Bolshevists who are regarded as treacherous if she were to adopt a more liberal policy towards them. Times have changed and the atmosphere has also changed after the war and this has affected the people of Persia and Afghanistan. Hence they should be treated more liberally by giving up the greed of acquiring more territory. Persia and Afghanistan have not stopped at this but have entered into an agreement between themselves. Afghanistan has long since entered into an agreement with the Kemalist Government and has even sent a small army to its help. This shows that Muhammadan nations and states of the world sympathise with Turkey. Afghanistan has no fear of an attack from India, but it can be conjectured from the agreement entered into between her and Persia that if Afghanistan did not enter into an agreement with the British Government there would be a danger of an attack upon her from India. The power of the Bolshevists is increasing day by day in Central Asia and although they are losing ground in Russia on account of famine, yet from the evidence published by the Government of India we have come to know that their object is to place the British Government in India in difficultty by intriguing through Afghanistan. It is also probable that Afghanistan has entered into a new agreement with Persia because she doubts the intentions of her new friend.

Comments on the proposed transfer of Aden to the Colonial Office.

Insáf (66), 28th Oct.

22. The question of transferring Aden to the Colonial Office is being hotly discussed at present by the Cabinet. Those who discuss this question should know that it forms a part of the sacred soil of the Jazirat-ul-Arab and hence it should neither be under the control of, nor should its mandate be handed over to, a non-Muslim power. When India is making tremendous attempts to secure the independence of the Jazirat-ul-Arab and the Muhammadans of the whole world are waging a terrible war in order to recover every inch of it from a non-Muslim power, how can India keep up its control over Aden? It will be a stain upon her if she were to do so. The question now arises where is the India that has control over Aden? We have no control over our own country. Aden is owned by those who spread slavery through every nook and corner of the world and whose chains of slavery surround the whole of India. How are we concerned whether Aden remians under the control of the Government of India or the Imperial Government?

Protest against the treatment of political prisoners in Indian jails.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 4th Nov.

23. "There are few countries in the world where the treatment meted out to prisoners is more brutal and inhuman than India....... Colonel Wedgwood condemned the penal settlement at the Andamans as a veritable 'hell on earth'. The jails in India are, in many respects, miniature Andamans. In regard to the treatment of political prisoners specially, the record of Indian Jails is of a character that offends against every cannon of justice and humanity, not to speak of the practice obtaining in civilised countries....... The news of the manner in which Dr. Kitchlew has raised his protest against the treatment accorded to him will, we have no doubt, cause a wave of indignation to spread throughout the country and will rally the conscience of the entire nation. Dr. Kitchlew carries in his frail body a spirit that is as indomitable as it is one of the noblest that ever resided in human form. And a protest coming from a spirit such as his will not be in vain. The leaders who have been imprisoned in Karáchi jail are not criminals, though they have been declared by a court as having violated the law of the land. The country's verdict is that they are innocent. Even the *Bengalee* has been moved to say that the trial has succeeded in taking away the prestige of the Government, that the judiciary has long ceased to be the bulwark against executive highhandedness, as it once was, and that recently it has become only a hand-maid of the executive. However that may be, the distinguished and respected leaders have been sent to prison on an issue which is the most momentous raised since the days of Christ—and which will change the whole future course of history. It is an outrage against humanity, against justice and against public decency that men such as these, among the noblest of those living, should be treated, in prison, as common felons because they followed the dictates of their conscience, believing that in doing so they obeyed a higher law than that of man. Is Lord Reading going to tolerate such an outrage? Is he going to regard it as being not repugnant to his justice of which we have heard *ad nauseam*, but whose manifestations we have not yet seen? And where are our 'Liberals' and 'Co-operators'? They have been telling us that the Government in the country is now a Government by Indians. Do they not feel, as an Indian must feel, that treatment such as that given to the leaders in the Karáchi jail—men whose only crime is that they put their religion higher than every thing else—is an insult to their patriotism, not to put in on the higher ground of humanity and justice?...... Men with a more robust sense of their country's self-respect would make the Council Halls ring with an indictment that would make it impossible for any Government to maintain this outrageous treatment for twenty-four hours. Perhaps, they think that non-co-operators should be given no quarter. If so, let the methods to combat the non-co-operators be clean and decent and not such as dishonour the country's name. The treatment given to Mahomed Ali in Karáchi jail ennobles and not humiliates him. It humiliates the scores of Rahimtoolas and Setalvads, Shafis and Saprus. It humiliates the country."

Nusrat(new), 7th Nov.

***24.** The *Nusrat* protests against the humiliating way in which the Ali Brothers, etc., are treated in jail, and regrets that they have been placed on the same footing as ordinary *badmashes* and dacoits. It emphasises the fact that in every country special treatment is given to political offenders although they are looked upon as the deadliest enemies of the government. The paper thinks that the prisoners should have been placed in the European ward and every care bestowed upon them with a view to making them more comfortable. It declares that the way which the trusted leaders are treated in jail shows that the authorities are bankru in foresight and sense of decency.

New Times (7), 3rd Nov.

25. "They talk of the 'new era' of 'Reforms'. But how are even distinguished political prisoners treated? We reported in these columns an account of the interview which Mr. Moazam Ali, Mr. Hayat and others had with the Ali Brothers yesterday in jail. The Ali Brothers were in the clothes of ordinary convicts and they were given jail diet! The bureaucracy are punishing patriotism and religious sentiments as they do theft, murder and arson. The U. P. Government are wisely exercising their discretionery power in the case of political prisoners. What prevents the bureaucracy in Sind and the Presidency from exercising similar powers of discretion with regard to the Ali Brothers and other political prisoners? Lord Reading has repeatedly talked of 'justice'. Is 'justice' only a bureaucratic platitude or at best a luxury of thought? Why should Government subject political prisoners to such offensive disabilities? One thing we may be sure of; nothing which the Government may do can humiliate the political prisoners in the eyes of their countrymen. They suffer for bearing witness to their faith and their labours for *swarāj*; and a Government which treats as felons the men who place their all upon the altar of faith and India is discrediting itself more and more in the Court of Civilization."

Comments on the judgment in the Karachi trial.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Nov.

26. "One conclusion is irresistible to any one who has followed the history of the arrest and prosecution of the 'Illustrious Seven'. And it is this that never before in the history of British rule in this country justice was mocked as in this case from its inception to its end. And the grim irony is that the prosecution was launched with a view to vindicate the majesty of law because the ex-Chief Justice of England was anxious to avoid extra-judicial methods and to let the ordinary law of the land have its course....... The whole trial, as Dr. Kitchlew in his address to the jury showed, was a farce, the proceedings in the lower court being so illegal, irregular and unconstitutional that the Court could not commit or punish the accused. To make the matter worse, the Sessions Court not only did not perform its duty of seeing if the proceedings of the lower court had been legal and regular, but contributed its own share in making the trial a farce by allowing the addition of new charges. But there is no need to labour this point. The issue in the case was a foregone one and the Government of Bombay who, 'with the concurrence of the Government of India', launched the prosecution, had left no doubt about it. In announcing their intention to prosecute the accused they made this appeal to the public: 'Government are confident that all loyal citizens will unite in condemning and combating attempts upon the allegiance of the army.' The appeal was as unfair to the accused as it was undignified and amazing. It is the first principle of criminal law that every man is innocent until he is proved to be guilty. The Government of Bombay had prejudged the case merely because they had decided to prosecute the accused. Who will deny that this appeal was not calculated to prejudice the Courts which tried the accused? How is it possible for any fair-minded person to have any doubt, in view of this appeal which took the guilt of the accused for granted and condemned them before trial, that the conclusion in the case was regarded as a foregone one?...... All the accused, except Shri Shankaracharya, have been convicted of the remaining charges. These are very grave charges. They involved, above all, a question of religion. In any other country but India men thus charged would be tried by a jury of their own peers who were capable of realising the significance of the issues involved. The accused have been found guilty by a jury which consists of not a single Muslim. The main argument of the accused was that they had acted according to their conscience, fully believing that in so acting they obeyed a higher law than that of man. We do not say that in deciding on the validity of such defence in a country which contains non-Muslims as well as Muslims, the jury should be composed entirely of Muslims if the requirements of the principle that a man should be judged by his peers are to be satisfied. But we ask the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England if there should not have been at least a fair proportion of Muslims on the jury and if in his own country he would have regarded the conviction of an Ehglishman in the manner in which the six Muslim leaders have been convicted, as a just one. So much for the verdict and the judgment. As for the policy of the prosecution, Lord Reading, we trust, has learnt by the course which events have taken since the arrest that he could not have been induced to sanction a greater political blunder. Dr. Kitchlew, in addressing the jury, contended that there was no divorce between the element of religion and the Indian Penal Code....... Whatever the merits of Dr. Kitchlew's contention, is there any doubt that the entire Muslim community has regarded the prosecution as an interference with its religion ? Nay, the whole country wholly supports the Muslims and has been strirred to its depths as it never was. Was it politic, we ask, to launch these prosecutions ? It was not only not politic but it was most inopportune. The Turkish situation, thanks to the prowess of the Kemalists, was taking a favourable turn and the Ali Brothers who, as the elder of them told the jury, had struggled, in spite of difficulties of which the Government who are out of touch with the people, have had no idea, to help Mahatma Gandhi in avoiding Ireland in India, would have been Lord Reading's most powerful allies in securing a just settlement of the Khilafat question. Instead Lord Reading without meaning it, chose a course, which though it has entailed imprisonment on the Brothers and their companions, has endeared them to their co-religionists and fellow-countrymen more than ever before, has earned an international repute for them, has helped the cause of Islam and Turkey and of India by drawing the world's attention to it more prominently than any propaganda would have done—and has made history for India, Islam, nay, for the world."

Indian Social Reformer (5), 6th Nov.

***27.** " The offence of which all the accused except Bharati Krishna Tirthaji were found guilty was publishing a statement, *viz.*, that it was unlawful for a Musalman to serve in the British army, which was likely to cause Musalman officers or soldiers to fail in their duty. Moulana Mahomed Ali was also found guilty of abetting an offence by more than ten persons, and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment to run concurrently with the sentence of two years for the other offence. We do not think that a prosecution would have been launched on these minor charges had they stood by themselves and are obliged to conclude that the Government have been ill-advised in undertaking these prosecutions. While the independence of justice has been vindicated by the result, the general opinion of the circumspection of Government has been subjected to a severe strain. Moulana Mahomed Ali pointed out in the course of his statement that, while the resolution of the Karachi Khilafat Conference regarding the declaration of a Republic had been commented upon in many newspapers none had noticed the resolution relating to troops, on which the prosecution was launched. This is true. The fact is that no importance was attached to this resolution which was taken to be merely an impressive admonition to Government to redress the public wrong of which the conference complained. Government have done the right and the wise thing in withdrawing the further charges of sedition against Moulanas Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. They cannot now withdraw the two minor charges on which conviction has been obtained, but they can and should, we think, in consideration of the religious feeling which has somehow got mixed up with the question, and which the Jury very properly felt precluded from considering, exercise generously their power to modify, mitigate and remit the sentence. It will show that, although under legal advice they had no alternative but to start the prosecutions, they do not care for the minor offence when the major counts have been held to be untenable by the highest Court of Justice in the sub-province of Sind. We ought to add that Mr. Kennedy's summing up is a literary and judicial achievement and that under extremely trying conditions not of his own making, he has acquitted himself in a manner worthy of the high traditions of British Justice. The Jury expressly stated that they had not taken the religious convictions of the accused in their verdict which entirely turned upon the facts and the law. The claim of the Moulanas that they should be judged according to the Koranic law is as untenable as would be a claim that a Hindu should be dealt with according to the Code of Manu. The Koranic law evidently makes a deep distinction between Musalmans and non-Musalmans as the Code of Manu does between Aryans and Mlechhas and between Hindus of different castes. Both these ancient Codes—we are speaking of them from the juridical standpoint as distinguished from their scriptural authority—are, therefore, strangers to the equality of all subjects in the eye of the law, which is the corner-stone of modern jurisprudence. When India has full responsible Government, she must abide by this modern principle and she cannot in her penal or civil law recognise distinctions of creed or caste. A plea which raises the presumption that she would or could do otherwise, demands prompt repudiation from those who are most earnest about hastening the advent of *swaráj*."

Nusrat (new), 5th Nov.

28. Commenting on the sentences passed on the accused in the Karachi trial, the *Nusrat* writes that the present occasion is not one for the slightest sorrow because it was a foregone conclusion that some day or other the leaders would be snatched away from the community. The paper predicts that the sentences will kindle fresh enthusiasm in the hearts of all liberty-loving people. It remarks that the Ali Brothers have done their duty and urges others to bestir themselves. The paper feels confident that the sentences will not succeed in suppressing the Khilafat movement, and suggests that a society should be formed on the lines of Mazzini's "Young Italy" so that there might be no dearth of workers willing to take up the places of those who have gone to jail.

Sind Observer (9), 2nd Nov.

29. "The great trial has ended in a triumph for the Alis and their co-accused. We congratulate the country, more than the accused, on the great troubles and risks it has been saved from by this verdict of 'Not guilty' on the major counts. We wonder whether an honest jury could have returned a different verdict and an honest judge could have differed from it; for the alleged criminal conspiracy never existed, and the attempt to seduce His Majesty's troops from their allegiance never made. Never was a State prosecution launched on such imaginary and fictitious grounds, and never was acquittal so well-deserved. It is much to be regretted that the learned Sessions Judge concluded that Khilafat propaganda in all its branches, as it is at present carried on, is criminal work constituting a State offence, and it is fortunate that the jury has declined to take this unreasonable and unsustainable view of the Judge and come to the only proper conclusion, namely, that educative work carried on in broad daylight before the eyes of the public and the police for the attainment of an object considered not only right but even sacred, is not a crime or an offence....... Having disagreed with the learned Judge so far, we think it only proper to state that we find ourselves in entire agreement with him in his refutation, strong and thorough, of the religious argument of Mr. Mahomed Ali, and the vindication of the law of the land over anything else....... We are not living under a theocracy but in an enlightened twentieth century state....... What is the net result of the trial? The Khilafatists have won as great a moral as a political victory, and the ill-advised prosecution—for the stopping of which we pleaded in vain in a series of articles—has failed, if anybody thought it would succeed. The hopes of the Government of India that the 'conspiracy' would stop and the dangerous movement would receive a death sentence by a successful prosecution have been frustrated. Unwittingly the Government have assisted their opponents in the gigantic advertisement of their activities and if the gospel of seduction from loyalty does not reach the soldier in the barracks, as it has reached the man in the street, it will not be their fault."

New Times (7), 2nd Nov.

30. "It was a state trial, second to none, perhaps in its political significance since the British came to India. And the judgment will not be regarded a judicial pronouncement. It reflects the attitude of the administration towards the Khilafat movement. The Khilafat is not simply a Muslim issue; it has become a national issue in India; it is international in significance. In his address to the jury the judge raised a legal issue. But neither Mr. Talati in the lower court nor Mr. Kennedy in the Sessions Court showed enough common sense to understand aright the great political and national significance of the trial. The conviction was a foregone conclusion. How many expect justice in an Indian court when the trial is of a political character? Indeed, the Muslim leaders had prepared themselves for a sentence of transportation for life. The sentence of two years passed on them did not come to some of us as a surprise. But the trial and the judgment have done more to break the prestige of the bureaucracy than the Khilafat agitation itself....... We have always thought that if a state-made law comes in conflict with the will of the people, it is the law that must be modified. Neither justice nor statesmanship requires that you must punish popular leaders for a propaganda which they believe is enjoined on them by their faith. It is on such occasions that one realizes the helplessness of the people under the present state-system. There is talk of 'new era' and 'reforms': but Indians in the Councils are too impotent to modify the 'law' which convicted the leaders yesterday. Every law should have its sanction and moral support in the popular will. What an irony that in India the 'law' should override the people's will ?...... The judgment of Mr. Kennedy will have neither popular nor moral sanction. It makes an opportunist use of Law. It expresses an anti-popular, repressive political policy. It interprets the mind of a bureaucracy that sits heavy upon India in defiance of the great 'law' of Freedom....... The mentality of the convicting judge reflects, as it seems to us, the mentality of the present head of the state-machine in India, and Lord Reading must prove a failure if his mentality refuses to come to terms with the Nation. We seem at present to be arriving at a deadlock in India."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 2nd Nov.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 3rd Nov.; *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* (28), 3rd Nov.

31. The *Sánj Vartamán* comments upon the trial of the Ali Brothers and five others at Karachi and declares that the fear entertained by the people in general that these men would be awarded the severest punishment has not happily come true and considers it a good fortune of the Shankaracharya that he has been acquitted. The paper thinks that the Government of Bombay and the Government of India violated one of the fundamental principles of justice in referring to the accused as guilty persons when they were arrested and opines that it was this attitude of Government that contributed to the popular fear that they would be very severley dealt with. The paper considers it a cause for pride for the Moslems that they should have amongst them such leaders as are prepared to face imprisonment like common felons for the sake of their religion. That the Government should be prepared, it continues, to send such leaders to jail goes to prove that the authorities have failed to realise the depth of Moslem feeling in respect of the Khilafat question and the strength of the Hindu-Moslem unity on the *swaráj* question, and it is of opinion that Government are mistaken in supposing that the conviction of the Moslem leaders will succeed in either frightening the Muhammadans or setting at rest the Khilafat agitation. The paper points out that Government failed to establish and prove the charge of conspiracy against the Ali Brothers and others and that the charge of tampering with the loyalty of the army laid against them could equally be laid against all those who attended the Khilafat Conference at Karachi and all those who re-affirmed the resolution of the Conference at hundreds of meetings in various places in India. The paper declares that Lord Reading has failed to give justice by prosecuting merely the Ali Brothers and their five co-accused and leaving the rest of the people alone. In conclusion the paper exhorts the people to maintain perfect peace and to take the vow of boycotting foreign cloth, and expresses its confidence that the imprisonment of the Ali Brothers will hasten the liberation of India. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the trial of the Ali Brothers and other leaders and remarks that the whole country will be struck with grief at the result of the trial. The paper sympathises with the religious feelings of the accused but opines that in a country with a population believing in many religions, certain religious laws can never dominate over others and adds that if these were enforced there would be discontent, dissatisfaction and disturbances. In conclusion the paper opines that the advise of these leaders to the police and the military to give up service was not at all proper. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the trial of the Ali Brothers and five other leaders and declares that the Judge has shown great farsightedness in agreeing with the opinion of the jury regarding the Shankaracharya. In the opinion of the paper, the course adopted by the judge shows that the belief entertained by some people that the prosecution was launched in order to strike terror was baseless and this can be more easily seen from the punishment meted out to the rest of the accused. Referring to the defence put up by the accused, it remarks that if the interpretation put upon the expression "religious freedom" in the proclamation issued by Queen Victoria be accepted, there will be no order in this country of

many creeds and the principle "might is right" will go on causing disturbances. It thinks that the apparent object of launching the prosecution against these leaders was to defeat their plan of subverting the present Government and that it can be easily seen from the punishment meted out to six of them that Government have not acted in a vindictive spirit.]

Lokamánya (114), 3rd Nov.

32. The *Lokamánya* referring to the two years' sentence passed on the Ali Brothers and three other Muhammadan accused by the Judicial Commissioner declares that every sort of illegality possible was committed in the case by Government as the prosecution of the Brothers had been decided upon before any evidence against them had been collected. In its opinion if the bureaucracy had not already made up its mind to victimise the Brothers, Government would not have sanctioned the prosecution solely on the ground of the Karachi resolution. It declares that an examination of the incidents in the Turco-Greek war would convince anyone that a conspiracy for the incarceration of the Brothers must have been hatched at the time when the Turks seemed to be on the point of being crushed by the Greeks, in order that they may not be able to raise an outcry against the Greeks. But unfortunately for the bureaucracy, the paper says, the tables were completely turned, and the signing of a treaty between the Turks and the French and the execution of agreements among Persia, Afghanistan and Angora have now ensured the safety of these Muhammadan States from the sinful glances of the British. The paper regrets that the Ali Brothers have been sentenced, but at the same time expresses satisfaction that they have gone to prison after their agitation on behalf of the Khilafat has borne practical fruit inasmuch as, in its opinion, it was their agitation in India that prevented England from sending military and naval aid to the Greeks in their campaign against the Turks. The paper also declares that the whole of India will acknowledge her deep obligations to the Ali Brothers for having by their labours created a sentiment of unity between the Hindus and Muhammadans in the country.

Mahrátta (6), 6th Nov.

*33. "So has ended one of the most sensational of State trials in India; and the impression that it leaves on the minds of those earnest students of contemporary history who carefully follow the march of events, is anything but favourable to the continuance of British rule in India. Keeping aside for a moment the verdict that the future generations may pass upon this farce of a trial, it will be worth while to know what good has the Government achieved by launching this prosecution, which could not be justified even by some of the best friends of Government either as a manifestation of policy or a measure of expediency. The Government of Bombay with the concurrence of the Government of India launched this prosecution, and in the Press Communique in which they announced this, an appeal was made to the public that Government were confident that all loyal citizens would unite in condemning and combating attempts upon the allegiance of the army. Such an appeal made from such high quarters could not but be followed by the result we see now before us. The appeal was as undignified for the Government as it was unfair and unjust for the accused....... The famous Karáchi resolution for which this trial was undertaken has been re-affirmed and reiterated from a thousand platforms in the country. What have the Government achieved then by this prosecution ? So far as politics is concerned, we cannot describe this trial better than one followed by 'tragic futility' of result....... After the tragic happenings in the Punjab, faith in British justice was gone for good. Political justice has ever been a rare commodity for India. The political history of India under the British rule has been over-full of promises made to the ear and broken to the heart. But with all that, British rule in India was tolerated because its continuance meant absolute religious liberty. The guarantee given in the Queen's Proclamation about religious freedom to every Indian is so clear and categorical that all the judicial quibbling in the world cannot cloud it. The loyalty of the Indian people to the British Crown is neither absolute nor unconditional. The relations of the Indian people with the British sovereign are the results of a tacit contract, the terms of which are binding on both the parties alike. So long as justice and religious liberty are allowed by the sovereign, Indian people are loyal to the backbone. But if justice is bartered or butchered and religious freedom is taken away, the Indian people are not morally bound to observe the terms of the above contract....... The Judge has pronounced the whole Khilafat agitation as illegal and the Association of Muhammadans to ventilate religious grievances, as criminal. The whole community of Indian Muslims is thus on the trial. Either it must choose to obey God's Law and follow the Ali Brothers into jail; or it must ever remain slave to laws made by a foreign Government which has repudiated its own solemn pledges and promises. The Hindu community will have to face the same issue sooner or latter, and it cannot prepare itself better than by sympathising and suffering with its sister community."

Lokamánya (114), 5th Nov.

34. The *Lokamánya* refers to a Lahore case in which an English soldier accused of wounding a Muhammadan by shooting him was discharged by the Judge owing to his being declared not guilty by the European Jury on the ground of sudden provocation, and says that if the same criterion were applied to the Malegaon case, the accused in it would have been acquitted as it was the Police which had first fired, and the outrages were then committed by the crowd exasperated by the firing. But the contrary thing has occurred, says the paper, for the Sessions Judge of Násik has passed sentences of death and transportation on several of the accused in spite of the opinion expressed by the assessors. All this goes to show, remarks the paper, how Indian courts of law become unnerved when a European accused appears before them and how vindictive they are when the accused happen to be Indians.

Lokasangraha (116), 4th Nov.

35. During the trial Mr. Mahomed Ali frequently talked of a life sentence and therefore people will be relieved to hear that he and five of his co-accused got only two years each. It must be frankly confessed that Mr. Kennedy's conduct towards the accused throughout the trial was sympathetic. With the incarceration of the Brothers, Mahatma Gandhi will now naturally look upon himself as one without arms. They were the 'pillars of the non-violent non-co-operation movement and it is very likely that the movement will now suffer a setback. Of course by prosecuting them Government did not intend to cause them physical suffering but only to kill the non-co-operation movement. It is the duty of their co-religionists to defeat the object of Government and we are sure that they will discharge it.

Lokamánya (114), 5th Nov.

36. The *Lokamánya* expresses satisfaction at the withdrawal of the charge under Indian Penal Code, section 124-A, against the Ali Brothers, and hopes that the charge against Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande will also be similarly withdrawn. If it is not withdrawn, it remarks, the public will hold the Bombay Government responsible for vindictively pressing on the charge simply to gratify the wishes of the Dhárwár Police which has been guilty of firing on the people without provocation.

Vafádár (32), 4th Nov.

37. Commenting upon the trial of the Ali Brothers the *Vafádár* writes:— Oppression was heaped upon Islam and a plot was laid to destroy its dear Khilafat. Its followers were cruelly butchered and its women were insulted. The demands of the Moslems were spurned and they were put to a severe test for their religious faith. A drama of two acts was enacted at Karáchi in the prosecution of the Ali Brothers. Every struggle in the cause of truth is strengthened by the steps taken against it, and so those who expected to crush the Khilafat movement have now realised that it has gathered additional strength and has secured the sympathies of those who hesitated to join it. There is nothing new in the sacrifice made by the Moslem leaders and besides they have done and spoken what their religion requires them to do. The punishment of our Moslem leaders is very painful to us, but they are following the example of their prophet in enduring their sufferings with patience and their triumph consists in their patience and courage. They realise that peace cannot be secured without self-sacrifice.

Gujaráti (14), 6th Nov.

***38**. The *Gujaráti* traces the history of the Khilafat agitation and the genesis of the resolution passed at the All-India Khilafat Conference at Karáchi for which the Ali Brothers and others were tried. It then refers to the result of the State trial at Karáchi and gives a *resumé* of the views expressed by Mr. Kennedy with regard to the conflict between the dictates of religion and the laws of the State. The paper is of opinion that Government have acted wisely in withdrawing the remaining charges against the accused under sections 124-A and 153 for if they had not done so they would have rendered themselves liable to the charge of vindictiveness. The paper adds that this later step of Government shows that their object in launching the first prosecution was to prevent any evil effects being produced on the army by the Khilafat agitation and for that purpose to gag the mouths of Mr. Mahomed Ali and the others, but that to achieve such an end it was not necessary to take such a cumbrous step which deserves to be described as "digging up the mountain (to extract the mouse)". In the opinion of the paper the launching of this prosecution by Government after allowing these people unlimited licence in the matter of speech has had the effect of lessening the prestige of the administration and not that of the accused.

Indu Prakásh (43), 3rd Nov.

39. The *Indu Prakásh* deeply deplores the sentence passed on the Ali Brothers. It declares that Government have committed a great blunder in thus adding to the already existing public discontent and thinks it would have been better if the Brothers had not at all been prosecuted. In its opinion the prestige of Government having been maintained by the sentence passed on the Brothers, there was no reason why they should not be set free by remission of their sentences. It thinks that if they are released before the Prince's arrival it would to a great extent help to assuage the wounded feelings of the public. At the same time the paper expresses satisfaction at the acquittal of Shri Shankaracharya. It thinks that the release of all political prisoners in jail at the present juncture will not fail to be received with special gratification by the public.

Comments on the judgment in the Dharwar shooting case.

Karnátak Mitra (34), 27th Oct.; *Karnátak Times* (35), 28th Oct.

40. Under the heading "If this is not the climax of treason against the subjects what else is it?" the *Karnátak Mitra* writes:—In our opinion Mr. Waterfield's decision, convicting and sentencing the 23 heroes of Dhárwár, scarcely deserves to be called a judgment. The most appropriate term for this sort of effusion is "the wild dance of the bureaucracy". A judgment is the conclusion arrived at by a judge in a given case by sifting all the evidence available in that case. In the present case, Mr. Waterfield did not care to call in evidence on behalf of the accused, and of the prosecution evidence, that of the Lingayat witnesses was found by him to be unreliable. Thus, the only evidence on which the judge relied was that of the police, and as a matter of fact it looked as if Mr. Waterfield had held the brief for the police in this case. It is clear that in delivering the present judgment Mr. Waterfield was actuated not by the desire of doing justice, but that of frightening the non-co-operators and putting down the picketing movement. Mr. Waterfield has prostituted the sound name of justice by ignoring the evidence and basing his judgment on political considerations. [The *Karnátak Times* on the contrary supports the judgment saying that on the strength of the evidence before him Mr. Waterfield could not have arrived at any other conclusion. But the paper strongly protests against that portion of the judgment wherein the judge characterises the evidence of Lingayat witnesses as unreliable.]

Comments on the judgment in the Malegaon Riot case.

Mahrátta (6), 6th Nov.

***41**. "The verdict in the Malegaon Riot case is given....... Without being guilty of the charge of pleading any justification for the riot at Malegaon, we can safely say that the incident at Malegaon is but a drop in the ocean of crimes which is being flooded by the rushing 'rohinis' flowing from the Chandpur, Dhárwár, Matiári, Aligarh and the like official excesses. In all these and similar cases it is admitted on all hands that there happened to be grave provocation from our opponents. But with the exception of Malegaon, practically every incident passed off without violence. But even such exception we must not allow. Complete non-violence is a condition precedent to our winning *swarájya* by non-co-operation. That we must exercise complete self-restraint even under gravest provocation is a lesson of the Malegaon affair. But there is yet another and a more important moral of the Malegaon case verdict in conjunction with the contemporary verdict in the Karáchi trial. That the Government will punish violence is without doubt; but a question crops up whether it does also punish where violence is not even contemplated. The conviction of the Alis gives an affirmative answer. And such farcical and unjustifiable trials as at Karáchi, Dhárwár and Aligarh almost take away the whole of the discredit of the police-provoked riot at Malegaon."

Comments on the acquittal of Private Chaffe by the Punjab High Court.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Nov.

42. "The trial, with its sequel at the Punjab High Court, of Private Chaffe of the Devonshire Regiment on the charge of voluntarily causing hurt to a villager by shooting, constitutes one more farce of 'justice' which must make all Indians despair of obtaining any reparation for any wrong done to them by a member of the 'ruling' race. The soldier was accused of deliberately shooting at the villager, because he was remonstrated with for picking up a lamb belonging to the villager and his companions. The accused attempted to make out in his defence that the shooting was accidental, but he did not deny that he aimed his gun at the villager 'with the intention of frightening the Indian'. The prosecution was conducted in a most light-hearted fashion, the Government Advocate describing the shooting as 'a regrettable incident' and giving it as 'his private opinion' that the picking up of the lamb, which eventually led to the quarrel and the shooting, was only in joke. The jury of course, under the privileged circumstances in which the law places European accused before Indian courts, declared the prisoner by a majority of six to three to be 'not guilty'. It was open to the Judge to refuse this majority verdict and have a fresh trial ordered, but Justice Le Rossignol appears to have taken the view that the prisoner had suffered enough while under detention and discharged him. But His Lordship addressed some remarks to the prisoner, which go to show that the Court did not accept the story of the prisoner's innocence....... We ask the ex-Chief Justice of England how long scandalous perversion of justice of this type is to be tolerated in this country."

Lokasangraha (116), 4th Nov.

43. The farce of a trial enacted in criminal courts when a European happens to commit an offence against an Indian is one of the many causes that are weakening British rule in India. An Englishman can assault an Indian with impunity, firm in the belief that the so-called court of justice would allow him to go scot free. Indians have heard of such cases *ad nauseam* and they are now thoroughly convinced that it is futile to expect justice when they are wronged by an Englishman. [The paper here refers to a case recently tried by the Lahore High Court in which the accused, an English soldier, was charged with the offence of causing injury to an Indian and who was acquitted by the jury whose verdict the judge accepted although he did not quite agree with it.] This shows what an English judge himself thinks about the impartiality of an English jury. Of course he too did not depart from the usual practice although he believed that there was gross miscarriage of justice!

Contrast between the British Government's attitude towards the Sinn Feiners and the Government of India's attitude towards non-co-operators.

Lokamánya (114), 4th Nov.

44. The *Lokamánya* referring to the conciliatory attitude taken up by Mr. Lloyd George towards the Sinn Feiners in spite of their violent methods, condemns as mistaken the policy of repression adopted by the Government of India with regard to Mr. Gandhi's party whose ideals are non-violence and peace. It points out the likelihood of the Indian administration coming to a standstill in the near future just as that of Ireland if the movement of *Satyagraha* comes to be launched as a reply to the policy of repression now being carried out by the bureaucracy, and declares that true statesmanship would consist in conciliating the people and bringing about a change in the administration. It fails to understand what right the Indian bureaucracy has to resort to repression, when the British Government has openly adopted the policy of conciliation with regard to Ireland, and the Parliament has by its recent vote given its sanction to that policy. It admits that the administration in India is as yet not paralysed as in Ireland but declares that sure signs are not wanting that such paralysis is imminent. In its opinion the failure of the British Government to carry out its aggressive intentions with regard to Angora and Persia had its origin in the non-co-operation agitation carried on in India by Mr. Gandhi, and it also thinks that the picketing and foreign cloth boycott movements are bound to result in a heavy deficit in the Indian revenues. These and other things the paper considers to be positive signs of the coming paralysis of the Indian administration which will, it says, come on without fail as soon as *Satyagraha* begins. India, the paper says, is calmly waiting to see which path the bureaucracy chooses, whether it invites *Satyagraha* or adopts a conciliatory attitude. It hopes that it would not be so shortsighted as to be false to Parliament which has already declared itself against repression.

Object of Government in prosecuting the Ali Brothers has failed.

Lokamánya (114), 5th Nov.

45. The *Lokamánya* declares that the object with which the prosecution of the Ali Brothers was undertaken by Government has utterly failed. It was hoped by Government, it says, that the incarceration of the Brothers would stop the movement for sending assistance to Angora, but that hope has been falsified and the movement has only been strengthened by their incarceration. It further points out that the Karachi resolution, for supporting which the Ali Brothers were prosecuted and the knowledge of which Government desired should not be spread, has been openly re-affirmed throughout India and impressed upon the minds of the people and thus a thing which the Brothers could not have succeeded in accomplishing by lecturing throughout the length and breadth of the country has been accomplished by their prosecution by Government. What else, the paper asks, would have helped to cure Hindus and Muhammadans in India of the disease, contracted since the time of Dupleix, of wringing other people's necks for the sake of their paymasters ? Government therefore, in the opinion of the paper, deserves the thanks of India no less than the self-sacrificing Ali Brothers.

Nusrat (new), 7th Nov

***46.** Referring to the message of the Ali Brothers after the passing of sentence on them the *Nusrat* pays a glowing tribute to them and calls upon the people to acquit themselves as they have done. The paper asks every Indian, especially every Khilafatist, to find out for himself as to how far he has done his duty towards the nation and the country. It warns the people not to resort to any violence in their enthusiasm for the brothers and Dr. Kitchlew and thus cause disturbance in the public peace, for they would be dishonouring the Ali Brothers and Mahatma Gandhi if they broke out into violence. It concludes by requesting one and all to help the present movement in every way possible.

Gujaráti (14), 6th Nov., Eng. cols.

***47.** "Mahatma Gandhi, who has often taunted Government with perfect coolness for their inconsistency in not proceeding against the very author of the non-co-operation movement, though they had launched criminal proceedings against some of his colleagues and followers, has so far been untouched by Government. But the explosive temperaments of the Ali Brothers proved instrumental in lodging them into jail. For our own part we are inclined to think that but for their provoking attitude of defiance and the horrible outbreak in Malabar, Government would not have thought it necessary to prosecute them. There was also another impelling motive. Government are naturally anxious to secure peace and tranquillity during the Prince's tour through India, and by the conviction of the Ali Brothers one important source of unrest has, in their view, been removed. Dr. Kitchlew will no longer be free to agitate in the Punjab. Mr. Yakub Hassan has already been put on his trial before the District Magistrate at Tanjore on a complaint filed on behalf of the Madras Government. Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande and some other leading non-co-operators are being prosecuted in this presidency and elsewhere. Government had so far given them a long rope and are now busy tightening it up with vigour in view of the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. By the time he arrives in the country most of the trials will be over and the object Government have in view, *viz.*, the establishment of peace and tranquillity, will probably be accomplished at any rate for the time being. It is a cleverly concerted plan of action. Non-co-operators, who have more enthusiasm than experience or wisdom, have allowed themselves to be noosed. We are really sorry for them. At the same time we have to ask Government not to ignore the true significance of the unrest prevailing in the country and persist in the blundering policy that they have obstinately and unwisely followed, in face of repeated remonstrances by distinguished Indians during the last thirty years and more, instead of rectifying urgent wrongs and redressing flagrant grievances in time."

Why non-co-operators must go to jail?

Young India (11), 3rd Nov.

48. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—"Let there be no mistake about the meaning of these imprisonments. They are not courted with the object of embarrassing the Government though as a matter of fact they do. They are courted for the sake of discipline and suffering. They are courted because we consider it to be wrong to be free under a Government we hold to be wholly bad. No stone should be left unturned by us to make the Government realise that we are in no way amenable to its control. And no Government has yet tolerated such open defiance however respectful it may be. It might safely, therefore, be said that if we are yet outside the prison walls, the cause lies as much with us as with the Government. We are moving cautiously in our corporate capacity. We are still voluntarily obeying many of its laws. There was, for instance, nothing to prevent me from disregarding the Madras Government's order and courting arrest, but I avoided it. There is nothing to prevent me save my prudence or weakness from going without permission into the barracks and being arrested for trespass. I certainly believe the barracks to be the nation's property and not that of a Government which I no longer recognise as respresentative of the people. Thus there is an apparent inconsistency between the statement on the one hand that it is painful to remain outside the prison walls under a bad Government and this deliberate avoidance on the other hand of arrest upon grounds which are not strictly moral but largely expedient. We thus avoid imprisonment, because, first, we think that the nation is not ready for complete civil revolt, secondly we think that the atmosphere of voluntary obedience and non-violence has not been firmly established, and thirdly we have not done any constructive corporate work to inspire self-confidence. We, therefore, refrain from offering civil disobedience amounting to peaceful rebellion, but court imprisonment merely in the ordinary pursuit of our programme and in defence of complete freedom of opinion and action short of revolt. Thus it is clear that our remaining outside the gaols of a bad Government has to be justified upon very exceptional grounds and that our *swarâj* is attained when we are in gaol or when we have bent the Goverment to our will. Whether, therefore, the Government feel embarrassed or happy over our incarceration, the only safe and honourable place for us is the prison. And if this position be accepted, it follows that when imprisonment comes to us in the ordinary discharge of our duty, we must feel happy because we feel stronger, because we pay the price of due performance of duty. And if exhibition of real strength is the best propaganda, we must believe that every imprisonment strengthens the people and thus brings *swarâj* nearer."

Comments on the Government resolution on non-co-operating municipalities.

Navjivan (69), 30th Oct.

49. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan*:—It will be seen in a short time of what stuff the Ahmedabad, Nadiad and Surat municipalities are made. It can be now said that Government have determined to try them. There is a threat and an incitement to the citizens in the press note issued by Government. The next step which Government should take is to set up a few citizens and ask them to sue some councillor. I hope that Government will not find any taxpayer who will file a suit against any councillor who does his work conscientiously and I also hope that the councillor will remain fearless if any tax-payer comes out to sue him. Another thing which Government can do is to suspend the municipalities and manage them by the appointment of commissions. If they do so, I see in it the potentiality of gaining *swaráj.* If Government act in that way and if we are sufficiently ready, we shall get what we want. Our struggle is based on truth and hence neither can the Government keep up by means of deceit nor can we succeed by making a hollow show.

Lokamánya (114), 30th Oct.

50. There is nothing original in the arguments set forth in the Press Note on the non-co-operating municipalities. The Municipalities declined to receive the educational Government grant only when they were sure that they had the support of the rate-payers. These latter were well aware when they lent their support to the Municipalities, that they would have to pay both to Government and to the Municipality. They know, however, that such hardships are inevitable so long as *swarájya* is not attained. Government are guilty of insincerity when they say that they mean the Press Note only to be a warning to the Municipal Councillors concerned and that they have no intention at present of taking legal action against them. For, although they declare that they have no intention of moving in the matter themselves, they are not ashamed to incite the rate-payers to file suits against the Municipal Councillors. People would like to see the Government themselves taking the initiative in this matter for that would expose the hollowness of the reforms. Nothing can prove better than a civil suit of this kind that Local Self-Government in this country is a huge farce.

Exhortation to enlightened and patriotic Indians to shun the new Councils.

Sindhi (167), 22nd Oct.

51. The action of the Bombay Council in voting away nine lacs of rupees for the Prince's visit has not surprised us at all. What else could we expect from men who entered the Councils in utter disregard of the wishes of the country? These men can be expected to do worse things at the bidding of Government. Mr. Bhojsing, a member from Upper Sind, writes in the *New Times* that mutual jealousies and indifference to public good are the characteristics of the Reformed Bombay Legislative Council. According to him there is a perpetual strife in the council between Brahman and Non-Brahman members, and Sind Zamindar members are ever dancing to the tune of the officials. To remedy this state of things, he suggests that all members should be made responsible to their electorates. In the face of this confession from a Council member himself, we should expect all self-respecting members of the council to resign their seats and take to the Congress work. True dignity lies in serving one's brethren. The Mahatma has shown us the way. Let all enlightened and patriotic people shun the councils established by Government and join their own parliament, the Congress.

Reflections on the Diwali.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 29th Oct.; *Hindusthán* (20), 1st Nov.

52. We cannot celebrate the Diwáli as a nation with joy and our political situation is the cause of our grief. We have not been able to get the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs redressed. The Government policy of repression is seen everywhere. We have resolved to secure *swaráj* during the current year and the dawning Samvat year is confronting us with the question as to whether our movement for self-purification has assumed the acute form expected of it. The thirty-three crores of India are eagerly awaiting *swaráj* but they must determine their line of action for accelerating their progress on the path of *swaráj.* If we want political independence we must rid ourselves of economic dependence by taking to *swadeshi.* [The *Hindusthán* takes a review of the last Hindu year and in doing so notes with gratification that it has been a year of political awakening all round characterised by loss of confidence in the bureaucracy and faith in British justice. The paper also notes with pleasure the strengthening of the Hindu-Moslem unity and the progress made by the *swadeshi* movement during the year under review and hopes that India may get *swarāj* and the questions of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs may be satisfactorily solved in the next year.]

Saurāshtra (new), 29th Oct.

53. We cannot take part in the Diwali festivities when hundreds of our sisters are weeping in the Punjab and expecting us to avenge the wrongs done to them and when our hearts are lacerated. Look at Mr. Gandhi; he is going about the country half naked as thousands of Indians cannot get sufficient clothing to cover themselves. We have to bow down our heads with shame and we dare not look up at our naked brothers and sisters. How can we, then, celeberate the Diwali? Today brave and worthy sons of India have resolved to suffer incarceration for the relief of the motherland, and the thrones of kingdoms and even the thrones of Indra have begun to shake before their firm resolve. How can we disturb them in their resolve? Diwali is far away from us but we do not know how far it is. At any rate it is not yet. At present we have for some time to suffer and to get our breasts pierced by the arrows of the bureaucracy. We must renounce the pleasures of the world and strive for an ideal. This is the time for us to live in death. We cannot take part in any festivities and cannot don gay or coloured clothes and must be clothed in *khadi*. It is enough for us that the tiny lamp of faith be kept ever burning in our hearts and we dare not light thousands of lamps lest we mock the darkness of our neighbours. Today is the day of grief for us and our hearts are afflicted. We shall celebrate the Diwali on the termination of the rule of Ravana and when the trumpets of the success of Rama are blown. Diwali is far away from us. We cannot and would not be such hypocrites as to put on a smiling appearance when our hearts are aching.

Alleged failure of the movement for boycott of foreign cloth.

Hindu (160), 23rd Oct.

54. The All-India Congress Committee fixed 30th September as the final date for completing the boycott of foreign cloth. But when that day arrived the record of the progress of boycott was found to be rather disappointing. Mahatma Gandhi, therefore, extended the time to 31st October. Although October is now nearly over it does not look likely that the Mahatma's expectations will be realised. It is a great pity our people cannot make up their minds to make the small sacrifice involved in the boycott of foreign cloth. No sacrifice is too great for liberty. Mahatma Gandhi has shown us the way to *swaraj*. And it is for us to follow it. If we do not, the fault will be ours and not his, and we shall continue to be slaves for a long time yet.

Comments on the public meeting at the Bombay Town Hall in connection with the Development Department.

Gujarāti (14), 30th Oct.; *Hind Mitra* (17), 30th Oct.

55. The Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau has conducted correspondence with Government on the question of the Development Department and so it cannot be said to have done any wrong in convening a public meeting to protest against the working of the Department. It is not the function of the Chamber to spread the opinions of the Congress and the Moslem League and as it is interested in the trade and industries of the country it has to take part in the politics of the country so far as trade and industries are concerned. The Chamber, as it is constituted, cannot associate itself with the movement for subverting the Government organised by the Congress and the Moslem League. The non-co-operators want the Indian merchants to boycott foreign goods, but they ask, who will purchase Indian goods if Indians do not purchase foreign goods? The non-co-operators advocate the boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales as he has not been invited by the Congress. The King and his ministers do not need an invitation from the people for touring through their dominions. But supposing that an invitation were necessary, is it right to close our doors and observe a fast if a guest comes uninvited? The Hindu *Shastras* emphatically declare that it is the greatest sin to insult a guest who has come to one's door and that merit lies more in welcoming an uninvited than an invited guest. The Chamber has decided to present an address of welcome to the Prince as a part of citizens and ask them to sue some councillor. I hope that Government will not find any taxpayer who will file a suit against any councillor who does his work conscientiously and I also hope that the councillor will remain fearless if any tax-payer comes out to sue him. Another thing which Government can do is to suspend the municipalities and manage them by the appointment of commissions. If they do so, I see in it the potentiality of gaining *swaráj*. If Government act in that way and if we are sufficiently ready, we shall get what we want. Our struggle is based on truth and hence neither can the Government keep up by means of deceit nor can we succeed by making a hollow show.

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Who should succeed Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola as Member of Council.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 6th Nov.

*** 56.** "We do not as a rule concern ourselves with official appointments, but in view of the statements made in the Press and of the peculiarity of the political situation at present, we feel it would be unfortunate if it is not found possible to get a competent Muhammadan to take Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola's place when he joins the Fiscal Commission shortly. We fully realise that the Parsis are as much entitled to official preference as any others, and no Parsi so far has become a Member of Council or Minister. The earliest opportunity should be taken to remedy this omission, but at present it is essential that Government should have the benefit of the advice of an able Muhammadan of high character and independence in its inner councils. It needs some looking for to find out such a candidate, and newspaper assistance in the matter is useless and a mistake. At any rate, we do not propose to offer any by way of suggestion."

Comments on the Government Scheme to co-ordinate the work of the Agricultural Department and Co-operative Credit Societies.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 2nd Nov.

57. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the new scheme framed by Government for co-ordinating the work of the Agricultural Department and the Co-operative Credit Societies and considers it as a step in the right direction. The paper, however, fears that the Advisory Boards will not be able to make their voice heard as their recommendations will be finally considered by the Director of Agriculture and the Registrar of Co-operative Societies and acted upon at their discretion. The paper suggests that the Advisory Boards should be made independent of official control and that ample funds should be placed at their disposal to enable them to carry scientific methods of agriculture to the doors of the agriculturists and induce them to make use of modern implements and thus enable them to stand on their own legs.

Complaint that the promised Excise Committee has not yet been appointed.

Ráshtra Veer (133), 30th Oct.

58. The *Rashtra Veer* bitterly complains that the Minister for Excise has not only not declared himself in favour of drink prohibition by law but that he has not as yet appointed the promised committee to consider the question. It deplores that he has failed to take advantage of the universal public opinion in favour of prohibition and remarks that he is thus proving himself false to the public being more solicitous about maintaining his own position. It declares that a strong agitation alone will bring him round.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Necessity of improving the drainage of Lonavla (Poona).

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 5th Nov.

59. The *Dnyán Prakásh* expresses its satisfaction that Government have recognised the need for drainage at Lonavla to improve the sanitation of the place spoilt by the leaky condition of the lakes constructed in its vicinity by the Tata Hydro-Electric Power Company. In its opinion Government can rightly call upon the Tata Company to bear a large proportion of the expenditure in connection with the drainage since that company is primarily responsible, according to it, for spoiling the sanitation of this health resort.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 11th November 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

PUBLISHED IN THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

For the week ending 12th November 1921.

CENTRAL REGISTRY
12 DEC 1921
INDIA OFFICE

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

Agrarian matters: Famine conditions in the Dohad and Jhálod Talukas of the Panch Mahâls District 7
British Rule:
  An apology for an attack on Government officers 61
  Comments on the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the working of the Tata Research Institute, Bangalore . . . 63
  Comments on the presentation of a mace to the Legislative Assembly by the Empire Parliamentary Association 62
  Comments on the treatment given to the Ali Brothers in jail . . 57—59
  Evils of Race gambling and Sporting Clubs 64
  Protest against the rumoured cession of Berar to His Exalted Highness the Nizam 65
  The Government of India are speeding up the progress of India towards *swarâj* 60
  Treatment of Political prisoners in jail 56
Co-operative Credit: The—movement in the Bombay Presidency . . 10
Forest Department: A forest complaint from Dhárwár 9
His Excellency the Governor: Reflections on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's policy with regard to political offences 6
His Excellency the Viceroy: Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech at the Chamber of Princes . . . . . . 1—5
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:
  Comments on the rumour that the Prince of Wales is going to grant interviews to leading non-co-operators 20
  Protest against decorating the Prince of Wales's route with pictures of Hindu deities 19
  The Indian Merchants' Chamber and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales 18
  The visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales . . . . 11—17
Indian Press: Change in the policy of the *Bombay Samáchár* . . . 8
Judicial matters:
  Comments on the acquittal of Private Chaffe by the Punjab High Court 55
  Comments on the Karáchi trial . . . . 41—51

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Judicial matters—*concluded.*

Comments on the Násik Sessions Judge's decision in the Málegaon riot case 53
Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Yakub Hassan of Madras . 54
The sentences passed on Moplah rebels should be revised 52

Non-co-operation:

Alleged recourse to repression on the part of Government to restore calm before the Prince of Wales's visit 40
Comments on the decision to commence Civil Disobedience . . . 21—35
Comments on the Press Note on Government's policy regarding non-co-operating Municipalities . . . . 38 & 39
How Government should deal with the coming campaign of Civil Disobedience 36
The depression in the Lancashire cotton industry is a result of the Indian boycott. 37
Public Service: Comments on the Government of India's resolution on proportionate pensions for the Imperial Services 66

War:

Comments on the differences between France and England regarding Turkish claims 69
Comments on the reported agreement between the Kemalists and France . . . . 67 & 68

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the attitude of Government towards the Násik Municipality . 70

RAILWAYS—

A complaint against the Madras and Southern Maratha Railway . . 71

NATIVE STATES—

Grievances of Jains regarding the Girnár Hill (Junágadh) . . . 72

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's opening speech at the Chamber of Princes.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Nov.

1. "Lord Reading is fast losing his reputation by belying the promises he gave as Viceroy-Designate. His speech at the opening of the Princes' Chamber is a tissue of indefensible anachronisms, of which we could never have believed him to be guilty but for the undeniable authority of the Associated Press. After the usual inanities, common on such occasions, His Excellency thought fit to give expression to opinions which if they represent his own considered views, must be taken to mean a farewell to any hopes India might have entertained of the Reading *regimé* undoing some of the most glaring mischiefs of the Chelmsford period. As in duty bound, the Viceroy dilated upon the forthcoming visit of the Prince, which, in spite of previous protestations to the contrary, is now seen to have a distinctly political purpose. We have always suspected the existence of the element of mischief and danger in the recent 'Reforms' which sought to break up and divide the peoples of India by blending territorial electorates with class representation, and a special consultative chamber for the Princes along with a double chambered Indian Legislature. Does Lord Reading want a set-off against the growing sense of national self-respect among the peoples of India ? The Viceroy knows that the people of India have solemnly resolved to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales, because the Prince is made to support a tottering and discredited system—without bearing the least ill-will personally to the Prince. Are the remarks of His Excellency to the Princes to be taken as a challenge to the people that the six hundred odd Princes at least will participate in the visit, even though the three hundred millions may refrain from it, that they will consider it of grave political significance, even though the people are assured the visit is strictly non-political ?...... The other observations of His Excellency were equally unhappy. On the agenda of the House there was the question of giving protection to the Princes against attacks from the Press in British India....... Lord Reading has not specifically promised another special legislation for the exclusive benefit of the misbehaving Princes ; but these expressions almost foreshadow some such concession being granted in the near future to this most undeserving section of the Indian people. Is Lord Reading so utterly ignorant, after eight months of residence in this country, as not to know that it is rather the Press in British India which needs special protection from the autocratic tendencies of Their Highnesses ? The Maharaja of Gwalior, for example, has stopped almost every Nationalist Indian paper from entering his 'Dominions', thus entailing considerable loss upon the proprietors of the papers thus penalised as well as on his 'subjects' who get only the coloured news the State authorities choose to impart to them through the Anglo-Indian Press. Is this a case which His Excellency would consider sufficient for granting special protection to the Princes ? And there are hundreds of such instances. We shall not refer to the latest achievement in high-handedness of the Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber, the Maharajah of Bikaner. The Government of India have in the past more than once used the Indian Princes to do jobs which public opinion in British India was too strong to allow them to do in British territory, with absolute impunity. Is this proposed special legislation to be made the excuse of such doings against the Indian Press in future ? His Excellency regretted the absence of the Rao of Cutch, against whose administration there have been the most serious allegations, still uncontradicted, yet uninvestigated. Do Lord Reading's Government propose to protect such rulers though their people suffer grievous wrongs and even though they may be entrusted with Indian and Imperial duties which reasonably expose them to public criticism ? We earnestly impress upon His Excellency's Government not to give undue importance to the letter or the spirit of the Alwar resolution in the Princes' mad attempt to seek protection where none is wanted. The Government of India have, in the past, pleaded the excuse of treaty obligations with the Princes to cloak the chronic misrule of local potentates and to postpone the realization of overdue reforms in the 'Native' territories. But often they have themselves violated the spirit and the letter of the self-same treaties whenever it suited their convenience to treat them as mere scraps of paper. Let them not at this time of the day make new obligations which are unjust in their principle and impossible in their observance. Let them not now undertake legislation which can only be carried out at the cost of the political future of India."

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 10th Nov.

2. The *Dnyán Prakásh* refers to His Excellency the Viceroy's speech with which he declared open the second session of the Chamber of Princes and writes:—The Viceroy delivered the speech with characteristic candour and it was worthy of the occasion. Indian Princes can achieve much good if they realise that it is the duty of their Chamber to move in the direction of progress while bearing in mind the interests of (1) the British Empire, (2) India, (3) the Native Chiefs and (4) their own subjects. Unfortunately, Indian Chiefs often ignore the interests of India and of their own subjects. They generally desire that progressive ideas originating in British territory should not penetrate their own States. They are always anxious to keep their subjects as inarticulate as possible. Of course there are a few exceptions, but most of the Chiefs are fond of autocratic power. They have their own interests at heart and are loyal to the British connection, but are wholly unmindful of the interests of their subjects. It was good that Lord Reading reminded them of their duty after noticing this trait in their character. The live forces to which Lord Reading referred are those of democracy. The subjects of Native States cannot be expected to be peacefully sleeping after the dawn of democracy in British India. We trust the Indian Princes will take note of this fact and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of their subjects. The bureaucracy in British India knows by experience that repression is powerless to attain the desired end and we hope that the Princes will profit by its experience.

Hindusthán (20), 9th Nov.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 9th Nov.;
Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 9th Nov.

3. The *Hindusthán* comments upon the speech made by His Excellency the Viceroy in opening the second sessions of the Chamber of Princes. The paper refers to the extravagant expenditure which the Indian Chiefs mean to make for welcoming the Prince of Wales and considers the amount which will thus be spent as too high a price of strengthening the relations of the Indian Chiefs with the Empire. The paper questions the statement made by the Viceroy that the time is very opportune for the visit of the Prince and declares that the visit is most in-opportune and ill-advised. The paper next takes strong exception to the promise made by the Viceroy of affording protection to the Native Chiefs against attacks made on them in the British Indian Press and states that it would be nothing short of an anomaly to afford special protection to Native States by legislation after repealing the Press Act and urges that the ordinary law of the land would suffice to afford reasonable protection to the States. The paper expresses itself quite dissatisfied with the internal reforms so far effected by Native States and declares that the legislative assemblies established by some of the Chiefs are mere mock assemblies with no powers whatsoever and hopes that the Chiefs will take to heart the advice given by Lord Reading and make use of imagination and sympathy in allaying the grievances of their subjects. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* hopes that the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy on the occasion of declaring the second session of the Chamber of Princes open will have practical effect on the Indian Princes. The paper opines that His Excellency the Viceroy rightly said that they should specially bear in mind that the world has changed and a new state of affairs has come into existence. It thinks that this is not the time to gag the press and adds that the British Government have tried this experiment and failed, and hopes that unnecessary checks will not be placed on the freedom of the press under the pretence of guarding the Indian Princes from the attacks of the press. It remarks that the King-Emperor has raised the status of the Indian Princes by absolving them from the duty of offering *nazar* to the King-Emperor, members of the Royal family or to His Majesty's representatives on all occasions except a few. In the opinion of the paper this boon of Royal generosity will serve to gladden the Indian Princes as well as the people. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the speech delivered by His Excellency the Viceroy on the occasion of declaring the current session of the Chamber of Princes open throws an important light on his policy and adds that his allusion to the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales shows how hasty are those who say that the Prince of

Wales is coming here to enjoy himself. It quotes a few sentences from his speech regarding the appropriateness of the visit of the Prince and the changing state of affairs in India and remarks that His Excellency the Viceroy has recognised the necessity of making further improvements in the reforms. In the opinion of the paper the portion of His Excellency's speech relating to the duties of the Indian Princes towards their subjects is also of a high order and farsighted.]

Gujarâti (14), 13th Nov., Eng. cols.

*4. "His Excellency the Viceroy delivered a notable speech in opening the second session of the Chamber of Princes....... In view of the enormous expenditure that all the Native Princes will have to incur in consequence of the Prince's visit, it is not surprising that the attendance at Delhi was not as large as might have been expected. The proceedings were not open to the press, but, according to the *Times of India*, '35 *bejewelled* Ruling Princes and Chiefs were present, making a brilliant scene'. It is this kind of glowing description which has influenced the Native Princes in choosing their costumes and decorations. We confess we feel humiliated on reading this description. Is that the rôle which they are to play in the future of India just as it had been theirs to enact in the past to a large extent? It is for them and the Paramount Power to answer this question. They have so far been used as pliant, obedient and convenient tools for the glorification and solidification of the British Empire in this country. Their helplessness, ignorance, conservatism and inefficiency coupled with the selfish indifference of the Paramount Power have so far checked the progress of Native States with two or three notable exceptions....... The establishment of the Chamber of Princes is one of the expedients that has been devised for the adjustment of the relations of Native States with the British Government and as between themselves....... It is pretty well-known that some Princes have held themselves aloof from it or have at any rate remained indifferent towards it. There are very good grounds for doing so. It is extremely doubtful if any prince or chief will have the courage to give free expression to his views in the presence of the Viceroy or any other officer of the Political Department with its well-known traditions of suspicion and autocracy. Besides, the discussions of the Chamber are not published and the conduct of none of those who figure in its deliberations or doings is open to public criticism. The people who are directly affected by them, that is the subjects of Native States, have no voice in them. Their political lot is the most pitiable that can be imagined. The British Government have always known how to strike profitable bargains with the Native States and we are not sure if the establishment of the Chamber of Princes will in the least incline the balance in favour of the latter."

Lokasangraha (116), 10th Nov.

5. An attempt has been made on the part of Government to explain away the absence of most of the Chiefs from the second session of the Chamber of Princes on the ground of preparations connected with the forthcoming visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The real reason for their absence, however, must be very different. They must have seen when they first attended the first session of the Chamber that their attendance was not likely to confer any benefits on them and so they must have utilized the Prince's visit to evade attendance. Only thirty-five *bejewelled* Chiefs attended the last session. The body fell into disfavour within six months from its inauguration and we are glad to note that like the people the Chiefs also have realised the hollowness of the concessions conferred on them under the reforms. While about two hundred men, mostly drawn from the middle class, attend an ordinary meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi at their own expense, the Chamber of Princes fails to attract more than thirty-five Chiefs! What does this signify? Even the attendance at the sessions of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State is always fairly large. Some may perhaps suggest that the travelling and other allowances tempt the members of these bodies to Delhi and Simla, but we shall not be so uncharitable. We are willing to believe that they take all this trouble in order that they may do some good to the people. The Chiefs must have given wide berth to Delhi being convinced that their Chamber was incapable of doing them any good. The speech made by His Excellency the Viceroy as President of the Chamber was most insipid and tedious. In it he mainly dwelt on the many attributes of the Prince of Wales and emphasized the loyalty of the Chiefs. But what else could he do when the occasion itself was so very unimportant and demanded little from him?

Reflections on His Excellency Sir George Lloyd's policy with regard to political offences.

Sind Observer (9), 5th Nov.

6. "So far as His Excellency Sir George Lloyd is concerned he has not yet introduced repression on a large scale, and if there have been any outbreaks against the law, His Excellency's Government have employed only judicial methods to meet them as at Dhárwár and Malegaon. Here, again, the question whether justice has been even-handedly distributed does not concern us. It is held that in the case of Dhárwár there has been a serious miscarriage of justice, and had Government and the presiding judge taken better care to ensure a more judicial atmosphere for the trial, there would have been no complaint. In regard to Malegaon we believe that the learned judge has erred on the side of excess, even if he had weighed the evidence placed before him properly. To convict and sentence sixty-six persons, some among them to death and some to transportation for life, all in an uncertain political riot in a far-off corner of the presidency, would have been unthinkable to us a few months ago. Here is a fit case for the exercise of the Executive to reconsider the decision of the judge and grant clemency to some of the misfortunates sentenced. The Ali Brothers' trial was, of course forced on the local Government by Simla, and its moral and practical failure ought to have a salutary lesson all its own to our Governments, high and low alike. We desire to impress strongly on the mind of His Excellency that this failure to secure the conviction of a set of people whom they believed to be 'conspirators' and enemies of the State by judicial means should not deter them from employing the same methods if required and, secondly,—this is more important—it should make them pause a while and consider whether, even where they think a judicial trial is justified, it should be undertaken, in view of the serious consequences it involves, whether it wins or fails."

Famine conditions in the Dohad and Jhalod talukas of the Panch Mahals District.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 9th Nov.

7. The *Bombay Samáchár* dwells upon the distress prevailing in the Dohad and Jhalod talukas of the Panch Mahàls District owing to irregular and excessive rains and declares that the order of the revenue authorities to the agriculturists not to remove the crops has inflicted additional hardship upon the farmers. The paper says that while the public and some Government officials think that the anna valuation of the crops in these districts is three annas, some Government officials think it to be six annas and so the order about non-removal of crops has been given. The paper appeals to Government to afford immediate relief to the agriculturists by way of suspensions and remissions and exhorts the public to do all in their power to co-operate with Government in affording relief to the distress caused by famine in the above-mentioned districts.

Change in the policy of the *Bombay Samáchár*.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 11th Nov.

8. The *Bombay Samáchár* announces the change that has taken place in the proprietorship of the paper and states that the ex-editor and proprietor by his extreme modesty and inability to read the signs of the time had allowed the paper to drift into the back ground of Indian journalism and that the new proprietor wants to make the paper a popular organ and through it to help the country to gain *swaráj* as early as possible. It declares that it will not be the mouthpiece of any party or community and that it will serve the country to the best of its abilities by observing a non-party attitude. It says it will support Hindu-Muslim unity and will oppose all injustices and repressive acts of the Government. In the course of the article the paper declares its resolve to bring to their senses some of its Parsi contemporaries that boast of their power to make the community dance to their tunes and to expose them.

A forest complaint from Dharwar.

Lokamánya (114), 11th Nov.

9. The *Lokamánya* publishes a communication from 'A Poor Rayat of Kalghatgi (Dhárwár) in which he says:—Last year 183 persons of this place were prosecuted on the charge of having failed to assist in putting down a fire in the neighbouring forest, but the prosecutions were withdrawn subsequently when the matter came before the Legislative Council. But though the prosecutions were withdrawn the grazing fees have been doubled as a matter of punishment since June last. Against this doubling of the fees we petitioned to the Collector and the Commissioner, but received a reply from the latter directing the fees to be paid pending the result of the inquiry that was being made. On further application we were told that the fees might be remitted next year if proper assistance was given in putting out and preventing forest fires. The rayats do not wish to pay the grazing fees until the truth of the report made against them is established. They are already hard hit by the famine and are therefore unable to pay the fees.

The Co-operative Credit movement in the Bombay Presidency.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Nov.

10. "It is to be regretted that Mr. Rothfeld has departed from the policy of the leaders of the co-operative movement in most countries to abstain from the discussion or propagation of matters of political or religious controversy in relation to co-operative societies. Without any substratum of truth, Mr. Rothfeld has attributed lack of progress, or increase in corruption to the political movement he represents as being in sharp conflict with the purposes and ideals that underlie co-operation. He holds non-co-operators as being responsible for bringing about a state of moral disorder in the Presidency and creating a breach in the feelings of solidarity, a breach which no other co-operators, however, appear to have noticed. He has grossly misrepresented the attitude of Bai Anasuya Sarabhai and her co-workers in Ahmedabad in refusing the Government grant for co-operative housing in response to the appeal of the Congress—suggesting that the 'promoters seem to have been persuaded that good housing would be detrimental (*sic*).' Mr. Rothfeld also imports sectarian differences and saddles members of highly placed castes (presumably Brahmins) with the responsibility for corruption and misuse of power, and indulges in the very sweeping generalization that the educated and the powerful in small villages have misused the funds of these societies, committed frauds and embezzlement and caused a breach in the feelings of solidarity. Whether Mr. Rothfeld deserves censure for such sentiments, which must cause bitterness and ill-feeling, we leave his superiors to judge. Nor are we concerned about his continuing to remain as Registrar. But those interested in the co-operative movement owe it to themselves and to the good name of the movement to stand out boldly for their right to control the policy of the movement, unfettered by the passing whims of persons whom Government choose to appoint as Registrars. It is only when co-operative workers really control its development that the movement can be stripped of its objectionable features, that it will gather a momentum unwitnessed hitherto and become a vital force in the reconstruction of the social and economic life of the nation."

The visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 9th Nov.; *Hindusthán* (20), 10th Nov.

11. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its confidence that in spite of the non-co-operation movement the Prince of Wales will receive an enthusiastic reception in India and appeals to the non-co-operators to desist from doing anything that would bring discredit upon India. It reminds the Hindus of the duty they owe to a guest and asks them to treat him as a guest and not to mix up politics with his visit. The paper then refers to the solicitude for the welfare of his father's subjects as disclosed by the Prince's replies to addresses of welcome given to him at Gibraltar and Malta and impresses upon the people of India the necessity of making the Prince acquainted with their views so that when he returns to England he may be enabled to use his influence to get their grievances redressed and get their position improved. [The *Hindusthán* refers to the attempts that, according to it, are being made in official quarters to make an impression on the Prince of Wales that the people are anxious to accord him an hearty welcome while, in fact, they have made up their minds to boycott his visit. The paper then refers to the message given by Manchester to the Prince on the eve of his departure for India, and hopes that it will serve as an eye-opener to those who may be lukeworm in their sympathies towards the boycott movement and make them realize the fact that Manchester expects that India in welcoming the Prince will relax her resolve to boycott British piece-goods. It calls upon all true lovers of the country to

strengthen their resolve to boycott British goods and to refrain from participating in the festivities organised in honour of the Prince of Wales.]

Gujaráti (14), 13th Nov.

*12. Commenting on the impending arrival of the Prince of Wales, the *Gujaráti* points out that no benefit accrued from the visit of King Edward as Prince of Wales in 1876 and that of King George in 1906, and that there is as much likelihood of the present visit proving beneficial to India. Still it urges that it is the duty of Indians to welcome him as a guest who has come into their house. The paper remarks that its only hope is that the Prince may return to his native land, after completing his Indian tour, amidst the good wishes of the people, as safe and sound as he arrives here. It declares that it is quite certain that a great blunder has been made in bringing the Prince of Wales to this country without first redressing the Punjab wrong and satisfying the Muhammadans in connection with the Khilafat question. It points out that the people and the rulers have become hostile to each other, that the people have begun their campaign for overthrowing the existing administration and that all over the country the people and the officials are constantly in conflict with one another. Under these circumstances, concludes the paper, there can be no doubt that there is danger involved in bringing the Prince here. [Elsewhere the paper points out the danger of decorating the arches, erected in connection with the Prince's visit, with pictures of Hindu gods and goddesses and thereby injuring the religious feelings of the Hindus. The paper points out that there is already much discontent over the Khilafat question and that, therefore, this second cause for further discontent should not be given.]

Swarájya (Marathi) (147), 10th Nov.

13. Although the majority of the people in Poona have decided to boycott the Prince's visit, some stupid rich men and some traitorous sycophants will assemble to witness the ceremony connected with the laying of the foundation stone of the Maratha war memorial. But what do all these memorials mean? Why are they erected? The Durbaris suppose that their only business is to attend a Durbar decking themselves and the horses of their carriages. But we ordinary people ought to study this question more minutely. The idea of a memorial is very praiseworthy. We are naturally endowed with very short memories and even our meritorious acts soon fall into oblivion. Man, however, is anxious to keep green the memory of such acts and the idea of a memorial owes its origin to this desire of his. Evidently it is to our advantage to have memorials that would remind us of our greatness. But what shall we say of a stupid man who desires to perpetuate the memory of his misdeeds? When the present memorial is erected, India will ask these soldiers what they did for her. She will say "ye Maratha soldiers, ye may have gone to Europe, ye may have gone to East Africa, ye may even have enslaved the harmless and innocent people of Mesopotamia; but what did ye do for me, your mother country? Am I to bear on my bosom your memorials because you subjected others to slavery without getting rid of yours?" Only those people deserve memorials who free others along with themselves. But now we have memorials to those who being in chains themselves basely help to enslave others also! Our nation no longer wants such memorials. The angle of our vision is now changed. The idea of subjection is becoming more and more intolerable to us. Up to this time anybody could erect a memorial to whomsoever he liked with India's money. This can no longer be allowed. The demand for the removal of the statue of Lord Lawrence at Lahore from its present site is an instance in point. You cannot always dangle before the eyes of Indians the inscription "will you be governed by the pen or the sword?" It irritates them and they desire that the statue of the *saheb* who gave expression to those words should be cast away in some obscure place. The memorials that we have now throughout the country are humiliating to us to a degree. We have a memorial to Clive who deprived Surajuddowla of his territory by seducing the Commander of his army. We have also one to Warren Hastings who subjected the Begums of Oudh to great oppression for the sake of money. We have many more like these in the open spaces in our big cities. What do all these statues and memorials tell us? They tell us that we are conquered, that we are slaves, that our independence is lost and that we have no place among

the respectable nations of the world. These symbols of our slavery discourage us and the fewer that we have of them the better. When a man happens to set his eyes on the statue of a Wellesley or a Dalhousie, while enjoying the cool breeze in a garden, he loses all heart and his mind falls into the abyss of slavery! Why should we have memorials which are productive of such results? India no longer wants memorials of the kind of the Maratha war memorial. What have they to teach to India? The present memorial means that the slaves of India assisted a people in cutting the throats of other people and enslaving them. We have had enough of this suicidal business. We should now all concentrate our attention on the attainment of *swarájya*.

Swadharma (new), 10th Nov.

14. Referring to the Shivaji memorial the *Swadharma* remarks:—If the rulers want to raise a real memorial to Shivaji they should at once proscribe all books containing unfair strictures on him, introduce free and compulsory primary education and take steps to revive the warlike spirit of the Marathas. Otherwise the structure to be erected will be no memorial to Shivaji, but mere ridicule of the whole Maharashtra along with him.

Loknáyak **(115), 4th Nov.**

15. The condition of the bureaucracy has become like that of a drowning man who catches at a straw. When it found that the Prince's visit was going to become a vast failure it hit upon the idea of associating him with the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Shivaji War Memorial. It ordered the effeminate Chiefs and Sardars to put on their best clothes and to bring with them large retinues so that a vast concourse of people might be seen on the occasion of the ceremony. These Satanic monkeys are erecting a memorial to the very individual whom they looked upon as their arch enemy, whose anniversary they prohibited, and whom they called a thief and a freebooter. What has brought about this change in the attitude of the bureaucracy? The change is due to the fierce patriotism of the Nationalists. A memorial to Chhatrapati Shivaji! What an inspiring idea! It would have given genuine pleasure to the people had it been free from any ulterior motive. But the real object of its promoters is to baffle the non-co-operators. The stupid non-Brahmins have taken the bait and they think that they have scored a victory over the Brahmins by having a memorial to Shivaji. Hitherto the bureaucracy took advantage of the differences between the Hindus and the Muhammadans to prolong the period of its existence. Now this fiendish body has discovered another rift in the lute and is making use of it to put off our emancipation to a still distant date. Sons of India, although you daily get experience of the cunning of these fiends you still allow yourseloes to fall victims to their wiles in order that you may be able to quaff the blood of your own countrymen! Fie upon you!!

Jágaruk (44), 5th Nov.; ***Ráshtra Veer*** (133), 6th Nov.

16. The *Jágaruk* declares that the bureaucracy is inspired by no pure motives in siding with the non-Brahmins and that in spite of this knowledge certain of its devotees are indulging in its praises for its magnanimity. Its real aim, the paper declares, is not to emancipate the non-Brahmins or the depressed classes, but to perpetuate its own domination over them by accentuating their differences with the Brahmins. It is with this motive, it goes on, that it has kept them illiterate for the past hundred years, managed to ruin their industries and denied them military training lest they should aspire for higher posts in the army. The ceremonies connected with the laying of the foundation stone of the Shivaji Memorial, according to the paper, are intended by the bureaucracy to bring together multitudes of people round the Prince, hoping thereby to show to the Prince and the whole world that the Indian people are quite contented. The bureaucracy is thus, it declares, actually trying to exploit the public's enthusiasm for Shivaji to further tighten its fetters of dependence. [The ***Rashtra Veer***, on the other hand, dwells upon the importance of the Shivaji Memorial and appeals to the people to be present in large numbers on the occasion of the laying of its foundation by the Prince of Wales and also to contribute to the fund required for raising the memorial. It asks the people not to be misled in the matter by the advice of ungrateful men.]

Chaitanya (98), 7th Nov.

17. The *Chaitanya* refers to the Maratha memorial column and the Shivaji memorial of which the foundation stones are to be laid by the Prince of Wales and expresses the hope that the column, in addition to being a matter for pride to the Marathas, will also serve as a constant reminder to the British Government of the necessity of conferring right of equality on Indians. The paper welcomes the Shivaji memorial also, but referring to the procession which is to take place on the occasion of the laying of its foundation stone and which is to be made up for the most part by the Native Princes and their retinues remarks:—The native states represent autocratic rule in India and there is no saying how many centuries it will take to have the responsible system of government introduced in them. To collect together the rulers of such autocratic States in the Prince of Wales' Procession is to show to those who are trying for the establishment of democratic rule in the British territory that these autocratic rulers would be ready to back up Government with all their strength against the democratic movement. If that be the object of Government in holding the procession the Shivaji memorial ceremony would be productive of disappointment.

The Indian Merchants' Chamber and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Nov.

18. "The members of the Indian Merchants' Chamber and Bureau will meet to-day to rescind or to confirm the decision of their Managing Committee to present an address of welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. They need hardly be reminded of the duty which the country expects them to perform. .... We are now at the most critical juncture of our struggle for *swarāj* and the Indian commercial community must decide now and immediately if it is or is not wholly to identify itself with national interests which demand the boycott of the visit of the Prince of Wales. The policy of running with the hares and hunting with the hounds will no longer do. If some of the distinguished men who have hitherto served the Chamber and incidentally, themselves, wish to 'co-operate' with the Government, let them by all means do so. Whatever they may or may not do, the Indian Merchants' Chamber must identify itself with the national policy laid down by the Congress. The letter which the Committee of the Chamber but recently wrote to the Viceroy pathetically drawing attention to the contemptuous manner in which the Finance and Commerce Department have hitherto consigned its numerous representations to the waste-paper basket should open the eyes of the mercantile community. What have they gained by 'co-operating' with Government? But we do not wish to appeal to the self-interest of the mercantile community though, we confess with regret, the community has hitherto shown itself to be more jealous of its self-interest than of the national interests of the country. We appeal to their patriotism. The country has resolved to boycott the Prince's visit because it puts its honour above everything else. The issue before the members of the Indian Chamber today is whether they place their country's honour above Mammon."

Protest against decorating the Prince of Wales' route with pictures of Hindu deities.

Swadharma (new), 10th Nov.

19. To what more ignominous treatment can the Hindu deities be subjected than to use them to decorate the route of the Prince of Wales to gladden his eyes? The sin that the rulers are thus committing consciously or unconsciously by wounding the religious sentiment of the Hindus by exhibiting in the streets their deities whom they regard as holy and worship in shrines will never result in good. It is stated in the Ramayana that Ravan had made all the gods of the time attend upon Indrajit his heir-apparent, when he had returned to Lanka after his conquest of the three worlds. Similar stories about Hiranyakashyapu and others are well-known. It will be seen from this how appropriate is Mahatma Gandhi's comparison of the bureaucracy with Ravan. According to our religious injunctions, therefore, all attendance at and participation in the ceremonies where our deities and indirectly our religion are thus ridiculed and subjected to ignominous treatment is prohibited.

Comments on the rumour that the Prince of Wales is going to grant interviews to leading non-co-operators.

Model (25), 6th Nov.

20. What is the meaning of the rumour that the Prince of Wales will gladly meet the non-co-operators and hear what they have to say if they express their desire to meet him? Some wiseacres try to show that it goes to prove their contention that the Prince is not visiting India as a representative of Government. An announcement was made by Lord Curzon in the House of Lords to the effect that there were no special reasons for getting the visit postponed. This goes to show that the movements of the Prince are controlled by the Government established by law and that the Prince is not able to make the least change in them and that he will go where he is carried and see not through his own eyes but through those of others. In these circumstances what good will the Prince be able to do by interviewing Mr. Gandhi or any other non-co-operationist leader? We do not think that Mr. Gandhi has anything more to tell the Prince than what he has already told Lord Reading. If the Prince can use his good offices to solve the difficulties of India the non-co-operationist leaders would be glad to interview him. But the Prince himself should openly invite Mr. Gandhi if he is desirous of doing justice to India. India has resolved to boycott the Prince because he is coming as the guest of the Government of India and not as their guest and the country is not prepared to listen to him if he is going to ask us to "forgive and forget" as the Duke of Connaught did.

Comments on the decision to commence Civil Disobedience.

Nusrat (new), 10th Nov.

21. *Apropos* of the decision to adopt Civil Disobedience the *Nusrat* writes:—At last after weary waiting for months the necessary sanction has been given to the commencement of Civil Disobedience. How keen and anxious were our countrymen to employ this moral and spiritual weapon against the tyrannies of the bureaucratic Government can be gauged from the fact that not a single member of the Congress Committee opposed this important resolution. Indians have so far sent petitions to many an official, prostrated themselves before many a white idol, have gone round with the mendicant's bowl for a long time, have cut the throats of their own people for the sake of others and have made all sorts of sacrifices with the purpose of gaining the good will of those in authority. But it is a pity that the heart of the faithless beloved (Government) never grew soft nor showed signs of doing justice. After bearing continued disappointments and perpetual sufferings, India had no other remedy, but to burn herself to ashes, and never to co-operate with the powerful demon of oppression and injustice, or to prostrate herself before him. The present authorities are, however, quite devoid of justice and sense of decency and persist in maintaining their oppressive system of government. Hence it is no wonder that the leaders of the nation have, as if by compulsion, approved of embarking on Civil Disobedience. Mahatma Gandhi is commencing Civil Disobedience at a time when the Prince of Wales will be in our midst. In a way it will be a good thing, for the Prince will be able to study for himself the wretched condition of the Indian people, and will know how after remaining under a tyrannical government for more than 150 years and undergoing innumerable hardships, they have been forced to follow the golden saying "He who is oppressed will fight."

Young India (11), 10th Nov.

22. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"Though the All-India Congress Committee has authorised civil disobedience by Provincial Congress Committees on their own responsibility, I hope they will put due emphasis on the word 'responsibility' and not start civil disobedience with a light heart. Every condition must be given its full effect. The mention of Hindu-Muslim unity, non-violence, *swadeshi* and removal of untouchability means that they have not yet become an integral part of our national life. If an individual or a mass have still misgivings about Hindu-Muslim unity, if they have still any doubt about the necessity of non-violence for the attainment of our triple goal, if they have not yet enforced *swadeshi* in its completeness, if the Hindus among that mass have still the poison of untouchability in them, that mass or that individual are not ready for civil disobedience. Indeed, it would be best to watch and wait whilst the experiment is being carried on in one area. Reverting to the analogy of the army, those divisions that watch and wait are just as much co-operating actively as the division that is actually fighting. The only time, whilst the experiment is going on, that individual civil disobedience may be resorted to simultaneously, is when the Government obstruct even the silent prosecution of *swadeshi*. Thus if an order of prohibition is served upon an expert spinner going to teach or organise spinning, that order should be summarily disregarded and the teacher should court imprisonment. But in all other respects, in so far as I can judge at present, it will be best for every other part of India scrupulously to respect all orders and instructions whilst one part is deliberately taking the offensive and committing a deliberate breach of all the unmoral state laws it possibly can. Needless to add that any outbreak of violence in any other part of India must necessarily injure and may even stop the experiment. The other parts will be expected to remain immovable and unperturbed, even though the people within the area of experiment may be imprisoned, riddled with bullets or otherwise ill-treated by the authorities. We must expect them to give a good account of themselves in every conceivable circumstance."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Nov.

23. "The resolutions passed at the momentous meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, which has a greater volume of public opinion behind it than that enjoyed by any Parliament in the world, will, we hope, make Lord Reading realise, if he has not yet realised, the earnestness and determination of the people. The fact that there was a strong element in the Committee which demanded the relaxation in the conditions which Mahatma Gandhi and the majority deemed essential for the exercise of civil disobedience should bring home to him how far the people are prepared to suffer in order to win their birthright. This spirit cannot be crushed by repression. The nature and intensity of public feeling in the country are now manifest to all except those who will not see and than whom there is none more blind. The response of the panic-stricken bureaucrat to this manifestation of the spirit of the people will be the familiar one—repression and more repression. The next few days will show if Lord Reading is really possessed of some genuine spark of statesmanship to rise above the panic as well as the prejudice, not to speak of the 'prestige', of his bureaucratic entourage. ...... And in the task of conciliation he will find his greatest ally in Mahatma Gandhi. Here is Lord Reading's opportunity. Will he prove himself equal to it? Let us wait and see. But India cannot wait long."

New Times (7), 10th Nov.

24. "It seems civil disobedience will, for the time being, be limited to a district in Gujarát. The struggle will be led by Mahatma Gandhi. A good number, it is reported, have signed the pledge of civil disobedience. Pundit Motilal Nehru has already expressed his resolve to disregard section 144. It is possible, probable, that Government will not now enforce sections like the section 144. We do not know yet what other laws Mahatma Gandhi has in view which, in his judgment, should be broken. We suppose it is not intended that each and every law is to be broken. To break every law indiscriminately would, as far as one can see, create, in some provinces at least, an atmosphere of passion, strife and violence which would prove fatal to the struggle for freedom. We cannot too strongly emphasise the necessity of non-violence at every stage in the struggle."

Mahrátta (6), 13th Nov.

*25. "If one scans the resolution itself regarding civil disobedience one would find it more restrictive than loose. It imposes conditions which well-nigh make it impossible for any big province or, for the matter of that, even a big district to undertake it. Mahatma Gandhi would have to be thanked by his enemies even for giving them an open and a square fight. If he has erred at all, he has erred on the side of caution....... But, what is the moral of the whole? The resolution of civil disobedience of the All-India Congress Committee proclaims to the world that India is earnest and means business in the matter of achieving its freedom....... The apologists of bureaucracy and the Moderates still talk of reforms and wax eloquent on the theme of 'good government' under the new dispensation. We wonder how they still talk of such things when the determination of the country to be free is writ large for all those who care to see..... The 'offer of a 'partnership' which the reforms promise as the end, reduces itself to a mockery when the fetters of dependence are still on the Nation and the prospective partner is bound, gagged and robbed. The question is, will not the bureaucracy come to terms with the leaders so that the right solution of the problem can be found. Neither the windy denunciation of the efforts of the Nation nor the repressive armoury can be of any avail to them in this struggle for freedom. Perhaps it is likely that they may succeed for a time in clearing the field by rendering the leaders of the movement 'horse-de-combat'. But we hope the lesson that is taught by history is not lost upon them. The movement may fail for a time, the leaders may be gagged and imprisoned, and the mighty brute force may succeed; but it is these failures and imprisonments that will lay the foundation of a powerful structure. Ideas cannot die and it is the ideas that matter. The whole world is seething with discontent and revolt against the old system and India is but a part of it. As Bernard Houghton aptly puts it: 'It comes to this then no civilised people can be governed by another nation for their good; however well the latter intends, its relations with the subject people must by their very nature depress their vitality and deface their character. This is the psychological fact behind the world movement for autonomy from Ireland to Korea. It is the passionate cry of mankind which wills to grow, to live and which in the fire of patriotism burns the evil suggestion of humility. Into this movement India has stepped with all her heart. She intends revolution not only in polity, but in character also, a revolution that would astonish the world'. Will not our bureaucracy take note of this world drama, the opening scenes of which are being gone through at present?"

Lokamánya (114), 7th Nov.

26. The *Lokamánya* refers to the resolution about civil disobedience and non-payment of taxes passed at the All-India Congress Committee's recent meeting at Delhi and to the announcement made by Mr. Gandhi at the meeting that he had definitely settled to launch the movement in parts of Gujarat under his personal supervision in the coming month and declares that as soon as Gujarat begins this peaceful rebellion or revolution, *swarájya* would doubtless be initiated in that part of the country. The paper predicts that when Gujarat thus launches *swarájya* next December other provinces in India would prepare themselves to come to its assistance and the whole of the country having thus unfurled the flag of organised Civil Disobedience, Lord Reading would have to come forward to come to terms with Mr. Gandhi's *swarájya* just as the British Cabinet is now doing with the Irish Republic. In its opinion the peaceful way in which the public has conducted itself during the last year and more in spite of official provocations has encouraged Mr. Gandhi to launch civil disobedience in his own province. It regards the conditions imposed by Mr. Gandhi about the adoption of full *swadeshi* and the knowledge of hand spinning and hand weaving in the case of both individual civil disobedience and mass civil disobedience, as justifiable in view of the various hardships to which the passive resisters are likely to be subjected by the bureaucracy by confiscation of their private property. It admits that Government may be able to put a stop to hand spinning and hand weaving also when the civil disobedience is confined to a single District or Taluka, but points out that if the movement spreads over several Districts the situation will be made impossible for Government to cope with. From the objections taken by several speakers in the course of the discussion in the Committee to the conditions imposed by Mr. Gandhi, the paper expects that it will take about a year for the other districts outside Gujarat to come into line with it, and so it conjectures that *swarájya* might commence not during the coming December but in the December of the next year. At the same time it thinks that it may not be necessary to wait so long as that. For it points out, that when the non-payment of taxes is launched in Gujarat, Mr. Gandhi and his helpers would be sent to jail by the bureaucracy which is sure to begin a campaign of repression with the help of the military and if Gujarat persists in its *satyagraha* for a few months in spite of this repression, owing to the training it has got at the hands of Mr. Gandhi, the backward districts also will run to its help to win *swarájya* at the cost of any suffering. The paper expresses the hope that in view of the fact that Mr. Gandhi's resolve to sacrifice himself during the next month is to serve as the guiding example to the whole of India, Providence may grant the necessary courage to the congress leaders and inspire the people of the country to be prepared to participate in the congress programme.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 13th Nov.

***27.** "While no part of the country is ready for civil disobedience large sections of the people are getting alarmed at the light-heartedness with which programmes have been proclaimed and put aside in favour of the latest novelty in the course of the non-co-operation movement. The preamble to the civil disobedience resolution avers that the calm with which the country has received the result of the Karáchi prosecution is a measure of the longing of the country for civil disobedience. There are people in the very inmost circle of the Congress party who know that this is true in a sense the very reverse of what the public are expected to understand by it. The promoters of this new plan know well that they must produce some impression on the country to make up for their blunders and failures, within a very short time, or they would be totally discredited. As we have shown above, there is no probability of the movement spreading widely anywhere in the country. But we have to guard against three things: unpreparedness, precipitancy and supineness in the redress of real grievances and the fulfilment of genuine national aspirations....... The last but not the least item in the scheme of the country's peaceful evolution is the redress of grievances and the fulfilment of aspirations. Thanks to the astuteness of France, Great Britain need only hold her hands now to have her Prime Minister's pledge fulfilled. She would be putting new weapons in the hands of her detractors, if she upholds the Sevres treaty against France's statesmanly attitude of discarding the wretched diplomatic principle of not allowing the Cross and the Crecent to prosper side by side in Europe....... The Government of India do not seem to realise the acuteness of public feeling throughout India at the inadequacy of the measures so far adopted to express Government's repudiation of the excesses of the Martial Law regime in the Punjab. Why is the Viceroy still delaying his decision regarding the martial law prisoners? Why have some officials guilty of such excesses not been suitably dealt with? This is all that the country wants and Lord Reading has disappointed its hopes by his procrastination over these simple matters. As regards the aspirations of the country, we are emphatically of the view that Dominion status in the British Commonwealth is our proper, sufficient and honourable goal....... Writes Professor Keith:—'' The new status of the Dominions is confirmed by the covenant of the League of Nations, under which not merely is the British Empire a member, but so also are the four Dominions and India, the position of the latter being motived by the fact that she has been assured in due course self-government on the Dominion model'."

***Dnyán Prakásh* (40), 8th Nov.**

28. The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks that Mr. Gandhi aspires to achieve within seven weeks what he was incapable of achieving within seven months. It observes that it is unwise to ask the masses to follow a difficult course unless they are imbued at least with a fraction of the zeal of their leaders. It alludes to Mr. Gandhi's admission made on the occasion of the failure of the *satyagraha* movement in 1919, and remarks that he is incapable of profiting by his past experience. It then writes:—The All-India Congress Committee should have paid more attention to the condition of the masses before recommending such a course. They should have also not ignored the teachings of history. But the men who now control the Congress have ceased to be thoughtful. They have become Mr. Gandhi's slaves. It was the plain duty of the Congress Committee to take into consideration the non-success attending the non-co-operation movement so far before sanctioning Civil Disobedience.

***Dnyán Prakásh* (40), 11th Nov.; *Jágaruk* (44), 9th Nov.**

29. Mr. Gandhi is confident that this last throw of the dice will enable him to win *swarájya* before the end of the year. But in spite of his self-confidence it is not always that he succeeds. Several times during his life-time the *satyagraha* movement has failed. Although the present movement and that of 1919 differ in names they are essentially the same. Like that of its predecessor the object of the present movement too is to break the laws of Government simply because they are made by Government. In view of this semblance between the two it may safely be predicted that the present movement will fail as its predecessor did. Either the people will reject this item in Mr. Gandhi's programme of non-co-operation as they rejected several others, or there will be chaos in the land. We are aware that Mr. Gandhi would prefer anarchy to the present system of Government. We are, however, reluctant to believe that people are so thoughtless as to subscribe to this opinion of Mr. Gandhi's. [The *Jagaruk* also refers to the dangers involved in launching civil disobedience and asks the constitutionalists to be on their guard from the very beginning against the movement.]

Sind Observer (9), 5th Nov.

30. "In going a step further in its programme of non-co-operation, the Congress Committee, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, has given an answer to the Government's present political methods. The reply to the sentences of the Ali Brothers is civil disobedience, which is to be begun on a large scale and includes the non-payment of taxes....... It is only too true to say that the Congress at its Ahmedabad session in December will endorse this policy and confirm this decision. Therefore, it may be said that, in a month or two, we are coming to the high waters of non-co-operation without knowing whither we shall be drifted....... Mahatma Gandhi, we know, has been hitherto halting and hesitating to advise the introduction of civil disobedience, particularly the non-payment of taxes....... But unfortunately the prosecution of the Ali Brothers—the most ill-advised State prosecution we could think of—has intervened and done its mischief. It has added to the ferment, intensified the feeling against the Government and made what are usually counsels of despair the principles of action. Mr. Gandhi has caught the rising tide of popular discontent and will make every effort to swim it to his well-fixed destination. But will the programme of Mahatma Gandhi succeed ? We hope not....... The refusal to pay taxes is an extraordinary step. It requires an organisation and a propelling motive-force which the non-co-operation movement at present lacks and which it cannot acquire for a long time to come....... This part of the non-co-operation movement will, like those parts related to the boycott of schools and law courts, collapse like a house of cards....... If Mahatma Gandhi succeeds it will not be on account of but in spite of these inherent defects in his programme. The attitude that Government should adopt towards his movement is one of passive indifference and it will cool down. Any blunder on their part will be worse than a crime."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 7th Nov. ; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 7th Nov. ; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (53), 9th Nov.

31. The *Praja Mitra* and *Pársi* remarks that the conditions which are made necessary for the adoption of civil disobedience make the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee regarding it both impracticable and impossible. The paper declares that it is out of place to argue with Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues when they do not take notice of the Malabar disturbances which are the result of exciting illiterate people. It asks how it can be said that the resolution passed by the All-India Congress Committee is the same as the Karáchi resolution when the former is passed with certain reservations. Referring to Mr. Gandhi's declaration before the Committee that he has advised hundreds of soldiers to give up service, the paper asks where he saw these soldiers, what has been the result of his advice, and whether it was given with some reservations ; as then alone we would know what value to attach to Mr. Gandhi's assertion. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that there can not be any more pitiable admission of the failure of the non-co-operation movement than the statement made by Mr. Gandhi at the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee which assembled at Delhi that India has advanced much during the last twelve months, but from the standpoint of *swaráj* very little has been done by the people in comparison with what ought to have been done. The paper doubts whether the new movement of civil disobedience which is to be started by Mr. Gandhi will in any way prove more effective. It inquires whether there is any wisdom in trying such a dangerous experiment when Mr. Gandhi has honestly admitted that the Indian people are not in a position to take up this movement at once. It greatly regrets the resolution for the adoption of civil disobedience and thinks that India cannot attain *swaráj* soon by means of such movements which, in its opinion, will do more harm than good to the people. It thinks that the non-co-operators have not still learnt a lesson from the Dhárwár, Malegaon and Malabár episodes and that they do not in the least care what the people have to suffer for the attainment of success in a political struggle. In the opinion of the paper this new movement will not only cause more bitterness between the Government and the people but it will also increase the gulf between the Nationalists and Moderates in the country. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* refers to the resolution about the adoption of civil disobedience passed by the All-India Congress Committee and remarks that this means that people are asked to wage an open war against Government. It then tries to show the failure of the non-co-operation movement upto now and remarks that the conditions which are laid down as necessary for those who want to adopt civil disobedience show that it is bound to fail. The paper warns the Muhammadans to abstain from this last movement which is to be started by Mr. Gandhi, and informs them on good grounds that the Khilafat and the Turkish questions are to be solved in such a way that each and every Muhammadan will be satisfied with it. In the opinion of the paper the Indian Muhammadans should hold the Turkish and Khilafat question dearer than that of *swaráj*, and it calls it madness to say that with the attainment of *swaráj* the Khilafat question will be solved of itself to the satisfaction of Muhammadans.]

Gujaráti (14), 13th Nov., Eng. cols.

***32.** " We do not know which district Mahatma Gandhi is going to offer as a sacrifice at the altar of non-co-operation and *swaraj*. It is reported that Bardoli Taluka is to be the scene of the first experiment in civil disobedience. But whichever the victim or victims, the future is ominous and we cannot but deplore the step that has been resolved upon by Mahatma Gandhi....... There is no doubt that Mahatma Gandhi has put a heavy and effective brake upon some of the wilder spirits that did not want any conditions to be imposed but simply aspired to plunge the country at once into chaos and confusion. But we feel satisfied that even this new development of Mahatma Gandhi's activities, which represents the final stage in the non-co-operation programme, will meet with no greater success than its other items have done. Individual civil resisters there will be. We may even concede that individual districts or tahsils might go in for civil disobedience. But that the movement will be general or crowned with success to the extent that 'it would mean an end of Government authority and open defiance of Government and its law' all over the country we absolutely refuse to believe. 'Failure' is already writ large upon the new movement as it was upon the rest of the programme.

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 13th Nov., Eng. cols.

***33.** " As it is not yet clearly explained how this civil disobedience movement is to be carried on we think it is premature to express any opinion on the futility and impracticability or otherwise of the methods to be employed. But there can be no doubt as to the serious illegality of the whole movement and the appalling results following in its train. To use Mr. Gandhi's own words, it involves 'open defiance of the Government and its laws' with the avowed object of making an end of Government authority. That this is a most serious step Mr. Gandhi himself acknowledges........ It is easy to predict the disastrous result of this last phase of the non-co-operation movement. However, let us wait and see what 'wonderful achievement' it will prove to be, so as to 'open the eyes of the whole world'."

Bhárat Seva (13), 11th Nov.

34. The *Bhárat Seva* remarks :—Not only do many people outside the non co-operation movement believe that the country is not prepared for this new move of civil disobedience, but Mr. Gandhi himself to a certain extent does so. The proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee show that the non-co-operators have taken up this last weapon in the name of the Congress. The Congress as a whole has not considered the question of civil disobedience. The manner in which the non-co-operators announce whether the country is prepared for a particular movement or not is also strange. Of course, after the great war in Europe, there is very great awakening in all countries of the world and all nations have advanced. But it is only their imagination which makes them believe that the country is prepared for civil disobedience. All civil resisters should think dispassionately, calmly and with discrimination. It lies with the non-co-operators to listen to this warning or not, but it is our duty as a journalist to give this warning and we do so for the sake of religion and country. We are not opposed to *swarájya*, *swadeshi* or the Khilafat but we differ in the methods of attaining these objects.

Gujarát Vartamán (63), 9th Nov.

35. Disasters in many parts of India will result from the carrying out of the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee in the matter of civil disobedience. None of Mr. Gandhi's movements has so far resulted in any good to the country but all his movements have proved disastrous to the lives and properties of the people. Mr. Gandhi has compensated the people for their sufferings by merely acknowledging his mistakes ! The inauguration of civil disobedience is likely to prove a gigantic mistake one that would be a thousand times worse than the Himalayan mistake once admitted by Mr. Gandhi. Still many people blinded by their faith in Mr. Gandhi will join it. We shall not be surprised if rivers of blood flow in the country as a result of this movement. Let us, however, hope that there are not many people in the country who will blindly follow Mr. Gandhi in his ruinous path and that Gujerát will be spared from disastrous consequences.

How Government should deal with the coming campaign of Civil Disobedience.

Servant of India (8), 10th Nov.

36. " While at Karáchi the charge of sedition against the Ali Brothers was withdrawn, the Government of Madras, with its usual gift for blundering, has instituted proceedings against Messrs, Yakub Hassan, Abdul Majid Sharar and Varadarajulu Naidu for sedition and for promoting class-hatred. Surely these men have not been more seditious than the Ali Brothers or Mr. Gandhi. Mr Yakub Hassan is in no sense a danger to the peace of Madras. The dignified tone of his brief statement before the trying magistrate is in every respect a perfect contrast to that of Mr. Muhammad Ali. No serious consequences have resulted from his Tanjore presidential address which had almost been forgotten by the public, until the prosecution gave fresh publicity to it. It is the oft-repeated policy of the non-co-operators to speak wildly and court imprisonment. The Government generally has refused to play into their hands and adopted a policy of patience, trusting in the common sense of the people. Sedition has now become so common and has been so much tolerated that any special notice of it comes as a surprise. By provincial Governments departing now and then from this wise policy of tolerance they are only adding fuel to a dying fire. The mass of non-co-operators are quite tired of the movement and their enthusiasm can be kept up only by excitements such as these trials afford. During the next two months non-co-operators are bound to do their utmost, for it is fairly certain that after the time fixed for the attainment of *swaráj* is past, the movement has not a ghost of chance. During this period not only will there be more sedition ; but civil disobedience of various kinds will be practised in several places although the conditions laid down by the All-India Congress Committee for persons and localities in respect of the use of *khaddar* may not be fulfilled. It is now that Government should exercise the greatest patience. It is now that the policy followed by it so long will be really tested. We hope that the local authorities will be instructed to keep their heads quite cool."

The depression in the Lancashire cotton industry is a result of the Indian boycott.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Nov.

37. " If any convincing proof is wanted of the black outlook which is beginning to stare the British manufacturers in the face, as a direct result of the Indian boycott, it is furnished by the latest report from Lancashire contained in Reuter's cable published yesterday. The prevailing depression in the cotton industry there, which is attributed to the absence of fresh orders, is leading the manufacturers to resort to short time and a meeting of spinners was to have been held on Wednesday to consider the advisability of running mills for four instead of five and a half days weekly. A section of the Anglo-Indian and British Press has been lulling the Lancashire manufacturers and workmen with false hopes of an early brightening of the Indian situation in regard to cloth imports.

If Lancashire knew what was really brewing in India, it would take measures betimes to tide over the impending crisis, by diverting the attention it has been accustomed to give to India to other fields. The Anglo-Indian and British Press is doing a positive disservice to the British industry by misleading it regarding the strength of the boycott movement in India. Meanwhile an instructive side-light on the disinterested mission of the British people in regard to India is afforded by the questions with which Major Glyn bombarded Mr. Montagu in the Commons on Tuesday, the burden of which was to secure more orders for British goods from India in order 'to give work to the unemployed in Britain.'"

Comments on the Press Note on Government's policy regarding non-co-operating Municipalities.

Kesari (110), 8th Nov.

38. The *Kesari* dwells on the Press Note about Government's policy in connection with the non-co-operating municipalities and says that the municipalities in question will not care a jot for the threat of suspension held out. In its opinion all such threats will prove of no avail where the rate payers and their Municipal representatives are unitedly working together, as shown by the reply given by the Ahmedabad Municipality to Government. It remarks that as Mr. Gandhi is now about to launch civil disobedience in Gujarat, it would be more advisable for Government to leave municipalities to themselves and concentrate its attention on a department of greater importance.

Gujaráti Punch (16), 6th Nov.

39. Commenting upon the Press note issued by the Government regarding the non-co-operating municipalities the *Gujarati Punch* remarks:—The method suggested in the Press Note to the taxpayers of filing civil suits against the municipal councillors will cause factions among the people. It is unbecoming on the part of the taxpayers to file suits against their own representatives. We do not approve of this suggestion made by Government. It is also not desirable on the part of Government to suspend non-co-operating municipalities. We are of opinion that in view of the desire on the part of Government to do good to the people and in view of the fact that they do not at present intend to suspend the non-co-operating municipalities, they should appoint a non-official Commission consisting of public leaders to carefully consider the state of affairs which have arisen and then come to a decision. Government should also amend the Municipal law so as to grant full local self-government to the people. They should amend the law so as to allow those municipalities which do not want to take Government help and which want to conduct educational institutions at their own expense to act independently.

Alleged recourse to repression on the part of Government to restore calm before the Prince of Wales's visit.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Nov.

40. "Having failed to secure by the comparatively mild, if less straightforward, means of 'preventive' legislation, the atmosphere necessary to ensure a 'popular' welcome to the Prince of Wales, the authorities in the various provinces are busy using the 'big stick' to effect their purpose. In the beginning only the United Provinces and Behar and Orissa Governments had launched on the campaign of repression, but now the rest of the provincial administrations, with the exception of Burma, have come in a line and repression is in full swing throughout the country. In Burma, it is no doubt deemed not prudent to inflame public opinion at an hour when the White Committee has just made its advent there and there is already a movement to boycott the Committee and the 'Reforms' which it will bring in its wake....... It will be noted that since the days of Lord Curzon every succeeding viceregal regime has seen greater and greater repression in evidence. We had greater repression during Lord Minto's regime than during Lord Curzon's, and greater still during Lord Chelmsford's. The achievement of Lord Reading's viceroyalty, even during the brief period he has been in India, has surpassed all previous record in point of the severity as well as universality of repression. And yet, the tragic irony of it is that His Excellency came to this country as the harbinger of a new era of peace and contentment—and, above all, of justice! Does not the chronic ailment of British administration in India show that there is something inherently rotten in the system and that so long as the system is not rid of the obnoxious elements, the country can neither have peace nor can it progress ? The violent remedies with which it is sought to cure the malady are only undermining the system more and more."

Comments on the Karachi trial.

Hindusthán (19), 6th Nov.

41. "The farcical trial of the 'Illustrious Seven' at Karachi is now over and all the 'accused', except Shree Shankaracharya, have been sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment. We advisedly call this trial farcical because from the very commencement to the end, it was carried on most irregularly, unconstitutionally and with very scant regard for the dictates of Law....... The way in which the whole 'show' was got up shows that the verdict was a foregone conclusion and the trial was only one more mockery of justice. In this verdict, we have a very fine specimen of 'British' Justice and this specimen is all the more valuable and typical, found as it has been under the regime of the Ex-Lord Chief Justice of England, who came to India with a firm determination to do her full Justice....... The sentence passed on the leaders of the Khilafat movement is, we are inclined to believe, a challange to the Indian Moslems and an insult to their religion. It is challange also to the non-co-operation movement. We are sure the people will not be awed down by such a tyranny on the part of the Government, who must resort to a policy of such barbarous repression unless it is prepared to bend. But the present bureaucratic system will sooner break than bend. The leaders who have been sentenced have done their duty and suffered for a noble cause. The people have to follow in their footsteps and be prepared for any consequences."

New Times (7), 7th Nov.

42. "Why was the Government anxious to imprison the Muslim leaders ? If the idea was to allay unrest, Government should have found out their mistake by this time. The unrest is deepening. The resolution of civil disobedience, however restricted by a number of conditions, which the All-India Congress Committee have passed indicates the mood of a number of nationalists. And meetings in which lakhs of persons have taken part have been held and yet more will be held in different parts of the country re-affirming the Karachi Resolutions. Unrest is likely to deepen more and more. If the idea was to break up Hindu-Muslim unity, once again, Government would be disappointed. Shri Shankaracharya after being acquitted is reported to have said that henceforth his object would be to continue the work of the Ali Brothers. The sufferings of the Muslim leaders have drawn out the sympathies of more Hindus....... Was the idea of Government this,—to create 'impression' on the popular mind of the *sircar's* power and to maintain the bureaucratic prestige ?....... Unrest in India will not be put down by a show of power. The only way to end unrest is to do justice to the Nation by coming to terms with its insistent demands."

Kesari (110), 8th Nov.

43. The *Kesari* declares that looking to the preparations made, the result of the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and other leaders was like a mouse coming forth from the mountain in labour. The Brothers, it admits, have got two years' rigorous imprisonment, but it points out that the charge of tampering with the army and of conspiracy having failed the sentence has lost its importance, and in addition the Karachi resolution has become more widely known than it was ever before. The paper holds that from the legal point of view, the bureaucracy has trampled the law under foot from beginning to end in the case and showed how it can defy everything to gain its own ends. Is the justice-loving Viceroy, the paper askes, going to pay no attention to all this illegality ? It further declares that if the high authorities who gave sanction to the prosecution had paid the smallest attention to the evidence to be produced against the accused, they would have come to know that it did not at all incriminate the Shankaracharya and Mr. Shaukat Ali, and all the trouble to which these two accused and the followers of the former were subjected, would have been saved. The proceedings thus showed, the paper says, how the bureaucracy is gradually taking to anarchical ways. Referring to the change of date from Feburary 1921 to February 1920, made in the charge against Mr. Shaukat Ali, the paper asks Government as to why no action was taken in the matter of a resolution passed at Sylhet so long back as a year and a half similar to the one passed at Karachi for which the Brothers were now prosecuted. Government acted in the present instance, in the paper's opinion, like a drowning man catching at a straw to carry out its intention of crushing the accused. It regrets that even a straightforward judge like Mr. Kennedy should have allowed irregularity committed in the course of the trial, showing that British courts of justice have now become mere puppets in the hands of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy, in the opinion of the paper, also showed lack of statesmanship in pressing on the prosecution inasmuch as it should have withdrawn it as soon as Greece failed in its venture against Angora. But it was persisted in, it says, out of a false sense of prestige, with the result that the resolution for which the accused were prosecuted was deliberately re-affirmed at meetings held from one end of the country to the other. Another important question, according to the paper, that the case has raised is, which is superior, religious injuctions or provisions of law, and how far the people should rely on the pledge of non-interference in religious matters given in the Queen's proclamation and it asks the leaders of the people to consider the matter and come to some definite conclusion as to where the scope of law ends and the authority of religious injunctions begins. The only thing in the opinion of the paper that the bureaucracy has achieved by what it calls its persecution of the heroic Ali Brothers, is that, it has lost its own prestige, utterly destroyed whatever little confidence had been left in people's minds in British justice, roused the fiery Muhammadans by interference in religious matters, strengthened the Hindu-Muhammadan unity and made civil disobedience inevitable. The bureaucracy has thus, in the opinion of the paper, helped forward India's political cause.

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 6th and 9th Nov.

44. Everyone will agree with Mr. Kennedy that the nation would have considerably benefited if the Ali Brothers and their co-accused had used their intelligence and selflessness to promote the well-being of their countrymen by legitimate means. We all sympathise with the Brothers, but we must remember that they have to thank themselves for their present plight. They do not recognise the error of their ways but on the contrary glory in openly flouting the law; nay they believe that this course is enjoined on them by their religion. We cannot but pity their imprudence and the judge and the jury who tried them, convicted them after giving due consideration to their standpoint. It is creditable, both to the judge and the jury, that even their extremist critics cannot take exception to their conduct. The jury appear to have been convinced that the resolution passed by the Khilafat Conference at Karáchi was such as to incite soldiers to depart from the path of their duty. The citizens depend for the safety of their lives and property on the fidelity of the army and, therefore, it is not right to make it a pawn in the game of politics. The Ali Brothers disregarded this most important consideration and the sensible section of the public agrees with the jury in holding them to be guilty. Mr. Mahomed Ali asks the Muhammadans not to serve in the army in order that they may not be called upon to fight against their own co-religionists. But the first Muhammadan to raise his arm against his co-religionists was Ali and he was also the Khalifa. The Egyptians and the Turks have fought with one another although both professed Muhammadanism. Similarly even in India Muhammadans in the service of the Hindus have fought with their own co-religionists. All these instances tend to demolish Mr. Mahomed Ali's defence based on the plea of religious duty. We are bound to say that Lord Reading adopted the most conciliatory attitude in regard to the Ali Brothers. But they failed to respond to it. Even in his statement made before the court Dr. Kitchlew gave expression to his revolutionary views and Mr. Shaukat Ali threatened a resort to violence, if necessary, after the 31st of December. But people know these men to be impatient and impractical idealists and, therefore, Government would do well to rely more on the common sense of the people than on the law. [In a subsequent issue the paper says:—The contention of those who argue that Government and the judge should always subordinate law to religion, if accepted, will not lead to the good of the country. In India the rights of the people would be endangered if religion is allowed to become the dominating factor. For instance, if a fanatical Muhammadan were to tell his co-religionists to forcibly convert non-Moslems to Islam on the ground that such course is enjoined on them by their religion, then in his case the law of the land and not religion must be made to prevail.]

Servant of India (8), 10th Nov.

45. " Government cannot be said to have gained anything as a result of the Karáchi trial. The accused were acquitted on the main charges of conspiracy to seduce Muhammadan soldiers and were convicted only of intention to make them fail in discharging their duty which is a technical and trivial offence in the present political condition of India. Nor can it be claimed that law has been vindicated as from numberless platforms the same offending resolution has been repeated, subsequent to the launching of the prosecution, without any legal action being taken against the offenders. The Government could easily have foreseen that such would be the result and that there would be a political gain to the adversaries. It is incredible that in such an important State trial the prosecution should have made an untenable charge. The only useful purpose from the Government view-point served by this trial is—and it is useful to a very limited extent—that it emphasised that religious opinion cannot be pleaded as an excuse for breaking the law of the land. In spite of the undignified and truculent behaviour of the accused, the judge preserved an admirable judicial detachment and his charge to the jury is a model of fairness which other judges trying political cases will do well to copy. Regarding the accused he said : 'Some of the accused seemed learned and pious men and all seemed esteemed citizens to whom the country would owe much if they followed the right path, and Islam and the Empire and this country might have profited by them had they not taken up the attitude they had done'...... Such men certainly ought not to be treated as ordinary criminals and we trust that Lord Reading will reduce the sentence to one of simple imprisonment and in other ways mitigate it."

Karnátak Mitra (34), 10th Nov. ; *Karnátak Vaibhav* (83), 8th Nov. ;
Karnátak Vritta (84), 8th Nov. ; *Vijaya* (90), 5th Nov.

46. Under the heading "Persecution of religious heroes" the *Karnatak Mitra* writes :—If the policy of the Government in the case of the illustrious seven be scrutinised from end to end it will be found that their only motive was to somehow imprison the Ali Brothers. Had it not been so, they would not have arrested the accused first and then set about collecting evidence against them. As regards the composition of the jury, how can jurors of a different religion decide questions involving an intimate knowledge of the teachings of Islam ? But such consideration would have been possible only if the Government had been actuated by a desire to do justice to the accused. Referring to the declaration in the Queen's Proclamation that Government will not interfere in religious matters the judge says that the Proclamation does not ask anybody to strike at the authority of the King-Emperor in the name of religion. But is it striking at the King's authority to explain to the soldiers the requirements of their religion ? What patriotism is to the people of European countries, religion is to the people of India. [The *Karnátak Vaibhav*, the *Karnaták Vritta* and the *Vijaya* condemn the judgment on similar grounds.]

Sánj Vartamán (30), 7th Nov., Eng. cols.

47. The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks in its English columns that the trial of the Ali Brothers has given a tremendous fillip to the Khilafat movement and converted those who were lukewarm in their sympathies towards the movement into its enthusiastic supporters and adds that while the Ali Brothers have temporarily lost their liberty they have secured a safe place deep down in the hearts of all Indians and have gained for the cause of the Khilafat a publicity which is almost world-wide. The paper wishes that Lord Reading had realised that there was nothing secret about the activities of the Ali Brothers though their zeal for their religion often made them overstep the bounds of discretion and should have drawn them to the side of Government. The paper regrets that Government were led into committing a political blunder in prosecuting the Ali Brothers.

Navajivan (69), 6th Nov. ; *Insáf* (66), 4th Nov. ; *Hind Mitra* (17), 6th Nov. ;
Praja Bandhu (27), 6th Nov. ; *Deshi Mitra* (60), 10th Nov. ;
Gujarát Mitra (15), 6th Nov. ; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (22), 6th Nov.

48. The Ali Brothers and their companions have gone to jail. It is we who have to get them released and *swaráj* consists in getting them released. In *swaráj*

Government would be the servants of the people and govern the country in accordance with their wishes; Government would then honour those individuals that the people wish to respect and imprison those whom they consider as troublesome. But to-day Government imprison those whom the people hold as dear as their lives and put them in the company of felons and bestow the highest honours upon those in whom the people have little confidence. *Swaráj* would consist in putting an end to this state of affairs. The very causes which lead the people to applaud the actions of the leaders induced Government to punish them and this goes to show that the viewpoints of the people and Government are different and their interests are conflicting with one another. If the institution of Government were meant to be for the people, such a Government should not last for a day. Those who defy public opinion and oppress the people are tyrants and do not deserve to be called Government. The only way is for the people to put an end to such a Government and release their leaders. The Ali Brothers achieved their triumph the moment they entered the jail, but our cheers for them will be justified only when we compel Government to honour them and to acknowledge their own mistake. And, if the Government be not prepared to do so, our cheers would be justified only if we discard the authority of such a Government and establish *swaráj*. The present Government is so very haughty, because it is a foreign one. We can baffle this foreign Government by *swadeshism* alone. The death of Achilles lay in his heel and the death of this foreign Government's satanism lies in the spread of *swadeshi*. If every one works with faith on the spinning-wheel, the triumph of the Ali Brothers, the Khilafat and *swaráj* will be triumphantly announced by the song of the spinning-wheel. The Ali Brothers have done their duty and they have effected their liberty by willingly going to jail. They stood in need of rest which they will now get in jail. But the confidence they expressed while going to jail that their rest would be shortlived shows their faith in us. We should give such a gigantic aspect to the *swadeshi* movement during the current month that Government would have to bend in a few days and would be compelled to persuade the Ali Brothers to intercede on their behalf to pacify the people. [The *Insáf* writes:—The Ali Brothers and their companions have proved true to their word and have sacrificed themselves in the interests of the country. They conveyed the message of God to the Muhammadans, dispelled their ignorance and submitted to the decision of the law court with smiling faces. It now rests with the Muhammadans to think how best they should discharge their duty. The Muhammadans should not be frightened by the incarceration of the Ali Brothers and other leaders. Our prophets and great men in the past had to suffer greater hardships in the cause of truth, but ultimately they triumphed. We hope Government will reconsider the case and prevent Muhammadan law from being murdered. The ***Hind Mitra*** writes:—There were many irregularities in the prosecution of the Ali Brothers in both the courts and it would be safe to presume that they could not possibly have been sentenced without them. The prosecution did not put in the evidence of any learned Muhammadan in connection with the contention of the Ali Brothers that their conduct was in accordance with the Muhammadan law and still the Sessions Judge thought it proper to assail it. The charge of conspiracy was quite untenable and the finding of the jury in the matter goes to prove that an imaginary fear of conspiracy was at the root of the prosecution. The *Praja Bandhu* writes:—Government have not respected their promises in connection with Turkey and they have not maintained the intergrity of the Khilafat. And since it is the religious duty of Muhammadans not to maintain any connection with such a Government, the imprisonment of the Muhammadans who preached non-co-operation with Government under the present circumstances is tantamount to an encroachment upon the religious rights of the country. The incident is fraught with serious consequences to the Indians in general for there is no knowing where the bureaucrats will stop in their encroachments upon the religious liberty of India. The *Deshi Mitra* writes:—Both the judge and the jury paid no heed to the contention advanced by the Ali Brothers that they had done what the Quran required them to do. Should not the injunctions of the Quran be respected? If the Quranic injunctions are opposed to law why do not Government proscribe the Quran? On the analogy of the conviction of the Ali Brothers, a Brahmin who preaches that Brahmins, according to the teaching of the *Shástrás*, should not serve Government would also be convicted. Should the people disrespect their religion? The *Gujarát Mitra* writes:—

No one ever thought that the Ali Brothers and the five other accused in the Karáchi trial would be guilty of any conspiracy. We fail to understand why Government laid that charge against them. The arguments of the prosecution on this count have all broken down and the supreme Court of Karáchi has maintained its impartiality, in a way, by acquitting all the accused on that charge. Many other persons besides the accused have advised the people to give up the civil and military service of Government and it is rather strange that they are not similarly punished. The accused based their conduct on the teachings of the Quran but justice cannot and should not be given in accordance with any religion. We moreover cannot find any justification for the conduct of the accused in the Queen's Proclamation. The Karáchi trial, however, has not retarded the progress of the Khilafat movement in the least and many people would come forward to take the place of the six leaders who have been sent to jail. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—We agree with the Judge that Government would not have been compelled to take steps against the accused if they had kept their movement within reasonable bounds. But the Ali Brothers and their companions tried to tamper with the loyalty of the army and compelled Government to prosecute them in the interests of peace. The Government of India are anxious to get the Turkish treaty modified in a manner satisfactory to the Indian Muhammadans and the Khilafat workers do not seem to show any political wisdom in spreading disaffection against Government. The judgment of the learned Sessions Judge should afford matter for thought to those who insist upon criminal trials being conducted in accordance with the teachings of certain religious books.]

Chaitanya (98), 7th Nov.

49. The *Chaitanya* says that the Ali Brothers and others being sentenced to only two years' imprisonment shows that Government was not actuated by vindictiveness in ordering the prosecution but only by a desire to maintain peace in the country. It points out that if the Ali Brothers' contention about religious injunctions being more binding than the law of the land be accepted, it will only result in disorder and declares that the action taken by the authorities to place restrictions on the activities of persons deliberately engaged in producing confusion in the country and disaffection against Government will be appreciated instead of being condemned by all wellwishers of the country.

Swadharma (new), 10th Nov.

50. All Hindus are glad that the Shankaracharya of Sharada Peeth has been acquitted at Karáchi. Instances rarely occurred in the past in which the ruling power brought preceptors of religion into scrape. But then it is not to be wondered at that such instances are occurring now when civil authority has been separated from religious authority. It is stated that in ancient times the demons filled up their cups of sins with their own hands by persecuting sages and dishonouring religion and chaste women. While the present day rulers are repeating these very things, one is reminded of the English saying "History repeats itself".

Rájakáran (131), 6th Nov. ; *Prabodh* (125), 6th Nov.

51. The foolish authorities who imagined that they could suppress the Khilafat movement by prosecuting the leaders of the Muhammadans have been completely disappointed. They have only wounded the religious feelings of the Hindus by including a Shankaracharya among the accused at Karachi. They could not produce a scrap of evidence against him and they only succeeded in making an exhibition of their own stupidity. British justice is being dragged into the mire before the very eyes of Lord Reading, its avowed champion, and even the simple people of India have no longer any faith in it. To-day any wretched magistrate or judge can clap an honest individual into jail and there is no doubt that the haughty bureaucracy is thus digging its own grave. Power-blind Sultans are bound to go to the wall when they wage war on God Himself. We have no hesitation in saying that the British bureaucracy is slowly moving towards its destruction when it has become so demoralised as to espouse the cause of drunkards, confiscate a *fatwa* of Mussalman divines, and send to prison patriots like Babasaheb Paranjpe and Wamanrao Joshi of Berar. Never before was such a woeful want of statesmanship seen in British statesmen. [Elsewhere the paper writes :—The authorities have made themselves the laughing stock of the world for thousands of people have now passed the same resolution for passing which they prosecuted the Ali Brothers and their co-accused. What becomes of the prestige of courts when the judges themselves are chid by the accused in the presence of thousands of people? We wish Government instituted hundreds of such proceedings. The oppression of tyrannical rulers will come to an end only when thousands of people are unjustly punished. The *Prabodh* writes:—In the recent cases while several respectable Muhammadans have been punished, their Hindu co-accused have been let off. Our enemies will make use of this circumstance to divide the two communities. The Hindus and the Muhammadans, however, should not allow themselves to be duped and should remember that the edifice of *swarájya* is to be raised on the foundation of their unity. Recent events show that the days of the bureaucracy are numbered. We are on our trial and if we stand the test there is no power on earth that can keep us from *swarájya*.]

The sentences passed on Moplah rebels should be revised.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Nov.

52. "Moplahs by hundreds have been court-martialled and sentenced, among whom are several who have been awarded capital sentences. Not all of these latter have been found guilty of actual murder. As in the case of Ali Musaliar, there are some who have been sentenced to be hanged for 'waging war against the King.'...... The courts which tried them were Special Tribunals and from their bitter experience of the administration of 'justice' during the Martial Law regime, the people of this country have sufficient reason to feel suspicious of the correctness of the findings of these Tribunals as well as the appropriateness of the punishment awarded in each case. We know that a person like Lala Harkishenlal was convicted two years ago by a Punjab Tribunal of having 'waged war against the King', and was sentenced to transportation for life and that to-day he is an honoured Minister and colleague of the Governor of the Punjab. From the evidence before them many of the countrymen of Mr. Kunni Kadar do not think that he had been guilty of an offence graver than that which Lala Harkishenlal was guilty of prior to his trial. In these circumstances is it not natural that the public should demand that the sentences, especially the extreme ones, which have been awarded by the Malabar Tribunals, should be subjected to revision before they are executed? The death sentences, especially, ought to be suspended and the fullest latitude should be allowed for appeal and revision, as there is every likelihood of the miscarriage of justice in their case. The faith of the people of this country in the purity and integrity of justice has already been rudely shaken. Savageness of punishment, intended more for purposes of creating 'impressions' than for securing the ends of justice, is not calculated to enhance the prestige of justice in the eyes of the public. On the other hand it will make the public still further despair of seeing real justice dispensed as between the 'rulers' and the 'ruled'."

Comments on the Nasik Sessions Judge's decision in the Malegaon riot case.

Kesari (110), 8th Nov.

53. The *Kesari* deplores the decision of the Sessions Judge of Násik on the Malegaon riot case disregarding the verdict of the assessors. It declares its agreement with the Congress Committee's opinion that the riot was not the result of any conspiracy but was due to the sudden provocation caused by the firing by the fouzdar and remarks that the different view taken by the Judge appears to have been due to the evidence given by the prosecution witnesses in his court under the undue pressure exercised by the police. Even supposing the whole of the prosecution evidence to be true, says the paper, the conclusions arrived at by the Judge were wrong and the sentences passed most cruel. It considers the arguments put forward by Mr. Murphy to prove the evidence of a conspiracy as mistaken showing his prejudiced mind and the sentences of hanging and transportation as utterly heartless. It refers to the Akola Mamlatdar murder case in the Ahmednagar District and points out that though the murder there was more horrible and the existence of a conspiracy was proved, the Commission appointed to try the case refrained from passing such inhuman sentences as have been passed at Násik. Mr. Murphy ought to have known, the paper holds, that such cruel sentences instead of proving deterrent only give rise to discontent and to a feeling of sympathy for the accused.

Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Yakub Hassan of Madras.

New Times (7), 8th Nov.

54. "We expected a reign of law in the regime of Lord Reading. Instead, we see increasing signs of a reign of repression. The latest news is that Janab Yakub Hassan, a prominent Khilafat leader of Madras, has been sentenced to two years' simple. His speech in the Court was a dignified and courageous statement of his position. He did not defend himself; he behaved as a true non-co-operator; he interpreted the significance of the Khilafat issue in India; and he pointed out that he had always urged non-violence. But the court convicted him of 'sedition'. As the law is in India, any political speech may be construed as spreading 'disaffection', and so coming under section 124-A. Lord Reading gave the public to understand that non-co-operators would not be prosecuted as long as they did not incite the people to violence. And Government wisely withdrew the 'sedition' case against the Ali Brothers. But Lord Willingdon's government has behaved like the Sind officials: it has taken a narrow view of 'sedition'; and Mr. Yakub Hassan has been sentenced to two years for a speech which preached 'disaffection' but not violence....... The Madras leader has been jailed. The Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew, Pir Gulam Mujadid and some other Muslim leaders have been jailed. Their sin is they have preached the Khilafat or non-co-operation message. Lord Reading, perhaps, thinks that law must run its course. But when 'law' does not interpret public opinion and is not framed by the people but by a bureaucracy that has lost the nation's confidence, can Lord Reading expect the people to respect the 'law'? And can this campaign of repression help Government? Did it help them in the days of the anti-partition agitation? Has it helped them since?...... One result is the approval by the Congress Committee of a campaign of civil disobedience.... As a matter of fact, the unrest at this moment is deeper than it was before the arrest of the Ali Brothers. Never before within living memory was Muslim religious sentiment so deeply stirred as it is today when leaders of Muslim India have been sent to jail....... And what will be the result of this repression? A strong free nationhood, we hope, if the people maintain non-violence."

Comments on the acquittal of Private Chaffe by the Punjab High Court.

Bhárat Seva (13), 11th Nov.

55. Commenting upon the decision in Private Chaffe's case in the Punjab High Court, the *Bhárat Seva* writes:—Even a judge of the Lahore High Court knows that it is useless to expect justice from European jurors when the accused is a European. The regard shown by the judge for the anxiety of the accused is meaningless, because the person who has been shot at must have suffered more anxiety than the person who has shot him. We wish that questions should be asked in the Punjab Legislative Council and the Imperial Legislative Assembly regarding this case and the attention of Lord Reading and Lord Rawlinson be drawn to the judgment in this case. Really speaking the soldier ought to have been sentenced to imprisonment, asked to give compensation to the wounded man and dismissed from the army. Some Europeans, military men as well as civilians, will not come to their senses so long as this is not done. In England Lord Chelmsford says that the policy of observing racial difference should be given up and in India Lord Reading says that justice should be meted out uniformly to all. In spite of this, such injustice is being done and their countrymen are murdering justice while acting as jurors. Such Englishmen are also responsible for the non-co-operation movement.

Treatment of political prisoners in jail.

Sind Observer (9), 8th Nov.

56. "Elsewhere we publish a letter from the father of Swami Govindanand. The communication deals with the treatment of the Swami in Ratnágiri jail. It speaks for itself. We draw the attention of the authorities to the state of health of the Swami described therein....... The question of the treatment of this particular individual leads to the consideration of the larger question of the treatment of political prisoners in this land, which is at present receiving much attention in the press. There is no doubt that the treatment of political prisoners is the acid test of Government's style of prison administration. This class of offenders may be described as intellectual rebels, who are far from being moral delinquents, and whom, therefore, penology requires to be treated as a class by itself. If on the field of battle the veriest Hun deserves, and does get, humane treatment, why should not then these ordinary civilians whom the law condemns only for mere civil crimes ? It is sportsmanship, if nothing else, that demands that these enemies of the powers-that-be should be treated generously and chivalrously. How many political workers are not there at present in the non-co-operation camp who owe the force and urge of their political work as much to patriotic inspiration as to the bad treatment they had once received in jails, when previously lodged there ? Is it good that such a heap of bitterness should be created in their minds, knowing as Government do that one day they will come out of their prison cells to begin public work again ? A large number of political workers are being sentenced day by day, and the press and the public have a right to ask for a thorough revision of the system of treatment of these offenders. In this connection we are glad to notice that a resolution is proposed to be moved in the Behar Legislative Council by Moulvi Abbas Ali urging that political prisoners in India should be treated in the same way as they are being treated in England and other civilised countries."

Comments on the treatment given to the Ali Brothers in jail.

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 8th Nov.

57. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that Government have undoubtedly shown farsightedness in withdrawing the other two charges against the Ali Brothers. In the opinion of the paper although the accused, being led away by religious feelings, expressed the greatest disaffection against Government, yet the mercy shown by Government in return is praiseworthy. It hopes that Government will issue an order to treat the convicted persons with similar kindness in jail. It thinks that every thoughtful person cannot but protest if such persons are treated in jail as ordinary criminals and are given clothing, food and work befitting criminals. It opines that they have committed the crime because they were led away by religious faith and adds that the punishment which is meted out to them should be considered sufficient even though the law cannot admit that defence. It further thinks that taking into consideration the extraordinary circumstances of their case, they should be regarded as political prisoners and should be given as much freedom as is possible. It hopes that the Government of Bombay will surely pay attention to the complaints which have appeared in newspapers regarding the treatment meted out to the Ali Brothers and others and order the jail authorities to make liberal and suitable arrangements just like those which were made in the case of the late Mr. Tilak. In conclusion the paper states that it is very essential to publish an authoritative explanation granting such concessions to them and that it will very much help to conciliate the people. [Elsewhere, in an English article, the paper suggests that convicted as they have been in the eye of the law, these popular leaders should be given the privileges of first class misdemeanants, and not herded with common felons. In conclusion the paper remarks that in a word, though the court has awarded them rigorous imprisonment, they should be allowed to live the same kind of life as they did in the days of their internment at Chindwara.]

Nusrat (new), 13th Nov.

***58.** The *Nusrat* alludes to the estrangement of feelings at present existing between Government and the people and pities the former for their ignorance with regard to the religious sentiments of their subjects. As an instance in point the paper refers to the clothing supplied to the prisoners in jails and remarks that it is not only detestable from the point of view of decency, but one injuring the religious feelings of those who have to wear it. It congratulates Dr. Kitchlew on the courage he has shown in discarding the dress and resorting to hunger-strike and is glad to see that his demands have been complied with. The paper suggests a change in the dress of the prisoners especially as the jails are now becoming the abodes of the best sons of the land.

Hindi Punch (18), 6th Nov., Eng. cols.

59. "The Indian mind is very sensitive, very soft. It cannot help feeling sympathy for the Ali Brothers and their companions for being treated as ordinary criminals for committing political offences. Why should political offenders be treated in the same way as ordinary murderers, forgers or perjurers? The sentence of rigorous imprisonment passed on the Ali Brothers and their companions has created some sympathy for them. They have been men in the public eye for a long time who rightly or wrongly believed they were doing their duty to the public and to their religion by making violent speeches and taking part in acts which the law considers to be criminal. The law has been vindicated. It now remains for the clemency of the Crown to commute the sentence of two years' rigorous imprisonment to simple imprisonment for a like, if not a lesser, period and to order the jail authorities to give them better treatment than that of an ordinary criminal. This clemency will surely go a long way in giving satisfaction to the public, who at present feel regret that Mr. Mahomed Ali and his co-offenders should be put in the same category as the worst offenders against public morals."

The Government of India are speeding up the progress of India towards *swaráj*.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 8th Nov.

60. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that His Excellency the Viceroy, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India are trying to speed up considerably the progress of India towards *swaráj*. In the opinion of the paper they mean to fulfil some of the country's hopes sooner than we can think of, if the non-co-operators stop from raising obstacles in their way by means of some of their thoughtless movements. In support of this it cites the instance of the new method which the Commander-in-Chief is to adopt of taking the people into confidence through the press regarding different military questions. It quotes a passage from the London *Times* regarding the power of the Legislative Assembly to refuse taxation to meet expenditure due in part to military demands, and remarks that Government have in time been able to see how, in spite of the checks in the law in force, the Legislative Assembly can have its own way.

An apology for an attack on Government Officers.

Swarájya (Gujarati) (62), 8th Nov., Eng cols.

61. "We beg to express our deep regret for the article 'The Shadow of Amritsar' in our issue of 19th July 1921 [*vide* paragraph 31 of Weekly Report No. 32 of 1921], especially the charge of blood thirstiness against Government officials and in particular against the Collector of Dhárwár, for which we admit we had no grounds. Further, we withdraw the baseless and shameful insinuation that the incident was planned by the Collector. We must acknowledge that the imputations of bad faith and bloodthirstiness in this article were untrue and indefensible. We deem it a duty to offer our apology while retracting this article *in toto*. We need hardly say that such an error shall be avoided in the future."

Comments on the presentation of a mace to the Legislative Assembly by the Empire Parliamentary Association.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 13th Nov.

***62.** "We hope we are not wanting in a due share of historic feeling, but we confess that the information that the Empire Parliamentary Association has resolved to present a mace to the Indian Legislative Assembly left us in no very reverent mood. What does it matter if a mace is presented from England or is made in India? Why have a mace at all? There are various Indian designs of ornamental staves and, if one is considered indispensable, why not have one of these made of Indian ivory or ebony in preference to a replica of the one which Oliver Cromwell had removed from the British Parliament as a meaningless bauble?"

Comments on the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the working of the Tata Research Institute, Bangalore.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Nov.

63. "Mr. Tata's countrymen hardly remember that there is such an Institute in existence, while as to its contribution to the advancement of the welfare and development of the country—well, the less said the better. After years of lethargy the Government of India seem at last to have awakened to the knowledge of its existence and have decided to appoint a committee of enquiry to examine the working of the Institute during the last ten years, with Sir William Pope, Professor of Chemistry, as Chairman. We have no hope that anything really good will come out of the investigations of the Committee. Why should an English Professor have been selected to preside over the Committee? Was there not a Bose or Ray to give us guidance in the matter? A committee presided over by an imported 'expert' means the importation of more 'experts'....... No real progress towards the attainment of the objects for which the Institute was founded will be possible until the Institute is freed from the paralysing Civilian control, which has been its bane all these years, and is manned for the major part by Indians and conducted on truly national lines. The Institute, at present, is under the charge of a Civilian, an ex-member of the Executive Council of the Governor of Madras, while his predecessor was also an official, being a retired Director of Public Instruction. In no other civilised country would such a spectacle of a first-rate scientific institution being placed under the control of Civilians, having little or no pretensions to research work in the field of science, be witnessed. It is only in this civilian-ridden country is such a scandalous incongruity possible....... The Government and the Trustees of the bequest of the late Mr. Tata have managed to waste their trust in a most scandalous and criminal manner, which must make the spirit of the great patriot shed bitter tears of sorrow and shame at the spectacle. The house of the Tatas has been making a fetish of European and official direction. Is the creed of the Research Institute calculated to inspire confidence in such direction in the minds of the people?"

Evils of Race gambling and Sporting clubs.

Nusrat (new), 11th Nov.

64. The *Nusrat* devotes a leading article to the disastrous effects race gambling is alleged to have produced on the citizens of the Bombay Presidency and remarks that moral evils can be more effectively eradicated by means of legislation than by precept and preaching. But it adds there is no possibility of reform in this matter inasmuch as the very persons who are in authority are addicted to this vice. The paper declares that hundreds and thousands of persons have reached the verge of ruin and starvation and characterises the existence of sporting-clubs as a Divine curse overtaking the whole of the Presidency.

Protest against the rumoured cession of Berar to His Exalted Highness the Nizam.

Chaitanya (98), 7th Nov; *Ráshtra Veer* (133), 6th Nov.;
Jágaruk (44), 5th Nov.

65. The *Chaitanya* strongly protests against the reported proposal to hand over Berar to the Nizam and expresses the hope that it would not materialise as it is bound to give rise to further discontent in the country as the people of the province have the strongest objection to be placed under a Native State, however progressive it might be. [The *Ráshtra Veer* also condemns the proposal and asks the non-Brahmins of Berar to hold public meetings to protest against it. The *Jágaruk* too denounces the attempt being made to extinguish the liberties of the people of Berar.]

Comments on the Government of India's resolution on proportionate pensions for the Imperial Services.

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 12th Nov.

66. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the resolution of the Government of India regarding proportionate pensions for members of the Imperial Services and remarks that the Government of India have accepted an absolutely new principle which does injustice to Indians. The paper inquires why the new rules published by the Government of India should absolve officers from abiding by the principle that they are liable to forfeit their pensions if they do not complete fixed terms of service. It asks whether all these Englishmen who are prepared to give up their service hoped when they took up service that they would be never compelled to work under Indians. It remarks that European civilians entertained such notions and a portion of them still do so, but adds that there was no need to place such a tremendous burden on the Indian treasury by supporting such a foolish notion. It is of opinion that this new arrangement will surely help in enhancing the present discontent in India.

Comments on the reported agreement between the Kemalists and France.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Nov.

67. "Have British statesmen any idea of the sufferings they and their 'Allies' have managed to inflict on the innocent people of Asia Minor, because their 'statesmanship' could not evolve a settlement of the dispute with the Turkish Government which was not dishonourable to the latter? The British have the nominal Government of Turkey in their grip and tomorrow if they so wish, they can compel the Turkish Ministers in Constantinople to put their signature to any treaty that is put before them. But they do not do it, because they know that the real Government of Turkey is elsewhere—in Angora. And because they are reluctant to acknowledge the plain fact of the Kemalist Government being the real rulers of Turkey, the Allies, and Britain in particular, are standing in the way of peace being restored in Turkey. How long is the agony of the Turkish people to be continued for the convenience of the Allied 'statesmen'? M. Briand has now, it seems, made an attempt to put an end so far as he can to this most undesirable state of things and British 'official quarters' are virtually accusing him of treachery!...... If the British Government had not persistently stood in the way of a settlement favourable to Turkey and if they had not sought to bolster up the Greek cause beyond all limits of decency, a settlement of the Turco-Greek conflict, which the British Government profess to have near at heart, would have been arrived at long ago. But the British Government have commitments, which their French and Italian Allies are powerless to modify. Hence it is that France has been obliged to resort to independent action. The complaint of the British Government against the step taken by France is both ungracious and fatuous. If British statesmen are wise they would speedily come in a line with their allies, call upon Greece immediately to evacuate the homelands of the Turks—which Kemal Pasha has rightly laid down as the essential condition precedent to any negotiation for peace—and thus effect a really just and permanent settlement of the Turkish question."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 5th and 7th Nov.

68. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the remarks made by the London *Times* that the 'puppet Government at Constantinople is of no account and that the Government of Mustapha Kemal is the only true representative' and believes that the remarks are due to the defeat of Greece by Mustapha Kemal and thinks that the fear entertained by the paper that Mesopotamia will be endangered must be due to Kemal entering into a league with the Bolshevists. It then refers to the peace made by France and Italy with Turkey and hopes that England will also recognise the Government of Kemal Pasha and arrive at an agreement with it and undertake to induce Greece to evacuate Asia Minor. It suggests that two Muslim representatives should be appointed on the Peace Commission with a view to conciliate Indian Moslem opinion. In conclusion it appeals to Indian Muslims to subscribe liberally to the Angora Fund raised by the Khilafat Committee. In the subsequent issue the paper refers to the report about the conclusion of a secret agreement between France and Kemal Pasha and suggests that since France, Italy and the Soviet Government have entered into an alliance with the Kemalists, England should, in her own interest, recognise the necessity of making a permanent peace with Turkey. The paper believes that the Pan-Islamic movement will receive a great stimulus if England does not make a satisfactory peace with Turkey and that England will then find herself in a state of isolation against the union of the Islamic States of Central Asia. The paper sees no reason why England should not make a satisfactory peace with Turkey and satisfy the minds of her Moslem subjects in India.

Comments on the differences between France and England regarding Turkish claims.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 11th Nov.

69. "The charges and counter charges of bad faith and secret plotting against each other which are being levelled at French and British statesmen by their respective partisans in the Press in connection with the Franco-Kemalist agreement, are not calculated to enhance one's respect towards the principal figures who have been seeking by every possible means to bring about the partition of the Ottoman Empire, while pretending all the time to be inspired only by the principles of stern justice and high ideals of liberty and freedom of small nations....... The present wrangle between the French and British statesmen does not reveal 'Allied' statesmen, especially British statesmen, in a particularly pleasant light. Evidently the perversity of British statesmanship and specially the purblindness of British diplomats to the dangers to the peace of the world lurking in the prolongation of the agony of Turkish peoples, must have convinced the French Government of the futility and danger of any further dependence on British initiative in the opening of negotiations for a permanent settlement of the Near East problem. British statesmen have themselves to thank if they have managed to lose the confidence of their allies by their procrastination and dubious tactics. The most crushing rejoinder to Britain is contained in the semi-official statement issued in Paris which says that 'France has confined herself to terminating the hostilities on the Syrian frontiers and the Agreement, by hastening the return of peace in the East, will serve the interests of the Christian minorities everywhere and calm people's mind in the British Dominions'. The people in the British Dominions are anxious to have their minds calmed and the only way in which Britain can satisfy them is, as the *Temps* says, by participating in France's pacific policy in the East."

MUNICIPALITIES.

Comments on the attitude of Government towards the Nasik Municipality.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Nov.

70. "In the case of the Násik Municipality, which dismissed its recalcitrant President, whom it had elected, because of his 'misconduct and negligence,' all that was required of Government to do was their formal endorsement of the decision. It was not open to Government on the facts before them to question the merits of the decision, or support a recalcitrant President against the Municipality....... It is well known that Mr. Oka's claim to override the resolutions of the General Committee has the sympathy and support of the bureaucratic brotherhood at Násik, and that it is being hotly boistered up by the Collector—Mr. Simcox—to whom the District Municipal Act gives some vicarious powers of supervision over the Municipality. It is not, therefore, difficult to see that the Collector's action is supported by the Commissioner of the Division, and the action now attributed to the Government merely reflects the opinion of the Collector. In a demi-official, dated 'Camp Mahableshwar, 18th October 1921', the acting Commissioner, Central Division, Mr. W. F. Hudson, not long ago Collector of Poona, has confirmed the order of the Collector of Nasik, 'suspending the execution of the second part of the Násik Municipality's resolution........regarding expenditure of Rs. 1,000 for the work of dissuading people from drinking.' This was expected, but we were still not sure that Government would make it a point of prestige to defy and try to humiliate the Municipality. We hoped that saner counsels would prevail with them and that they would rightly regard the question of the removal of the President as purely a matter within the discretion of the Municipality itself. But our hopes have been falsified, and Government have once more stood out as the champions of a false sense of prestige at the expense of justice and fair dealing....... The Act, it seems to us, is clear on the point, while section 16, which deals with the removal of Councillors from Municipalities, specially gives the 'Governor in Council,' a certain amount of discretion. Section 23, sub-section (7), makes no such specific reservation, and it is this section which deals with the dismissal of elected Presidents of Municipalities. It is obvious, on a fair and impartial construction of the section, that the framers of the Act were averse to conceding such discretion to the 'Governor in Council', because he could never be a proper judge of all the circumstances. Besides, if such discretion were conceded, it would parody the principle of election, ostentatiously conceded to certain Municipalities. In the case of the Nasik Municipality, the position is one eminently for the Municipality to determine and if the Government, uninfluenced by their prejudices or suspicion of non-co-operation, were acting properly, they would uphold its action and call upon it to elect a new President who possesses its confidence. But in these days, when non-co-operation is on the brain of Government and their officials, it is, perhaps, too much to expect Government to view matters in their proper setting. If the Government presist in their refusal to recognize the elementary right of the Municipality and want to intimidate it into meek and abject submission by threats of violence, as indicated in the Collector's letter quoted above, it is the obvious duty of the Násik Councillors not to yield to the unwarranted encroachments on their rights and allow the Government to do their worst. Duty to the rate-payers and a conscientious regard for the dictates of honour and self-respect require it of the Councillors, whose conduct alone will make or mar the future of local self-government in this Presidency. The sympathies of the public will always be with them in their righteous fight against political obscurantism. We still hope, though it may be a forlorn hope, that Government will see the wisdom of graciously yielding to the force of public opinion and upholding the legitimate action of the Násik Municipality."

RAILWAYS.

A complaint against the Madras and Southern Maratha Railway.

Chaitanya (98), 7th Nov.

71. The *Chaitanya* protests against the reply given by the Agent, Madras and Southern Maratha Railway, to a representation made to him by the people of Belgaum in which he refused to provide a separate waiting room for Indian females on the Belgaum station on the ground that very few of the females coming to the station observed the *purdah*. The paper says that the reply is exasperating inasmuch as though the females may not be observing the *purdah* they are not accustomed to mix promiscuously with males like European women. It observes that the above and other conveniences have become an absolute necessity on the Belgaum station and expresses satisfaction that the Collector also is urging them on the attention of the Company.

NATIVE STATES.

Grievances of Jains regarding the Girnar Hill (Junagadh).

Jain (76), 6th Nov.

72. Commenting upon the decision of the Agent to the Governor, Káthiáwár, regarding the rights of the Jain community over the Girnar Shrine and the interference of the Nawab of Junagadh in the matter, the *Jain* writes:—The Jain community is not so impotent as to silently tolerate the attack of the Nawab on their rights in broad daylight and the murder of British justice by the Agent to the Governor by siding with the Nawab. It is an intolerable mistake that the Agent who calls the British administration just should side with a Indian Prince. The higher authorities have realised this and thinking that Sir Evan Maconochie has cast a slur on the British administration, they have transferred him.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

* Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 18th November 1921.

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For the week ending 19th November 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:
- Comments on the King's prorogation speech in Parliament 45
- Comments on the release by the Viceroy of twenty Punjáb Martial Law prisoners . . . . 35—38
- Comments on the reported Gurkha charge on a procession at the Chittagong Railway Station 39
- Comments on the representation of India on the Washington Conference. 49
- Comments on the rumour that Berar is to be returned to the Nizam . 44
- Comments on the shooting affair at Howrah (Calcutta) . . . 40
- Comments on the taking possession of the keys of the Golden Temple by the Punjáb Government. 42
- Comments on the Washington Conference . . . . 46—48
- Economies in Government departments in Bombay 43
- Religious injunctions cannot override the law of the land . . . 41

Excise: Condemnation of Government's alleged hostility to the anti-drink propaganda 60

His Excellency the Viceroy:
- Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Taluqdars of Oudh . . . . 50—52
- Comments on the Viceroy's opening speech at the second session of the Chamber of Princes . . . . 53 & 54

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:
- Comments on His Majesty the King-Emperor's message and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's speech at the Apollo Bunder . 11—15
- Comments on His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's visit . . 1—10

Judicial matters:
- Comments on the conviction and sentence of Mr. Yakub Hassan . . 57
- Comments on the judgment in the G. I. P. Railway murder case . . 59
- Comments on the Karáchi State Trial . . . . 55 & 56
- The decision in the Malegaon riot cases. 58

Military matters: Protest against the exclusion of Brahmins, Lingayats, etc., from the new territorial force 61

Non-co-operation:
- Comments on Mr. Gandhi's resolve to start civil disobedience in Gujarát . . . . 21—28
- Comments on the disturbances in Bombay . . . . 16—19

B 270—8 CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation—concld.

Comments on the recent resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee . . . . 32 & 33
How the *satyagraha* in Bardoli was to bring about *swarájya* . . 29—31
Prospects of a Pan-Islamic party arising in India 34
The — movement cannot remain non-violent 20

Public service: Protest against the scheme for proportionate pensions for the higher Indian Services . . . . 62 & 63

War: Comments on the Franco-Kemalist Agreement . . . . . . 64 & 65

EDUCATION—

Comments on the Press Note regarding the expulsion of certain students from the Training College for Men, Dhárwár 67
Comments on the Press Note regarding the revision of the pay of primary school teachers 66

MUNICIPALITIES—

The new constitution of the Poona City Municipality 68

NATIVE STATES—

The Native Chiefs and the people should make common cause against Government 69

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's visit.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 17th Nov.

1. "Thanks to the pitiless selfishness of the bureaucracy, the Prince of Wales is today placed in a predicament revolting to the feelings of every decent-minded citizen. The contrast between the spontaneous welcome accorded to his august father and grand-father, and the mercenary celebrations staged for the deception of the world on the present occasion, must be more painful to the people of India than to the disill[illegible]ioned fakers of delirious joy. The Prince himself is a young man of fine susceptibilities, but he is being victimised and the credit of royalty compromised, in the gamble for pro-official 'loyalty', and that at a time when delicacy, if not prudence, should have prevented the imposition of the visit....... What can the Prince learn of the real feelings and the wretchedness of myriads of people by being chaperoned by the bureaucracy? The scheme of races and fire-works and banquets and balls will not acquaint him with the condition of India, and these things are undoubtedly arranged for spectacular excitement and with the hope of imposing loyal contentment among the people..... He has been forced into the midst of incongruities, we believe, as a pawn for the restoration of peace and loyalty in India. He will soon or some day know how he was fooled in the estimate given him of the situation in India, and the responsibility for the public disillusionment with regard to the limitations of royalty, will be that of the British Government that thrust him to confront a people determined on the attainment of *swaráj*. The duty of the people of India at this juncture is unmistakable. Without being dazed by the squandering display of durbar and illumination, they have to pursue their programme of today and later daring the cost of their struggle. The bureaucracy has in dispair looked at its hand and decided to win a trick by playing a court-card. It will lose the trick and India must win the rubber."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 17th Nov.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 18th Nov.

2. The *Sánj Vartamán* congratulates His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales on the courage and frankness he displayed in making the object of his visit to India known in reply to the address of welcome presented to him by the Bombay Municipal Corporation and adds:—It now becomes clear that His Majesty the King Emperor has sent His Royal Highness to India on an important mission in spite of the unrest prevailing in the country and we are indebted to His Majesty for the same. Unfortunately, the people of this country have resolved not to participate in welcoming the Prince and so it is the duty of the Viceroy and the official classes to do their duty in the matter of fulfilling the wishes of His Majesty. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales wants to understand the difficulties and aspirations of the people of India and so the Viceroy should take steps to make the Prince acquainted with the causes of the non-co-operation movement, the loss of faith in British justice owing to the failure of Government to give justice in the Punjáb affairs and the desire of the people to have *swaráj* to enable them to rule and defend themselves. The Viceroy should arrange for an interview between the Prince and Mr. Gandhi to enable Mr. Gandhi to lay the grievances and aspirations of the people before His Royal Highness. [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the reply given by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the address of welcome presented to him by the Bombay Municipality and remarks that the desire expressed by His Royal Highness to know Indians is one calculated to give rise to a new hope and a new feeling, but doubts if it can be fulfilled. The paper declares that he cannot fulfil his desire by travelling from one city to another, by accepting addresses of welcome, or by being present at meetings. It thinks that the short time which he is to pass in India will of course not enable him to acquire full knowledge about the Indians. It opines that he will neither be able to fulfil his object by visiting Sardars and Princes nor by meeting representatives of Government and talking with them. It thinks it necessary for him to receive both officially as well as non-officially all information about both the sides. In the opinion of the paper if he freely meets leaders of all shades of opinion and shows such friendship towards them as will make them freely express their views and hopes, he will be able to

present true facts about India before His Royal father and other high personages at the head of the British administration.]

Bombay Samáchár (56), 18th Nov.

3. The *Bombay Samáchár* declares that the citizens of Bombay boycotted the Prince of Wales almost completely on his landing yesterday. The paper is of opinion that there were no real representatives of the people at the amphitheatre and that there was no enthusiasm in the crowd that assembled in the streets and that they did not cheer the Prince. It considers the *hartal* observed in Bombay as a proof positive of the determination of the city to boycott the Prince and it declares that the people of the country will refuse to co-operate with Government so long as the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs are not righted and *swaráj* is not given to them. The paper then refers to the large concourse of non-co-operators that gathered in the mill compound at Elphinstone Road and expresses its gratification that Bombay has succeeded in proving that it boycotted the Prince's visit. The paper thinks that in boycotting his visit the people do not want to insult the Prince but to bring the grievances and aspirations of the Indian people to the notice of the British public and to convince them that Indians will not rest content till *swaráj* is granted to them.

Lokamánya (114), 18th Nov.

4. The *Lokamánya* compares the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the Apollo Bunder and the bonfire proceedings at Elphinstone Road under the presidency of Mr. Gandhi, and declares the former to have been altogether lifeless and the latter full of life. In its opinion the Emperor's message contained no sign of vitality and it contained not a single sentence or word that would reach the heart of the Indian nation. It merely repeats in parrot-like manner, it says, the customary call to have trust and to hope. As regards the Prince's reply to the corporation address the only portion of it in which the paper finds some life, is his declaration that he has come to learn and hopes to return after learning something at least from India, as it befitted his present stage in life as a student. The rest of the speech the paper considers to be a mere rigmarole and it remarks that those who were ardently looking forward to the Prince's visit expecting boons from him, must have been utterly disappointed. In its opinion neither the Emperor's message nor the Prince's speech showed the sympathetic and loving spirit with which the Duke of Connaught's Delhi utterances were instinct and which were therefore in every way superior. The paper is not at all surprised at the lifeless character of the Apollo Bunder proceedings as in its opinion the 'soul' of Bombay was at that very time quite otherwise engaged at Elphinstone Road where in its opinion the vast assemblage which had come together to witness the grand bonfire of foreign clothes was clearly permeated through and through with a determination to accomplish the nation's aim to achieve *swarájya*. Mr. Gandhi spoke on the occasion, the paper points out, with the resolve to win *swarájya* before the end of December or to get incarcerated or die in the attempt and it calls attention to the warning uttered by him in the course of his speech that as it would not do for the rest of the country to remain a silent witness while the people of the *satyagrahi* talukas of Gujarat went to prison it was its duty to do its utmost in the matter of *swadeshi* and boycott. Real life, the paper repeats, was thus to be seen in these proceedings and not in those at the Apollo Bunder.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 18th Nov.

5. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the huge concourse of people which collected both on the Apollo Bunder and in the streets of Bombay to welcome His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales shows that the attempts of those who tried to boycott his visit have hopelessly failed. In the opinion of the paper the message sent by His Majesty the King as well as the reply given by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the address of welcome presented to him by the Bombay Municipality falsifies the allegation that His Majesty the King and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales are mere figureheads in the hands of the officials and that they will speak what the offiicals will ask them to say. It quotes the sentences from the message of His Majesty the King relating to his sympathy for India and remarks that those words show how far His Majesty

keeps an eye upon the Indian administration and the hopes and needs of the people. In the opinion of the paper the reply given by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to the municipal address shows how baseless is the statement that he has come out only to enjoy himself and will move about as the officials guide him.

Indu Prakásh (43), 17th Nov.

6. The *Indu Prakásh* accords an enthusiastic and cordial welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and prays that his visit may prove auspicious and bring prosperity to all. Referring to the clamorous opposition to his present visit as a political dodge, the paper assures His Royal Highness that there is no ill-will whatsoever in any quarter against him personally. It asks him to disbelieve all attempted misrepresentation of Indian feelings towards him and declares that the agitation to boycott his visit has its origin in the dejection and disappointment of Indians caused by the bureaucracy by its non-fulfilment of the high hopes, held out to the people during war time, of India's treatment as an equal partner in the British Empire. With a view to remedy the situation it expresses the hope that His Royal Highness would, while in India, order the release of all political prisoners, and remove all racial distinctions both in India and the Colonies.

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 14th Nov. ; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 17th Nov. ;
Akhbár-e-Islám (53), 17th Nov. ; *Gujarát Vartamán* (63), 16th Nov. ;
Deshi Mitra (60), 17th Nov.

7. The *Jam-e-Jámshed* expresses its confidence that the people of India will, with the exception of a few non-co-operators, give an enthusiastic and loyal welcome to the Prince of Wales on his arrival in India and calls upon the non-co-operators who allege that there is a political motive in his visit to take advantage of the visit to join the co-operators in placing the grievances of India before the Prince. The *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* also exhorts the non-co-operators to lay aside their differences with the officials and join in welcoming the Prince. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* exhorts the Moslems to welcome the Prince and asks the British Government to remove the causes of discontent in India, to solve the question of the Khilafat in a satisfactory manner and to fix the period when *swaráj* would be granted to India with a view to ensuring the loyalty of the Indian people. The *Gujarát Vartamán* dwells upon the necessity of according a loyal welcome to the Prince and the folly of the non-co-operators in persuading the people to boycott him. The *Deshi Mitra* on the other hand considers the Prince's visit as a political blunder and asks the people to follow Mr. Gandhi's advice for boycotting him.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 16th Nov. ; *Prája Mitra and Pársi* (28), 16th Nov.

8. The *Bombay Samáchár* blames the officials for bringing about the visit of the Prince of Wales as a challenge to the resolution passed by the Congress Committee to boycott the visit and calls upon the people to retaliate upon the officials by boycotting the Prince's visit with a view to enlighten the Prince on the real state of affairs in India. The paper considers the opportunity given to the people of Bombay to boycott the Prince's visit on the 17th instant as a good omen for the inauguration of Civil Disobedience and expresses the hope that the citizens of Bombay will completely refrain from participating in any of the festivities organised in honour of the Prince. It then refers to the policy of repression adopted in various provinces, the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs and the famine in various parts of India and trusts that the people will express their protest against the high-handedness of the bureaucrats by boycotting the Prince's visit and dissociating themselves from all official actions and blunders. [The *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* challenges the non-co-operators to show what grounds they have for saying that the Prince of Wales is coming to this country at the invitation of the bureaucracy. In the opinion of the paper the King-Emperor has sent His Royal Highness to acquaint himself with the Princes and peoples of India and to inquire into the state of affairs in the country and adds that this can be properly done, not when India is happy as the non-co-operators declare, but when there is discontent in the country. It thinks that there cannot be any more dangerous and harmful statement than the one made by some irresponsible non-co-operators that if the Prince of Wales were to visit India at the present juncture his life would be in danger.]

Swarájya (Marathi) (147), 17th Nov.; *Rájakáran* (131), 13th Nov.

9. On landing in Bombay the Prince will be greeted with a general *hartal* and this will not certainly add to his Imperial dignity. It does not redound to the credit of the authorities to bring here a personage like him and to do nothing to remove the discontent of the people who have decided to boycott his visit. At present they are only engaged in devising measures to collect anyhow large crowds wherever the Prince goes. But the collection of large crowds does not necessarily mean that the people are contented. Even His Royal Highness will not be deceived by these large crowds. He will be ill at ease and will think it humiliating to go in procession through the streets of a city which has decided to boycott his visit. He will realise that the lights on a few Government buildings cannot dispel the gloom of boycott pervading the land. When the Prince comes thirty-one lifeless guns will thunder a salute, but will the same be forthcoming from the thirty-one crores of human beings scattered throughout the country? [The *Rájakáran* says that Indians are no longer simple enough to welcome the Prince when there is extreme poverty in the land and when repression is in full swing.]

Nusrat (new), 11th Nov.

10. The *Nusrat* thinks that the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales is political in nature and adds that he has come here to strengthen the autocratic rule of the present *regime.* The paper declares that the Indian people could have extended a right royal welcome to the Prince only if he could have redressed their grievance in the spirit of a benevolent ruler. It emphsasies the fact that he has not come here at the people's request and hence he cannot be a guest, and adds that it is not possible for them to welcome an uninvited guest like him who has come here merely to strengthen the bonds of their slavery.

Comments on His Majesty the King-Emperor's message and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's speech at the Apollo Bunder.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 18th Nov.

11. "The message which His Majesty the King-Emperor has sent to the people of India through His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, who landed on these shores yesterday, will be read throughout the country with the keenest feeling of disappointment. The King can do no wrong, but the message brings home once again that he has no power to redress the wrongs of his subjects. The people of India did not need to be assured—for they never had any doubt about it—that 'in all that may touch their happiness, in all that gives them hope, in all that promotes their welfare, His Majesty feels with them in the spirit of sympathy', Their grievance is that this spirit is entirely lacking in the actual administration of the country by His Majesty's agents and in its application to their deepest sentiments of honour, as in the case of the Punjáb, and of religion in the case of the Khilafat. This being the nature of the Royal message, it was to be expected that the Prince's own speech would be equally disappointing. His Royal Highness spoke only too truly when he said: 'It is in this atmosphere of sympathy that I set foot on the shores of India; and your welcome will help to ripen this sympathy into knowledge.' The people of India fully 'sympathise' with His Royal Highness in the unfortunate position in which he has been placed by those who are making him the victim of their propaganda. Nevertheless, the people of India hope that wiser counsel will yet prevail among the latter so that when the Prince leaves this country he will carry back with him memories of a welcome that will surpass in its spontaneity and warmth any that has hitherto been accorded to him in any part of the Empire at the hands of an India who will have achieved *swaráj*, undone the Punjáb dishonour and the Khilafat wrong. As to that we must wait and see."

Gujaráti (14), 20th Nov.

***12.** In commenting upon the Prince of Wales's visit and his reception in Bombay, the *Gujaráti* declares that it is not to be concluded from the fact that large numbers of Bombay and mofussil people had gathered together in Bombay on Thursday last to welcome him, that there is no strength in the people's longing for *swaráj*; this welcome only shows that, in spite of all the sufferings of their heart, they have not yet forgotten their duty of hospitality towards a guest and that the belief that the King is a divine being worthy of being worshipped and that it is an act of merit to obtain a sight of him has not yet been killed out from the hearts of the people. The paper dwells on the sympathetic tone of His Majesty's message and declares that it is no small honour that the King has done to the Indians by sending his son in their midst and thereby showing his trust in them. It adds that it is clear from the message that it is the King's hope that if India remains within the British Empire, it will not be as a subject people but as a free and independent India. As for His Royal Highness's reply to the Bombay Municipality's address, the paper remarks that it can, without exaggeration, be said to be very plain and frank. The paper declares that the Prince's tour in India will be successful only if he comes to know the Indian opinion as to the good and harm done to India by the British connection and if he acquires a correct knowledge of the aspirations of the Indians. If the officials believe, adds the paper, that owing to the Prince's visit the people's demand for *swaráj* and the awakening created among them will cool down, they will be making a mistake. The paper concludes with the wish that, in the course of his visit, the Prince may gauge the true mind of India, her aspirations and joys and sorrows and during a long life take the leading part in satisfying India's aspirations and raise her to the zenith of progress and peace.

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 20th Nov., Eng. cols.

***13.** "The cordial and enthusiastic welcome which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales received on his landing at the Gateway of India was a convincing testimony of the hospitality and cosmopolitan spirit for which this city is so justly famous...... The message of sympathy and hope which the young Prince has brought from his august father will, we have no doubt, deeply stir the hearts of the peoples of India....... The first speech that the young Prince delivered after his landing was both simple and manly....... We hope that his desire for knowledge will be amply fulfilled during his stay in this country, and that all opportunities will be afforded to him to acquire such knowledge by personal observation and inquiry....... It is evident from His Royal Highness's first public utterance that he wishes to hold himself aloof from political controversies, putting himself in the position of an inquirer and observer and not that of a supporter of any particular party....... He has stretched out the hand of friendship with frankness and modesty, and it would ill become this ancient land, renowned for her qualities of hospitality and courtesy, to reject that hand."

Mahrátta (6), 20th Nov.

***14.** "As officially ordained, the Prince landed at Apollo Bunder, performed all the functions already outlined, received addresses made to order, gave replies to them ready prepared for him days ago, passed through the streets of Bombay and Poona and will repeat the same mechanical process throughout his tour in India. But we ask, was there any life in all those functions? Was there the National consciousness behind the officially manufactured reception? To one, who had eyes to see, all these functions and all the reception that the Prince received, lacked that divine tie of love which binds man to man or, for the matter of that, nation to nation or nation to its sovereign head. The official descriptions of the functions also betray it. All the art and cunning of able and masterly pens were pressed into service to give to the world a vivid description of the ceremonies; but all the attempts have dismally failed and in spite of the lurid colours, the officially-manufactured reception proved to be a perfect failure from the people's point of view...... Let us look to the message which the Prince has delivered to India from His Majesty the King. If there is ever want of personality behind the words, if ever the words sound hollow to the ears, if ever there is hollow artificiality in any message, this message of His Majesty the King-Emperor can serve as the best example. The message seems to have been manufactured and placed ready made in the mouth of the Prince as emanating from His Majesty the King Emperor. The message speaks of 'renewal of pledges' and assurances of 'unabating symapathy in all that passes in the lives of the people'. The hackneyed words have lost all their charm for India. India wants live things, deeds and not words, action and not lip-sympathy. The lacerated heart of India can only be healed by the soothing balm of *swarájya* and redress of the Punjáb and Khilafat grievances. In his reply to the address of the Corporation the Prince was made to say 'I want to grasp your difficulties and to understand your aspirations. I want you to know me and I want to know you'. Well and good. But can the Prince ever grasp the difficulties and understand the aspirations of the people by moving in officialised circles and hide-bound dead formalities? Let the Prince take the princely step by asking the bureaucrats to take him to the real people who live in the slums of Bombay, who pass their lives with half-meals and die of starvation. Let the Prince break the iron ring of officials around him and attend the Indian National Congress at Ahmedabad if he wants to know the aspirations of the people....... Lastly, we have to say a word to the bureaucracy. Will they not take any lesson from the incidents attending the Prince's visit? Do they not feel the contrast between this visit and the visits of the father and the grand-father of the present Prince? If so, let them once for all make up their minds to take courage in both hands and face the issue of *swarájya*. There may be diplomacy in prolonging the struggle and thus their existence; but ultimately it would not be conducive to the welfare of both the nations—India and England. *Swarájya* is the only solution and the earlier India attains it the better it is for both."

Gujaráti (14), 20th Nov., Eng. cols.

***15.** Commenting on His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales's reply to the address of the Bombay Municipality, the *Gujaráti* writes:—"The opening observations in his reply are very striking and enabled him to put himself in touch with the distinguished citizens assembled in the amphitheatre. They will doubtless arrest the attention of the whole country. They are frank and open-hearted, sincere and generous....... His Royal Highness is commendably anxious to know India and her people, their difficulties and aspirations at first hand. At the same time he wishes that the people should know him....... But we are at a loss to understand how he will be able to carry out the object he has near his heart in presence of the round of endless functions and festivities in which he will be called upon to participate and of the restrictions that must naturally surround his peregrinations from province to province."

Comments on the disturbances in Bombay.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 18th and 19th Nov.; *Sánj Vartamán* (30), 18th Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 19th Nov.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 19th Nov.

16. The *Bombay Samáchár* comments upon the disturbances that took place in Bombay as follows:—We are very much grieved to state that serious disturbances took place in Bombay yesterday. We do not know how much truth there is in the ugly rumours that were set afloat yesterday, but this much is certain that the peace of the city was seriously menaced in certain parts of the city and assaults were made on innocent persons and some Europeans were subjected to rough treatment and stones were thrown at their motor cars. The police were compelled to open fire at one place owing to the disturbance having taken a serious turn. The Parsi Community was greatly perturbed owing to numerous assaults having been made on Parsi ladies and gentlemen. We are grieved to see that a certain section of the turbulent element in Bombay has not respected the principle of 'non-violence' and has indulged in wrong and despicable acts. On inquiry we find that these breaches of the peace have been committed by irresponsible *badmashes* and thoughtless boys. These people have tarnished the good name of Bombay. No true non-co-operator would be guilty of such crimes. Those who indulged in yesterday's disturbances are the enemies of the country. Some Congress and Khilafat workers tried to pacify and disperse the crowd but unfortunately they were not listened to. Every right-thinking individual will condemn yesterday's occurrences and we hope the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee and the Khilafat Committee will take steps to prevent their recurrence. [In the subsequent issue the paper condemns the cowardly attacks made by the hooligans on Parsi women and men on Thursday and Friday and the attempts made by them to desecrate Parsi fire-temples on those days and expresses the hope that the bitter experiences gained in Bombay will induce Mr. Gandhi to give up his intention of commencing civil disobedience in Surat and Bardoli talukas on the 23rd instant. The paper concludes by an earnest appeal to all classes of people to keep their heads cool and to use their influence for restoring peace and quiet in the city. The *Sánj Vartamán* comments upon the disturbances in Bombay and writes:—Unfortunately serious assaults were made on two Europeans and some Parsis, and young children and ladies were subjected to a shameful treatment. A sudden attack was made on numerous Parsi ladies and gentlemen while they were returning after witnessing the Prince's procession. The *badmashes* took advantage of the pre-occupation of the Police and created the disturbance. No cause was given to provoke the *badmashes* who seem to have taken revenge upon the people who went to see the Prince's procession. We express our severest condemnation of the satanic and cowardly actions perpetrated by the *badmashes*. These *badmashes* should be hunted out and severely punished. The Police were hard worked on account of the Prince's visit, but they should have taken better precautions to maintain peace and order in the city. They, no doubt helped people in distress but unfortunately could not reach all the scenes of disturbance. The serious disturbances that took place on Thursday go to prove that the masses of Bombay have not understood the principle of non-violence that has been preached to them for months past. It is significant to note that the cowardly atacks were mostly directed against Europeans and Parsis. These disturbances have seriously hindered the progress of the non-co-operation movement and have brought disgrace upon Mr. Gandhi. The Bombay public will strongly condemn these disturbances. While going to the Press we hear that some disturbances have taken place near Byculla and Parel today (Friday). We hope that all law-abiding citizens will come forward to help the authorities in quelling these disturbances. The *Prajá Mitra and Pársi* refers to the recent disturbances in Bombay and wants to know how Mr. Gandhi will explain them. In the opinion of the paper these disturbances were the result of a feeling of revenge on the part of those who completely failed in their attempts to boycott the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It thinks that the explanation which Mr. Gandhi has given of these disturbances is no explanation at all and it asks whether Mr. Gandhi should not be held responsible for these disturbances which are caused by his illiterate followers. It also inquires whether the destruction of property and the burning of liqour-shops is not a sufficient illustration of the meaning which is attached to civil disobedience by the masses. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* regrets that the 17th and 18th of November did not unfortunately pass off quietly. It remarks that Mr. Gandhi's advice to the non-co-operators to abstain from violence and show tolerance in hearing other peoples' views was not at all heeded. It asks the leading non-co-operators whether they should not even now change their programme in view of the fact that the non-co-operation movement and the advocacy of *hartal* have produced terrible results up to now. The paper hopes that the mischief-mongers will come to their senses in view of Mr. Gandhi's persuasion and give up this violent method of attaining *swaráj* after fully considering the ruin to which they are leading this city and country as a whole. It appeals to Mr. Gandhi to abstain now from preaching his dangerous doctrines to illiterate masses. It inquires why the Parsis were particularly molested. It requests Government to fathom this mystery and independently inquire into the root cause of the disturbances. The paper states that neither Mr. Gandhi nor his responsible lieutenants are responsible for these disturbances, but that those persons should know what must be the result of preaching their doctrines to people who cannot discriminate between right and wrong. It expresses its satisfaction at the manifesto which is issued by Mr. Gandhi and the postponement of mass disobedience by him, and urges upon him the necessity of stopping the picketing movement. It thinks that the recent disturbances in Bombay have proved that the Indians are incapable of conducting peacefully the movement of civil disobedience as well as that of temperance. It hopes that the manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi will produce the necessary effect in proper quarters and help in spreading peace once more in the city. It requests Government to make special arrangements to protect those communities which co-operate with Government, and asks whether it is a fact that the police refuse help to them when they ask for it. It suggests that His Excellency the Governor should end the present state of affairs by calling a conference of the representatives of all shades of public opinion.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 19th Nov.

17. "It is beside the point to argue which sections of the Indian community—Hindu, Muslim, Parsi or Christain—displayed the most violent tendencies. Being Indians it is sufficient proof they have not become amenable to the teachings of non-violence. But, while deploring most grievously the unexpected events of the last two days, we cannot but condemn as most reprehensible the attempt of a morning contemporary to misrepresent the facts and to father all the blame for the incidents on the 'non-co-operators.' The only true non-co-operators were those who, resisting the temptations of the *tamasha* in connection with the Prince's visit, trudged their way to Elphinstone Road and patiently listened to Mahatma Gandhi's unforgettable words of advice. The rioting in various parts of the city and in particular near Parsi Statue had started long before the dispersal of the meeting at Elphinstone Road. We have the testimony of dozens of eye-witnesses, of unimpeachable character, which goes to show that the 'non-co-operators' as such, as could be judged from their dress, were not the real culprits but it was the riff-raff of the various communities who always feel in their element when there is mischief afoot, who were at the bottom of the trouble. On the other hand, there is also positive evidence to show that the police have been conniving at, if not actively abetting, some violent sections of the Anglo-Indian and Jewish communities in their hooliganism against those who wore Gandhi caps and *khaddar* coats. Certain portions of the city, such as the vicinity of the Parsi Statue and the J. J. Hospital, were, as it were, handed over by the police to the ruffianism of these elements and persons in *khaddar* cap or white coat could only pass these particular quarters at the risk of their lives. Innumerable tales of persons who had been mercilessly beaten and deprived of their caps and coats by these hooligans, at the point of revolvers and bludgeons, in the presence of the Police, have reached us. This is a most sinister feature of the situation which deserves to be taken notice of by the higher authorities."

Gujaráti (14), 20th Nov.

***18.** The *Gujaráti* describes the various means adopted by the non-co-operators to ensure the success of the *hartal* decreed by Mr. Gandhi on the 17th instant and remarks that compulsion and force were also resorted to by them to induce people to suspend business. It refers to Mr. Gandhi's exhortation to non-co-operators not to interfere with the freedom of action of those who want to take part in the reception of the Prince and adds that the welcome given to the Prince and the disturbances created by these people have shown how far the people of Bombay have respected this advice of Mr. Gandhi and what an extremely regrettable and detestable show they have made before the bureaucracy. The paper goes on to give an account of the disturbances in Bombay on Thursday last, pointing out that their first fruit has been that Mr. Gandhi has suspended for the present his campaign of civil disobedience. It expresses great sympathy for those Parsi families, who have suffered at the hands of the rioters, adding that in thus picking out the Parsis, the rioters have exhibited race-hatred of an exceedingly detestable type. The paper next describes in detail the aims and ideas underlying Mr. Gandhi's scheme of civil disobedience or peaceful rebellion which he was to have started in the Bardoli Taluka but which he has abandoned owing to the Bombay disturbances having proved that the people are not yet imbued with the true spirit of non-violence.

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 20th Nov., Eng. cols.

***19.** "The citizens of Bombay had a very good example of the practice and ethics of non-violent non-co-operation on the auspicious day of the arrival of our Royal guest........ Of course all thinking citizens were confident that there would be riots and shedding of blood of innocent men, women and children, as the ruffian element amongst the followers of Gandhi seem to believe that whatever they do, they are always in the right......... In any civilized state such unbridled licence would not be tolerated by the public. Our Government seems to imagine that the movement will die of inanition if let alone. It is a view with which we entirely disagree. If once these hooligans feel assured that they will be allowed to have their own way at least for the time being they will surely, according to their instinct, find some excuse or another for assault, arson and murder of those who happen to disagree with their views. It is the duty of a Government to govern and prevent outbreaks......... In view of the disturbances of rather serious nature that took place the previous day, and anticipating the recurrences of the same, was it not essential—nay inevitable—for the authorities concerned to have posted day and night military or police guards at such scenes of disturbance where these hooligans were likely to damage and devastate? Strange as it appears, that liquor shops on broad main public roads were looted, plundered, devastated, and set on fire for hours together during broad daylight and no help was avasilable—no protection given—no safety ensured of the life and limbs of the innocent citizens. All that gave the appearance as it were that there was no Government at all for the time being and in the absence of control the hooligans and anarchists were allowed their own way. Is the Government still prepared to take the necessary measures for the safety of its millions of loyal citizens? We can assure the Government without the shadow of a doubt that the majority of the citizens of Bombay in particular are dead against this new fangled ruffianism which is merely Bolshevism under another guise, which is fostering racial hatred and bitterness such as was unknown for the last century or more."

The non-co-operation movement cannot remain non-violent.

Bharatwási (157), 2nd Nov.

20. We are about to witness a new phase of the *satyagraha* movement. We know that several of the closest followers of Mahatma Gandhi have no faith in his doctrine of non-violence. Now Muslim leaders say openly that they will resort to violence. At the outset we knew that it would be so, and consequently did not join in the movement of non-violence. Everyone who knows this country will admit that to start violence in the present state of things will be to consign the country to hell. Indians will kill Indians as was the case in Bengal in connection with the anti-partition agitation. Englishmen will not be affected. The Moplah rising is an instance in point. To stir up every kind of hatred and excitement among the people and then to ask them to practise non-violence is to ask for something which in the very nature of things is an impossibility. If there is violence in thought and word there is bound to be violence in deed. We know that several persons who are working against non-co-operation have been receiving threats and anonymous letters of all sorts. They have, in some cases, been subjected to indignities and have even received blows. In municipalities again members who do not follow non-co-operators and Khilafatists, are given all sorts of threats, so much so that they live in danger of losing their lives. What happened at Karáchi shows how influence is brought to bear upon municipal members. We know, and our non-co-operator friends know, what is happening all over the country and yet it is claimed that the country is being prepared for non-violence. Let our countrymen who have violence in thought and word, remember that their threats will not frighten us.

Comments on Mr. Gandhi's resolve to start Civil Disobedience in Gujarat.

Gujarát Mitra (15), 13th Nov.

21. "That Mr. Gandhi obviously wants by his present new move to save his face was scarcely hid from those who closely followed his non-co-operation campaign. ...... It is a lawless course that he asks them to tread, well-knowing that it was an impracticable task that he set before his countrymen. It can no longer be doubted that the Government, which has for long and scrupulously been extremely tolerant and patient towards Mr. Gandhi and his non-co-operation campaign, will now be forced to take a decisive action, for it is certain that this new phase in non-co-operation which the country was asked by Mr, Gandhi to adopt will, and must, land India in a vortex of troubles and disorders from which it would be hard to extricate without entailing on it the most disastrous consequences. It will force the Government to decide how far it could permit this lawless course and to act with wise forethought and prudence in the interest of the safety and well-being of many law-abiding people who refused to have any faith in Mr. Gandhi or his movement."

Praja Bandhu (27), 13th Nov., Eng. cols.

22. "Thus by slow degrees we have reached the final stage of the non-co-operation programme that is to establish *swaráj* before the end of this year.

Let us hope we shall vindicate our pledge, and offer the world a new method of liberation. Hitherto national liberation has been attended with bloodshed and the clash of arms. But we want to eliminate these factors, and replace them with the anguish of suffering. We shall disobey the laws of the State, but obey its coercive power until it grows sick and changes its spirit. This is called civil disobedience as conceived by Mahatma Gandhi, and we have to reuduce it to practise within the next few weeks. Let us gather all the courage that is in us so that we may not fail when we are tried."

Gujaráti Punch (16), 13th Nov., Eng. cols.

23. "The non-co-operators may be a set of incorrigible meddlers who are creating an amount of unnecessary fuss just to prove that they are in the right, or it may be that civil disobedience is the result of despair born of the almost certain failure of a movement on which they had based such large hopes; but is the blame all on one side? We fear not. However misguided the movement, it was stated from the beginning that it had a solid foundation in the burning grievances of the people and only their removal could deal a deathblow to it. But, as Fate would have it, instead of any broad move in that direction from a Government which is never tired of appealing to the 'sane' section of the public to assert itself, it was met by repression, more or less wholesale, and that combined with the arrogant behaviour of local officials who have mostly gone unscathed has left on the public the impression that the Indian Government is beyond all cure and that desperate though it be, a direct offensive intended to paralyse it is the only way for the redemption of this unfortunate country. That feeling has enlisted an amount of silent symapathy for the non-co-operationists even in quarters that have no faith in their movement and it has in that degree weakened the side of the Government. We wish the latter will realise it. And the realisation of it is all the more necessary in view of the fact that it is not merely putting down the methods of the non-co-operation party as mad and misguided that will suffice to give a wide berth to their movement. What is wanted is to convince the people that not only are their ways mad and misguided but also unnecessary and that can only be done by proving that where the Government of India is faulty, it is through no lack of desire to improve itself but through inadvertance or ignorance. That state of affairs can be created not by repression but by a removal of all the legitimate and known grievances of the people and by a steady liberalising of the administration. We wish the Government of India will aim more at it than complicate matters by repression."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 15th Nov., Eng. cols.

24. "Civil disobdience is the last logical step of non-violent non-co-operation. After that there only remains open and sanguinary revolt. The doctrine of civil disobedience is impossible of practical application in a country of the size and complexity of India, Either the disobdience is going to be a mere make-believe, a sort of 'eye-wash', which would cause little inconvinience to the offenders and less to Government, or, if it is to be serious, it must before long cease to be 'civil' in any sense...... Supposing civil disobedience fails, as it must, to secure practical results, is Mr. Gandhi prepared to sanction the next step, *viz.*, open rebellion?...... We feel that in deciding to inaugurate civil disobedience at the present juncture Mr. Gandhi has been actuated not by the exigencies of the situation but by the consideration that he must be doing something new if the agitation is to be kept alive."

Sind Observer (9), 10th Nov.

25. "The clouds are thickening. The period of the visit of the Prince of Wales, of all times, has been chosen by Mahatma Gandhi to offer civil disobedience to the laws....... It is unfortunate that the visit of the Prince should synchronise with the launching of a movement fraught with serious consequences. We had repeatedly pointed out that the time of the visit of the Prince was not the time for launching the Karáchi prosecutions. The Prince will not be able to tour the country in an atmosphere of peace. Government must be now realising in their heart of hearts that the Karáchi prosecutions were a blunder of the first magnitude. The novelty of civil disobedience will also wear out like the novelty of several other short cuts to *swaráj*. But it is in the hands of the Government either to make the movement formidable, which like a tidal wave will sweep the country, or to allow it to die on account of its own inherent defects. Non-co-operation has up to now shown that it carries within itself the elements its own destruction....... Only repression and suppression will spread the movement like wildfire. If Lord Reading allows civil disobedience to burn itself out, he will be wise in his generation."

Lokasangraha (116), 13th and 17th Nov. ; *Chaitanya* (98), 14th Nov.

26. We are honestly of opinion that the nation is not yet ready for civil disobedience. We cannot believe that even the Bardoli Taluka of the Surat District is quite ready for it. But even supposing that it is, the readiness of one taluka alone will not suffice. The whole country must be ready for it if failure is to be avoided. In the absence of such readiness nothing will be gained except imprisonment for some people, and the cause of *swarájya* will not be advanced in any way. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—We agree that the present system of administration does not deserve to last a moment longer and that non-co-operation can bring about its destruction. But we are sure the methods that are now being advocated will not achieve the deserved end. The jails will no doubt be filled when the movement is launched. The knowledge, however, that all this sacrifice will be in vain extremely grieves us. The *Chaitanya* says that the author of the non-co-operation movement will have to confess at the end of the year that it is powerless to achieve *swarájya* and that he will have to drop it.]

Gujaráti (14) 13th Nov.

27. The *Gujaráti* describes at great length how, ever since he put a stop to the *satyagraha* movement in 1919, Mr. Gandhi has begun to make efforts to train Indians to be able to offer civil disobedience in large masses, to wean them from the fear of jails and severe punishments, to break down the prestige of the law, of the law courts and of the administration and to act together in a disciplined manner in large bodies. It further points out that the rulers did not grasp the real significance of all this and did not recognise the importance of removing the defects in the administration and of taking steps to preserve the confidence of the people in their sense of justice and uprightness. The paper then comes to the resolution regarding civil disobedience passed by the All-India Congress Committee at Delhi and describes the various conditions which must be fulfilled before a particular area or individual can start civil disobedience, and how in the first instance it is to be begun on the 23rd November in one taluka of the Surat district under Mr. Gandhi's personal supervision. But, although the beginning is to be made only in one taluka, there is no guarantee, according to the paper, that the infection will not spread to other presidencies, provinces, districts and talukas. Some people also ask, continues the paper, what guarantee is there that, after beginning civil disobedience on the 23rd November, *swaráj* will be secured in one month and a quarter. To this the paper replies: Whether there is such certainty or not, it is the wish of Mr. Gandhi that is all-powerful today. The paper concludes in the hope that in no place will there be any infringement of the principle of non-violence, the maintenence of which is also part of Mr. Gandhi's wish.

Nusrat (new), 16th Nov.

28. The *Nusrat* declares that the whole of India is anxiously waiting for the day when the worthy son of India and the soul of the non-co-operation movement launches his scheme of civil disobedience, The paper states that the breaking of laws has always been the last stage in the fight for freedom and recalls the example of Hungary, Ireland and Korea. It emphasises the fact that, in contrast to Hungary, greater union prevails in India and hopes that when the non-violent personality of Mahatma Gandhi comes into the battle-field, armed with the weapon of civil disobedience, enthusiasm will run so high that even the Police will not think of going against the Mahatma's will. It opines that civil disobedience can be a success provided it is begun properly.

How the *satyagraha* in Bardoli was to bring about *swarájya*.

Lokamánya (114), 18th Nov.

29. The *Lokamánya* says that it is now practically settled that Mr. Gandhi's flag of *satyagraha* or peaceful revolt is to be unfurled in the Bardoli taluka of the

Surat District. Its idea of the *satyagraha* is that Mr. Gandhi's followers in the taluka who number about 75 to 80 per cent. of the population will from the 23rd instant refuse to obey any orders issued by the Government officials and the rule of the Congress will thus practically begin there. The people will then, according to the paper, come forward to issue orders to the Government officials, who, if they obey them, will continue to exercise their present powers under the Congress *régime* but if they refuse will be considered as prisoners of the *swarájya* administration and Congressmen will be appointed in their place. The Government officers, the paper is certain, will try to counteract these peaceful activities of the *satyagrahis* and try to incarcerate them. But, the paper asks, where 75 to 80 per cent. of the people have joined the peaceful revolt how would Government be able to find jails to imprison all these people? It will also be impossible, it says, to shoot them down. Government being thus fixed on the horns of a dilemma, it will have no option but to come to terms with Mr. Gandhi in the matters of the Punjáb, the Khilafat and *swarájya*. This will show, the paper remarks, why Mr. Gandhi is confident about acheiving *swarájya* before 31st December.

Navjivan (69), 13th Nov.

30. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan* regarding what Gujarát should do when civil disobedience is begun:—These are hard times. We should not take a thoughtless step and then repent afterwards. Gujarat may refuse to begin civil disobedience if no taluka in it is ready to do so. There should be no drawing back after it is once begun. Imprisonment goes with civil disobedience. Can we not go to jail when so many great men have done so? But what should we do if martial law is declared, if Gurkha and British soldiers arrive and strike us with spears, shoot us and compel us to crawl? Let them come. But we should prefer death to crawling. We should rather die by means of spears than on account of epidemics. Are we going to turn our back when there is firing? We have got so much strength that we will face firing and catch the bullets in our breasts as in a game. We will convert the Gurkha into our brother; if not, what more happiness can there be than dying at the hands of our brother? I trust that timid Gujarát will this time achieve something. But my pen moves with difficulty while writing this. When has Gujarát heard the shots of a gun? When has it seen rivers of blood? We cannot preserve our body by taking much care of it. We should sacrifice our life for a good purpose just as we spend a rupee. What other occasion can there be of sacrificing our life so good as liberating ourselves from these atrocities? Those who heartily believe this will face firing firmly, smilingly and by keeping their chests bare. Any district of Gujarát should begin the struggle if it is so firm. How can we become fit for *swaráj* if not a single taluka has this much strength? So much for the Hindus. What should the Muhammadans and Parsis of Gujarat do? They also belong to Hindusthán and Gujarát; and they too have to free India from slavery, and they can also do so by dying.

Young India (11), 17th Nov.

31. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—" At the present moment one observes this criminal breach by the Government of its own laws throughout India. Sections of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code are being freely abused. And because non-co-operators refrain from questioning orders issued by officials, bare-faced illegalities are being committed by them with impunity. We have seen this in Bulandshahr, in Chittagong, all over Sindh, and nowhere so systematically and so deliberately as in the Madras Presidency....... Is it any wonder if one infers from this campaign of repression, an intention on the part of the Government to invite violence? In not one of these cases I have mentioned has there been any outbreak of violence as a result of the speeches and writings concerned. And so we see that the Government is guilty of criminal breach of its own laws. And what legal remedy has the afflicted individual against the Government? There is certainly no sanction provided against the Government in law when it prostitutes the law itself to its own base ends. When, therefore, a Government thus becomes lawless in an organised manner, civil disobedience becomes a sacred duty and is the only remedy open specially to those who had no hand in the making of the Government or its laws. Another remedy there certainly is, and that is armed revolt. Civil disobedience is a complete, effective and bloodless substitute. And it is as well that by exemplary restraint and discipline in the way of submission to unjust and even illegal orders we have created the necessary atmosphere for civil disobedience. For thereby on the one hand the tyrannical nature of Government has been made more manifest, and on the other by willing obedience we have fitted ourselves for civil disobedience. It is equally as well that civil disobedience is being confined even now to the smallest area possible. It must be admitted that it is an abnormal state, even as a corrupt and unpopular Government should be in civilised society like disease an abnormal state. Therefore, only when a citizen has disciplined himself in the art of voluntary obedience to the state laws is he justified on rare occasions deliberately but non-violently to disobey them, and expose himself to the penalty of the breach. If then we are to achieve the maximum result in the minimum of time, whilst fierecest disobedience is going on in a limited area, perfect submission to the laws must be yielded in all the other parts so as to test the nation's capacity for voluntary obedience and for understanding the virtue of civil disobedience. Any unauthorised outbreak of disobedience, therefore, in any part of India will most certainly damage the cause and will betray an unpardonable ignorance of the principles of civil disobedience. We must expect the Government to take the strictest measures to suppress this impending defiance of authority, for on it depends its very existence. Its instinct of self-preservation alone will actuate measurers of repression adequate for suppression. And if it fails, the Government of necessity disappears. That is, it either bends to the national will or it is dissolved. The greatest danger lies in violence breaking out anywhere by reason of provocation. But it would be wrong and unmanly to invite the sternest measures and then to be incensed against them, apart from the fact that it will be a breach of our solemn pledge of non-violence. I may be arrested, thousands who take part in the peaceful revolt may also be arrested, imprisoned, even tortured. The rest of India must not lose its head. When the proper time comes the rest of India may respond by undertaking civil disobedience and inviting arrests, imprisonments and tortures. It is the sacrifice of the innocent we want to make. That alone will appear pleasing to God."

Comments on the recent resolutions passed by the All-India Congress Committee.

Kesari (110), 15th Nov.

32. The *Kesari* deals with the two principal resolutions passed at the recent meeting of the All-India Congress Committee, *viz.*, the one about the foreign policy of India when it attains *swarájya* and the other about the launching of civil disobedience. The first resolution, in the opinion of the paper, is practically addressed to Muhammadan countries and as such will certainly strengthen the Hindu-Muhammadan unity if on account of it those countries become real friends of India. It however regrets that while attempts are thus being made by the Committee to conciliate foreign Muhammadan States, it does not see the necessity of similarly approaching the Native States in India by assuring the Chiefs that under *swarájya* their States and proper rights will be safeguarded. It points out that the resolution about the Native States passed at the Nagpur Congress only made them hostile and therefore it was the duty of the Congress Committee to give an assurance like the above to the Chiefs. Only such an assurance, in the opinion of the paper, will make the path of political agitation in the Native States easier. As regards the other resolution about civil disobedience, the paper thinks that the conditions about knowledge of spinning, discarding of untouchability, etc., imposed by Mr. Gandhi on those who want to launch mass civil disobedience are not proper, as they make the movement impracticable. It however considers any further discussion of the matter unneccssary at present as Mr. Gandhi has asked the people to wait till he himself carries out the campaign of civil disobedience in some selected taluka in Gujarát at the end of the current month.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 12th Nov. ; *Model* (25), 13th Nov. ; *Hind Mitra* (17), 13th Nov. ; *Swarájya* (Gujaráti) (62), 15th Nov. ; *Broach Samáchár* (58), 10th Nov. ; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (22), 13th Nov.

33. Commenting upon the resolution for the adoption of civil disobedience passed by the All-India Congress Committee, the *Sánj Vartamán* remarks :—In spite of our respect for Mr. Gandhi and admitting the fact that the members, of the All-India Congress Committee have arrived at this conclusion after realizing their serious responsibilities, we are of opinion that it would have been better if the All-India Congress Committee had advised the country to adopt civil disobedience after completely putting into practice those conditions which have been laid down by Mr. Gandhi. We believe that the people have not yet got that power which is essential for the establishment of *swaráj,* have not yet adopted the rest of the programme of non-co-operation and there remains much to be done regarding the *swadeshi* movement. Considering all these circumstances, we feel that the country should wait for a few months more before adopting civil disobedience. We admit that the *swadeshi* movement is advancing rapidly in certain parts of the country, but we doubt, not only whether the country is prepared for complete civil disobedience but also whether it is prepared even for restricted civil disobedience. We, therefore, believe that the All-India Congress Committee would have been very well advised if it had entrusted the whole responsibility of considering whether to begin civil disobedience or not, when to do so and how to do so to the National Congress instead of taking over the responsibility to itself. We also think that there has been a little haste in resolving the adoption of civil disobedience in the very month in which His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales lands in India. We heartily wish that civil disobedience had been postponed till the resolution to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales had been fully put into practice. [The *Model* writes :—This resolution is a challenge to Government. The All-India Congress Committee was well advised in passing this resolution with some conditions attached to it in spite of the fact that only a few weeks remain for reaching the goal of *swaráj* and public opinion is in favour of adopting civil disobedience because the popular leaders are in jail. Thus the representatives of the whole of India have decided their programme before the arrival of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and thrown down the gage of war against the British Government in India. It should not be forgotten that the resolution for the adoption of civil disobedience is the beginning of the establishment of *swaráj.* God will surely grant success to Mr. Gandhi in this movement. The *Hind Mitra* remarks :—Mr. Gandhi is to begin civil disobedience in Bardoli taluka in Surat district. We trust that it will succeed there and prove to be an example to other places in India. This resolution is an immediate and sure reply to the repressive policy of the Viceroy. We should no longer rely upon the sense of justice of the British people. The *Swarájya* remarks :—Civil disobedience is a kind of revolt. Are the people of India sufficiently educated for it, and is it sure that there will be non-violence after beginning civil disobedience ? Do people fully understand their duties and have they got sense to begin civil disobedience properly ? All these points should be decided from the beginning. If people are firm, non-violent and peaceful, and if they abandon fear of death and adopt civil disobedience, we can hope for a good result. Will not people attain *swaráj* by means of this priceless weapon if they are quite firm ? On the other hand the *Broach Samáchár* remarks :—Government ought to respect the religious belief of seven crores of its Muhammadan subjects. We cannot get justice through the non-co-operation movement by creating bitterness between different communities by causing a revolt and thus murdering innocent people and by causing rivers of blood to flow. We demand complete *swaráj* within the British Commonwealth. Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues are now going to extremes and the result of it will be very undesirable. It seems they are bent upon ruining the country. It is not desirable to begin civil disobedience when His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales visits this country. The atmosphere is getting worse and worse day by day. It is the duty of Government to look to the safety of people. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* says :—People are not still clearly told as to how civil disobedience is to be conducted and in the absence of this it is not proper to pronounce any opinion on this matter. Still all people can imagine how serious and dangerous it is and unhappy results are likely to accrue from it. What other step can be so dangerous, harmful and destructive as this ? Mr. Gandhi has many times proudly said that he has stopped Bolshevism from entering India. We are afraid that this last step of his is just like an invitation to Bolshevism in its most ruinous form.]

Prospects of a Pan-Islamic party arising in India.

Sind Vási (169), 30th Oct.

34. Some non-co-operators, finding their movement making no progress on the lines of non-violence, are thinking of severing the British connection and making India independent. It is generally acknowledged that it is not possible to gain independence without resorting to violence. If these non-co-operators pursue their own ways, there will be a third party in addition to the moderates, and non-violence-non-co-operators in the country. It is doubtful, however, if this new party will attract any considerable number of adherents. We are inclined to think that if it succeeds in gaining its objects, the last condition of the country will be worse than the first. As the party will consist mostly of Muhammadans there will be a Pan-Islamic Government in the country, a prospect which we cannot contemplate with equanimity. With India given the Dominion Status, we prefer the British connection to a Bolshevik, German or Pan-Islamic Government.

Comments on the release by the Viceroy of twenty Punjab Martial Law prisoners.

Gujaráti (14), 20th Nov.

***35.** Commenting on the release by Lord Reading of 20 out of the 86 Punjáb Martial Law prisoners now in jail, the *Gujaráti* declares that in view of the fact that those who under the shelter of Martial Law committed inhuman brutalities are at large and that a pension is paid from the State Treasury to Dyer who took the lives of innocent people, there would have been nothing wrong if Lord Reading had released all the 86 prisoners. It adds that by releasing some and leaving the rest in jail, he has revived afresh the memory of the Punjáb wrong and afforded an occasion for rendering the existing discontent more keen. It concludes with the remark that in order to win the confidence of the people in the present condition of affairs, it is necessary for Lord Reading to publish full details as to the nature of the crimes of the remaining 66 prisoners, the evidence against them, etc.

Servant of India (8), 17th Nov.

36. "The Viceroy's decision in regard to the martial law prisoners in the Punjáb will provoke intense dissatisfaction throughout the country. We believe that Lord Reading has judged of the cases from the records and feel that he has not made sufficient allowance for the circumstances under which they were originally heard. We could wish nothing better for the prisoners than that their trials were held over again *de novo*; for we only want justice to be done. But if a re-trial was impossible it was clearly necessary on the part of the Viceroy to temper such justice as alone would be warranted by the defective records with a large measure of justice. One cannot resist the thought that in these cases neither abstract justice nor practial statesmanship has had free play."

Mahrátta (6), 20th Nov.

***37.** "The decision given by Lord Reading in the matter of the eighty-six Martial Law prisoners in the Punjáb would surely spell grave disappointment regarding the future administration of Lord Reading....... Regarding the Punjáb Martial Law prisoners, he had declared that he would do justice in their case and later on he excused himself by pleading want of time to look into the case personally. But now we find that he relied solely on the judgment of two judges of the High Court and left himself entirely in their hands. If that was the only thing he intended doing, it was not necessary to proclaim from the house-tops his earnest desire to do justice. Because India knew justice of the technical stamp. The case of the Martial Law prisoners involved the broader considerations of humanity, of statesmanship. The Viceroy had to look to the circumstances in which the offences, if there are any, were committed. He had to look to the future relations between the two nations, India and England. He had to look to the strained feelings of the people in the matter of the Punjáb incidents and then give his decision. In the present case we must say that there was neither justice nor statesmanship nor that human touch which sheds lustre on the dignity of vicegerent of the King-Emperor. It is a grave disappointment and will steal India's heart for the future struggle."

Indu Prakásh (43), 16th Nov.

38. The *Indu Prakásh* referring to the release of twenty of the Martial Law prisoners in Punjab by the Viceroy reminds its readers of the fable of the mountain in labour. It asks His Excellency to take a more lenient view of the offences of the men not yet released and also requests him to reduce substantially the sentences passed on the accused in the Dhárwár and Malegaon riot cases which sentences it describes as inhuman and savage. It tells His Excellency that a sympathetic consideration of the cases of the above-mentioned accused will kill the opposition to the welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Comments on the reported Gurkha charge on a procession at the Chittagong Railway Station.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Nov.

39. "The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* publishes a number of photographs of persons who received more or less serious injuries as a result of the sudden and utterly unprovoked charge of Gurkha troops on the crowd of people who had assembled outside the Chittagong railway station, on the night of 20th October last, with a view to escort to jail, in a Sankirtan procession, Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and seventeen other leaders who had been convicted the same day and sentenced to three months' imprisonment. The photographs are sufficient evidence of the brutalities of which the Gurkhas were guilty on the occasion and recall the horrors of Dhárwár, Chandpur and other crimes committed in the name of 'law and order'. The report of the Gurkha outrage, which the non-official commission appointed by the local District Congress Committee has issued, reads like a page from the report of the reign of terror in the Punjáb....... The Associated Press and other semi-official and official agencies, whose function it is or is stated to be the dissemination of correct information, have managed to draw a veil over the tragedy, but truth cannot be hid for long and what has leaked out is sufficiently damning to the benevolent regimé which the Prince of Wales is coming to bless with his presence. Dyerism is not dead in this country. On the other hand, it is manifesting itself in its hydra-headedness wherever the people are trying to stand upon their legs, instead of crawling on their bellies, and to assert their manhood."

Comments on the shooting affair at Howrah (Calcutta).

Kesari (110), 15th Nov.

40. The *Kesari* next refers to the recent shooting affair at Howrah in Calcutta and declares that since the Jallianwalla massacre, the bureaucracy has been making it a constant practice to indulge in shooting on every possible occasion. It declares that it was unpardonable that the Police should have fired at Howrah when there was no occasion for it, when no previous warning was given and when there was no responsible officer present to give such a warning.

Religious injunctions cannot override the law of the land.

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 15th Nov.

41. The *Dnyán Prakásh* attempts to disprove Mr. Mahomed Ali's contention that he was entitled to flout the law when it ran counter to the tenets of his religion, and points out that the Muhammadans have never accepted the literal interpretation of the Koran and that they have several times fought with their own co-religionists. It condemns Mr. Mahomed Ali's advice to Muhammadans not to serve in the army on the ground that, if accepted, it would lead to chaos in the country. It then writes:—At present people are encouraged at some places to break the law in the name of religion. Such advice is likely to prove most harmful owing to the ignorance of the masses. The non-co-operators misled the Moplahs of Malabár, with what result we all know. In connection with the Mulshi Petha also some speakers take advantage of the religious feelings of the people. They oppose the proposed scheme on the ground that it would obliterate Hindus' places of worship. It is most improper to give such advise when it is the duty of the inhabitants of a few villages to make large sacrifices for the welfare of the nation.

Comments on the taking possession of the keys of the Golden Temple by the Punjab Government.

Nusrat (new), 18th Nov.

42. Commenting on the action of the Government of the Punjáb in taking possession of the keys of the Golden Temple of Amritsar, the *Nusrat* remarks that although the explanation put forward by Government looks reasonable, yet the Sikh community will not be satisfied with it. The paper fears that the Sikhs will take it as an attack against and interference with their own religion and adds that it is unwise on the part of Government to displease a community merely on account of its leanings towards non-co-operation. It refers to the fact that the army is gradually being denuded of the Sikhs who are now taking to trade and commerce. The paper accuses Government of thus alienating the feelings of the Sikhs and remarks that if the attitude of the Government of India remains as it is, it will be no wonder if all the communities of India gradually become anti-Government.

Economies in Government departments in Bombay.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Nov.

43. "In deference to the suggestion made by several non-official members of the local Legislative Council, the various departments of the Government of Bombay have been breathlessly engaged for the past few weeks in effecting drastic economies in their respective establishments, with a view to enable the Indian Ministers, who are confronted with empty treasuries, to find the wherewithal to run their departments. The following resolution dated the 13th October 1921, issued in the Financial Department, Bombay, speaks volumes for the zeal and earnestness of the local bureaucracy in attaining the end in view:—'With a view to bringing the cost of the menial services in Bombay City within reasonable limits Government have decided that the numerical strength of menial establishments employed under Government offices in the city should be reduced by 10 per cent. All Heads of Offices in Bombay under the several Departments of the Secretariat are accordingly requested to take the necessary steps and to report to Government in the Financial Department before the end of October, 1921, the reduction in their menial establishments to which effect is being given. As far as possible the reduction should be effected by giving notice of discharge only to persons who have under five years' service. Three months' notice is necessary and should be given without delay. An average reduction of 10 per cent. of the total menial staff in Bombay Offices is necessary and, as this may be found impracticable in the case of some small separate offices, heads of large departments are requested to report what larger reductions are possible either immediately or gradually as men retire up to a figure slightly in excess of the 10 per cent. limit postulated above.' Economy is to be the keynote of administration in the 'New Era' and if a fresh demand should be made for further economies in Secreteriat establishments, we have not the slightest doubt that the various departments will rise instantaneously to the height of the sacrifice demanded and raise the limit of reduction of the menial establishments to 20 or even 30 per cent., if need be. It will not be out of place to mention here some of the new superior posts which have been created by Government after the introduction of the 'Reforms' and which, paradoxical though it may appear to ignorant minds, have been no doubt so created in the interests of economy and economy alone.—These are:—1 Executive Counicillor (Rs. 64,000 per annum); 3 Ministers (Rs. 64,000 each); 1 Secretary to Government, Judicial and Home Department (Rs. 3,000 per mensem); 1 Assistant Secretary to Government, Judicial and Home Department (Rs. 850 per mensem); 1 Secretary to Government, Revenue and Financial Department (Rs. 3,000 per mensem); 1 Deputy Secretary to Government, General Department (Rs. 2,000 per mensem); 1 Assistant Secretary to Government, General Department (Rs. 800 per mensem). Besides, there are the Director of Information, the Director of Development, Secretary and Assistant Secretary to Government, Development Department, and the head of the newly opened Labour Office. We have not referred to the establishments attached to some of the abovementioned posts or to the increase in the existing establishments as a direct result of the advent of the 'New Era'. These and the top-grade posts are no doubt sacrosant in the eyes of the bureaucracy as they are required to effect 'economies' in the manner now being done. It would be interesting to know if the total savings effected in a month by the dismissal of the peons at least equals the earnings of a single Indian Minister during the same period."

Comments on the rumour that Berar is to be returned to the Nizam.

Nusrat (new), 17th Nov.

44. "Does Berar belong to the Nizam or to Britain?" is the heading of a leading article in the *Nusrat* which writes:—The advent of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales synchronises with the inauguration of strikes and demonstrations on all sides. Only a few Government circles are busy making preparations for his reception. The majority of people are grumbling at the visit of the Prince although a few are mad with joy because they foolishly think that the Prince is coming to India with the object of conferring *swarájya* on the Indian people. There is also a rumour that the Prince will give back to the Nizam the province of Berar. If there is any truth in this rumour, then we shall say that justice has at last been done. [The paper then describes how Berar came into the possession of the British. It then continues :—]Now the rumour is that the reason why Sir Ali Imam was appointed in Hyderabad was to get back Berar. Whether the news be true or not, there is no doubt that its return is widely commented upon in the English press. An opinion is expressed in certain circles that a plebiscite of the people of Berar will be taken in accordance with the principle of self-determination to show whether they want to remain under the British Government or to unite with Hyderabad. We are not against the principle of self-determination ; but we think that in the case of Berar its application will be illegal. If the principle is to be honoured, then it should be applied to Kashmir and to the whole of India and its inhabitants should be asked whether they want to remain under the British Government or not. Only those persons are thinking of applying this principle to Berar who are prejudiced against Hyderabad merely on accoumt of its being a Muslim State. Justice demands that Berar should be given back to the Ruler of the Deccan as early as possible, because it is his property.

Comments on the King's prorogation speech in Parliament.

Kesari (110), 15th Nov.

45. The *Kesari* referring to the King's prorogation speech in Parliament remarks that while His Majesty has found time to refer to various other matters, he has not at all touched upon the position in India or the repressive policy being carried out in the country or the attempts being made in South Africa and Kenya to drive out Indians. As regards the approval expressed by the King of the future naval policy of the Empire as settled by the Imperial Conference, the paper expresses its apprehension that a large part of the naval expenditure is likely to be thrown on India, with the approval of Mr. Sastri, for maintaining a navy meant for the protection of New Zealand and Australia which have banged their doors against Indians and in which navy no Indian is likely to be given a commission. Is it not a great good fortune of Indians, it sarcastically asks, that though the King fails to remember India when the question of the grant of rights comes up for consideration, it is not forgotten when financial burdens are to be thrown on it?

Comments on the Washington Conference.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 16th Nov. ; *Sánj Vartamán* (30), 15th Nov. ;
Hindusthán (20), 15th Nov.

46. The *Bombay Samáchár* eulogises the good intentions of America in convening the Disarmament Conference at Washington and expresses hope that that Conference while settling the Pacific question between Japan and America will fix the basis of its working policy and adopt measures to ensure the peace of the world. It is of the opinion that the world peace will not be ensured unless America succeeds in prevailing upon England in revising the Turkish treaty and settling the Khilafat question to the satisfaction of the Moslems in India and the near Eastern Countries. [The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the fears entertained in various quarters about the possibility of an armed conflict between America and Japan in the near future and the embroilment of England in the conflict on either side and expresses gratification at the bold and statesmanlike plan for the limitation of armaments proposed by Mr. Hughes at the Washington Conference and wonders whether England and Japan will be willing to subscribe to the plan. It is of the opinion that the peace of the world and the interests of England and Japan will be secured by those countries supporting the proposed plan of disarmament. The *Hindusthán* refers to the conflict of interests between Japan and America on the Pacific question and the bitterness of feelings caused in India by the proposed terms in the new Anglo-Japanese Alliance and also to the question of the limitation of armaments that is to be brought before the Washington Conference and believes that the Military expenditure of

India will be greatly increased if the Conference does not arrive at a decision in the matter of limitation of armaments. The paper expresses the hope that the statesmen meeting at the Conference will recognise their duty and will try to make the Conference a success by ensuring the future peace of the world.]

Lokamánya (114), 16th Nov.

47. The *Lokamánya* refers to the cutting down of the navies of America, England and Japan proposed at the Washington Conference by Mr. Hughes, the Chairman, and says that while it is quite right that both America and England should agree to the limitation of their own navies, it fails to understand what right they have to ask a rising nation like Japan to cut down its naval programme to prevent it from outdistancing them. The demand means an insult to Asia, according to the paper, and a challenge to Asiatic countries not to enter into rivalry with the European nations. This menace to the Japanese navy, in the paper's opinion, also constitutes a danger to the equality of status of the Asiatic countries with the European nations and it is afraid that all the diplomacy and sweet words of the Prince of Wales when he goes to Japan will fail to tranquillise the heart of that nation perturbed by the blow aimed at its navy.

Mahrátta (6), 20th Nov.

***48.** "What would be the net result of the whole Conference from the world as well as Indian point of view? England will remain the first naval power always looking upon the Dominion navies as the second line of naval defence of the Empire. And as for India, on the showing of her own 'representative', she cannot afford to remain without any decent navy. Already we are hearing something about the sweeping recommendations made by the Military Requirements Committee. There is again the Sub-Committee of the Imperial Defence and there is no knowing to what financial burdens poor India will be subjected to. Our military expenditure nearly absorbs half of the revenue and if India is to be included in the scheme of Imperial defence and to be excluded from the Disarmament scheme, the Indian tax-payer, the poor and silent beast of burden, will be doomed. Even assuming that the British Empire will undertake reductions on a larger scale, it does not follow that India will derive any benefit in the way of economy in her military budget. It is now an open secret that the new Far Eastern fleet with headquarters at Singapore, when it comes into existence, will be a joint concern of all the parts of the 'British Commonwealth'. And as India has been given a recognised status not for rights, but for reponsibilities, India must, as a matter of elementary prudence, bear the proportionate cost of its maintenance. Now Mr. Shastri's views always coincide with those of the statesmen from the Dominions and as he has cultivated assiduously the art of 'thinking imperially', it will be unnatural if the British Imperialists do not exploit this situation so nobly created by Mr. Shastri and saddle India with another £5 millions—the price of her place in 'the galaxy of self-governing nations' of the British Commonwealth."

Comments on the representation of India on the Washington Conference.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Nov.

49. "India is indebted to Sir John Rees for the information that warm satisfaction is universally felt at the representation of India on the Washington Conference. The objects of this great but twardy concession are somewhat obscure. ...... Without any conscious intent to do injustice to Mr. Sastri, we are afraid that his presence will be duly exploited by Imperial propagandists who are on the lookout for some elevated and quotable authority to testify to the error of American criticisms, and the inward and cosmic significance of the New Era in India. He might also be used to dissipate the vulgar appreciations of Mahatma Gandhi which some anti-Imperial publicists in America have of late been propagating. Interviews, speeches and entertainments will afford Mr. Sastri ideal opportunities of delivering sententious observations about the Reform Act having been the most historic event in India since the creation of the earth, about the new-found status of India, about Indians being trusted as Lords and Privy Councillors and Governors, about the gradual gift of Home Rule by the King-Emperor, and about the insignificance and the unstatesman-like quality of the unrest so sedulously credited by the Friends of India. We venture to predict that the material outcome of Mr. Sastri's spectacular sally will be not the reduction of armaments nor the rendering of weighty advice touching the 'menace' of

Japan, but the provision of a pro-official counter-blast to pro-Indian propaganda in America. Rabindranath Tagore went to America and refused to enter Canada, but he was a suspect and a poet. Mr. Sastri will be boomed up by interested propagandists as the greatest Indian statesman and authority, visiting, without petty Tagore-like prejudice, both Canada and the United States, the 'Balfour' of India or the 'Milner' of India or the 'Morley' of India,—sobriquets being variable according to American fancy—and his mellifluous panegyrics of things in general will be utilised to embarrass American sympathisers of India. The use of Mr. Sastri in the prosecution of disarmament will be of the slightest, and his status most anomalous. But the word has passed that India is being accorded a high and symbolic dignity, and the public, therefore, ought to know that the aelection, while meant as a bauble for the gratification of Montaguites, will probably aid pro-official and anti-Indian propaganda in the United States."

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Taluqdars of Oudh.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Nov.

50. "Lord Reading took the occasion of an address presented to him by eighteen Taluqdars of Oudh on Saturday to remove the 'misapprehensions' which exist in 'certain quarters' with regard to the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales....... Lord Reading is a lawyer. It is not, therefore, necessary for us to remind him of the commonplace of law that a man is to be presumed to intend the natural consequences of his act. We accept Lord Reading's word that he and his Government have never had the faintest intention of using the Prince's visit for political purposes. But can His Excellency and all the might of His Excellency's Government guarantee that the visit will not be so used in effect? It is not the intention that matters, but the effect....... Besides, Lord Reading himself gave his whole case away when, after stating that the visit was in accordance with plans settled a year ago, His Excellency went on to say that the visit was decided upon because 'had I and my Government adopted any other attitude our action would inevitably have produced in the minds of the British public, and the peoples of the Dominions, impressions that would have reacted very unfavourably on the friendly relations between India and other parts of the Empire, and at a time when I attach the utmost importance to the growth in strength of these relations, to establishing them on a permanent basis and to cementing them with sympathy and affection'. If this is not a political purpose, we should like to know what else it is. The Viceroy's words, in effect, amount to this that the visit of the Prince of Wales is persisted in so that the British public and the peoples in the Dominions may not realise the intensity of Indian feeling in regard to their 'political grievances,'—or, to take the most charitable interpretation, so that they may not form unfortunate impressions about the loyalty of the Indian people. If this is not a political purpose, what else is it? 'The Prince's reception,' Lord Reading is anxious to assure us, 'will not be a test of the opinions that may be held on the political problem and differences of the day, but will be a test of the loyalty and attachment of the people of India towards the Crown itself.' If it is the loyalty and attachment of the people of India towards the Crown that are alone to be tested,—a matter entirely between the people of India and the Crown—why then this concern about the impressions among the peoples in Britain and the Dominions? The truth is that Lord Reading has failed to realise the intensity and universality of the feeling on this question in the country, which means that he has not yet grasped the inwardness of the non-co-operation movement. What to Lord Reading are merely 'political issues and controversies' are, to the overwhelming bulk of the people, except to those who through self-interest or wrong judgment have 'co-operated', points of honour which cannot be compromised. The people have resolved not to co-operate with Government in any manner so as to lead the world to believe that the wrongs of the Punjáb and the Khilafat and the demand for *swaráj* do not involve the honour of their country. And they care for the honour of their country more than for the opinion of the entire world."

Bombay Samáchár (56), 15th Nov.

51. The *Bombay Samáchár* criticises the speech made by His Excellency Lord Reading before a deputation of the Talukdars of Oudh and expresses the opinion that Lord Reading must have been convinced that British administration in India is in a tottering condition when he declared before the Talukdars that efforts were being made to sap the foundations of law and order and to subvert the constituted government of the country. The paper wonders how Lord Reading expects India to be pacified when the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs still remain to be redressed. It adds that the policy adopted by Lord Reading in supporting the policy of repression inaugurated by the Provincial Governments has aggravated the situation. The paper then tries to controvert the argument used by His Excellency to the effect that there was no political motive in the Prince's visit and reminds His Excellency that loyalty cannot be manufactured to order but that it can be evoked by justice and redress of wrongs, and concludes by declaring that the Prince's visit and the costly festivities organised in his honour are meant to flout public opinion.

Lokamánya (114), 16th Nov.

52. The *Lokamánya* referring to His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Oudh Talukdars' address says that the boycott of the Prince's visit was never intended as an insult to the Royal family or the Prince. It is wrong on the part of the bureaucracy, it says, to bring out the Prince while India is in a sort of mourning for the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs. Why should Lord Reading have invited the Prince to India, it asks, when he knew that the people have been exasperated owing to the Punjáb and Khilafat wrongs? Why should he have cared for the opinion of the colonies when they have all along disregarded Indian public opinion? The principal object of the Prince's present tour, in the opinion of the paper, is to return the recent visit of the Japanese Heir-Apparant to England and it thinks that if the Prince had gone to Japan without paying a visit to India *en route*, the object of his going there would have been endangered. Who knows, it says, the Japanese temper might get so much ruffled in the next few months as to necessitate the cutting short of the Prince's visit in India. These considerations make it clear, in the opinion of the paper, that His Royal Highness's visit is being forced upon India and that is the reason why the Viceroy has not been able to justify it in a statisfactory manner.

Comments on the Viceroy's opening speech at the second session of the Chamber of Princes.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 16th Nov.

53. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the promise given by His Excellency the Viceroy before the Chamber of Princes to consider the question of protecting Indian Princes from the British Indian press and remarks that it is proper if Government protect them from unworthy and cruel accusations, but asks if they need such protection at all. In the opinion of the paper it cannot be considered proper to deprive the people of the Native States of their only remedy of obtaining help from the British Indian press, before these States allow their indigenous press to enjoy freedom, allow their subjects to hold public meetings and are prepared to start institutions like the legislative councils. It asks Government not to forget that they are as responsible for the protection of the people of the Native States as for that of the Princes. Hence it asks Government to compel those States which want protection to supply their subjects with the means of getting justice as stated above.

Kesari (110), 15th Nov.; *Jágaruk* (44), 12th Nov.

54. The *Kesari* says that the last portion of the Viceroy's opening speech at the recent session of the Chamber of Princes was important as it reminded the Princes of the awakening that had taken place among their subjects and asked them to conduct themselves agreeably to it. In the paper's opinion, the Viceroy from the commanding position he holds could well have been more minatory in his warning to the chiefs, but it acknowledges that it was creditable on his part to have gone even so far as he did. It is now to be seen, it says, how the Chiefs are going to conduct themselves for many of them do not care at all for discontent among their subjects and some are as cruel as the tiger, considering it as their God-given privilege to harass their people. The Political Agents and Residents are not unaware of this state of things, it remarks, but the fact is that while they are ever ready to lay the whip on the Chiefs' backs for the sake of self-interest, they are mum

when questions about the rights of the state subjects come up for consideration. It, however, thinks that as His Excellency the Viceroy has given the hint, the chiefs are bound to grant some rights of *swarájya* to their subjects. [In the opinion of the *Jágaruk* the Viceroy's speech gives clear indications that the Chamber of Princes is going to be used by the bureaucracy to further safeguard its own exploitation of Indians. It refers to the Viceroy's statement that the new policy of the British Empire with regard to the Native Princes is to be one of trust, and asks the reason why such trust is being evinced as regards them when Government is showing full mistrust towards its own subjects. The reason, according to the paper, is that the introduction of democratic institutions in British India having menaced the authority of the bureaucracy it is naturally making common cause with the autocratism of the Native Chiefs to secure their help in opposing the aspirations of the people in British India. It however asks the Chiefs to use their foresight and not to incur the enmity of the people inasmuch as the bureaucreacy is bound to lose its predominance some day or other and warns them that if they fail to grant liberties to their own subjects they would be swept away by the rising tide of democracy in the country.]

Comments on the Karachi State trial.

Hindu (160), 3rd Nov.

55. The first part of the farce of the Karáchi trial has after all ended. Inspite of the elaborate preparations made for this state trial, the whole edifice has collapsed like a house of cards. This reminds us of the fable of a mountain in labour and the birth of a mouse. We pity poor Lord Reading. Had he only known what would be the result of the proceedings against the Ali Brothers and others we doubt if he would have agreed to their prosecution. Unfortunately the Shankaracharaya has been acquitted. Apparently the association of a Hindu with six Muslims was too much for the judge to bear. He, therefore, with a view to hit at the Hindu-Muslim unity, acquitted him. The accused have been convicted because they expressed the opinion that it was unlawful for sepoys to remain in the army. Has the Government grown so stupid as not to know that a similar opinion was expressed by the Khilafatists in August last and later at the Calcutta and Nagpur Congresses ? Moreover it was the third step of the programme of non-co-operation. If it was an offence to express such an opinion why has not Government taken action against the men concerned ? Is this Lord Reading's justice ? The fact is that Government wanted to run in the Ali Brothers any how, inspite of Lord Reading's promise that they would not be touched until they preached violence. Apparently the fortune of Government is on the decline. Were it not for that, it would not resort to ways which are sure to lead it to ruin.

Bharatwási (157), 3rd Nov.

56. The result of the case against Mr. Mahomed Ali and others must modify to some extent the views of those who have lost their faith in British justice. We are entirely satisfied with the Jury's verdict of " not guilty " on the charge under section 131 as the prosecution had failed to establish it. As regards the charge under section 505 also, we can find no fault with the Jury's verdict of " guilty ". As the law stands no other view of the conduct of the accused was possible. As regards the law on the subject we should think that it should be modified and brought into conformity with the law in England. We think that it is not proper to punish a man except under both sections 505 and 131 jointly. The mere passing of the resolution asking sepoys to leave the army should not be made penal, unless an offence under section 131 is proved. We must not be understood to encourage the practice of passing resolutions calculated to tamper with the loyalty of the army. On the contrary we regard as enemies of the country those who by passing such resolutions seek to paralise the defence of the country. Our contention, however, is that if it is the policy of Government not to punish anybody for a mere expression of opinion, then there is no reason why Mr. Mahomed Ali and others should be punished.

Comments on the conviction and sentence of Mr. Yakub Hassan.

Rájakáran (131), 13th Nov.

57. Government desired that the charge of conspiracy should be proved against the Ali Brothers and that they should be sentenced to transportation.

Owing to the unexpected verdict of the jury, however, the authorities had to keep quiet like a man slapped in the face. Apparently their failure has irritated them and they are now wreaking their vengeance upon other persons. Mr. Yakub Hassan of Madras was accused of the offence of creating hatred and contempt against the Government by advising people to boycott the Prince's visit and sentenced to be imprisoned for two years. Mr. Gandhi is daily committing the same offence of which Mr. Yakub Hassan is convicted but Government do not touch him. If advice to boycott the Prince's visit is made a penal offence then Government must proceed against almost all the newspapers and public speakers in the country. Imprisonment has now no terrors for patriots and they look upon it as a mark of honour. Every man that goes to jail brings *swarájya* nearer.

The decision in the Malegaon riot cases.

Lokasatta. (117), 12th Nov.

58. According to tne *Lokasatta* the severity of the sentences passed in the Malegaon riot cases has given a tremendous shock to the people. It declares that the presiding judge gave undue weight to the evidence of the Police who were primarily responsible for the disturbances.

Comments on the judgment in the G. I. P. Railway murder case.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 17th Nov.

59. Commenting upon the G. I. P. murder case the *Bombay Samáchár* writes:—The first accused, Morris, has been sentenced to death which he richly deserves. He will appeal for mercy and we hope Government will not show the weakness of commuting the sentence. The public will not tolerate any mercy that may be shown to Morris. We regret to see that the second accused, Donnison, has been able to escape the punishment of death. It is mockery of justice to sentence such a wicked criminal to transportation for life. An Indian in his place would have been sentenced to penal servitude for life. It is to be regretted that Justice Marten did not draw the attention of Government to the special and unjustifiable leniency shown to Europeans under the law in this respect or ask them to remove the anomaly. The Judge has, however, drawn the attention of Government to his inability to sentence Donnison to penal servitude for life and has recommended Government to award him that punishment. Let us hope that a strong agitation will be carried on in the councils and outside against the special privileges given to British subjects with a view to removing this anomaly from Indian legislative enactments.

Condemnation of Government's alleged hostility to the anti-drink propaganda.

Swadharma (new), 17th Nov.

60. The *Swadharma* declares that it appears from incidents taking place everywhere that Government are purposely committing the heinous sin of again handing over the country to the vice of drink by putting obstructions in the path of the anti-drink propaganda. In the present situation caused by the serious clash of the respective interests of the rulers and the ruled, the paper remarks, the rulers want the drink vice to spread among the people as widely as possible and hence they seem to have made up their minds to see that the anti-drink efforts of the public should fail. The paper points out that there are several instances of such cruel deeds on the part of the demoniac kings of old, followed by full retribution for their sins.

Protest against the exclusion of Brahmins, Lingayats, etc., from the new territorial force.

Kesari (110), 15th Nov.; *Indu Prakásh* (43), 14th Nov.

61. The *Kesari* strongly protests that in addition to the restriction about enrolling only infantry units in the new territorial force, the suspicious mind of the bureaucracy has decided, for the present, to confine the recruitment in Mahárashtra to Marathas, Malis, Kunbis, Gavlis and Deccan Muhammadans to the exclusion of Brahmins, Lingayats, Bhandaris, etc. It points out that the bureaucracy is thus engaged in setting at naught the agitation carried on for years past for giving at least elementary military training to the masses for defensive purposes. [The *Indu Prakásh* also protests against the exclusion of

Brahmins, Lingayats, etc., and declares that even the Marathas and Muhammadans would not like to see the said communities excluded from the territorial force.]

Protest against the scheme for proportionate pensions for the higher Indian services.

Jágaruk (44), 16th Nov.

62. Referring to the sanction given by the Secretary of State to a scheme for granting proportionate pensions to members of the higher services who may like to resign their posts out of dislike for the Reforms, the *Jagaruk* thinks the sanctioned scale to be extravagant and arbitrary and deplores the unnecessary waste of India's money on that account. It suggests as a remedy for the future that henceforward Indians alone should be appointed to all higher posts instead of Europeans.

Servant of India (8), 17th Nov.

63. "The Government have during the past week published the long-looked-for scale of pensions on which I. C. S. men may, if they wish, retire prematurely on account of political incompatibility of temper with its new regimé...... We must candidly say that our principal feeling is one of great relief at the prospect of a good riddance—even though costly at the time. India has had enough of foregin bossing; foreign helpers remain welcome, though as their utility decreases, so will naturally their number and, probably, their remuneration be decreased. In the meantime let all those who call themselves civil servants, but in fact conceive of themselves as heaven-born autocrats, quit. We believe it will pay India handsomely to make them quit: even at the published scale. But there is one and only one condition: that the place of those we have got rid of at great expense be permanently reserved for Indians.

Comments on the Franco-Kemalist Agreement.

Hindu (160), 30th Oct.

64. Greed and avarice are so deeply rooted in the minds of the Western Nations that they never care to see whether a particular course is morally just or otherwise. Their standard of conduct is determined by their greed. This is exemplified in the attidue of the Allies to the Turkish claims to Smyrna and Thrace. Till rcently none of the Allies recognised these claims. Now, however, when Kemal Pasha has offered certain commercial concessions to France, the latter has suddenly realised the justice of Turkey's claims to Smyrna and Thrace, and has promised its support to the Turkish case. Already a treaty on such basis has been concluded between the two countries. It is possible that the present attitude of France may also be due to her disagreement with England. In any case, transactions such as this, reveal the morality of the civilised nations of the day. May God save India from a civilisation such as theirs.

Nusrat (new), 12th Nov.

65. Commenting on the Franco-Kemalist Agreement, the *Nusrat* writes:—If England remains as stiff as ever and tries to poke her nose into French affairs, as a result of her hostility towards the Turks, it is quite possible that these two Allies may eventually come to loggerheads. However, in our opinion, there is yet time for Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon to forget the past and give up their anti-Turkish policy and heal the wounds of the Muhammadan world by re-establishing the Khilafat of Islam. Is there no one in England so intelligent and prudent as to understand which way the wind is blowing? It is a pity that Mr. Lloyd George's and Lord Curzon's lack of foresight have closed all the doors of peace and safety throughout the whole world. Britain's good name is being disgraced and the opinion is gaining ground that she is the enemy of civilisation, justice and peace.

EDUCATION.

Comments on the Press Note regarding the revision of the pay of primary school teachers.

Karnátak Times (35), 11th Nov.

66. Referring to the Press Note regarding the revision of the pay of primary school teachers, the *Karnátak Times* writes:—The present revision gives a little relief only to beginners and the senior men get nothing. The revision makes no difference in the pay of a teacher who has just joined service and one who has put in a service of eight or ten years. This is sure to give rise to a good deal of dissatisfaction among senior men and their dissatisfaction will hinder the progress of education. We hope that the Members of the Legislative Council and the Minister of Education will take these facts into consideration and make arrangements for giving proportionate increments to the older hands also along with the beginners and from the same date.

Comments on the Press Note regarding the expulsion of certain students from the Training College for Men, Dharwar.

Karnátak Times (35), 11th Nov.

67. Referring to the Press Note issued by Government regarding the Training College for Men, Dhárwár, the *Karnátak Times* makes the following comments:—It is evident that the Press Note was issued by Government in haste and without due consideration of all the facts of the case. We hope that the following reasons will appeal to the Government's sense of justice and induce them to hold a special examination for the 54 expelled students instead of letting them rot till next year's annual examination:—(1) Discipline as such there was none in that institution. It is, therefore, unjust to punish the 54 students alone for an offence which was often committed by others with impunity; (2) the inquiry into the conduct of the students has not been adequate; (3) the students were not given an opportunity to express regret; (4) it is a fact that the meeting, for attending which the 54 Lingayat students were expelled from the college, was also attended by many other students both Brahmins and non-Brahmins. Is is unjust to be partial to some students and punish others for an offence of which all are equally guilty. The ruin of the education of so many students in a community, which is already backward in point of education, is not merely an individual loss but a communal disaster.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The new constitution of the Poona City Municipality.

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 18th Nov.

68. The *Dnyán Prakásh* welcomes the new constitution of the Poona City Municipality under which Government will in future nominate one-fifth of the total number of members instead of one-third as hitherto, but declares that they should have been still more liberal in this respect and made the Municipality a wholly elective body. It also contends that they should have widened the Municipal franchise still further and made every adult eligible to vote at Municipal elections. The paper attributes the witholding of these further concessions, which, in its opinion, are necessary to the activities of the non-co-operators.

NATIVE STATES.

The Native Chiefs and the people should make common cause against Government.

Swarájya (Marathi) (147), 17th Nov.

69. The authorities and the people of India are now at cross purposes. There is now a general awakening among the people. They know which of their rights were filched from them when they were ignorant and they are anxious to get them back. Hence they have decided not to co-operate with the Government until their demands are satisfied. There are two main parties to this dispute, *viz.*, the Government and the people. But there is also a third party to it and it is that of the native chiefs. They are Indians and their religion is the same as that of the people of India. Their ancestors were ruling over our ancestors and these latter have fought for them. Is it right, therefore, that they should abandon us now? And with whom do they side? They side with those who tried their level best to deprive them in the past of their inheritances. How is it that they have such short memories? Why do they embrace each other now? Or is it all a show? A hundred years ago they were engaged in cutting the throats of each other. Such being the history of the Native Chiefs they cannot honestly and with appropriateness side with the rulers here. Naturally it follows they should take sides with the people. If the Indians

had not helped the English in any way when they were fighting with their native rulers the latter would certainly have not met with success. But unfortunately opportunity was lost through the ignorance of the people. Now people have become wise and they know that they were wrong in doing what they did before. They are also sorry for their traitorous conduct towards their country and are now trying to obtain *swarájya*. The same cause which the Scindia, Holkar, etc., of old had at heart is now being helped forward by the popular leaders. Good results will follow if the native rulers and the people make common cause, but both will suffer if they oppose the interests of each other.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 26th November 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Britain has made the world unliveable 62
Comments on the Mulshi Peta *Satyagraha* Campaign against the Tata Power Company . . . . 65 & 66
Comments on the personnel of the Committee of Inquiry into the working of the Tata Research Institute, Bangalore. 68
Comments on the suffocation tragedy in Malabar . . . . . . 55—57
Comments on the treaty with Afghanistan . . . . 59—61
Comments on the Washington Conference 64
Guru Dutt Sing of the *Komagata Maru* affair should be liberated by Government 63
India will be a[illegible]her Ireland 58
The capitalist policy of England is the root of all evil 67
The situation in Malabár 54

Excise:

Comments on the consumption of liquor in the Presidency 76
The effects of picketing in Bombay 77
His Excellency the Viceroy: Comments on the Viceroy's speech at the second session of the Chamber of Princes . . . . 69 & 70

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

Comments on His Majesty the King's Message 13
Comments on the Prince of Wales's utterances in Bombay . . . . 8—11
Comments on the reception given to His Royal Highness the Prince Wales in Bombay . . . . 2—7
The Prince of Wales's visit to India 1
The Shivaji memorial at Poona 12

Judicial matters:

Comments on the judgment in the Málegaon riot case 74
Comments on the result of the Karáchi trial and the treatment given to the leaders in jail 75
Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande at Dhárwár . . . . 71—73

Non-co-operation:

Allegations against the Bombay Police in respect of the recent riots . 39
Comments on Mr. M. R. Jayakar's speech as President of the Thána District Conference . . . . 45—47

275—6 CON

PARAGRAPHS

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation—concld.
  Comments on the decision to start civil disobedience . . . . 48 & 49
  Comments on the disturbances in Bombay . . . . 14—37
  Comments on the suppression of volunteer corps in Bengal, Behár, Delhi and the United Provinces . . . . 40—44
  Government should appoint a Commission to enquire into the Bombay Riots 38
  Non-co-operation movement is likely to act as a disruptive force . . 50
  The bureaucracy is interfering with religion 51
  The effect of the *swadeshi* movement on the Manchester trade . . 52
  The Quran teaches patriotism and *swarâj* 53

Public Service: Protest against the scheme of proportionate pension for the higher Indian Services 78

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

The Prince of Wales's visit to India.

Hindu (160), 9th Nov.

1. The Prince will be arriving in this country in a few days in spite of the protest of the country. The duty of Indians is therefore clear, namely, to boycott the celebrations arranged by Government in his honour. No other course is possible for us. The wrongs of the Punjab and the Khilafat are still unredressed. The bureaucracy is on its death-bed, and has called the Prince to cure it of its fatal disease. We who have reduced it to this condition and are eager for its early extinction can never join in welcoming one who is coming to give it a new lease of life. If we welcome the Prince, the bureaucracy will rise from its death-bed and repeat the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs.

Comments on the reception given to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Bombay.

Hindusthán (19), 20th Nov., Eng. cols.

2. "Bombay may well be proud of its success in demonstrating the real state of feelings in the country by observing a complete *hartal* on the day of the Prince's arrival on the shores of the gateway of India. Thursday's demonstration has proved—if any proof were needed—that the people of India have now learnt to place their national honour and self-respect above their proverbial hospitality and traditional loyalty....... In spite of the perversion of facts and vilification which appear to be the stock-in-trade of those who are responsible for imposing this visit at a most inopportune time, the citizens of Bombay have demonstrated in unmistakable terms the attitude of the people of India towards this visit and thus discharged their debt to the country's honour. At the same time we strongly deprecate the disturbance and acts of violence which occurred in different localities in the city."

New Times (7), 18th Nov.

3. "Official accounts circulated through the Associated Press will, doubtless, speak of the young Prince as being received to-day with a tremendous outburst of 'emotional loyalty'. Educated Indians, and even the masses, will know what value to attach to such inspired versions. For the plain fact is the emotion of loyalty has been stifled by the conduct of Government....... His Majesty's message read by the Prince before receiving the Municipal address at Bombay speaks of India's 'charm and beauty', its 'immemorial history', 'its noble monuments and above all, the devotion of India and its faithful people'. His Majesty's message does not speak of the profound agony of a people proud of an ancient culture but chained by a power-intoxicated Imperialism. There was, doubtless, a note of protest in the *hartal* observed yesterday throughout the country. It was a silent protest and was meant not to show any disrespect to the person of His Royal Highness but to make articulate the agony of a nation struggling for freedom. The protest has behind it the agony of many hearts:—'India has a Government which tramples upon the People's Will'. Muslim leaders are in jail; several young men are in jail; their crime has been their love, according to their lights, of India or Islam; patriotism is penalised; the State has not respected the feelings and opinion of the people."

Gujarát Vartamán (63), 23rd Nov., Eng. cols.

4. "His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, our future sovereign to reign over the destinies of India, has already arrived and he has met with a right royal welcome though a certain section of people have left no stones unturned to boycott the visit. But we are indeed glad to find that their efforts have met with a very poor response, on the contrary their efforts have cost a few precious lives by their misplaced zeal in bringing about their coveted purpose of boycott. Loyalty is inbred in us, it is running in our blood, and to stop its flow is to attempt an impossible task. His Royal Highness's visit we are sure is being celebrated, with all the joy, pride and enthusiasm at our command. We as Indians are bound to pay him our traditional respect and homage, for his presence amongst us is a precursor of a permanent bond of closer ties of the love and friendship of this great and glorious land, with the British Empire."

Saurâshtra (new), 12th Nov. ; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (22), 20th Nov.

5. India was once the garden of the world but now it has been reduced to the state of a cemetery. India was the granary of the world but it has now been reduced to poverty. India was the land of freedon but to-day the Indian people are in a state of bondage. What will the Prince of Wales do by coming here ? Indians once hoped for their political salvation by remaining under the protection of Britain, but they have been subjected to such tyranny and such a series of insults that they have resolved not to accept any gift from Britain and to boycott the visit of the Prince. They do not even care for any message that he might bring for India. In these circumstances we would request the Prince not to invite us to any ceremonial functions as we have no time to receive his smiles. [The *Kaser-i-Hind*, on the other hand, dwells upon the hearty reception given to the Prince on his landing at Bombay and believes that it is a positive proof of the fact that Bombay is loyal at heart and it hopes that the Prince will receive similar reception throughout India.]

Bharat Seva (13), 25th Nov.

6. The *Bharat Seva* writes :—It is courageous on the part of the Prince of Wales to have come over to India in these critical times. It seems he has full faith in the Indians. The reception given to the Prince in Bombay goes to prove that India is loyal to the throne and that it has not forgotten its duty to a guest. The Prince was not unaware of the disturbances in Bombay and the movement to boycott him but the fact he moved freely in the city goes to show that he is convinced that India is not desirous of severing its connection with the Empire. The non-co-operators should take note of the fact that in spite of their efforts many persons went to have a look at the Prince and took part in the functions arranged in his honour. These persons evidently do not support the non-co-operation movement and prefer to secure *swarâj* by legitimate means. The presence of persons of various communities including those wearing Gandhi caps among the spectators of the Prince's procession justified the action of the Bombay Municipality in presenting an address to the Prince on behalf of the citizens of Bombay.

Swarâjya (Marathi) (147), 24th Nov. ; *Lokamânya* (114), 20th Nov.

7. It does not speak well for the solicitude of Government for the well-being of the people that there should be banquets and balls in one part of Bombay in honour of the Prince what time there were murders and arson in the other. A small boy died during the reign of King Rama and the latter refused to taste food until he could trace and remove the cause of his premature death. But now while several people are being killed, and many more wounded, the authorities do not allow their programme of ceremonies and festivities to be in any way interfered with ! The English will not change their programme in the least even if the sun, the regulator of all time, drops down from the sky. This being so, will they allow their programme to be changed by the deaths of a few Indians ? There was the prescribed number of lights on Government buildings although the whole city was steeped in darkness ! If this was the condition of Bombay while the Prince of Wales, the Viceroy and the Governor were all present there, its condition at other times may be left to the imagination to picture. As only solitary deaths took place in the reign of Rama the ideas then prevalent were suitable to those times. But now thousands of people die daily of plague and starvation, and if the Kings and Officials of the present day allow all these deaths to interfere with their appetites as during the time of Rama, then these poor people will never have any time to enjoy themselves. [The *Lokamânya* says that Bombay would have been spared the recent regrettable occurrences if the British Cabinet had accepted the advice of the Nation and not sent the Prince here.]

Comments on the Prince of Wales's utterances in Bombay.

New Times (7), 22nd Nov.

8. "The Prince has spoken—only to bless the bureaucracy ! His replies to the address from the Bombay Legislative Council and the Parsi community indicate His Royal Highness' attitude to the Indian problem. There is not one word in them to indicate an early 'grant' of *swarâj*. In graceful phrases and with royal courtesies, the Prince blesses the Councils and the Reforms. Of the agony of a Nation proud of its past but in subjection to-day to a bureaucratic State, the Prince knows little. He reminds us of the War; he tells us that they who fought on England's side 'won freedom, happiness and peace for their fellowmen in the Empire'; yet the painful fact stares us in the face that India has not won freedom though India helped England in the world-war....... Neither His Majesty's Message nor His Royal Highness's words so far indicate a warm appreciation of the new forces of our national life....... We find now that the visit is not without a political purpose. We should be happy if the visit had helped on the purpose of the People's Politics. As it is, we are afraid the Prince's replies are a definite support of the 'Reforms'."

Indian Social Reformer (5), 20th Nov.

***9.** "His Royal Highness' speech in reply to the address presented by the Municipal Corporation bore ample testimony to his deep desire to get into touch with the thoughts and aspirations of the Indian people. It fully bore out the declaration of Lord Reading to a deputation of Oudh Talukadars last week, that neither His Excellency nor his Government had ever had the faintest intention of using His Royal Highness's visit for political purposes, and his emphatic repudiation of the allegation that they intended to exploit it as a means of disguising from the British public and the world the real feeling and attitude of the Indian people on political questions....... The people of India are men and women of flesh and blood like to those of every other land, and they resent wrongs, especially those arising from racial assumptions, and cherish the same aspirations to regulate their own administration as those of Great Britain or Ireland. His Royal Highness will note before he is very long among us that, except for the racial factor, the problems of Indian politics differ in no essential respect from that of other countries with which he is more closely acquainted. Whatever, by silent example rather than by solemn precept, His Royal Highness can do during this short sojourn among us to show that he regards that racial arrogance as the cardinal sin against the British Commonwealth, will be so much immediate service to the cause of India's national development in harmony with the rest of that Commonwealth. We do hope and trust that the Prince's intercourse will not be confined to persons who are sufficiently intimate with the staffs of Government Houses to hail individual members by their Christian names or to the sons and nephews of Indian Chiefs who have been appointed to ornamental posts about him. He must insist on meeting persons whose names may shock official prudes, because India as a whole has never more completely rejected the official code of what is right and respectable. The less the public feel that His Royal Highness is tied to official leading-strings, the more interesting to himself and fruitful of good to India is his visit likely to be."

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 24th Nov.

10. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the visit of the Prince to Bombay has undoubtedly proved a success, and adds that although his speeches were short yet the views contained in them are really worthy of note. The paper asks those who have taken to public life or are thinking of doing so to commit to memory the memorable words which he uttered in reply to the address presented to him by the Bombay Legislative Council, and it advises those impatient and hasty Indians who are in a hurry to reach the goal of *swaráj* to study these words. It is of opinion that if the non-co-operators repose a little more trust in their Moderate colleagues and co-operate with them, the desired goal can be reached sooner by means of the united force of Indian public opinion.

Indu Prakásh (43), 19th Nov.

11. In the opinion of the *Indu Prakásh* His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' speech in reply to the Bombay Municipal Corporation, judged as a key to the object of his Indian tour, did not quite come up to public expectation inasmuch as it made no reference to the present political situation in India, and contained nothing calculated to conciliate the public mind disturbed by the recent political prosecutions.

The Shivaji memorial at Poona.

Swadharma (new), 24th Nov.

12. Referring to the Shivaji memorial foundation stone ceremony at Poona the *Swadharma* declares that most of those who called themselves Marathas did not approve of the plan of the memorial and goes on:—How should they approve of it? Shivaji protected the cows and Brahmins and the religion of the Maharashtra. It is, therefore, a great stain on the Maharashtra that the ceremony of the foundation stone of his memorial should have been performed by the Prince of Wales who has been brought to India against the wishes of its people by the bureaucracy, which cares a straw for the Hindu religion, kills lakhs of cows and is hypocritical, selfish and cunning.

Comments on His Majesty the King's message.

Indu Prakásh (43), 19th Nov.

13. His Majesty the King's message is in the opinion of the *Indu Prakásh* such a moving document that the heartfelt sympathy running through it draws tears from the reader's eyes. The paper specially calls attention to the fact that His Majesty has in the message frankly addressed Indians as his friends which it says would not fail to melt the hearts of Indians.

Comments on the disturbances in Bombay.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 27th Nov.

***14.** "Mahatma Gandhi had not intended to come to Bombay, but he was urgently called here by his followers with the view, no doubt, of ensuring the success of their boycott of the Prince's visit. The outbreaks on Thursday, it is clear, came upon him as a thunderclap at the ears of a person in sound sleep. It was reported that he broke down and wept and told his immediate lieutenants that they had betrayed him and that he can no longer continue to lead them. The first-published manifestoes and the rigid fast imposed upon himself bear on their face of it the impress of this deep disappointment. Stung by their leader's remorse and fast, his followers set about the work of pacification. And it is but bare justice to them to say that they worked hard and spared no pains in the task. It is not right to say that the whole credit of pacification belongs to them any more than to say that no credit whatever belongs to them for it. We are sorry that attempts have been made to fasten the blame of the outbreak on the Police and Government, and it is our duty to state it as our deliberate opinion, formed after seeing the happenings of last week somewhat at close quarters, that while it is possible that individual officers and men permitted themselves to be swayed by partisan motives, the general policy pursued and observed was one of admirable patience and restraint under exceedingly trying conditions. This calm, confident attitude of Government had an excellent effect on the public mind, and to it should be attributed partly at least the rapid resumption of the normal life of Bombay after the most violent disturbance that it has experienced in recent years....... We cannot produce real unity between the different communities on the basis mainly of a common antagonism to the existing Government. In every country the springs of a people's life lie largely beyond the reach of Government and it is far more so in India. Unity can be securely effected only by operating on the springs of a people's life. With much respect to Mahatma Gandhi, this is where he makes his most serious mistake. Political grievances will be redressed or be forgotten, and a unity built upon them can be kept up only by discovering, inventing or manufacturing fresh grievances, no difficult task under a bureaucreatic administration. Also, apropos of the same aspect of the late troubles, is the truth that was indicated by the Mahatma himself when he wrote in one of his manifestoes that Hindu-Muhammadan unity has become a menace to the security of the smaller minorities...... The Mahatma realises that the acid test of our fitness for *swaráj* is that these small minorities should feel complete confidence in the certainty of their enjoying as of right and not by anybody's sufferance, full freedom of citizenship as much as the two major communities, and that these two communities will guard the rights of the small minorities as jealously as their own. The recent outbreaks have seriously imperilled this confidence. Years of comradeship have been expunged from our history by this mad outburst. We cannot build it up again by alluring shibboleths about unity and *swaráj*. The non-co-operation movement has failed, and it is high time that its leaders revised its programme radically in the light of Malegaon, Malabár and Bombay."

Gujaráti (14), 27th Nov., Eng. cols.

***15.** "Though Mahatma Gandhi was not able to foresee the coming of the storm, others had clear visions of the same. Intolerance and turbulence, insolence and disobedience have been the accompaniments of the non-co-operation movement. The scenes enacted at public meetings in Bombay and elsewhere and the treatment accorded to men like Mr. Shastri, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Mrs. Besant and others who did not belong to the party of non-co-operators, were an illuminating commentary upon the movement....... Now Mahatma Gandhi is constrained to confess that 'we have failed when we ought to have succeeded, for yesterday (17th November) was the day of our trial'. He has frankly admitted that, though non-co-operators were pledged to protect the person of the Prince from any harm or insult, they had broken that pledge. He has confessed his inability to conduct a campaign of civil disobedience to a successful issue unless a completely non-violent spirit is generated among the people. It is a thousand pities that he does not yet realise the impossible demand that he is making upon the human nature even of his educated or semi-educated followers, let alone that of the mob, and the still more impossible task of successfully working upon the mind of the people of what is almost a continent in the way desired by him....... Almost every item of his programme of non-co-operation as originally laid down has already failed. We had predicted its failure with confidence from the very outset and we repeat that its later developments will meet with no better success in the long run. In the meanwhile with all the best intentions in the world, unless he gives up his programme or unless it is substantially modified, he will, by persisting in his methods and principles, do incalculable harm to the steady progress of the country....... Religious penances are a source of self-discipline and self-elevation to the Mahatmaji. But they cannot speedily restore that feeling of mutual confidence, brotherly concord and harmony which had been slowly built up by farseeing, statesmanlike and patriotic leaders of old. Never have we felt so miserable and so sad as during the three fateful days of racial passion and fury that disgraced Bombay and we can well appreciate how Mahatma Gandhi's compassionate heart must have been stricken with grief and sorrow. But the questions that the country is called upon to face are no personal questions. They affect the life and property and the future well-being of the present and future generations of India. Frank confessions of error and penances do credit to his sense of fairness and candour and religious devotion, but unless they lead him to give up or modify his programme in consonance with the lessons of bitter experience gained so far, or with the views and wishes of men far superior to him in knowledge, experience and political wisdom, they will be of no avail in advancing the highest and enduring interests of the country. Congressmen, including Mahatma Gandhi and his followers, have often blamed Government for their blind obstinacy and unstatesmanlike attitude. Let them be their own critics, true and sincere, or be prepared, along with the Government, to face the responsibility before God and man of plunging the country into a succession of disasters, or misfortunes."

Mahrátta (6), 27th Nov.

***16.** "The disturbances in Bombay during the last week, with its attendant loss of life, have a deep and abiding lesson for all to learn. They have indeed given a rude shock to the placid frame of mind which had been induced by the tall talk of sportsmanlike spirit and a desire to deal fairly and squarely on the part of the opponents of India's aspirations. It has been demonstrated that our opponents—the bureaucracy and their apologists—would not hesitate to appeal to the last resort—brute-force—if need be, in order to defeat their opponents....... We do not, however, agree with Mahatmaji in his supposition that they were the thoughtful and acknowledged non-violent non-co-operators whom, as such, Mahatmaji held up to severe castigation and condemnation. We need not draw the attention of Mahatmaji, a keen student of human nature as he is, that there is a great and big class of our people including the educated and uneducated who are certainly not co-operators in deed, but who are at the same time not non-violent non-co-operators in the sense in which Mahatma Gandhi understands the term. There is also a third class, of no moment in ordinary times but capable of doing great mischief in troubled ones—we mean the riff-raff element which is present in all societies and peoples on earth. It may be and it is the only thing most positively possible in the circumstances at Bombay that some of these did start those disturbances....... But whoever may have started them, who is responsible for fanning the dying and the dead embers into conflagration of the worst magnitude? Mahatmaji is perfectly right when he says that 'the Government openly took sides, armed and aided the latter (the Parsis and Christians) in retaliatory madness and criminally neglected to protect a single life among those who, undoubtedly guilty in the first instance, were victims of the unpardonable wrath of the Parsis, Christians and Jews. The Government has thus appeared in its nakedness as a party, doing violence, not merely to preserve peace but to sustain the aggressive violence of its inspired supporter'. We feel that this naked support of violence on the part of the Government presents a new problem to the non-violent non-co-operationists who must of necessity ruminate over it and decide their future steps....... Undoubtedly Mahatmaji supplied in non-violence, the best and the most effective remedy against this aggressive show of brute-force which can be morally disarmed by that sovereign remedy. But we ask will it answer the purpose?...... Further, had the opponents answered by open and naked violence, the popular agitation, there perhaps would have been some possibility of biting of the conscience. But generally these men have devilish ways of doing things. More oppression is practised in this world in an indirect fashion than direct. If, for instance, as in Bombay, the bureaucracy or their active assistants set up their underlings to take advantage of the opportunity of a temporary political upheaval and provoke violence by an attack on the weakest part of human nature,—say an attack upon the honour of the women, what would be the effect of it?...... Further, is this spirit of non-violence which admits of no exceptions rationally and theoretically right? We think it is not. The Aryan Shastras and their philosophy do not lend the weight of their support to this sort of non-violence. We must take also the general human nature with all its limitations into consideration in such cases. We believe that non-violence enjoins upon men the abstaining from any sort of violence of their own accord; but it does not and cannot deprive a man of his right of self-defence, conferred upon him by the most elementary laws of nature. Some definite understanding must be arrived at on this point in all its complicated form, before launching the civil disobedience campaign in future. We refer to the above questions because they affect deeply the future conduct of the National agitation. The Nation is engaged in a struggle where no quarters are to be asked or given, no mercy is to be expected. We think that our opponents would not put any moral limit to their activity, if matters come to what Mahatmaji calls 'civil rebellion'. ...... The success of the boycott of functions connected with the Prince's visit, the huge bonfires of foreign cloth and success of *swadeshi*, the prohibition of liquor movement, is bound to strike at the vital points of the bureaucracy as well as some sections of the people interested. The Bombay disturbances indicate the turn the indignation of these people takes. Let us face the situation in a manly practical way and contemplate and provide remedies for the same. We are face to face with live politics and we must, as practical men, chalk out a line which will ensure the progress of the Nation to *swarájya*. Let India pause and consider and be forearmed as it is forewarned of the dangers ahead."

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 27th Nov., Eng. cols.

*17. "India is to-day having a foretaste of what the nationalists call '*swaráj*,' but all reasonable people call 'Mob-raj'. Dhárwár, Malegaon and last, but not least, the whole of Malabár have had their drastic dose of *swaráj*; other places have it administered in a milder form, and the latest victim is our beautiful city of Bombay....... It is obvious that there was a prearranged conspiracy on the part of some person or persons with but one object and that object all citizens of Bombay have seen with their own eyes. The conspiracy was both anti-Christian and anti-Parsi and was obviously inspired by some person or persons belonging to the non-co-operation party. Mr. Gandhi himself has openly acknowledged in his very first manisfesto that he was responsible for the spirit of revolt. In face of such a confession we should like to know what the Government proposes to do, for if such revolutionary movements are given unchecked latitude, law, order, peace and good government cannot exist any longer..... Criminal violence must be suppressed by the strong arm of the law. The chief conspirators and apostles of the last riots should not be allowed to escape the just punishment of the inhuman atrocities practised on harmless, innocent communities through their instrumentality. It was openly declared in the nationalist papers that unless the Parsis joined their non-co-operation movement their lot would be miserable. Here what do we observe? Anti-Parsi feeling has been fomented, and, as our contemporary the *Praja Mitra* has said, the suggestion that the Parsis will be specially selected for assault and rough treatment has been literally translated into action. We appeal to the Advocate General of Bombay to look up the files of the so-called national journals, both English and Vernacular, particularly the *Bombay Chronicle.* We have not the slightest doubt that there would be found ample material to show the intended plans of some of the non-co-operation leaders. The bitterness with which these nationalist organs tried to stir up the feelings of the people against those who would not join the boycott movement and the presistent preachings on public platforms for a similar purpose have led to this outburst of wanton violence. ...... The monstrously false reports that have appeared in the columns of the *Bombay Chronicle* in particular indicate the way in which the mischief-makers have engineered their nefarious schemes, and they are now trying to escape from the consequences of their guilty actions by making a hypocritical show of 'forgiving and forgetting' everything except their conspiracy of overthrowing all forces of order and good government....... The genesis of the riots is thus apparent. The picketing movement which was being carried on for several months in Bombay was also another potent cause of mischief....... The Government of Bombay have been given a lead by the Governments of Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab in dealing firmly with revolutionary and illegal organisations of whatever denomination. We would urge the sagacious and sympathetic Government of Bombay, first of all, to hold an independent inquiry and to prosecute the wire-pullers, conspirators and the organizers of the riots—the notorious leaders, and preachers and journalists who have openly declared war upon Government and all loyal communities—and to have them punished according to their deserts by an impartial tribunal, and, next, to declare as illegal all such organisations, and take firm measures for the protection of the lives and property of law abiding and peaceful citizens who are continually in danger so long as such organisations are allowed free scope in their mischievous activities, and, lastly, to prohibit picketing altogether, as other Governments have done."

Gujaráti (14), 27th Nov.

***18.** The *Gujaráti* makes an elaborate attempt to prove that the non-co-operators had no hand in creating the recent disturbances in Bombay but that they were brought about by the violence of hooligans who had disguised themselves by wearing white caps and dressing in *khadi.* In fact, the paper considers these riots as a very good illustration of the policy of "Divide and rule" so systematically pursued by the foreign rulers of India. Formerly it was the Hindus and Musalmans that were pitted against each other. But these two communities have now become united and are trying to secure *swaráj* by means of non-co-operation. The foreign rulers are in alarm lest they should be deprived of their autocratic powers. Hence is it not likely that they should raise a storm in the name of non-violent non-co-operation and set up the loyal Parsis and Christians against the white-capped Hindus and Musalmans? And in what better way could they start the quarrel than through the instrumentality of the white cap, and what more suitable occasion could they have than the day of the arrival of the Prince? The paper points out that Musalmans and Hindus have been living together amicably for years with Parsis, Christians and Jews and just now there was no reason why there should be any communal warfare, and that it is well-known that both co-operators and non-co-operators are against such communal quarrels. If the non-co-operators had any hand in the mischief they would fight against co-operators generally; but why should they pick out one particular community? Moreover, it is not to be believed that they would be guilty of such acts as would gain for them the hostility of the general public. The paper refuses to believe such stories as that Parsi and Hindu ladies were stripped of their *sadis,* that the Parsis demolished a Moslem masjid and that in retaliation the Musalmans intended to attack Parsi fire temples, etc. The paper believes that such stories were spread by only those in whose interest it is to set the various communities by the ears. The paper continues:—In their extremity, to whom did the Parsis go? They went to those whose business it is to make the communities in India fight against each other. Their leaders also approached the big officials; and from them what sort of help did they bring? Not such help as would enable them to make friends with those sister communities with whom they have constant dealings. They did not bring from Government, whose foremost duty it is to stop internal quarrels and to protect the smaller communities against the attacks of the big ones, protection but license to fight freely against their sister communities and pistols. Why the authorities put the Parsis in a position in which they had to defend their fire-temples and mohollas is a puzzle which remains to be solved. Who was it that ruled over Bombay for four days ? Was it the British Government or the *badmashes* ? We refuse to believe that within one day Government became so incompetent to keep *badmashes* in check that the Parsis had to take upon themselves the duty of protecting their lives and property, their families and their places of worship. We would not be wrong in saying that co-operators and non-co-operators, Khilafattists, Parsis, Hindus, Musalmans, Jews and Christians have all served as pawns in the game which the authorities were playing to prove to the people the impotence of non-violent non-co-operation. People ask what part have the Police played to quell these disturbances ? Everybody complains that the Police and the military were merely looking on and the fighting used to continue. The Parsis and Christians make the same complaint. Had the Police wished it they could have arrested the rioters on the spot, they could have caught the riotous non-co-operators and exposed the hollowness of non-violent non-co-operation. But what is to be done if there are no non-co-operators among the *badmashes* and if the intention is to let the mischief go on ? The paper refuses to believe that Police and military could not be spared for quelling the disturbances after providing for the requirements of the Prince's visit. Why were not armed police, it asks, stationed before mosques and Hindu temples and fire temples ? Why were not arrangements made to protect the half-dozen or so Parsi localities ? In its concluding paragraph the paper remarks :—Some people demand an enquiry by Government into these disturbances. But as the interest of the authorities lies not in finding out the truth but in running down the non-co-operators and in proving the Indians to be unfit for responsible self-government, there is little hope of any good resulting from such an inquiry. But it would be well if the people of Bombay have the enquiry made through an independent committee of their own. We would say one thing to our Parsi brothers, and that is that it would be to their interests to abstain from communal partisanship in the matter of games and politics and from insulting other communities in public. Their boasts about these brave deeds with the aid of the rifles and bayonets of the Police and the military tends to excite the other communities. Such things lead people to believe that the Parsis are not Indians, that they are the associates of birds of passage like the foreign rulers, etc. Such a state of things is not desirable. [Elsewhere in its English columns the paper writes :—" The local Legislative Council had voted Rs. 1,64,400 for police arrangements in connection with the reception of the Prince of Wales in this city. It was a liberal grant and there was no reason whatsoever why the city was denuded of its police when the authorities well knew that the local atmosphere had become charged with passion and prejudice....... The continued absence of the police from the disturbed quarters seems to have contributed to the rapid development of the first beginnings of disturbance. Secondly, the alleged action of the Police in arresting or beating persons wearing Gandhi caps or depriving them of it in an indiscriminate fashion requires to be investigated. Thirdly, an authoritative inquiry is needed with a view to find out whether the military and the police had magisterial orders to fire every time or whether they were justified in firing upon crowds on their own responsibility. Fourthly, did any of those who hold licenses to carry arms shoot innocent persons ? This point also requires to be carefully inquired into. Published reports show that a girl of seven years, who was on the third floor of a house, was fatally wounded by a shot. This and like occurrences must be impartially investigated. Sixthly, it behoves Government to take the public into confidence and state if and under what circumstances special constables were enlisted and individual members of particular communities came to be supplied with fire arms, if and on what occasions they were used and when they were withdrawn. On this point no authoritative information has been published, and in order to avoid misunderstandings it is the bounden duty of Government to place full particulars before the public. Different communities have broken each other's heads. We do not believe that it will add to the strength and prestige or credit of the Government in the long run. Government and their officers are under a solemn obligation to act with strict impartiality....... We are sorry their attitude has been questioned on the present occasion also. Whilst Hindus and Muhammadans were being arrested even indiscriminately, it is a profound mystery that none of the authors of retaliatory deed committed almost in the presence of the military or the police were left untouched. This is a complaint that challenges impartial inquiry."

Young India (11), 24th Nov.

19. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—" In Bombay the sympathisers of non-co-operation lost the moral balance. They were enraged against the Parsis and the Christians who took part in the welcome to the Prince and sought to 'teach them a lesson'. They invited reprisals and got them. It became after the 17th a game of seesaw in which no one really gained and everybody lost. *Swaráj* does not lie that way. India does not want Bolshevism. The people are too peaceful to stand anarchy. They will bow the knee to anyone who restores so-called order. Let us recognise the Indian psychology. We need not stop to inquire whether such hankering after peace is a virtue or a vice....... We can only argue and reason with our opponents. The extreme to which we may go is non-violent non-co-operation with them even as with the Government. But we may not non-co-operate with them in private life, for we do not non-co-operate with the men composing the Government, we are non-co-operating with the system they administer. We decline to render official service to Sir George Lloyd, the Governor, we dare not withhold social service from Sir George Lloyd, the Englishman. The mischief, I am sorry to say, began among the Hindus and the Musalmans themselves. There was social persecution, there was coercion. I must confess that I did not always condemn it as strongly as I might have. I might have dissociated myself from the movement when it became at all general. We soon mended our ways, we became more tolerant, but the subtle coercion was there. I passed it by as I thought it would die a natural death, I saw in Bombay that it had not. It assumed a virulent form on the 17th. We damaged the Khilafat cause and with it that of the Punjab and *swaráj*. We must retrace our steps and scrupulously insure minorities against the least molestation.......The greater the coercion we use, the greater the security we give to the Government, if only because the latter has more effective weapons of coercion than we have. For us to resort to greater coercion than the Government will be to make India more slave than she is now."

Servant of India (8), 24th Nov.

20. "The mob violence that happened in the city of Bombay during last week must fill every well-wisher of the country, irrespective of his politics, with unutterable sorrow....... It was no sudden outburst but almost a natural expression of the deep-seated animosities that have been aroused by the unceasing campaign of non-co-operation which has latterly ceased to be non-violent except in name. It is that last feature that causes the gravest anxiety. Even where no actual disturbance took place, the intolerance of the non-co-operation volunteers had recently grown to such an inordinate height and the people were subjected to such terrorising and bullying that one felt that only a spark was needed to light the whole of the inflammable material that had so assiduously been accumulated by the underlings of the non-co-operation movement....... It is time for the leaders, or the leader, of that movement to consider why such an enlightened community as the Parsis rose in revolt in Bombay. What he fails to realise is that there is not a general support of non-co-operation ; if it appears to obtain an almost universal support, it is due, largely, to the constraining influence exerted upon public opinion by large crowds who are always attracted by a seemingly brave show but who are not on that account its adherents, and also, in some part, to the direct intimidation used by its followers. We can unhesitatingly assert that the latter element is coming more and more into evidence. We must of course acquit Mahatma Gandhi's immediate followers (it is unnecessary to speak of Mahatma Gandhi himself) of any desire to use such intimidation, but the fact remains that the spirit of turbulence which has been generated by the movement is constantly growing and does not show any signs of yielding to the efforts made by genuinely non-violent people. If the movement were really to remain on its own bottom, the very limited support it commands will be quite apparent ; as it is, other forces are called to aid and the result is that the terrorism practised on one side provokes a natural reaction on the other, and there is general chaos and anarchy. Happily the state of anarchy has come to an end in Bombay, but the factors of the situation remain essentially unchanged. It would be cruel to 'add by one leaf's weight', as Mrs. Besant says, to Mr. Gandhi's agony of soul by censuring the leaders of the movement for what they have unwittingly brought upon the country—we have not the least desire in the world to do so—but it is right to ask Mr. Gandhi what course he is going to adopt in the future. The mass movement for which he has made himself responsible must inevitably lead to such consequences in the existing circumstances and the only adequate atonement for what has happened is the abandonment of the movement or, if non-co-operation must continue, the limitation of it to a few selected individuals who may go, if they so choose, through the whole gamut of the programme. What pains one most in these happenings is the effort made by extremist newspapers to make out that the police authorities themselves encouraged rioting. We have made careful inquiries in regard to this matter, and though it is of course possible individual delinquencies may have happened, the police on the whole kept their head and in fact a convinced Nationalist with whom the present writer had a conversation gave high praise to the self-restraint observed by the authorities on this occasion. We notice that Mr. Gandhi does not make any aspersion on the officials."

Bharat Seva (13), 25th Nov. ; *Political Bhomiyo* (71), 25th Nov. ;
Wafádár (32), 25th Nov.

21. Commenting upon the riots in Bombay the *Bhárat Seva* writes :—Every community has to take a lesson from these riots. No good can result from the bigger communities coercing the minor communities. Besides it is not good to lay special emphasis on the Hindu-Moslem unity. It must be borne in mind that India does not merely consist of Hindus and Moslems and that there are other communities inhabiting it. These disturbances should suffice to open the eyes of the non-co-operators. Every one approves of the temperance movement but no one would like to burn the liquor shops or intimidate the liquor-shop-keepers. Some people began the riots in Bombay by insulting the persons returning from the Royal reception and attacking tram cars. [The *Political Bhomiyo* remarks :—The Bombay riots have proved the evil of the non-co-operation movement. Would it be wrong to ascribe the root cause of the troubles to the fiery speeches made by Mrs. Naidu and others against welcoming the Prince ? The non-co-operators could not tolerate the welcome given to the Prince and they resorted to violence and arson. Mr. Gandhi has made a scapegoat of the Moslems by alleging that they have taken a leading part in the riots. We have been warning our brethren against the treachery of Mr. Gandhi ; will they even now take a lesson ? The *Wafádár*, on the other hand, writes :—Non-violence is the creed of the non-co-operators and so it is clear the non-co-operators were not responsible for the disturbances. Those who resorted to violent methods cannot be called non-co-operators and the blame for the disturbances is being foisted on the non-co-operators by those who want to bring the movement into discredit. People are fully aware of the causes that led to similar disturbances in Bombay in the past and it is no use recounting them. Suffice it to say that people know full well whose interests are served by pitting community against community. If the non-co-operators began the riots why did their leaders try to suppress them ? By whose efforts have the disturbances been quelled ?]

Muslim Herald (173), 25th Nov. ; *Nusrat* (new), 24th and 25th Nov.

22. Commenting on the Bombay disturbances the *Muslim Herald* writes :—The fire broke out owing to certain other causes but some people attribute it to the Royal Visit. The connivance of the police and the undue advantage taken by the Parsis of the revolvers given to them by Government for the purpose of protection only and their improper acts of highhandedness were the principal causes of the disturbances. But Mahatma Gandhi, in his appeal, throws the whole blame on the Musalmans. This is due to his ignorance of the real facts. [The *Nursat* is surprised that the Parsis not only followed in the footsteps of the hooligans but they went even further and that the educated among them also took part in the riot. It gives a long list of their acts of violence and draws attention to the fact that all those acts were committed before the eyes of the police. Continuing the same subject in its issue of the 25th November the paper comes to the conclusion that the real cause of the disturbances were those boys who in their enthusiasm for non-co-operation stopped the tram-cars, and, next to them, those Jews, Christians and policemen, who treated those boys very harshly. It regrets that the whole blame has been thrown on the Mussalmans whom it advises to be careful of their behaviour and not to utter such words as may injure the Hindu-Muslim Unity.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 21st, 22nd, 24th and 25th Nov.

23. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* admits that Mr. Gandhi did not expect that his agitation would lead to such bloodshed and disorder, but it asserts that it was natural that his ignorant followers should misinterpret his prediction about "rivers of blood". The paper declares that Mr. Gandhi should now retire from political life, and close his two papers, *Navjivan* and *Young India,* in view of the mentality and intellectual calibre of the people among whom they largely circulate. While giving credit to Mr. Gandhi for his courage in admitting his personal responsibility for the bloodshed in Bombay, the paper points out that he has once more proved himself an impractical idealist. It is significant, adds the paper, that as in the Ahmedabad riots, he admits in this case also that educated people are at the back of these riots. For days and weeks, it continues, he and his followers had used inflammatory language against the Parsis, and it has been noticed from the first in these riots that the Parsis were singled out for attack. Who can say, asks the paper, that these persons are not responsible for these consequences of such words. [In its next issue the paper doubts whether peace in Bombay was restored only by the joint efforts of the leaders of all communities and it thinks that the military also rendered great help in restoring order. It declares that the true remedy of preserving peace is to stop fiery lectures from being delivered before illiterate people and fiery writings from being distributed among them. The paper appeals to Mr. Gandhi to issue immediately an order to stop such activities and to meet His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and present his case before him. In a subsequent issue the paper declares that the spirit of intolerance of the non-co-operators is the chief cause of the recent disturbances and that unless it is completely removed peace cannot be preserved by means of conferences. It thinks that the great welcome which the Prince received shows that the non-co-operators are not in a majority and that their attempts to boycott the Prince's visit and the disturbances which they caused in support of it proved to be ineffectual. It emphatically declares that the non-co-operators have really speaking very little influence and that they compel a very great part of the people to act against their wishes by means of threats and violence. It remarks that they have become impatient to attain *swaráj* but that they neither understand nor recognise tolerance which is the fundamental principle underlying *swaráj.* In its next issue the paper regrets that Mr. Gandhi himself has gone back on the principle, which he had laid down, of not publishing any articles or delivering any lectures regarding the recent disturbances which may tend to incite the feelings of the people. It declares that the last manifesto issued by Mr. Gandhi regarding them is quite baseless and that it is like a stab in the back. In the opinion of the paper, Mr. Gandhi has written it on the basis of one-sided information and when an independent committee will be appointed to inquire into the disturbances, the evidence of respectable persons will show that educated non-co-operators excited the hooligans and that they also took part in the disturbances. It asks Mr. Gandhi as to what grounds he has to say that the Parsis went beyond their natural and lawful right of self-defence. In conclusion, it considers it immediately necessary to appoint a committee of respectable persons to inquire into the causes and the progress of the disturbances.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 21st, 22nd and 23rd Nov.

24. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* regrets that the non-co-operators represented the satanic Government in the blackest colours possible in spite of the fact that they were sure that " rivers of blood " would flow and that they went on persuading people to sacrifice their lives without killing anybody to get justice regarding certain grievances. The paper declares that when the non-co-operators declared a *hartal* under the pretence of boycotting the Prince's visit, lakhs of people went to welcome the Prince, and seeing this the illiterate people first set fire to liquor shops and then wreaked their vengeance upon Parsi passers-by and attacked Parsi houses in different localities. It refuses to believe that those who blame the Parsis for retaliation would under the same circumstances have silently tolerated this kind of tyranny. It thinks that the explanation given by the non-co-operators that they never thought that there would be such disturbances cannot hold water.

[In its next issue the paper expresses obligation to Mr. Gandhi for the sympathy which he has shown on the present occasion, and it asks the Parsis to forgive and forget. It advises Mr. Gandhi to give up the non-co-operation movement and change his programme in such a way that the Nationalists and the Moderates may stand on the same platform and reach the goal by co-operating with Government. In a further issue it remarks that the help rendered by Mr. Gandhi to bring about peace should not be forgotten. It regrets, however, that while Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues are trying their best to restore order, some irresponsible newspapers are publishing such reports without making sure about them as are likely to cause bitterness between the different communities.]

Sánj Vartamán (30), 19th and 23rd Nov.

25. The *Sánj Vartamán* dwells upon the harm done to the country by the disturbances in Bombay and expresses its condemnation of the satanic deeds prepetrated by the *badmashes* in the three days of *swaráj* that they enjoyed. It reminds the Hindus and Moslems of the services rendered by the Parsis to the cause of *swaráj* and the Khilafat and the monetary help given by them to the various funds and appeals to members of all communities to use their influence for the restoration of normal conditions in Bombay. The paper heaves a sigh of relief at the news that Mr. Gandhi has postponed the inauguration of civil disobedience and considers it very wise of him to have arrived at such a resolve. The paper is of the opinion that the disturbances in Bombay have dealt a mortal blow to the *satyágraha* movement and that people will not in future dare to launch such a movement. Bitter experience gained in the past when the *satyágraha* movement was launched and similar experience during the disturbances in Bombay drives the paper to the conclusion that in no circumstances would it be possible for India, composed as it is of heterogenous elements, to organise civil disobedience with success or even with any absence of disturbances. [In a subsequent issue the paper draws the attention of the Hindus and Muhammadans to Mr. Gandhi's message wherein he has appealed to them not to be irritated against the Parsis even if they side with Government and warns them not to use any cocercion on the smaller communities lest all hopes of effecting unity in India be frustrated.]

Akhbár-e-Islám (53), 21st. 22nd and 23rd Nov.

26. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* comments on the disturbances in Bombay and writes:—The public cannot but feel disgust at the return given to the Parsis, who were recently foolish enough to show growing sympathy with the non-co-operation movement, in the shape of severe and grave assaults on them by the *badmashes* of the Hindu and Musalman communities and the outrageous and indecent assaults on their women and children. Mr. Gandhi may show regret now, but what else could be the meaning of his previous warnings and his advice to people to sacrifice themselves? In September last Mr. Gandhi had warned the Parsi liquor licensees that if they did not close their liqour shops by the end of that month, rivers of blood would flow. How will the thinking public interpret these words? The non-co-operating public of Bombay has by its bestial conduct brought a stigma on the fame of Bombay, given offence to its liberal and lenient Government, and wounded the kindly feelings of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales for the people. [In its next issue the paper sarcastically remarks that not only are the hopes of Mr. Gandhi to establish independent *swaráj* on the 23rd instant shattered, but that these disturbances in Bombay have struck a severe blow to the fundamental principles underlying the non-co-operation movement. In a further issue the paper congratulates the Parsis on the patience and civility which they have shown. It however regrets that Mr. Gandhi has thrown the whole blame of molesting the Parsis on Muhammadans while really speaking the Hindus took the leading part in doing so.]

Hindusthán (20), 19th and 23rd Nov.

27. The *Hindusthán* refers to the disturbances that marred the peace of Bombay and regards them as a positive proof of the failure of the non-co-operationists to educate the masses in the principles of non-violence and approves of the decision of Mr. Gandhi to postpone civil disobedience. It asks the people to lay aside for the moment the questions as to whether the Police and the military have misused their powers and whether Government have taken advantage of the situation to foment racial feelings and to concentrate their energies on restoring peace and order in the city. [In a subsequent issue the paper expresses gratification at the restoration of normal conditions after the disturbances, It blames the turbulent elements among the Hindus, Moslems, Parsis, Europeans and Eurasians for the discreditable part they played during the disturbances and opines that the Police also did not acquit themselves quite creditably. It asks why revolvers were freely distributed among the Parsis and why the Police and the military remained interested spectators of the indiscriminate shooting of Hindus and Moslems by the Parsis and why not a single Parsi has been arrested for taking part in the riots. It requests Government to publish an impartial account of the disturbances so that there may be no addition to the distrust that already prevails against them. The paper notes in conclusion that peace was restored in Bombay solely through the efforts of the popular leaders—both co-operationists and non-co-operationists—and without the help of the military and the Police.]

Bombay Samáchár (56), 21st, 22nd and 23rd Nov.

28. The *Bombay Samáchár* deplores the attacks that were made by the crowd on Eurasians, Jews and Parsis on Thursday but thinks that the Eurasians carried on a systematic campaign of revenge on the next day under the supervision and with the connivance of the Police and that the Parsis imitated them and took revenge on the Hindus and Moslems for the wrongs done to them by the crowd on the previous day. It exhorts the members of all the communities not to take the aggressive and appeals to the communal leaders to use their influence to allay the racial feelings excited by the disturbances. [In the next issue the paper thanks Mr. Gandhi and leaders of the various communities in Bombay for the successful efforts they made to put an end to the riots that tarnished the good name of Bombay and were responsible for bloodshed and arson in the City for four days. In a further issue the paper expresses gratification at the restoration of peace in Bombay solely through the efforts of Mr. Gandhi and the leaders of various communities and without any help from the authorities. It is of opinion that the vow of Mr. Gandhi to abstain from food till peace was restored had a magical effect on the people who did their best to restore order in the city. The paper appeals to members of the communities to forget and forgive the past and to live in amity and goodwill with one another.]

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 20th Nov.; *Swarájya* (*Gujaráti*) (62), 22nd Nov.

29. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes:—The manifesto that Mr. Gandhi published after seeing the disturbances in Bombay acknowledging his mistake goes to show that he has, though late, realised the real situtation. We do not think that any effect will be created on the turbulent masses by the vow taken by Mr. Gandhi to abstain from food till quiet is restored. We, however, hope that the masses will be calmed down by the influence Mr. Gandhi may still have on them. We would request Government to put down the disturbances with a strong hand, for if this tide of Bolshevism overtakes Bombay, it will assume a serious aspect and prove ruinous to the country. We feel sure that every citizen of Bombay will support Government in every step they take in quelling the disturbances. [The *Swarájya* writes:—The disturbances in Bombay have dealt a serious blow to the righteous movement of non-co-operation. We would like to express our condemnation of these disturbances in the severest terms possible and we deplore the stain that they have cast on the Indian people. The sin that Bombay has committed will affect the whole of India which will have to atone for it. We hope that the people of Bombay will forget any wrongs they may have suffered and will direct their efforts towards the restoration of peace.]

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 22nd, 24th and 25th Nov.

30. It should not have been necessary for a man like Mr. Gandhi to be told that it is easy to excite popular passions but very difficult, nay impossible, to control them. But of late his reason has passed under the influence of some evil star and he has become incapable of realising the truth even of such a simple fact. He is as contrite now as he was two years ago when he launched the *satyagraha* movement and he has given expression to his feelings by issuing a statement to that effect. Mr. Gandhi no doubt deserves to be praised for admitting his mistakes when these are brought home to him. But the real value of this merit lies in guarding against the repetition of a similar mistake; otherwise it becomes valueless. Mr. Gandhi is responsible for the calamities that have recently been overtaking this country and a thousand statements expressing penitence cannot atone for them. Indeed his recent experience at Bombay should have induced him to drop the non-co-operation movement altogether but instead he has only postponed the proposed *satyagraha* movement. [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—We have now learnt by experience how Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation movement, started with the object of paralysing the Government, is proving injurious to the people themselves. If he still persists in the course he will not have to wait till the end of December next to see satan's *swarâjya* established in the country. The non-co-operation movement is sure to leave a legacy of bitter hatred behind for a long time after its extinction. Mr. Gandhi should not rest satisfied with merely doing penance and observing fasts but he should drop the movement altogether. We think he is not incapable his of doing so in view of the mental courage shown by him in frankly admitting mistakes. In a further issue the paper takes Mr. Gandhi to task for saying that the authorities were guilty of acts of lawlessness during the Bombay riots and maintains that his teachings alone were responsible for the disturbances and those that preceded them in other parts of the country.]

Nusrat (new), 23rd Nov.

31. Commenting on the outbreak of disorders in Bombay the *Nusrat* remarks that no sooner did the Prince set his " blessed " foot on the Indian soil than people began to play with fire and blood. The paper attributes the riots to hooligans of the city, the turbulent mill-hands and the Jews, Parsis and Christians who, becoming emboldened by the help they were receiving from the Police, hammered every Hindu and Muslim wearing a Gandhi cap. It praises the forbearance and patience shown by the general public in spite of the arrest of the trusted leaders and the waste of money in connection with the Prince of Wales's visit. The paper refuses to apportion the blame, but deplores the riots and the violence and characterises them as a stain on the good name of Bombay. It hopes that the disturbances would soon be quelled by Mahatma Gandhi's efforts and calls upon the Muhammadans and the Hindus to hold out the hand of friendship towards the Parsis.

Lokamânya (114), 23rd Nov.

32. The *Lokamânya* expresses satisfaction that peace has been restored in Bombay but remarks that it has been due to the leaders of the public who went about the town explaining to the people Mr. Gandhi's message and not to the Police and the military who did not show much enthusiasum for re-establishment of peace but seemed to be anxious to let the people taste the miseries of breaches of the peace. This has been a lesson to those, it says, who had been thinking that the leaders had lost control over the people and that peace would not be restored without martial law. Bombay, the paper declares, has shown itself to be fully competent to deal with its own disturbances, without any extraneous interference. It expresses its grief that the fair name of Bombay should have been stained by the sanguinary disturbances during the last few days but it remarks that the disturbed condition of Bombay has proved to the world that the present was not the proper time for the Prince's visit to India and it points out that reports appearing in the papers of other presidencies also show that a similar disturbed state of public mind prevails almost everywhere in the country. It expresses its agreement with the *Leader's* declaration that it would no longer do for Government to put off its duty with regard to the Khilafat and *swarâjya* and hopes that there would take place a change for the better in the policy of the bureaucracy.

Kesari (110), 22nd Nov.

33. The *Kesari* attributes the riots in Bombay to the action of the bureaucracy in bringing out His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India in disregard of the strong public opinion in the country against the visit. The Government of Bombay, it says, in sending an enthusiastic message of welcome to the Prince on his arrival at Aden on behalf of the people of the Presidency, misrepresenting the actual state of things, seemed to be actuated by the vain feeling that it would be able to crush the movement for the boycott of the Prince's visit or at least to prevent its echo from reaching the ears of His Royal Highness by the noise of the official welcome. But as days passed by, according to the paper, the bureaucracy saw that it was going to be foiled and so it changed its tactics. The vivid contrast between the dry official reception at the Appolo Bunder with the procession to Malabár Point through deserted streets and the bonfire of foreign clothes elsewhere before an enthusiastic assemblage of three lakhs of people addressed by Mr. Gandhi, the paper remarks, exasperated the bureaucracy and its henchmen, and an attack was launched against Gandhi caps and *khadi* coats by Eurasians, Jews and Native Christians who were later on joined by the Parsis. The origin of the riots according to the paper lay in that attack which inevitably brought on retaliation on the part of the non-co-operators who though guilty of some excesses generally tried their best to be non-violent. The non-co-operators who burnt trams, smashed motor cars, etc., and committed other indefensible excesses, would, the paper says, be readily dealt with by Government, but what about the terrible sufferings, it asks, which the non-violent non-co-operators like Dr. Sathaye and others have had to undergo at the hands of the hooligans, as they refused to retaliate and also to ask for police protection being non-co-operators? Steps ought to be taken, it demands, to deal with those who attempted to pollute a masjid and insulted women by entering houses and chawls. The paper denounces as partial and unjust the conduct of the Bombay police during the disturbances and declares that it deserves the utmost condemnation. The bureaucracy, it alleges, seems to think that it can non-co-operate with the non-co-operators and withhold police protection from them. It however declares that so long as only some of the items of non-co-operation have been carried out and so long as the last item of the programme, *i. e.*, non-payment of the taxes has not been actually launched, the non-co-operators do not lose their rights as citizens and Government is bound to protect their lives, property and honour as before. The paper further complains that not only did the Police refuse protection to non-co-operators but they actually aided the hooligans in attacking them. It refers to the rumour that about eight hundred revolvers and also *lathis* were supplied to Parsi youths and hooligans and says that even if the report be unfounded it is a fact that the Parsis did make use of revolvers and *lathis* in attacking non-co-operators in the presence of the Police. The bureaucracy has thus, the paper declares, wreaked its vengeance on the non-co-operators for their having brought discredit upon it by their successful boycott of the Prince's visit and it remarks that the same demoniac tendency is being exhibited on an extensive scale by it in Malabár. The non-co-operators must therefore, the paper remarks, take into consideration the question of self-protection and points out that they should not fail to exercise the right of self-defence given to all people by the Penal Code. The paper thinks that it is the duty of Mr. Gandhi to solve the question as to how the non-co-operators are to conduct themselves at the time of mass civil disobedience when the bureaucracy which is sure to create a split among the people is likely to refuse protection to them, as it has done in Malabár by not making use of its powers in putting down the outrages against Hindus. The outrages against women in Bombay were committed, in the paper's opinion, owing to the connivance of the Police. Only if Mr. Gandhi suggests something practical in the matter, the paper remarks, will the public confidence in the principles of non-co-operation remain firm. The incidents in Bombay, according to the paper, show the completion of the moral debacle of the bureaucracy after what has already taken place in Satára and Malabár. The solution of the question of self-protection on occasion of mass civil disobedience now entirely lies, in the opinion of the paper, in the hands of non-co-operators.

Indu Prakásh (43), 21st and 22nd Nov.; *Jágaruk* (44), 23rd Nov.;
Subodh Patrika (47), 20th Nov.; *Swadharma* (new), 24th Nov.

34. The *Indu Prakásh* declares the recent Bombay riots had their origin in the mischievous doings of certain Christians and Europeans who insulted the Gandhi-cap wearers and uttered cutting taunts regarding *swaráyja*, and adds that the situation was rendered worse by the excesses committed by certain Parsis armed with revolvers. It draws Government's attention to the generally prevalent belief that the Parsis were shown unjustifiable partiality by the authorities. [In the next issue the paper declares that the riots have cast a lasting stain on Bombay's good reputation and it expresses the opinion the disorders were mainly due to the want of proper anticipatory precautions by the authorities. It takes exception to Mr. Gandhi's opinion that Hindus and Muhammadans were more to blame than Parsis and Christians for the riots and declares that such unjust allegations even though made by Mr. Gandhi, would not be accepted as true by Hindus and Muhammadans as they possess self-respect though they might be poor. It thinks that at the most it can be said that all communities were equally open to blame. The *Jágaruk* thinks that Mr. Gandhi's postponement, owing to the riots, of his civil disobedience programme means its postponement for ever, and approves of Government action in tolerating the non-co-operation movement till Mr. Gandhi has himself admitted its evil effects. It expresses its satisfaction that the dangerous character of the movement has been thus revealed to the public making it possible for Government to regain their backing, and warns Mr. Gandhi not to forget the bitter experience. The *Subodh Patrika* declares that it was the non-co-operators who started the disturbances by their outrageous treatment of the people going for the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. It also blames the Khilafat workers for agitating among the illiterate classes for the boycott of the Prince's reception. It declares that the rioters were not at all illiterate and warns Mr. Gandhi to beware of his rowdy followers who have seriously harmed their country by their doings. The *Swadharma* writing about the supression of the riots takes the occasion to commend the methods followed by the ancient Kings in India who, it says, sacrificed their all to satisfy the aspirations of the subjects. It contrasts them with the present bureaucratic officials who, according to it, always oppose the wishes of the people and are anxious to shoot them down in the name of peace and order.]

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Nov,

35. "It is evident the city is now in the hands of hooligans of all communities whose worst passions have been aroused, and that the overwhelming majority of every community is anxious to see that the carnage ceases. The authorities have not, it is true, played their part in an altogether impartial manner and they must bear no little share of the blame for the pass to which the city has been brought to-day. But the citizens must recognise their own share of the blame and must bestir themselves immediately with a veiw to mobilising the forces of reason, persuasion and influence from every community and put an end to the reign of terror. The supreme need of the moment is the restoration of peace and in this work the leaders of all communities—Hindus, Muslim, Parsi, Christian and Jew—must join....... Non-violence is the sheet-anchor of the movement by which we are determined to redress the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and to win *swaráj*. Without non-violence the movement cannot go on for a single day. Mahatma Gandhi has confessed his complete inability to conduct a campaign of civil disobedience to a successful issue unless a complete non-violent spirit is generated among the people. He regards it a humiliating confession for him to make. It is, however, humiliating not to him but to those who have broken away from the path of non-violence—of truth and love."

Sind Observer (9), 21st and 22nd Nov.

36. Referring to the disturbances in Bombay, the *Sind Observer* remarks:—"By the folly of the non-co-operators, and a greater folly on the part of the excited loyalists, the Prince of Wales, whose visit is to open a bright chapter in the history of this country, has been forced to begin his royal tour under the dark shadow of a sinister cloud. Mahatma Gandhi now repents. He has gone into sack cloth and ashes. He fasts, he prays, he refuses to eat. He condemns himself in unequivocal language....... It is a frank confession of inability to lead the masses in the channels of non-violent non-co-operation which is to get us *swaráj* in seven weeks....... However, his confessions are short-lived. In 1919 he made a similar confession by owning his 'Himalayan blunder'. But within two years no single man has created a greatest spirit of revolt among the people. Having sown the wind one must reap the whirlwind. Why should any non-co-operator be surprised, having planted a corrupt tree, if it brings forth corrupt fruit?..... The duty of the Government is clear. They will, of course, preserve law and

order. But can anybody deny that the flames of unrest and revolt are fed by grievances and wrongs unredressed? They must be removed before peace could reign in this country. The outbreaks in Bombay are due in a measure to the dissatisfaction caused by the punishment of the Ali Brothers." [In its next issue the paper writes:—"These communal riots have given the deathblow to the movement of non-co-operation. The non-co-operation leaders cannot now be the masters of all they survey in Bombay......... We give credit to the non-co-operation leaders for pacific intentions. But their greatest mistake has always been to incite the masses and to feel repentant when they find their oratory has resulted in disastrous consequences. This tampering with the masses must cease for ever....... It is to be hoped that Mahatma Gandhi will hereafter be no party to lighting the fire of communal antagonism. He must stay definitely the hand of his followers. In case he cannot succeed, he must give up the leadership of a movement in which he is not wanted. Let there be no foolish *hartals* in the track of the Prince in British India. Let there be no disloyal demonstration wherever His Royal Highness goes....... He is not Government's man; he is the people's guest. Let the people's representatives open their hearts freely to him; let them show the wounds that are bleeding the heart of the nation. And we do not despair of the remedy."]

New Times (7), 19th Nov.

37. "Mahatma Gandhi's statement gives a heart-rending account of what the mob in Bombay did on the *hartal* day. That officials gave provocation to people by arresting volunteers or removing posters, cannot excuse the conduct of the crowd nor remove our critics' reproach. Let us unreservedly confess our sins before God and man. We should be, we have not been, non-violent in face of extreme provocation. To deprive persons by force of foreign caps, to pelt stones at Europeans, to burn liqour shops and tram cars, to smash a motor, to molest Parsi sisters, to leave wounded policemen uncared for, to obstruct a fire-brigade in its work,—to be out upon the work of destruction,—is not to help *swaráj*. It is to wound the very heart of the great cause. And the crowd's conduct, we are sure, has done a great harm to the *swaráj* movement. For mob rule is not *swaráj*; it is the very death of Freedom."

Government should appoint a Commission to enquire into the Bombay Riots.

Indu Prakásh (43), 24th Nov.

38. The *Indu Prakásh* asks Government early to appoint a Commission of men in whom both Government and people have confidence to inquire into the matters connected with the Bombay riots and especially into the propriety or otherwise of the firing resorted to by the military and others during the disturbances. It thinks that if men like Messrs. Jayakar, Manmohandas Ramji, Baptista, etc., are appointed on the Commission its conclusions would be accepted as impartial by the public and remove all suspicions still entertained by the people regarding various incidents in the riots. It hopes that there will not be any undue delay in the appointment of such a Commission as was the case with the Jallianwalla massacre incident.

Allegations against the Bombay Police in respect of the recent riots.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 26th Nov.

39. "In a Press Note, which we publish elsewhere, the Government of Bombay categorically and emphatically characterise as absolutely untrue the statements 'which have been made prominently in the Press and elsewhere to the effect that during the recent disturbances in Bombay Police and Military forces acted in a partisan manner and that arms were issued to persons engaged or likely to be engaged in faction fighting'....... While we fully recognise the heavy responsibility that faced the Police and the Military and while we have no intention of belittling the part played by them in restoring order, we do not think there is any citizen of Bombay, with some personal knowledge or experience of the course of the recent unfortunate disturbances, who will endorse the view of the Government, to a very substantial extent. The most charitable view of the part played by the Police and the Military was given by Mr. H. P. Mody at the meeting held under the chairmanship of Mahatma Gandhi, when he laid particular emphasis on the fact that 'the disturbances had been quelled not with the aid of the Police or of the Military, whose hands were pretty full, but largely through the efforts of the leaders of the various communities'. The information that has been brought to our knowledge through unimpeachable sources, and the innumerable letters and statements we have received—which, unfortunately, in the paramount interest of peace and harmony among the various communities we are precluded from publishing—convey a less charitable view. Government deny that 'arms were issued to persons engaged or likely to be engaged in faction fighting'. Does this mean that no arms were issued to special constables engaged during the Prince's visit and that some of these constables did not misuse these arms?...... Only an exhaustive public enquiry conducted by a body, enjoying the fullest confidence of all communities, in the city, can pass the final judgment as to the part which the Police and the Military played during the disturbances. Meanwhile, a sure test of a correct attitude on the part of the Police will be provided by the manner in which they exercise 'restraint and good judgment' in bringing prosecutions in connection with the disturbances and in co-operating with the leaders of all communities for the preservation of peace. The City of Bombay has always set an example to the rest of the country by reason of the harmonious relations existing between the various communities. The recent disturbances have stained this reputation of the city. It is the duty of every citizen to wipe out this stain at once. It can only be wiped out by a policy of 'Forget and Forgive'. In this respect the Government of Sir George Lloyd must set the example to the citizens. Harmony of inter-communal relations has been Bombay's greatest pride and greatest contribution to India's public life."

Comments on the suppression of Volunteer Corps in Bengal, Behar, Delhi and the United Provinces.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th and 26th Nov.

40. "The counsels of reaction which a section of the Anglo-Indian Press and the European mercantile community of Calcutta have, for some days past, been dinning into the ears of Lord Ronaldshay's Government have, as we have seen, fructified and the latter seem to have embarked, to all intents and purposes, on an active campaign of repression of the national movement in Calcutta and other parts of Bengal....... Is the fact that the Government of Sir Harcourt Butler have lost no time in following suit a portent that the fiat has gone forth from Lord Reading that the volunteer organisation should be suppressed? We sincerely trust it is not so. For, we have still some faint hope that Lord Reading realises that repression cannot cure the Indian malady which he has come to heal. Bengal has given the answer to the challenge of Lord Ronaldshay's Government. A thousand men have come forward, enrolled themselves as volunteers and issued a manifesto. Are these thousand men to be sent to prison!...... When is Lord Reading going to let the people of India know that he is great enough to rise above his predecessor's policy of drift and supineness and to embark upon a bold, statesmanlike and radical policy of conciliation? The Franco-Turkish Agreement gives him a rare chance to rally the Muslims on his side and the presence of the Prince of Wales affords him a unique opportunity of undoing the Punjab wrong once for all and settling the demand for *swaráj*. When, indeed, are we to expect some manifestation of his 'statesmanship' for which we have been waiting these eight weary months?" [In a subsequent issue the paper writes:—"Following the footsteps of the Bengal Government, the Government of the United Provinces and the authorities in Delhi have declared as unlawful volunteer organisations formed and working under the auspices of the Congress and Khilafat Committees. There has not been the least trouble in either of these provinces and, hence, there can be no shadow of justification for the step which the authorities have taken. Wholesale arrests of Congress and Khilafat workers and raids of their offices and houses are going on all over the province of Bengal as if the authorities were bent on conveying the impression to an ignorant world that these organisations were terrorist and revolutionary bodies. The disturbances in Bombay have given an excellent handle to the authorities in some of the provinces to deliver the sinister blow to the Congress and Khilafat movements which they had been long premeditating. But such tactics, far from cowing down the workers, are destined but to strengthen them all the more in their struggle. The challenge which Lord Ronaldshay's Government

have thrown at the Congress and Khilafat movements, by their unwarranted and high-handed action in suppressing the peaceful volunteer organisations after labelling them 'unlawful', has been taken up without loss of time by the leading workers in Calcutta and enlistment of peaceful volunteers is going on in hundreds, where up to now it was only done in scores. In Delhi also the Congress leaders have given an equally dignified answer. This is the only honourable course open to the workers, who have been falsely accused by the authorities of being terrorists in disguise....... The *Pioneer* asks Lord Reading to profit by the lead given by Lord Ronaldshay to suppress the political agitation carried on by the Congress and the Khilafat. We have already expressed the hope that Lord Reading will not allow himself to be stampeded, by the Provincial satraps, into a more aggressive repressive policy than followed hitherto. Unfortunately, the hope, if the Allahabad *Leader*, which is generally in the confidence of the highest official heirarchy, is to be believed, is the hope of despair....... Our contemporary is apologetic on behalf of the 'Liberals' in power, who 'feel that their efforts at conciliation and moderation have failed'. There are three outstanding questions which agitate the public mind—the Punjab, the Khilafat and *swaráj*. Is there any 'Liberal' who can deny that on these three questions the overwhelming majority of the people feel most intensely and that they cannot rest satisfied until a satisfactory solution is arrived at? What has been the record of the 'Liberals' and the Government in this respect? Have they, besides expressions of sympathy, done anything to bring about a just settlement of the Turkish question? Have they even taken advantage of the Franco-Turkish Agreement to bring pressure to bear on the British Premier to fulfil his pledges to the Muslims? Have they respected the deep sentiments of the people by undoing the Punjab wrong in the only proper manner in which it can be done? Have they, finally, made any earnest efforts to follow the Irish example and, in consultation with the Congress, bring about the settlement of the demand for *swaráj* in a manner honourable to India and satisfactory to Britain? ...... The initiative thus lies with Government. They have two paths before them—the path of conciliation and harmony and the path of repression which, as the *Leader* says, can only lead to a ruinous struggle. Is Lord Reading, with the reputation that he enjoys of statesmanship, nurtured in the tradition of Campbell-Bannerman who gave self-government to 'rebel' Boers and armed with a *carte blanche* by a Cabinet which is negotiating with the 'rebel' Irish, going to prefer the path of repression to that of conciliation? And what of the 'Liberals' who enjoy power and exercise 'influence' with the Government? A heavy responsibility rests on them....... As for the majority of the people they are in earnest. Repression will mean suffering to many amongst them. But they will bear the suffering cheerfully; for, to them, to bear it so will be a test of their earnestness. Repression has never succeeded anywhere. It will not succeed with a people, the cardinal principle of whose non-violent struggle is to invite and cheerfully bear suffering."]

Lokamánya (114), 25th and 26th Nov.

41. The *Lokamánya*, referring to the proscription of the Khilafat and Congress Volunteer Organizations in Bengal and Behar, expresses its apprehensions that the Bombay Government too would follow suit and declare unlawful similar local bodies taking advantage of the Bombay riots, though as a matter of fact they proved useful in restoring the peace in the city. The Calcutta volunteer organisations have been declared to be unlawful, it points out, even though they had already proved themselves similarly useful in Calcutta, and it appears from this, it concludes, that they have been suppressed not because they encouraged disorder, but because they have shown that they carry great influence with the public and can prevail upon them to keep the peace and act in a disciplined manner. It is this prestige of the volunteer organisations, according to the paper, that has made them an eye-sore with certain officials and made them take the above false step. The paper is afraid that the Bombay Government too would not hesitate to follow in the footsteps of the Bengal authorities and therefore it appeals to the people to face with courage, peace and self-sacrifice a similar campaign of repression on the part of the local Government. [In its next issue the paper again refers to the action taken by the Bengal, Behar and Delhi Governments against the Khilafat and Congress volunteer

organisations in these provinces and remarks that the whole of the country from Delhi upto Calcutta seems thus to have been overrun by the wave of repression. It points out that not only have the volunteer organisations been proscribed, but public meetings also have been prohibited, and in addition, sections 144, 108, 124-A and 153 also continue to be pressed into service. The paper does not think that the public there would silently bear the repression. It is the duty of the people, in its opinion, under the circumstances to disband the old volunteer organisations, just as has been done at Delhi, and to set up new ones in their place made up of men pledged to peaceful conduct and prepared to go to jail if required and it already sees signs that thousands of youths on the banks of the Jumna and the Ganges would readily enrol themselves in these new organisations and carry out peacefully the work of the old ones. In this connection it thinks that the rules framed by the Working Committee of the Congress which recently met at Bombay are extremely farsighted, as discipline and non-violence are now to be the foundations of such organisations. It hopes that only such men would be enrolled as would fully stand the above tests. Those who might not be able to fully stand them should, the paper remarks, assist the national movement independently in their own ways. It warns the public that if it wants to utilise the campaign of repression launched by the Bengal, Behar and Delhi Governments for advancing the cause of *swarajya*, it must take the utmost care to abide to the letter by the rules framed by the Congress Working Committee. In this connection it mentions with approval the Calcutta movement in which thousands of respectable citizens are offering themselves for enrolment in the volunteer organisations declared illegal by Government and expresses the hope that as similar repressive measures are likely to be launched in Bombay, its people would pay due attention to the rules framed by the Working Committee in the matter of enrolment of volunteers.]

Bombay Samáchár (56), 24th Nov.

42. The *Bombay Samáchár* deplores the steps that are being taken by the authorities in Delhi and Calcutta to put down institutions organised for social service and passing under the name of " volunteer corps " on the pretext that they have a hand in creating disturbances in the country. The paper asks His Excellency Lord Reading to bear in mind the valuable services rendered by such volunteer corps in Bombay to quell the recent disturbances and to use his influence to stop their suppression in Delhi and Calcutta.

Sind Observer (9), 23rd Nov.

43. " The declaration of Congress and Khilafat volunteer corps by the Government of Bengal as unlawful associations, besides raising many important questions of public policy and political justice, comes about at a very inauspicious time, when the Prince is touring the country. This is perhaps the bureaucratic method of preparing a calm atmosphere for the Royal reception. The law under which the Congress organisations are declared unlawful is a relic of the ancient regime, when a legislative enactment was only an executive decree writ large...... It is up to the Government to show specific instances where the volunteer organisations, which they seek to suppress, have misbehaved themselves, broken or attempted to break the peace, or incited anybody to violence. We doubt if the Bengal Government, for the matter of that any provincial Government, can bring up a case like that against these corps. The volunteers, be it said to their credit, have been quite obedient to the orders of their superiors and been ever a factor making for the public tranquillity. The very fact that in Bombay to-day many young men are venturing their precious lives in the streets to pacify excited mobs, without any idea of exploiting the mob unrest, is proof positive that their intentions and activities are honest and sincere, beyond cavil and above controversy. Let the Government of Bengal beware that they are dealing with the youth of a province which till recently was honeycombed with secret revolutionary societies. The new era having opened, hundreds of young men were released. The prison has not quelled their enthusiasm and they have found in the volunteer corps started under the auspices of the Congress and Khilafat committees an avenue for patriotic service. If they are to be disbanded now they will find they are not allowed even to do their labour of love, and the least little way of expressing their patriotism is shut out to them. They will be tempted to restart their old murder clubs."

Bombay Samáchár (56), 26th Nov.

44. The *Bombay Samáchár* approves of the manifesto issued by a thousand respectable persons of Bengal proclaiming that they have joined the popular "Volunteer Corps" and calling upon members of the Provincial and District Congress Committees to enroll themselves as its members. The paper believes that the Government of Bengal will now have to withdraw the allegations they have made against the volunteers or to prove them in the court of law. The paper then praises the steps taken by the Working Committee of the Congress to organise the National Volunteer Corps and expresses the hope that care will be taken to eliminate all racial considerations from its composition and to make it truly national. It feels confident that the rules and regulations proposed by the Working Committee will remove all objectionable features from the Corps and make it a valuable asset in the non-violent non-co-operation movement.

Comments on Mr. M. R. Jayakar's speech as President of the Thana District Conference.

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 25th Nov.

45. The *Dnyán Prakásh* refers to Mr. M. R. Jayakar's speech delivered as President of the Thana District Conference and says that although Mr. Jayakar declared himself to be wholly in favour of non-co-operation, the modifications that he suggested in the programme thereof, *viz.*, that the boycott of courts and educational institutions should be declared to be far less rigid than at present, and that the non-co-operationists should be at liberty to stand for election to the Legislative bodies, will, if carried out, leave very little behind of the present non-co-operation movement. According to the paper the speech shows that there are many among Mr. Gandhi's followers who do not approve of his movement but who stick to it because of his personality.

Hindusthán (20), 24th Nov.

46. The *Hindusthán* commends the address delivered by Mr. M. R. Jaykar as President of the third Thána District Conference to the notice of all non-co-operators and agrees with Mr. Jaykar that the non-co-operators should enter the Councils in view of the fact that the moderates have identified themselves with the bureaucracy. It is also one with Mr. Jaykar in thinking that the non-co-operators should try to gain control over the Universities and should direct their energies towards opening more national schools and that the limit of time during which the non-co-operators mean to attain *swaráj* should be extended with a view to ensure its permanency and success.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 26th Nov.

47. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the speech delivered by Mr. Jayakar as President of the Thána District Conference and requests the non-co-operators to seriously ponder over it. The paper appeals to the non-co-operators to work quietly with Mr. Jayakar and drop the question of attaining *swaráj* within a fixed period in view of the tragic disturbances which have occurred all round the country. It states that Mr. Gandhi has thought fit to change some of his views on account of last week's disturbances and believes that he will recognize the importance of the suggestions made by such an independent colleague of his as Mr. Jayakar and pay his immediate attention to the question of making the Congress programme more practical. It fears that if Mr. Gandhi fails to do so, the existence of the Congress and all the other bodies attached to it will be in danger.

Comments on the decision to start civil disobedience.

Sind Vási (169), 8th Nov.; *Bháratwási* (157), 8th Nov.

48. As will be seen from the accounts of the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee's meeting held on the 4th instant, the non-co-operators have decided upon starting *satyágraha*. This is the final item of the non-co-operation programme and we think that it might not have been taken in hand but for the ill-advised prosecution of the Ali Brothers. It is certain, however, that like the other items it will also fail. The country is not yet ready for it. The spirit of self-sacrifice so necessary for its success requires yet to be developed. Government should therefore remain calm and undisturbed. Any impatience on its part will only result in trouble. *Satyágraha* is sure to die of its own accord. [The *Bháratwási* writes :—The final order has gone forth that *satyágraha* should be started. Our impression on reading the last issue of *Young India* was that Mahatmá Gandhi did not consider the country fit for *satyágraha.* But the news comes from Delhi that he thinks otherwise. It is a pity that he is so inconsistent and that the destiny of our country is in the hands of persons whose views change so suddenly and so often. We are compelled to tell the Mahatmá that he is repeating his mistake of 1919, for which he was so sorry afterwards. We are sure he will realize his mistake before long.]

Gujaráti Punch (16), 20th Nov.

49. In connection with the resolution of civil disobedience, passed by the All-India Congress Committee, the *Gujaráti Punch* remarks that the public has not yet fully grasped the real meaning of *satyagraha* and it does not like that Mr. Gandhi should expect at this stage everyone to do what he himself can. The paper suggests that in view of the impending session of the National Congress civil disobedience should be postponed till the spirit of the public is accurately ascertained. It doubts whether the public would in this one month and a half be able to fulfil the conditions laid down by the Delhi Working Committee for the adoption of civil disobedience, and fears that if the people without thoroughly understanding civil disobedience supported the movement only to please Mr. Gandhi this fight would meet with some great obstacles. The paper doubts the success of the movement because the essential elements of *satyagraha* are not brought home to the mind of the public, and if the people adopted the same at this stage, it would lead them astray and would in all likelihood result in various sorts of disturbances.

Non-co-operation movement is likely to act as a disruptive force.

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 22nd Nov.

50. Mr. Gandhi started the non-co-operation movement to cement the union between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. But the events at Malegaon and in Malabár clearly show that this movement instead of proving a cement is acting like a disruptive force. The Muhammadan non-co-operators are not very anxious about union with the Hindus. Whereas the goal of the Hindus is the attainment of *swarájya* that of the Muhammadans is the redress of the Khilafat wrong. The Hindus hope to live amicably with the Muhammadans after the establishment of *swarájya* but the latter will not hesitate to set up a separate Durbar of their own when *swarájya* is acheived and to break the heads of the Hindus and to convert them forcibly as they did in Malabár.

The bureaucracy is interfering with religion.

Swadharma (new), 24th Nov.

51. While commenting on the proceedings of the All-India Sadhu Conference held recently at Hardwar, the *Swadharma* remarks that the bureaucracy which was up to this time indirectly busy in ruining our religion merely by its indifference and partiality has now begun openly to attack it. As an instance in point it mentions that Shri Shankaracharya of the Sharadapith was arrested and removed to Karáchi just like an ordinary person and asked to stand up before the court against the practice of the vow of his order. What self-respecting Hindu, it asks, would put up with such religious persecution ?

The effect of the *swadeshi* movement on the Manchester trade.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 26th Nov.

52. The *Bombay Samáchár* draws the attention of those Anglo-Indians who ridiculed Mr. Gandhi for his assertion that *swaráj* would be gained at the point of the spindle to the increased output of Indian yarn and cloth during the last twelve months and the outcry that is being made in Manchester against the recent import duty on foreign piece-goods. The paper believes that the outcry is solely due to the inability of Manchester to push her goods in India owing to the *swadeshi* movement and expresses the hope that the Secretary of State will not incur the additional displeasure of the Indian people by removing the import duty or raising the Excise duty on the output of Indian mills.

The Quran teaches patriotism and *swarâj.*

Wafâdâr (32), 25th Nov.

53. In the course of an article over the signature of Maulana Abdar Raheman Saheb Nagrami of Calcutta the writer says:—Should Moslems give up the *swarâj* movement if the Khilafat question is solved in a satisfactory manner? We would not have been under the yoke of bondage if our hearts had been alive to the teachings of the Quran. There are many verses which occur in the Quran which go to show the importance of patriotism and the high place the freedom of the mother land occupies in the sight of God. When a prophet is sent to a people in bondage his first duty consists in making those people free. When the time of freedom approaches and when the life of servitude is about to come to an end, the leaders of the people begin to see visions. The Quran presents vision of revolution to the people in distress and promises them divine help and gives them assurances of victory. Religious freedom can be fully enjoyed only when a country is free. Bondage is against the wishes of God. It is hoped that Moslems will read all the Quranic injunctions about national independence and will help India in her struggle for freedom.

The situation in Malabar.

Râjakâran (131), 20th Nov.

54. The *Times of India* publishes fictitious accounts of atrocities committed by Moplahs on the Hindus with a view to creating ill-will between the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Why should the English boast of their power if the Moplahs have really become so very powerful as to fight with them for several months past, and also to incur the hostility of the Hindus? It is a mystery how the ill-armed Moplahs, who number only a few thousand, are still able to inflict casualties on the trained troops of Government. The Maharaja of Kolhápur and the Scindia of Gwalior made a fine display of their martial bearing during the functions connected with the Prince's visit to Poona. Why do not Government send these two valorous Chiefs to fight in Malabár? The world will admire the courage of the Chief who establishes his claim to bravery by actually fighting with the Moplahs. The world does not look upon the mere donning of a military uniform to take part in a procession, as an uncommon performance.

Comments on the suffocation tragedy in Malabar.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Nov.

55. "The whole world will thrill with horror at the ghastly tragedy reported from Malabar. The Black Hole episode, even supposing it was true in all the details given by the none-too-veracious Halliwell, pales before the present incident, about the truth of which there appears to be no doubt whatever. The theory is put forward that the wagon in which the poor creatures were transported had previously been used for the conveyance of petrol tins. We are unable to state how much truth there is in the conjecture. But even if it were true that the wagon had been so used, the neglect thoroughly to ventilate it before the prisoners were shoved in it can only be described as criminal, indicating the dreadful callousness of the person or persons responsible for the step towards the sufferings of the unfortunate victims. The assurance that the Government of Madras have directed the institution of an immediate enquiry into the tragedy is welcome, but it is necessary to warn the authorities that the least attempt or even the betrayal of an inclination to whitewash the incident in any way or to shield those concerned, however high placed, will occasion the gravest indignation among the entire Indian public. The strictest and fullest possible enquiry by the Government of India and not the local Government should be held not behind closed doors, but in the open light of day, and the public should be placed in full possession of the knowledge of the circumstances which led to the tragedy. Reports coming to us from Malabar,—not hearsay reports, but those of eye-witnesses—have been giving alarming accounts of the cruel treatment given by the armed escorts to both under-trial prisoners and convicts when being transported from one place to another. We did not give publicity to them, because we had no means of verifying them under the peculiar circumstances of Malabar to-day, but the present shocking tragedy gives us a glimpse of the horrors which must have been undoubtedly taking place in that unhappy district. We await the results of the enquiry with grave anxiety. In the meanwhile, the sympathy of every soul with a spark of humanity will go to the families of those who have lost their lives in this dreadful manner."

Indian Social Reformer (5), 27th Nov.

***56.** "The Government of Madras has had its reputation seriously eclipsed by the terrible tragedy reported from Malabár of 64 Moplah convicts having been asphyxiated to death in an iron goods waggon in which they were conveyed to Bellary where they were to have been incarcerated. Complaints had been published in the Madras papers regarding the callous treatment of Moplah rebels, and attention had been called in the *Reformer* by Mr. Lakshmanan, writing from Coimbatore, to the specific practice which has led to the tragedy. This gruesome occurrence goes to show that the complaints were not without foundation. The unfortunate victims seem to have bitten each other in their agony of suffering. We think that the enquiry which the Madras Government ordered is utterly inadequate. Mr. Knapp, the Special Commissioner in Malabár, is himself the official ultimately responsible for the administration of the affected tract and he is, therefore, not the proper person to investigate this terrible scandal. An independent Committee of Judges and non-officials should be appointed, as in the case of the anti-plague serum tragedy, to enquire into and report on the affair. Those found responsible for such callous negligence of common precautions should be promptly and severely punished."

Mahrátta (6), 27th Nov.

***57.** "As we read the accounts of this horrible tragedy in cold print and in the cautious language of the Associated Press, we could not restrain our indignation for a considerable time. We did not believe that such a thing would ever happen under the enlightened rule of the British Government. We remember the storm that was created when a few British soldiers succumbed to heat in a railway train near Karáchi for want of ice. But they were British soldiers and so inquiries were made and the delinquents punished. But in this case they are Indians and rebels to boot. What courtesy and treatment can they expect except that actually given? Lord Reading was Chief Justice of England and it seems that he has left justice behind as he crossed the Suez...... Of course inquiries will be instituted and the men will be found guilty of error of judgment and may be sacked with handsome pensions. If Dyer could escape with a present and a pension, even a cold-blooded murderer may aspire to an exalted executive office here or abroad. The Government will repeat its parrot-like tale of 'forget and forgive' and our Moderate friends will be glad 'to close the chapter'. But we believe in Divine Dispensation and we wait."

India will be another Ireland.

Swaráj (Sindhi) (171), 7th Nov.

58. It is a pity that British statesmen are not wise in their generation. They have not at all profited by their experiences in Ireland. India will probably be another Ireland to them. Today it may be satisfied with *swaráj* within the Empire. If, however, this occasion is past who knows it may not declare its independence before long. Already the message of Mr. Mahomed Ali which he sent to his countrymen while going to jail has made a great impression on their minds. If in spite of the signs of the times, British statesmen are obdurate to the demands of the people they must know that retribution will overtake them. No foreign rule which has not the consent of the governed can last long. What right, we ask, has the British Government to rule over us when we have no faith in it?

Comments on the treaty with Afghanistan.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 25th Nov.

59. "Whatever might have been essayed behind the scenes, the trend of circumstances in the Near and Middle East effectually prevented any back-sliding on the part of the British Government and now we see the latter coming forward finally and irrevocably to recognise the independence of Afghanistan. This circumstance constitutes a notable triumph for not only Afghan diplomacy, but also for the principles of self-determination and liberty of small nations. We congratulate the people of Afghanistan on the consummation of their long-cherished hopes...... There was no doubt in the minds of either the people of India or the world at large that the 'subsidy' which was being paid to the Amir from Indian coffers was little else but an illegal gratification meant to hold down the Amir and his Government to an understanding which was humiliating both to the Afghan people and India. Every one who appreciates clean handed diplomacy will rejoice that the Amir is no more to receive a 'subsidy' from either Indian or British hands. There is one point which will require further elucidation and that is the prohibition against the Russian Soviet Government setting up consulates in some of the towns of Afghanisthan. One fails to see how such a restriction can be imposed on an 'independent' Afghanistan. There is evidently something more behind the scene pertaining to this provision than is apparent in the text of the treaty. We may expect time to shed further light on the subject. It is now regarded as a diplomatic triumph that Afghanistan should have been compelled to exclude the Russian consulates from her trade centres at the same time that she permits British representatives of that class. But Soviet Russia is not likely to remain silent....... The facility of direct negotiation between the Government of the United Kingdom with the Afghan envoys in the United Kingdom is likely to make for the neglect of Indian interestts in the greater prominence necessarily being afforded to Imperial considerations by this arrangement. Whether Afghanistan will gain by this arrangement except in a verbal barren pre-eminence it is for the Afghan people to judge. The clauses relating to the exemption of customs duties on goods required for State use in Afghanistan,—we would have welcomed a more clear definition excluding the personal luxuries, for example, ordered by the freak or fancy of the Afghan ruler for the time being,—do not at this stage at least appear to contain a very harmful concession. But they have in them germs of future mischief, should the Afghan trade develop with countries other than the United Kingdom. Even in the case of trade with the United Kingdom the Indian people might quite possibly be made to sacrifice a harmless and paying source of revenue, and, thereby, afford an indirect bonus to the British exporter dealing with Afghanistan. In any case there is little in these clauses to show the much-boasted solicitude of the Government of India for the people of India even in matters of trade and industry; and the representatives of India such as they are will have to be doubly careful lest they suffer this excellent opportunity of new trade openings for Indian enterprise to be lost. But will the Treaty be discussed and ratified by the Indian Legislature?"

Sánj Vartamán (30), 24th Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 25th Nov.;
Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 25th Nov.

60. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the conclusion of a treaty of friendship with Afghanistan and considers the terms of the treaty to be honourable both to India and Afghanistan. It is of opinion that the treaty will prove of great advantage to India and Afghanistan and expresses its gratitude to His Excellency Lord Reading and the Commander-in-Chief for the tact and foresight they have used in bringing about the treaty. The paper believes that the recognition of Afghanistan as an independent State will be hailed with delight by the Indian Moslems and that India will welcome the relief from the payment of an annual subsidy to Afghanistan especially in her present financial difficulties. The paper in conclusion recognises the services of Sir Henry Dobbs in bringing about the treaty. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* congratulates both His Highness the Amir of Afghanistan and the British Government on the conclusion of a treaty between them and in addition it congratulates the people of India also. It declares that Government have shown great foresight in granting to Afghanistan certain rights which they ought to have long since given for the sake of the welfare of India. It congratulates Lord Reading and Lord Rawlinson on the foresight shown by them regarding this matter because it thinks that as a result of it military expenditure in India can be much reduced. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* remarks that the whole of India will be satisfied at the conclusion of a treaty with Afghanistan and hopes that military expenditure in India will now be reduced.]

Nusrat (new), 29th Nov.

***61.** Commenting on the Anglo-Afghan Treaty, *Nusrat* remarks that the outstanding feature of the Treaty is that Britain—a proud and self-conceited power—has, after all, acknowledged the independence of Afghanistan. It adds that Britain had made the position of Afghanistan so complicated that it was wholly dependent on Britain in its foreign policy. It thinks that the annual subsidy of rupees 20 lacs was a heavy burden on the Indian treasury and it was paid to Afghanistan by the Government of India simply because the former was used as a means for carrying out the plots of the latter in connection with the Middle and the Near East. It is of opinion that the Indian Nationalists will welcome the treaty because it will save the sum of rupees 20 lacs which profited India neither materially nor spiritually. It hopes that according to international law, Afghanistan will secure a port of its own permanently in the near future.

Britain has made the world unliveable.

Hindu (160), 7th Nov.

62. R. M. Relwani writes in the *Hindu* :—In the course of his address to the Jury Mr. Mahomed Ali declared that in hanging them (the accused) Government would be hanging itself. In his parting message to the country Pir Majadid said that India's freedom would mean the freedom of the world. We endorse all this. Britain has made the world unliveable. Although the sun never sets on the British Empire, yet Britain's wicked deeds constitute a dark spot on it. Who is happy under British rule ? There is possibly no instance of oppression and injustice in the world for which Britain is not responsible. The Emperor Carl of Austria is also wanted by the British. The burden of the whole world seems now to be cast on British shoulders. The British might challenge even God one of these days. What have they to do with India and Arabia? They justified their entry into Persia on the ostensible ground of saving it from the Bolsheviks without first putting their own house in order and forgetting that they cannot control the countries already enslaved by them. Did they want to save Persia from the Bolsheviks or did they want the oil-fields of Persia ? Really speaking truth and Britain are as much apart from each other as black is from white. On their way to jail our leaders declared that unless the country practised *swadeshi* there was no hope for it. Should we now remain quiet in the face of this message ?

Guru Dutt Sing of the *Komagata Maru* affair should be liberated by Government.

Lokamánya (114), 25th Nov.

63. The *Lokamánya* refers to the case of Baba Guru Dutt Sing of the *Komagata Maru* affair who has recently voluntarily surrendered himself after successfully evading the C. I. D. for seven years and says that his letter to the District Magistrate of Nankana to whom he surrendered himself shows the purity of his intentions and his strong sense of patriotism and that the enthusiastic reception accorded to him on all sides shows how greatly the people love him. It therefore supports the appeal made by the *Tribune* to Government not to rake up the *Komagata Maru* incident again, as it has now been well nigh forgotten by the people, but to generously liberate him, as he has now become a staunch follower of the non-violent methods of Mr. Gandhi though he was at one time the leader of the Ghadar revolutionary party in America.

Comments on the Washington Conference.

Nusrat (new), 26th Nov.

64. Commenting on the Washington Conference the *Nusrat* writes :—Can we expect anything from the Washington Conference ? Should we hope that Britain and Japan will give up their greed and withdraw from the places that are under their power and control ? Can we think that if Britain continues to suppress the aspirations of Ireland, Iraq, Egypt and India, it will curtail its armaments ? Will it not, on the contrary, spend the last penny in its treasury on troops and destructive armaments ? It is useless to expect such things from the British statesmen, as their land hunger is incurable. Mr. Lloyd George may sing the praises of the Washington Conference ; but he will raise a thousand objections when the question of withdrawing the British troops from Constantinople comes up for discussion. It is impossible for Italy, France and Britain to curtail their armaments, so long as the Bolshevik troops, numbering thousands, are ready to shake the British prestige in the East, and the Islamic world is infuriated against the parties to the Treaty of Sevres, and every Indian is ready to carry on the struggle of non-co-operation in order to attain his birthright.

Comments on the Mulshi Peta *Satyagraha* campaign against the Tata Power Company.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 20th Nov.

***65.** "The Tata Power Company's statement is a frank and full explanation of their attitude on the question of according compensation to the ryots whose lands are required for the lake in which water is to be stored for the hydro-electric project. Their proposals must, we think, strike as fair and even generous to every one who does not hold that under no circumstances should land be acquired for a public purpose except by private negotiation which is cumbrous and impossible when a large area parcelled out into several small holdings has to be taken. No irrigation project can be undertaken and few other considerable projects whose benefits extend to large communities, if this principle were to be accepted. We hope that those who are in a position to advise the ryots concerned will realize that it is not to the interest of the latter to reject the liberal terms now offered by the Company."

Servant of India (8), 24th Nov.

66. "The so-called *satyagraha* movement is going to be initiated in Mulshi Peta immediately. We propose to discuss in a subsequent issue whether Government have taken all the necessary measures to afford relief to the expropriated rayats. But the statement of the Tata Power Company shows clearly that they have now offered what the more reasonable advocates among the Nationalists themselves suggested, *viz.*, arbitration for the purpose of determining the amount of compensation in each case. We know of course that Mr. N. C. Kelkar who made the suggestion is now repudiated as a leader by those who are engaged in this agitation, but it will be sufficient to convince all impartial judges that, on the face of it, there cannot be anything grossly unjust in the method adopted by the Tatas. If the line taken by the Mavlas in this matter, is that their individual interests must weigh more with the State than the interests of the general community and that they must not be dispossessed of their land on any account, it is one which can never appeal to right-minded persons. The poor Mavlas in that case are very badly advised; it is to be hoped that they will yet come to reason, and, instead of adopting such an attitude which no one can support, rather insist upon all facilities being provided to them for re-settlement. Should they persist in a sheer *non possumus* mood they cannot but forfeit the sympathy which is widely felt for them."

The capitalist policy of England is the root of all evil.

Hindusthán (20), 22nd Nov.

67. The *Hindusthán* remarks that England wants to make a show of conferring a great boon on India by sending His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to this country, but as a matter of fact her past as well as present policy is directed solely towards strengthening capitalism and swallowing the territories of other nations or tightening her grip over them. It further remarks that owing to her being captured by capitalism, she cannot give freedom to Ireland, nor can she release those parts of Egypt, India and Turkey which she has wrongfully occupied. The paper declares that many believe that the Washington Conference too will leave matters where they are. The paper then discusses the labour problems facing Europe in general and Great Britain in particular and endeavours to show that capitalism, for which England stands, is the root of all the evil.

Comments on the personnel of the Committee of Inquiry into the working of the Tata Research Institute, Bangalore.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 24th Nov.

68. "The personnel of the Committee which the Government of India have appointed to enquire into the working of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore is announced. All the four members, as well as the Secretary, Dr. Hay, are well fitted to undertake the task assigned to them as members of the committee and we hope their joint labours will be productive of some lasting good to the institution which its illustrious founder had intended to become what the Faraday Institute is to England or the Smithsonian Institution to the United States. We only miss the name of Sir P. C. Ray in the list of members of the Committee. His long and practical experience of industrial research and intimate knowledge of industrial organisation eminently fit Dr. Ray for the task of guiding the deliberations the Committee have in view and it is a wonder to us to find that he has not been included in the Committee. We hope the Government of India are not fighting shy of the great patriot and scientist because of the independence of spirit he displayed as a member of the Chemical Services Organisation Committee. The Government of India would do well to requisition Dr. Ray's services, if they can be conveniently spared for the chairmanship of the proposed enquiry. A Committee presided over by an imported 'expert', however eminent, cannot command the confidence of the country."

Comments on the Viceroy's speech at the second session of the Chamber of Princes.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 22nd Nov.

69. Under the heading "Is it a Chamber of Princes or an assembly of goats" the *Karnátak Vaibhav* writes:—When the Viceroy advised the Princes to conduct the administration of their States on a democratic basis and that autocracy was no longer tolerated as before, the Princes nodded approval like trained bulls. But the subjects of these States know by bitter experience that none of these Princes sincerely tries to put these principles into practice. Had the Government of India shown any regard for the opinions of its subjects, its sermons would have had some effect on the Princes. But, as a matter of fact, the Government of India is autocratic and the advice given by the Viceroy to the Princes is therefore like a sermon on continence preached by a man who passes his days and nights in the society of prostitutes. The Viceroy did not utter a single syllable regarding the subjects of these States. Who is to listen to their grievances? Such Chambers cannot assist them. To ask the Princes to introduce reforms in their States is just like asking the wolf to guard the sheep. The Viceroy has assured the Princes that he will take steps to prevent the Press in British India from criticising them. This being so, how can autocracy on the part of the Indian Princes be put down? We warn the Government of India and the Indian Princes that autocracy has never lasted long, and that a Government which is autocratic is bound to come to grief in no long time.

Sauráshtra (new), 19th Nov.

70. The *Sauráshtra* says that the political awakening among their subjects is not tolerated by the Indian Princes, and that they try to gag every writer and speaker and are enraged if any of their administrative affairs become public through the press. The paper remarks that they have not been able to stop this even by mutual understanding and have now sought protection from the British Government. The Viceroy, it adds, has told them that it is not possible to put any check upon the liberty of speech and of the Press, yet, it sarcastically remarks, His Excellency is "considering" the matter. It further adds:—How can the Viceroy ungratefully disregard the burden of obligation of untold money spent at the cost of the people? His Excellency is considering. [The paper then asks the question whether the Viceroy ever "considers" the oppressions of Jamnagar Bikaner and other States and proceeds:—] The Princes ask for protection. If they get this protection, then only can Morbi freely swallow the lands of its Bhayats, then only can Jamnagar freely tyrannize, then only can the bureaucracy of Dhrangadhra last, then only can Kolhápur fearlessly oppress Brahmins, then only can the farmers of Vijolia be subjected to outrage. And is the Viceroy an outsider? Give a few parties, spend a few lakhs on the Prince of Wales, raise Imperial troops. His Excellency is a very good man, he is "considering". He is "considering" the question of fettering and gagging the public. And why? Because the Chiefs are asking for protection.

Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande at Dharwar.

Mahrátta (6), 27th Nov.; *Kesari* (110), 29th Nov.

***71.** "So at last Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande has been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment under Section 124-A. The conviction of Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande was a foregone conclusion. The Judge himself is at sea as to whether the speech would constitute the offence. He says it in so many words that 'before discussing the question, it would be as well to point out that there had been to my mind some confusion as to what constitutes an offence under Section 124-A.' With this frame of mind, he discusses the case and thinks that Mr. Deshpande's criticism of the Government exceeded the bounds of fair criticism so far as his remarks regarding the Dhárwár shooting case is concerned. In his opinion, Mr. Gangadharrao's offence is—to put it in a nut-shell—that he criticised and labelled the justice in the Dhárwár case as Yamraj. Being concerned in that case it is no wonder that the Sessions Judge was very touchy on the point and he concludes that his criticisms exceeded the bounds of fair criticism and as such they cannot but bring the Government into hatred and contempt. He gives up the whole case when he says at the end of the judgment that this was a test case, and one who goes through the evidence, the verdict with reasons given, by the assessors, is convinced that there was a miscarriage of justice; but the whole nation will look upon it—as a true non-co-operating Nation ought to—with complete indifferences because they have already lost their faith in that justice." [The *Kesari* also makes similar remarks.

Lokamánya (114), 25th Nov.

72. The *Lokamánya* protests against the sentence of six months' simple imprisonment passed on Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande by the Sessions Judge of Dhárwár disregarding the verdict of not guilty given by the assessors, and declares that the evidence necessary for conviction under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code was so completely lacking in the case that even a European jury in the Bombay High Court would have refrained from giving a verdict of guilty. The sentence passed in the case the paper considers to be somewhat light as compared with the sentences passed in other cases of sedition and it surmises that it has been given in pursuance of the policy of Government not to allow a big fish once caught in a net to escape. The same policy was in evidence, it holds, in the proceedings against the Ali Brothers.

Indu Prakásh (43), 25th Nov.

73. The *Indu Prakásh* is grieved that Deshpande has been sentenced by the Sessions Judge, Dhárwár, in spite of the assessors declaring him 'not guilty'. It declares that the Judge was wrong in exercising his discretion in disregarding the verdict of the assessors and says that it is unable to express its satisfaction at the comparative lightness of the sentence as Mr. Deshpande deserved, as a matter of fact, to be acquitted. It protests against the injustice done to him and expresses the hope that Government would intervene and acquit him, in view of the fact that he offered no defence and that he has been declared not guilty by the assessors.

Comments on the judgment in the Malegaon Riot Case.

Karnátak Mitra (34), 17th Nov.

74. Referring to the judgment in the Malegaon Riot Case, the *Karnátak Mitra* makes the following comments:—From the results of the trial it is evident that the bureaucracy has entered on a crusade against non-co-operators. We did not think that the rioters would be punished so very mercilessly. The police themselves caused these riots in the first instance; for, had they not provoked the people by firing upon them, the disturbances would not have attained such serious proportions. To-day the Indian people are under the evil influence of Satan and so the people of Malegaon have to suffer for the misdeeds of the police who were the primary cause of the Malegaon riots.

Comments on the result of the Karachi trial and the treatment given to the leaders in jail.

Bháratwási (157), 5th Nov.

75. It is good that the Government have withdrawn the proceedings against Mr. Mahomed Ali and his brother under sections 124 and 153. There are two things to be noted with regard to the results of the recent trials of leaders at Karáchi. The people will now realize that the British Courts are not "satanic" after all but that they are dispensers of justice. All this is to the good. What, however, does no credit to Government is that although the charge under section 131 could not be sustained, the accused have been convicted under section 505 only. We think that a man should not be convicted under section 505 unless his offence falls under section 131 also. On this ground, we would suggest, that the accused should be let off. In this connection we would ask why political prisoners are treated in the same way as ordinary prisoners are treated and secondly why political prisoners in one province get better treatment than political prisoners in another province. We ask these questions in view of the treatment given to Mahomed Ali and others in the Karáchi Jail. It is the duty of the Government of India to see to it that political prisoners are treated alike in all provinces and that they are treated not as ordinary prisoners are treated. However much we may differ from the Muslim leaders, recently sent to jail, in their political views, we cannot but sympathize with them in the treatment that they are allowed in jail. They are not criminals in the ordinary sense. They are suffering because of their adherence to certain ideals. If the jail regulations are not changed, and that too at a very early date, the people will think that the Government are actuated by a feeling of revenge in treating political prisoners in the manner in which they are being treated. The present times are critical times and the more Government acts wisely the better for them.

Comments on the consumption of liquor in the Presidency.

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 25th Nov.

76. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* welcomes the announcement that the picketing movement has been stopped indefinitely. It then refers to the report of the Excise Department of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1920-21 and remarks that it is good that the consumption of liquor is reduced but that the reasons given for the reduction are unsatisfactory. It adds that they show that the consumption of liquor has been reduced not because people are convinced of the advantages of temperance but because of economic causes. It asks those who try to compel people by force to give up drinking to study the figures of the smuggling of cocaine and exhorts them to beware that they may not introduce a greater evil in their zeal to remove a smaller one. It hopes that the excise committee will investigate into the reasons why there is an increase in the consumption of liqour in Bombay City and suggest remedies for its reduction.

The effects of picketing in Bombay.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 25th Nov.

77. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the decision of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee to suspend the picketing of liquor-shops. It is of opinion that the burning of liquor-shops during the recent riots was indirectly due to picketing and recognises the danger involved in instituting picketing in a city like Bombay. It notes with regret that certain *badmashes* had enrolled themselves as picketers and had proved a terror both to the liquor-shop-keepers and their customers and that they had also threatened to burn the liquor-shops before the riots. The paper then refers to the damage done by the burning of liquor-shops by the rioters and declares that picketing proved a curse to the people rather than a blessing. It hopes picketing will be given up altogether and steps will be taken to educate public opinion in the matter of temperance.

Protest against the scheme of proportionate pension for the higher Indian services.

Lokamánya (114), 25th Nov.

78. The *Lokamánya* points out that the scale of proportionate pensions for members of the higher services sanctioned by Mr. Montagu has been utterly condemned by all parties in India as casting an unjustifiable and heavy burden on the Indian revenues. Why should these rebellious servants, it asks, be granted pensions higher than those to which they are entitled under medical certificate, under the old rules ? Mr. Montagu is doing double injustice to India, the paper says, by granting overliberal pensions to the rebels and by filling their posts by fully paid men. Will he, the paper asks, do at least partial justice to India by ordering the appointment of Indians to posts vacated by the men going on pension under the new scheme ?

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Comments on the Railway tragedy in Malabár . . . . 54—59
Comments on the treatment of political prisoners 68
Comments on the treaty with Afghanistan . . . . 62—67
Hindus should unite to defend their religion. 70
The affairs in Malabar and the attitude of Government towards the Moplahs 60
The danger to India of Capitalism and Imperialism 69
The Moplah riots 61

His Excellency the Viceroy:

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the deputation of Delhi Musalmans . . . . 1—7
Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Punjáb Chamber of Commerce. . . . . 8—12

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales:

Comments on the King's Message 48
Comments on the foundation stone ceremonies of the Shivaji and Maratha memorials . . . . 49 & 50
The Láhore Municipality and Prince of Wales's visit to the city . . 53
The visit of the Prince of Wales . . . . 51 & 52
Indians in the colonies: The status of Indians in Kenya 76

Judicial matters:

Comments on the Dhárwár Sessions Judge's judgment in the Deshpande case 78
Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Muhomed Khan of Karáchi . 77

Non-co-operation:

Appeal to Government to prohibit the Ahmedabad sessions of the Congress under Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act . 29
Appeal to Parsis and Christians who have suffered during the riots to refrain from seeking relief through Courts of Law. . . . 44
Comments on the Bombay riots . . . . 31—43
Comments on the Government Press Note "A message to the Dheds" 30
Comments on the Government Press Note on the attitude of the Police and the Military during the Bombay riots . . . . 45—47

B 282—6 CON

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation—concld.

- Comments on the repressive measures taken in various provinces against the — movement . . . 13—15
- Comments on the suppression of Congress and Khilafat Volunteers in various centres in India . . . 16—20
- Doings of non-co-operators responsible for repression by Government . 21
- Proposed modification of the — programme . . . 28
- Resolution regarding volunteers passed by the Working Committee of the Congress . . . 27
- The All-India Congress Committee and civil disobedience . . . 25 & 26
- The aims and effects of the — movement . . . 22
- The movement in India is not revolutionary and should not be repressed by Government . . . 23
- The evils of the — movement. . . . 24

Police: Protest against the increase of sporting clubs in the mill area in Bombay. . . . 71

Public Service:

- Comments on Lord Sinha's resignation . . . 72 & 73
- Protest against the grant of proportionate pensions to the I.C.S. . . 74 & 75

War:

- Prospects of the revision of the Turkish treaty . . . 80
- Relations between England and Turkey. . . . 79

EDUCATION—

- Compulsory primary education being delayed without excuse . . . 82
- Protest against the closing of the Primary School Teachers' Training School at Bijápur . . . 81

MUNICIPALITIES—

- The position of Municipal bodies under the new Reforms . . . 83

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the deputation of Delhi Musalmans.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 2nd Dec.

1. "At such a juncture as this the question that is uppermost in the minds of all Muslims is this: Are British statesmen prepared to do the right and just thing so as to re-establish that understanding with Islam which is the only solid ground for British influence in India ?....... What policy Britain is going to adopt depends entirely on Mr. Lloyd George. Muslims, however, have no trust in him; for he has broken his word to them. They cannot rely on him to do the right thing. There are only two individuals high in the counsels of the British Government who can, if they so wish, keep him on the right path that will lead to a complete reconciliation of the Islamic world to the British Empire. They are Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading. They stand for Asia in the counsels of the Empire. Will they speak in no uncertain terms with the voice of Asia ?...... Lord Reading in his speech on Wednesday gave a welcome assurance, with the full authority of his Government, that he has already done his utmost to urge modifications with regard to international control of Constantinople, the grant of Smyrna and Thrace to Greece, and the abolition of the religious sovereignty of the Khalifat over the Holy places of Islam, and has used, and will continue to use, such influence as he possesses to make them effective. Unfortunately, the assurance is accompanied by certain reservations which considerably reduce its value to Indian Muslims. Lord Reading says that the solution of the problem does not depend on him or his Government, nor even on the British Government. The statement, we confess, comes to us as a great surprise, especially in view of recent developments....... Now that France has made peace with Turkey and Italy has declared it will follow suit, what prevents Great Britain from putting an end to the agony of the Turkish people ? We deeply regret that Lord Reading has attempted to breathe fresh life into the diplomatic fiction about Britain's 'Allies' standing in the way of a fair and equitable peace with Turkey. Would Lord Reading tell the Indian Muslims who these 'Allies' are who prevent Great Britain from making peace with Turkey ?...... We see none, unless the Viceroy has in view Tino and his discredited ministers. Is it for the sake of these 'Allies' that the British Government are prepared to disregard the views of seventy millions of Indian Muslims and the justice of Turkish claims ? Kemal Pasha has declared that the Nationalists will not be satisfied with anything short of abrogation of the Treaty of Sevres and restoration to Turkey of Constantinople, the Straits, Thrace and Smyrna. Is Britain opposed to the acceptance of these claims ? If she is not, why do not His Excellency and His Majesty's Ministers take the Muslim world into their confidence, knowing as they must that such an avowal can do nobody any harm at this hour of day, but, on the other hand, is bound to have a tremendous pacifying effect on the East, which is waiting to know what Britain's real intentions are ?...... For this assurance the Indian Muslims and the entire world have waited for nearly two years without avail. Indian Muslims would trust Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading by themselves They know that both of them fully sympathise with their wrongs and are anxious to see them redressed. But they still speak with a hesitating voice. They are still under the spell of the little Welsh Wizard....... They have not yet risen to the full height of their position as the only representatives of Asia in the counsels of the British Empire. They have not spoken firmly and publicly with the voice of India to England, speaking her whole mind, in the same way as the Government of any British Dominion would do. Lord Reading, if he has fully identified himself with Indian sentiment on the subject, must speak out in the same tone as did Lord Hardinge on a famous occasion in regard to the position of Indians in South Africa. His speech on Wednesday was a considerable advance on the platitudes he indulged in at Simla, but it is not enough. And it was marred by a fling, as ill-advised as it was gratuitous, at 'the revolutionary agitation' of 'Extremists'. We have no desire to belittle the efforts of the Government of India or to be so ungracious as to examine too critically the claim of Lord Reading that 'the continued representations' by them 'have not failed to have effect on the British Government'. But we cannot help saying that the statement that these representations 'might have acquired even greater strength but for the agitation of extremists' is calculated to provoke the fair retort that but for the strong resistance of the Turkish Nationalists and their triumph, all the reverential efforts of the Government of India to induce the British Government to modify the Turkish Treaty would have been unavailing."

Hindusthán (20), 2nd Dec.

2. The *Hindusthán* declares that the Indian Moslems are not likely to be satisfied by the 'honeyed words' used by Lord Reading in his reply to the address of the deputation of the Muslim Community of Delhi. It agrees with His Excellency that the day of settlement of the Turkish question is approaching, but thinks that this is not due so much to any voluntary relaxation of the treaty of Sevres on the part of the British Cabinet as to the situation brought about by the heroic stand of Kemal Pasha against Greece and the declaration of independence by Persia and Afghanistan and the general awakening in Asia.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 2nd Dec.

3. The *Bombay Samáchár* considers the address presented by the Moslem community of Delhi to Lord Reading as a frank and emphatic statement of the Moslem demands in respect of the modification of the treaty of Sevres and believes that Lord Reading's reply thereto makes it clear that it has made an impression upon him. The paper then proceeds to discuss the views expressed in the address and opines that once the question of the Khilafat is satisfactorily brought to an end it would not be difficult for the Government of India and Mr. Gandhi to solve the questions of the Punjab wrongs and *swaráj* in consultation with the popular leaders. The paper therefore urges upon Lord Reading the necessity of placing before the British Cabinet the objections of the Indian Moslems to the international control over Constantinople, to the grant of Smyrna and Thrace to Greece and to the abolition of the religious suzerainty of the Khalif over the Holy places of Islam, and it exhorts His Excellency to give the Cabinet to understand that he will not be able to carry out his mission of establishing peace and order in India if the Khilafat question is not solved to the satisfaction of the Indian Moslems.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 2nd Dec.

4. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expects the Viceroy's reply to the Delhi Moslem Deputation to produce a good effect upon the Moslem community. It declares that looking to the fact that the Indian Government has no voice in matters touching the British Empire's foreign policy, the people of India cannot expect the Viceroy to do anything more than represent the Moslem case as strongly as he can. The paper says that the Indian Government can have no share in the final decision. In these circumstances, says the paper, there is no wisdom in refusing to co-operate with the Government so long as it exerts its weight and influence to its utmost in favour of the Moslem demands and it exhorts the Musalmans not to weaken the Viceroy's hands by persisting in their extremist agitation. In conclusion the paper points out that the Afghan treaty shows that the Musalmans cannot expect to get a Viceroy more sympathetic and just to their aspirations than Lord Reading.

New Times (7), 28th Nov.

5. "'The Government of India', says Lord Reading, 'are very conscious of their power and their strength'. It is this canker of a power-cult which is at the root of the bureaucratic administration. What the *swaráj* movement, as we understand it, aims at is to show that there must be a moral basis of government. Where this basis is lacking, there will be misgovernment....... The officials may organise big functions for the Prince; the truth cannot be concealed. Ask the people in towns and villages. The majority of them will tell you :—We are unhappy ; we want a better system. And in the hearts of many is imprisoned a strong feeling that the bureaucracy must go. Of Tewfik Pasha it is said that he was watching one day a review of British troops in Egypt ; he turned to one of his ministers and said :—'Do you suppose I like this ? I tell you I never see an English sentinel in my street without longing to jump out of my carriage and strangle him with my own hands.' And wild thoughts are growing, too, among several young men in this country. Not a few ask to-day :—'When is the Revolution going to happen ?' It is no answer to the situation to say :—'The Government of India are very conscious of their power and their strength'. You must

come to terms with the Nation. Peace and order are real only when they express the mind of the people. Armed peace is a spurious peace....... The rule of a nation by another nation is an unnatural phenomenon. It means arrested nationhood; it means exploitation of the weak by the strong. It was Ruskin who pointed out, over a generation ago, that 'every mutiny, every danger, every terror, every crime occurring under our Indian legislation arose directly out of our desire to live on the loot of India'. We all condemn disorder. Does Lord Reading ask himself how far the present system is responsible for 'disorder'?"

Nusrat (new), 5th Dec.

***6.** Commenting on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Musalmans of Delhi the *Nusrat* remarks that the allies have always been friendly towards Turkey but the delay in the solution of Turkish problem is merely due to the policy of the British statesmen, but in spite of this it is always reported from Delhi or Simla that the British attitude is sympathetic towards the Musalmans. It is of opinion that His Excellency the Viceroy has only repeated the old facts which have already greatly taxed the patience of the Musalmans who are at a loss to understand as to how long they will have to wait. It adds that the English newspapers state that Italy is ready to follow France but it is surprised to see that those who boast of their sympathy with the Musalmans, demand an explanation from France instead of joining it in helping the Musalmans. It states that the truth is that the agitation of the Musalmans of the whole world has compelled the allies to refrain from destroying the solitary secular Islamic power now existing.

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 2nd Nov.

7. The *Dnyán Prakásh* referring to the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of Delhi Muhammadans remarks that it is very hopeful, and adds that the Governments both of Lord Chelmsford and Lord Reading have consistently supported the demands of Indian Muhammadans in regard to the Turkish peace. It endorses His Excellency's remark that the representations of the Government of India to the Imperial Government would have acquired still greater strength but for the agitation of the Extremists.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce.

Gujaráti (14), 5th Dec., Eng. cols.

***8.** "His Excellency the Viceroy, in his reply to the deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce, availed himself of the opportunity to declare the future policy of the Government in view of the events that have happened in India. Without security and tranquillity there can be no confidence, and no moral and material progress is possible without such confidence in the public mind.......... The citizens of Bombay had four days' convincingly bitter experience of what is involved in disorders and breaches of the public peace. Every citizen is, therefore, interested in the maintenance of peace and order and the vindication of the ordinary law of the land, and no civilised Government can afford to neglect its primary obligation to protect peaceful, law abiding citizens against violence, coercion or intimidation or other breaches of law.......... One set of thinkers feels that Government are too weak to do the needful in order to suppress violent tendencies or actual outbursts of violence; another is apt to complain that the action of Government is too severe or provocative. It is not an easy feat to hit upon the golden mean even in those countries in which the population is more homogeneous, and it is, indeed, very difficult to achieve it in India...... The Government of India are prepared to take the necessary measures for stopping the political activity of those who seek to impose their will upon the country by such unlawful means. At the same time they are anxious 'to redress all legitimate grievances and to remove the grounds of popular discontent'. What the preventive and remedial measures are going to be remains to be seen. The first move seems to be in the direction of declaring illegal certain volunteer associations in Calcutta and the United Provinces, which are alleged to have transgressed due bounds of law. Whether Lord Reading's Government have any legislative measure in view is not known. But all law-abiding citizens, who wish to see India marching along steady and sure lines of progress, will no doubt support Government in all just and legitimate measures for the maintenance of peace and order in the country."

Servant of India (8), 1st Dec.

9. "In the policy which the Bengal and United Provinces Governments have initiated, they have, as it now appears from Lord Reading's reply to the Deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce, the unwavering support of the Government of India. The Viceroy warned the country on this occasion that 'the full strength of the Government would if necessary be exerted for vindicating the law and preserving order'. He claimed that the Government had till now sought to avoid action which might either be misconceived or misrepresented as too severe or as provocative and disclaimed the intention even now to interfere with the lawful activities of political parties, but he intimated that Government would not hereafter hesitate to take action that might be necessitated by the course of events. It must be admitted that no fair-minded person can refuse his testimony to the policy of forbearance which Lord Chelmsford's Government inaugurated in regard to the movement of non-co-operation and to which, on the whole, Lord Reading's Governmeut has loyally adhered till now. But that policy is now to be changed for one of 'vindication of the law', and if the present turn of events justifies this change, we hope that the Government will speedily return to its old policy and will discard the one which it has been forced to adopt. On the other hand we fear that Mr. Gandhi is not going to desist for long from the inauguration of civil disobedience....... One should not wonder if Mr. Gandhi declared his conviction after a few days that the nation had learnt the lesson of non-violence, if not thoroughly, at least well enough to enable him to commence passive resistance without danger to the preservation of peace, and started it. It, therefore, becomes all the more incumbent upon us, in view of the changed policy of Government, to press the view which we advanced before—that the best means of counteracting the new movement is to leave it alone till there is immediate danger of order being overthrown. If non-co-operation is to be killed, it should be killed not by the superior material force which Government can always bring into requisition, but by the will of the people themselves. We hope, therefore, non-co-operation will yet be given free scope—so long as it is kept within the limits mentioned above."

Hindusthán (20), 29th Nov.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 28th Nov.

10. The *Hindusthán* criticises the reply given by His Excellency Lord Reading to the Punjab Chamber of Commerce and opines that it furnishes a positive proof of the fact that the policy of repression adopted by the provincial rulers has the sanction and authority of the Government of India. The paper declares that there was no violence, force or intimidation used by the non-co-operators during the *hartal* that was observed in Calcutta on the 17th November and that even though some persons passing under the guise of non-co-operators created the recent disturbances in Bombay they were quelled by the popular leaders without the help of the Police and the Military. The paper then recounts the various measures adopted by Provincial Governments which the paper considers as acts of repression and thinks it sheer mockery on the part of Lord Reading to have complimented himself on having shown patience towards popular agitation. It wonders whether Government mean to adopt a still more repressive policy and hopes that better counsels will prevail and Government will resort to a policy of conciliation with a view to establishing peace and good order in the country. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expects the Viceroy's speech before the Punjab Chamber of Commerce declaring Government's readiness to protect law-abiding subjects to produce the proper effect in the desired quarters. It does not see any difference between these words of the Viceroy and the words used by Mr. Gandhi in some of his recent writings. It expects the peaceful public to welcome the assurance of the Viceroy that Government will suppress the adoption of unlawful and oppressive measures by impatient non-co-operators. The paper in conclusion earnestly hopes that this assurance will be welcome even to Mr. Gandhi and that he will also consider it as strengthening his hands.]

Lokamánya (114), 30th Nov.

11. The *Lokamánya* dwells on Lord Reading's announcement in the course of his reply to the Punjab Chamber of Commerce that Government would not hesitate to put forth its fullest strength to put down all attempts to prevent people from following their daily avocations, etc., and on the proscription of the nationalist

volunteer organisations in Bengal, Punjab, Delhi, etc., and says that if the *Tribune's* conjecture that the repressive measures are being undertaken to prevent incidents similar to those at Bombay from disfiguring the Prince's visit to those provinces be true, Government is acting in the wrong direction. For, it points out, the influence of the leaders of non-co-operators has been found to be of greater use in restoring peace in Bombay than the measures adopted by the Police or the Military. While the non-co-operators, it says, are for peace and order, it is always an easy matter for the protagonists of repression to create disorders with the help of the lower ranks of the Police and their friends the hooligans. It is therefore the duty of those who want to see peace preserved during the Prince's visit, the paper observes, not to come in the way of the followers of Mr. Gandhi. It appears from the *Capital*, the paper thinks, that the European merchants of Calcutta have got extremely annoyed by the complete *hartal* observed at Calcutta on the 17th which showed that the city was more under the control of the national volunteers than that of the authorities. It seems from the description of the *hartal* given by the *Capital*, the paper points out, that India no longer likes the rule of the bureaucracy but wants the *swarájya* of the Congress. If the *hartal* was carried out peacefully where was the necessity, the paper asks, of proscribing the volunteer organisation ? It calls attention to the opinion of a moderate paper like the *Leader* that such repression is never successful in its object and to the civil disobedience already launched by prominent Sikhs at Amritsar in connection with the prohibitory orders against meetings, and expresses regret that Lord Reading should have allowed himself to fall a victim to the arguments put forward by the Punjab Chamber of Commerce in favour of repression. Elsewhere the paper refers to the repressive measures being taken in Bengal against the volunteer organisations and declares that the policy being pursued by Lord Ronaldshay will only result in making the *hartal* in Calcutta on the 24th December, the day of the Prince's arrival there, even more complete than that which took place on 17th November. As a prospect of this, it points out, even the *bhangis* of the city are going to observe *hartal* on that day and have refused to bend to the compulsion on the part of the local municipality. It is unable to understand what the Governor wants to achieve by giving a grand welcome to the Prince with such repressive measures in force in the city as it would be practically impossible to hide fact of the *hartal* from the Prince's notice. If any thing, the paper says, it means that the bureaucracy is courting its own downfall by these senseless measures. It thinks that the policy being followed in Bengal is likely to hasten the launching of civil disobedience in that province.

Sind Observer (9), 28th Nov.

12. "To those who have watched the doings of the various provincial Governments in dealing with the off-shoots of the non-co-operation movement, the decision of His Excellency the Viceroy to exert the full powers of his Government in suppressing violence and vindicating law and order will not come as a surprise. It must be admitted that His Excellency has shown much forebearance, discretion and wisdom in allowing the movement of Mr. Gandhi to go on unchecked. The riots in Bombay, the disturbances at Howrah and the *hartal* on the day of the Prince's landing have exhausted the patience of the Government.......... But is repression the remedy ? Call it by any name, just as the rose smells sweet, the assertion of law and order will be construed by the public as repression ; it may be stark repression, it may be quite justifiable repression, it is all the same. We regret the decision of His Excellency the Viceroy. The non-co-operator will hail this, because it means, if his hopes are not belied, numbers of recruits to his camp. This is what history in India, and no less elsewhere, has taught us. But all those that wish steady progress and the generation of a spirit of contentment in the country by the solution of its troubles will not fail to detect signs of harm in this policy, were it successful...... From the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy it is clear that, in spite of his stay for over nine months in our midst, he has not diagnosed the real disease aching the country or that he is prescribing a wrong specific. He entirely omits in the course of his reply to the Punjab Chamber of Commerce any mention of a hope that the Khilafat question will be solved to the satisfaction of Muslims and that an announcement will be made regarding *swaráj*. This is the minimum which the reasoning and reasonable section of Indians want. Are we to understand that the Prince's visit, as the Viceroy said a few days ago, is merely and simply ceremonial and that no announcement regarding a date by which India will get *swaráj* will be made? Then, it is a serious omission, and many who hope to live on hope will feel sorry for it."

Comments on the repressive measures taken in various provinces against the non-co-operation movement.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 4th Dec.

***13.** "The Viceroy's reply to the address presented to him by a deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce has been interpreted as foreshadowing a change of policy.......... The surmise that a change of policy in regard to political movements is indicated, rests upon the concluding remarks of the Viceroy. We do not think that the words necessarily imply that there is to be a change of policy ...... The Non-co-operators have undoubtedly misused their opportunity and the volume of opinion against their methods today is not confined to those who have been opposed to their principles. Mr. Jayakar's address is a clear indication of what their best men think of these methods. We are sorry that Mahatma Gandhi has failed to read the changed temper of the country and that he has banged the door on a revision of methods in the last *Young India* where he writes: 'Friends have misunderstood the meaning of the peace that I have referred to in my second appeal. The peace I want has to be made by non-co-operators. It does not mean surrender of principle or policy so as to find a common platform for work. That in my opinion is an impossible task, for the methods of the various groups are so radically different. When one party finds it for the good of the country to enter the councils and another to abstain, there is no meeting ground.' This is a slap in the face not only of friends who had 'misunderstood the meaning of peace' in the Mahatma's second appeal, but, and chiefly, of workers like Mr. Jayakar who had expressly indicated the method of not entering the councils as one to be discarded in the interests of the Congress party. In the face of this distinct repudiation of any revision of his methods by the Mahatma, in the face of Malegaon, Malabar and Bombay, which are all manifestations of the same cause, it is impossible to maintain that no further measures are needed to safeguard the life, liberty and property of peaceful citizens. But we hope that the Viceroy has some better plan in view than falling back upon the old, indiscriminate Press and other repressive laws. These laws have failed, it is clear. They are, in fact, responsible for adding to the volume of discontent which has now become organised in the non-co-operation movement which, whatever its faults, does not foster secret plotting. To stay their repealing programme, would be a great mistake on the part of Government.......... In India, it has been no uncommon thing for laws made for a special contingency to be used on occasions not contemplated at the time of their enactment. A general reversion to the repressive regime, will, therefore, in no wise improve matters. Whatever new measures are adopted, they should be effectually safeguarded against operating as a check on anything except the specific evil which they are meant to combat. This will be no easy thing to do, but it must be done, otherwise the remedy will be worse than the disease. Instead of detaching non-co-operation of its objectionable features, it will embarrass co-operation by making it an adjunct of coercion. It behoves the Government of India to walk warily because they cannot absolve themselves wholly from the charge of having contributed to the present situation by their dilatoriness, on the one hand, and precipitancy, on the other. The precipitancy has been in urging the visit of the Prince of Wales before the political sky was absolutely clear. The dilatoriness has been in remedying grievances and responding to the growing aspirations of the people for an equal status in India and the Empire. The public can judge of the anxiety of Government to redress wrongs only by the extent to which these have been redressed. The disposal of the question of the Punjab prisoners, for instance, ought not to have taken eight months. Men who do not care much for the Khilafat nor desiderate the advent of *swaráj* within the year, speak indignantly of the tardy justice meted out to the martial law offenders. Disappointment itself is a less hardship as compared to suspense. The two other demands in this matter are the stoppage of the pensions of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer, and the dismissal of some four officers guilty of gross oppression during the Martial Law regime. Surely, the peaceful relations of the Government and the people of India are more important than the susceptibilities of half a dozen persons."

Mahrátta (6), 4th Dec.

***14.** After referring to the measures adopted by the Governments of Bengal, the Punjab and Delhi to counteract the non-co-operation movement, the *Mahrátta* writes :—"For a time we thought that these ebullitions were the outcome of local Government's policies. But Lord Reading's recent speech at Delhi has shown that the present manifestation of repressive mood is a deliberate act which has not only the active consent, but the wholehearted support of the Central Government. Thus from the centre to the circumference, the motive power to suppress and down-press the National movement, is being supplied....... To the keen observer it will be clear that the English bureaucracy has finally torn the veil with which it so long clothed its intentions. It has declared war against those who aspire and attempt for Indian freedom. The specious pleas of maintaining law and obedience to constituted authority, are no longer available to the Government; for it has shown itself to be hostile to National bodies that are pledged to non-violence. The Government is in a war mood and will neither give nor ask for quarter. Its solemn bombast will delude or deceive nobody. It has broken its word and has not the courage to say so. It is not going to learn anything from history. It repudiates experience with contempt. It is in exactly that mood which goes before the fall. It has spurned reconciliation as an act of weakness. It has embraced force, brute-force. Political wisdom is banished from its counsels. For this nation, this is an hour of trial. The very ideal for which India stands, is at stake. A time like this requires brave hearts which prison-walls cannot conquer, honest intellects which force cannot drive into compromise. The presiding deity of India's fate shall bring forth the man for the hour. We have faith in our Nation's destiny. Our ancient Nation is not going to submit like a poor rat. Fallen but pround, sullen but dignified, it is up in bloodless revolt against the system on which selfishness and hypocrisy are writ large. India is determined to win, no matter at what sacrifice. There is conflagration abroad, but the Neros are still fiddling the co-operation tune. The psychological moment is come and we humbly pray to God, the rock of help in ages past, to grant our erring brethren wisdom and us courage!"

Gujaráti (14), 4th Dec.

***15.** The *Gujaráti* discusses the various causes that have led to the loss of public confidence in Government and that ultimately drove the Congress to adopt the policy of non-co-operation. It then narrates how the non-co-operators on their part showed a spirit of intolerance in hissing out moderate leaders, boycotting newspapers opposed to their views and burning foreign cloth, etc., which stimulated a spirit of violence and unrest in the masses which broke out in a violent form in Malegaon, Malabár and finally in Bombay and compelled Mr. Gandhi to confess his inability to lead a campaign of mass civil disobedience. In the paper's opinion it is this flaw in the popular movement and Mr. Gandhi's confession of weakness that have strengthened the position of Government and emboldened Lord Reading to express his determination to maintain peace and order and to vindicate the law. The paper warns Lord Reading that people will again think of resorting to civil disobedience if he does not take proper precautions to ensure a policy of justice and humanity. It points out the steps taken by some of the provincial Governments to prohibit public meetings and to declare national volunteer corps as unlawful as examples of the misuse of powers by the authorities and expresses the hope that Lord Reading will take care to see that the legitimate political activities of the people are not suppressed in any way and that his promise of protecting peaceful citizens from molestation does not degenerate into mere stopping of the picketing of shops dealing in foreign cloth.

Comments on the suppression of Congress and Khilafat volunteers in various centres in India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 3rd Dec.

16. "We venture to offer the sympathetic advice that officials must guard themselves against being unbalanced by the exigencies of the Royal visit. The advise is relevant, for the excitation of rejoicings which is considered necessary for success, is a hard proposition in the present conditions of India. Local Governments have, besides arranging receptions and decorations, to silence all protest and create the happy background of a calm atmosphere. The creation of a calm atmosphere is difficult as a meteorological experiment, but it has to be done. Lord

Ronaldshay was early in perceiving the need of first-class bureaucratic preparation, and on the model His Excellency has set, every place visited by the Prince will be found, not though by the Prince, to be in a state of quasi-military dictatorship. But the Anglo-Indian Press wants to make the best of it, by including in the preparations the violent suppression of the Congress and its auxiliary organisations. We agree that if any vestige of the freedom of opinion is allowed in any locality honoured by the Royal visit, the declarations of complete gratification would sink into a whisper beside the expression of popular sentiment. Therefore, it is that we find the edifying forethought with which officialdom in many parts of the country is suppressing all freedom of opinion in advance. The panicky preparations of Bengal are a testimony to the real judgment of the people that the visit is, in the present plight of the country, inadvisable and inopportune; and for them, the entry of the Royal Visitor has been preceded by the suppression of free speech and the destruction of the right of association."

Swarájya (Marathi) (147), 1st Dec.

17. The unity displayed by the people in observing the *hartal* on the 17th of November has struck terror into the hearts of all Government Officials. This *hartal* has given the people an excellent idea of their latent power. The authorities never expected that there would be such a universal *hartal* on the 17th and they have now become panic stricken. They are repeating their old mistakes and are also making new ones. They have resorted to repression and have declared volunteer organizations unlawful in three of the provinces. They believe that *hartals* are due to the activities of volunteers. But how very mistaken they are! They should have known that it is they who are responsible for the *hartals* and for the change that has now come over the people. If repression had been able to conduce to the permanence of an empire, then no empire would ever have come to an end. But the English still cherish the delusion that they can do anything they like in India by resorting to repression. The foolish physician who persists in prescribing his *nostrum* of repression after its inefficacy has been proved, is evidently not fit to continue his practise.

Hindusthán (20), 26th Nov.

18. The *Hindusthán* praises the efficient manner in which the *hartal* was organised in Calcutta by the volunteers of the Congress and believes that the notification issued by the Government of Bengal declaring the volunteer corps as unlawful and prohibiting public meetings and processions was mainly due to the instigation of the local Anglo-Indian Press. The paper approves of the manifesto issued by a thousand respectable persons in Bengal refuting the allegations made against the volunteer corps and proclaiming that they have joined it and wishes that respectable persons in the United Provinces and Punjab, where a similar policy of repression has been adopted against the popular volunteer corps, will also issue a manifesto similar to the one issued by the Bengalis.

Kesari (110), 29th Nov.

19. The *Kesari* regrets that the expectations entertained by the public in view of the opening of the regime of a justice-loving Viceroy and the presence of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in the country that the bureaucracy would not, at the present juncture at least, make a fresh exhibition of its old oppressive proclivities have not been fulfilled. It fails to understand why the national volunteer organisations in Bengal, Punjab, Delhi and elsewhere have been proscribed and declares that this repressive campaign has been launched by the bureaucracy in a fit of exasperation at being nonplussed by the complete *hartal* observed at Calcutta on the day of the Prince of Wales' landing in Bombay. It however points out that not only were there no riots in Calcutta on that day like those in Bombay but the local volunteers rendered willing assistance in preserving order there. The activities of the Congress and Khilafat volunteers all over the the country, it declares, have been of a peaceful and lawful character and therefore in its opinion the all-pervading orders that have been issued for their suppression are utterly indefensible. At the same time it thinks that no apprehensions need be entertained about the effects of the repressive policy launched by Government as the nationalist movements are likely to receive a fresh impetus from it. The *swarájya* agitation is now incapable of being put down by Government by its present policy, the paper declares, as the Hindu-Muslim unity is complete and the uneducated classes are even more anxious for the achievement of *swarájya* than the educated, and the commercial classes too are prepared to undergo self-sacrifice for it. The characteristic of the present day movement which distinguishes it from that of 1908-9 is its peacefulness and non-violence, and yet, the paper remarks, the bureaucracy has become so very shameless and reckless that it has not hesitated to strike down popular leaders like the Ali Brothers, Gangadharrao Deshpande, Dr. Paranjpe and others brushing aside all considerations of justice and propriety. The outcome of this demoniac policy has, however, been favourable to the nationalist party, the paper maintains, as even the masses have now become suspicious about Government and inspired with patriotism. The law courts are now being openly defied, it points out, and orders prohibiting meetings disregarded and instead of Indians being afraid of the *saheb's* sun-hat, the *sahebs* themselves are getting a fright at the sight of the Gandhi cap. The mentality of the public having thus undergone a complete transformation, how can the repression which failed twelve years back, the paper asks, succeed now? A challenge has been given to Lord Ronaldshay, it points out, by the Bengal nationalist leaders by enrolling their names in the volunteer organisations declared unlawful by his Lordship and the leaders at Lahore and Delhi also are likely to follow their examples. Local self-government bodies like municipalities are also, the paper says, following in the same path in that some of them have not only given addresses to Messrs. Tilak and Gandhi, but even refused to welcome the Prince of Wales and also cast off Government's control on their educational institutions. The paper therefore thinks that the repression now launched by Government is bound to fail and that the measures which the bureaucracy is adopting out of desperation, just like a drowning man catching at a straw, will only shorten its life instead of prolonging it.

New Times (7), 26th Nov.

20. "The bureaucracy is out now to openly antagonise even a movement which, while working for freedom, condemns all violence! The Governors of Bengal and the United Provinces have declared the Congress and Khilafat Volunteer Corps as illegal. The Seditious Meetings Act is applied to Lahore. Lord Willingdon's Government has launched prosecutions against several Khilafat and Congress workers in the South. The official policy in Sind is well-known. Repression is growing from 'more to more'. Apologists of the bureaucracy do not call it repression. They call it 'assertion of the constitutional power of the Government to maintain order and to protect the citizens' liberty'! But has a single Congress or Khilafat body created disorder or riot? And is not association, voluntary grouping for social and national purposes, one of the rights, an inalienable right of citizenship?...... It is this right which opponents of the *swaráj* movement are now attacking. It is the old cry:—Government must 'govern' and the National Movement must be suppressed! Imagine a non-violent, unarmed political organisation murdering the 'safety of the realm'! And yet we confess we are not surprised at this alarmist attitude of the bureaucracy. The safety not of 'the realm' but of the bureaucracy is at stake in this struggle. The bureaucracy has built partly on its 'efficiency', partly on some 'illusions'. One of these 'illusions' is 'prestige'. The National Movement has done much to break this illusion. The masses are being disillusioned. Volunteer associations are peaceful political bodies; but their 'peaceful penetration' may undermine yet more the 'prestige' upon which the bureaucracy has built! They must, therefore, be suppressed, while the Aman Sabhas must be strengthened! The psychology of the bureaucracy is intelligible. What will be the result? Will the issue of open defiance of laws be pressed, again, upon the country by the bureaucratic policy? There is a wish among many for civil disobedience. There is not, as it seems to us, the right atmosphere in Sind and several other provinces, for effective civil disobedience. The greatest difficulty to cope with, as the Bombay disturbance should have shown us, is—ourselves, our lack of discipline. With many, non-violence is at best a political creed, rather than a moral principle of life. Not with many in several places is the struggle holy. And the bureaucracy goes its way, heedless of the temper and spirit of the country. Once again, political pessimism is setting in. God forbid that it be followed by fire and bloodshed!"

Doings of non-co-operators responsible for repression by Government.

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 29th Nov.

21. The *Dnyán Prakásh* referring to the highhanded doings of the Calcutta national volunteers during the *hartal* on 17th November warns the non-co-operators that if they do not change their ways, popular opinion will support Government in whatever strong measures they may consider necessary to prevent outbreaks like those at Bombay. It expresses its conviction that the spectre of repression would long ago have been laid but for the activities of the non-co-operators.

The aims and effects of the non-co-operation movement.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 29th Nov., Eng. cols.

22. "Although violence during the past few months has been here, there and everywhere, Mr. Gandhi has gone serenely onwards with his programme of non-co-operation unshaken in his comfortable creed of a non-violent nation....... In Dhárwár, Malegaon and other places there was the convenient excuse of police or official provocations. In Malabár the trouble has been attributed to the blind fanaticism of an ignorant and fierce tribe of men. These excuses being impossible in Bombay, there was nothing for it, but to own that the riots here were indicative of a temporary lapse from the high ideals of non-violent non-co-operation. The Bombay riots, whoever started them, were nothing if they were not racial. And they were also symptomatic of racial and party hatred. In the face of these ugly facts, all the assurances and aspirations of peace, love, unity, patient tolerance, are pious pretences. Mr. Gandhi must now see that his persistent exhortation to perfect peace and non-violence, must, in relation to actual facts, sound like hypocritical and impotent cant....... The aim of the non-co-operation movement is to impair and supersede the authority of the established Government. With the authority of Government must disappear all law and order, for the simple reason that the non-co-operation programme is all purely destructive, and does not provide a substitute for the law and government that are attempted to be destroyed....... What law, what authority, what security, have the non-co-operationists established which can take the place of the British law and British Government? It is all well to talk glibly of the laws of nature and of nations, and of God. No such laws are recognised or respected by the people who are eager to throw off the yoke of the ordinary law of the land. Civilized Society is impossible without the reign of law, and the place of effective law and Government cannot be taken by mere sounds and gestures, however heroic."

The movement in India is not revolutionary and should not be repressed by Government.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 29th Nov.

23. "We would, if it were possible for us to do so, with all the eloquence at our command, impress upon Lord Reading the necessity of treating India at this moment not as in a State approaching revolution—a word which makes officials and co-operators lose their wits—but as in a state of evolution, needing friendly help, not punishment. And we believe that it would greatly simplify the task which he has undertaken, and bring His Lordship more in touch with Indian sentiment if, while he is in India, he would put aside the European theory of pure self-interest and adopt the standards of the East according to which wrong is wrong and must be righted, no less between nations than between individuals. Recent developments give him a unique opportunity to throw the whole weight of his power and influence as Viceroy of India and, speaking on behalf of India, for bringing about a solution of the Turkish question in accordance with justice and the religious obligations of Muslims. The presence of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales gives him no less unique an opportunity to bring about an honourable settlement of the Punjab grievance and the demand for *swaráj* in consultation with the people's true representatives and in accordance with the Irish model. That is the only way in which he can demonstrate to the people the genuineness of his anxiety 'to redress all legitimate grievances and to remove the grounds of popular discontent'. He has been stampeded into sanctioning a policy of repression. But need we draw his attention to the wise words of Lord Birkenhead—who, not many weeks ago, on the eve of the Conference, declared that 'the full strength of the Government' would be used to repress Ireland,—that a strong repressive policy in South

Ireland would never secure contentment? Once the negotiations had begun even this leader of the 'Die-hards', was made to appreciate the viewpoint of the 'rebels' and the wisdom of reconciling them to the Empire. Is it too much to expect a liberal statesman like Lord Reading to take note of the lesson of the Irish Conference, and to set the machinery of conciliation in motion at once? Repression will never secure contentment. Conciliation is the only way."

The evils of the non-co-operation movement.

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 1st and 2nd Dec.

24. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to Mr. Gandhi's manifesto after the riots in Bombay and remarks that from the very beginning it had held that the non-co-operation movement would prove dangerous in the end and that instead of bringing *swarájya* nearer it would produce bitterness between the Government and the governed. It says that even though Mr. Gandhi was deeply affected by these riots and fasted for a few days to restore peace, and even declared the postponement of civil disobedience, yet he has not shown courage enough to bring his propaganda to the level of common sense. It further adds that in spite of the warnings of the Liberals of India Mr. Gandhi continued in his propaganda which resulted in riots like those at Malegaon, Dhárwár, Malabár and Bombay, and the responsibility for which he has tried to throw upon the Liberals. The paper is sorry to see that in spite of all this Mr. Gandhi does not at all think of turning away from his propaganda. The paper holds the preaching of the boycott of the Prince's visit, the strikes, and the movement against the addresses to the Prince to be responsible for the Bombay riots and wishes that the non-co-operation movement, which is the root cause of the trouble, should be removed in order to ensure permanent peace. The paper next dwells on the modifications in the non-co-operation movement suggested by Mr. Jayakar and suggests that he and other Nationalist leaders should place their programme before the Liberal Convention and coming to a compromise with it make the Congress national and popular as before. [In the subsequent issue the paper comments on the resolutions of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee on the riots in Bombay and while acknowledging the regrets expressed by the Committee thinks it more to the point to find out the causes of these disturbances and to take steps which will remove the inter-racial bitterness created by the non-co-operation movement. The paper is of opinion that the political education being given to the younger generation creates disaffection and hatred against the Government, and has given rise in them to a spirit of intolerance for those who co-operate with it. The paper adds that the minds of raw youths have been so poisoned by such ideas that the whole atmosphere of the country is laden with hatred and disaffection and the good relations between different communities have been endangered. Every Provincial Committee, says the paper, should take steps to remove this spirit of intolerance by impressing on the younger generation the fact that there are parties in the politics of this country as there are in every other civilised country and that they have honestly chosen two different paths of progressing towards *swaráj* according to their lights. The paper exhorts all the Provincial Committees to spread a spirit of tolerance for their political opponents in their Provinces and to so regulate their future activities as to win the sympathy of all the politicians in the country. It concludes that unless the policy of non-co-operation is considerably modified there will be chances of breaches of the peace in the future.]

The All-India Congress Committee and Civil Disobedience.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 26th and 30th Nov.

25. The *Sánj Vartamán* dwells upon the harm the riots in Bombay have done to the non-co-operation movement by creating distrust in the smaller communities and shaking the faith of those persons who believed in its potency. The paper therefore approves of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Congress advising Provincial Congress Committees not to organise *satyagraha* till they are convinced that a peaceful atmosphere will prevail in their province and wishes that the Working Committee had advised the Provincial Committees to postpone the question of civil disobedience till the Congress meets in December next. It hopes that in view of the bitter experience gained in Bombay no Provincial Committee will think of starting mass civil disobedience till the next meeting of the Congress. [In an English article appearing in a subsequent issue the paper points out the divergence in the views expressed by Mr. Gandhi, Mr. Das and the Working Committee of the Congress in the matter of organising civil disobedience in the country and declares that since Mr. Gandhi has had personal experience of anarchy and chaos, he has appreciated the danger that lurks behind the terrible weapon of civil disobedience, while Mr. Das is actuated by patriotic fervour and has no practical experience of the deep pit in which he wants the people to fall. The paper expresses surprise and disappointment at the resolution of the All-India Congress Committee in the matter of civil disobedience and thinks that the Committee was anxious to show its consistency in view of the opinion expressed by it about three weeks ago, even though it has had ample warrant to change or modify it. The paper emphatically declares that civil disobedience is unsuited to the present times and wishes the Congress to drop it from its programme altogether.]

Navjivan (69), 27th Nov. ; *Insaf* (66), 25th Nov.

26. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan* :—I have now realised that we are not yet ready for civil disobedience. To begin civil disobedience in Bardoli to-day would be tantamount to courting defeat. Civil disobedience is to be undertaken with a view to securing *swaráj*, solving the Khilafat question and compelling Government to express regret for the Punjab affairs. None of these objects will be secured by resorting to civil disobedience in the present circumstances. If we begin civil disobedience in Bardoli and Anand and if Bombay becomes unruly we shall not be able to secure any help from Bombay and on the other hand Bombay will do harm to our cause. Violent disobedience of laws is equivalent to co-operation with Government. Have we not yet realised that Government endures because of our weakness, our violence and our violent disobedience of laws ? We should therefore create an atmosphere of peace in the country. We claim to carry the whole country with us. If the country is not with us of what use is it to secure *swaráj* ? We should therefore establish peace everywhere. We should also gain influence over the *badmashes* as they are our brethren and they cannot be left alone. However, we should not allow ourselves to be influenced by them, as their influence over us will lead to chaos in the country. We should discuss matters with the *badmashes* and request them not to create any breach of the peace in the interests of the country. I do not think that there is any truth in the allegation that the disturbances were solely due to the machinations of the C. I. D. No doubt the C. I. D. had a hand in them. Some members of the C. I. D. cannot rest contented without causing mischief, but in the disturbances there were many persons who had views of their own and the *badmashes* benefited themselves by circulating false rumours. [The *Insaf* writes:—We are of the opinion that the cause of the country will suffer if Mr. Gandhi postpones civil disobedience. Moslems will lose faith in the non-co-operation movement if Mr. Gandhi or the Congress suggest the postponement of *satyagraha*, and they will have to act up to the injunctions of their religion for the sake of the protection of their holy places. Mr. Gandhi may suspend his movement, the Congress may bring discredit upon itself, the Khilafat Conference may be wrecked, but every Muhammadan should resort to non-violent non-co-operation and induce his brethren to follow his example.]

Resolution regarding volunteers passed by the Working Committee of the Congress.

Kesari (110), 29th Nov.

27. The *Kesari* expresses satisfaction that the question of protection of non-co-operators has been considered by the Working Committee of the Congress, which has proposed the formation of linked volunteer organisations. It, however, thinks that though the proposed rules about the volunteers being armed only with sticks would do for ordinary purposes, it should not be held to mean that they should not gain proficiency in wielding *lathis*, *bothatis*, etc., rather they must make it a point to be proficient in their use and also in other physical exercises for their own protection as well as for the protection of those dependent upon them. The question of *swarájya*, in its opinion, would not be solved unless such well-equipped youths are forthcoming in every community. Referring to the proscription of the existing national volunteer organisations by Government in certain provinces, it says that the solution of the question of *swarájya* depends on the decision of the nation as to whether it is going to abide by the orders of Government or by the recommendations of the Working Committee of the Congress.

Proposed modification of the non-co-operation programme.

* *Bombay Samáchár* (56), 28th Nov.

28. The *Bombay Samáchár* dwells at great length on the harm that Government are inflicting upon themselves by adopting a policy of repression and expresses its fears that after declaring the volunteer corps unlawful they might go the length of regarding the Congress Committee and even non-co-operating newspapers as unlawful. The paper endorses the warning given by Mr. Jayakar to Government from the presidential chair of the second Thana District Conference that the non-co-operation movement will be stimulated by their repressive policy. The paper then proceeds to consider the suggestions made by Mr. Jayakar in the matter of making modifications in the programme of non-co-operation especially in the item of seeking election to the councils and calls upon Mr. Gandhi to place Mr Jayakar's suggestions before the Working Committee for their careful consideration.

Appeal to Government to prohibit the Ahmedabad Sessions of the Congress under Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 4th Dec., Eng. cols.

***29.** "The question today agitating every loyal and thinking mind is this—is the Bombay Government going to permit the seditious show at Ahmedabad, where suffocating poison-gas will be given off through the inflammatory speeches of these so-called non-violent non-co-operators, who in fact are the most violent and virulent firebrands? We fear that these poltroons are going to bring a resolution at the next annual Congress of founding an Indian Republic and kicking out the British from India!.......... The non-co-operators have miserably failed in every part of their programme, and the only fruits that can be credited to them are the bloody risings throughout India and the consequences, *viz.*, the increase of prestige of Government and the indispensability of the British connection for India. Instead of proving the unity of the various communities, non-co-operators have revealed to the world that, in spite of all their tall talk, Moslems are butchering their brother Hindus at Malabár; that Hindus and Moslems tried their game of intimidating the Parsis and Christians in Bombay, and increased communal bitterness instead of national unity. In spite of their programme that has absolutely failed in every respect, in spite of the fact that instead of promoting national unity they have only succeeded in aggravating communal antipathies, in spite of the fact that their whole programme has proved them to be impracticable and infantile, these leaders of the people, who have deserted reason and common-sense, and taken racial sentiment as their only guide, are going to start an Indian Republic in December when they know that they cannot even quell a small riot in Bombay or stop the butchery in Malabár. If any proof of the incapacity of these people to govern themselves be wanted, what other proof is necessary than this? If any proof of their hypocrisy be wanted, what can be greater than this idle talk of Hindu-Moslem unity, when Hindu women are being raped, when Hindu men are forcibly converted to Islam, when Hindu temples are being desecrated, and when the whole of Malabár and sober India is condemning the inhuman atrocities of the Moplahs? We should like to know whether it is not the paramount duty of the Bombay Government, looking at the highly charged inflammatory atmosphere of racial bitterness, and unceasing agitation for breaking up the British *ráj* on the part of these notorious sedition-mongers, and further with the recent example of Bombay in the throes of anarchy, to stop this pumping of poison-gas at Ahmedabad, by bringing into force Part II of the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1920, which has already been enforced in other provinces, and by which all such organisations have been declared unlawful. We along with others should be anxious to see the Government of Bombay taking this essential step for the preservation of law, order and good government."

Comments on the Government Press Note "A message to the Dheds".

Mooknayak (121), 19th Nov.

30. The *Mooknayak* refers to the Marathi and Gujarati Press Note entitled "A message to the Dheds", issued by Government and says that the untouchables should not be deceived by that message and thus court their own destruction. It quotes the Press Note and remarks that a perusal of it gives the impression that the British Government has, as it were, come down to earth simply for the uplift of the untouchables. It admits that His Majesty the King-Emperor is anxious for their welfare, but asks to what extent his wishes have been carried out by the bureaucracy and declares that it has done nothing for them. The intention of the handbill, the paper says, appears to be to proclaim the groundlessness of the non-co-operators' threat that if the untouchables refused to join their movement their houses would be burnt and Government would not come to their assistance and remarks that though no houses of theirs have been burnt down by the non-co-operators, Government has failed to protect them from other annoyances to which they are being subjected. It points out that Government has done nothing to bring to their senses officers like the Mamlatdar of Yával and the Fouzdar of Sátára who have been persecuting the Mahars, or the village Patils who have been cruelly maltreating them for not complying with their illegal demands. Under these circumstances, it says, scarcely any one among the untouchable classes would be deceived by the assurances given in the Press Note by Government. It complains that though during the critical times of the great war the untouchables rendered unconditional help to Government and shed their blood to win the war, their only reward has been political starvation. In its opinion it is extremely mean on the part of Government to profess to have the welfare of the untouchables at heart while actually doing nothing in their interests. The message to the Dheds, the paper says, just like the starting of the Aman (Gulam) Sabhas, only shows that the position of the bureaucracy has become extremely shaky and that this sympathy shown for the untouchables is only the political weapon of divide and rule. It is yet to be seen, it remarks, how many fall victims to this manœuvre. It concludes that if the bureaucracy yet intends doing something for untouchables, it should lose no time in removing the injustice that is being done to them in Mahárashtra.

Comments on the Bombay riots.

Praja Bandhu (27), 27th Nov., Eng. cols.

31. "The Prince's landing in Bombay was signalised by an unprecedented outbreak of racial and political violence....... This is a distinct set back to the non-co-operation movement which cannot but be painful to the hearts of those who have pinned their faith in its efficacy for national redemption. Let them begin anew. They have this much satisfaction that, except a few *johukumwallas*, the masses have ceased to be deluded with the empty trappings of power, or the sweet words of Kings and Princes. Only they too readily grow impatient and force others to their views by violence. Once they are cured of this impatience and intolerance, the atmosphere for mass civil disobedience cannot but be ensured. Whether this consummation takes place sooner or later is on the lap of gods. Nevertheless India cannot but be a gainer by her masses being trained and disciplined, and awakened to the sense of their political dependence and roused to throw off the shackles of their economic serfdom."

Sind Vási (169), 20th and 22nd Nov.; *Bháratwási* (157), 22nd Nov.

32. We are very much grieved to hear the news of disturbances at Bombay. From our experience of previous *hartals* we almost feared that some trouble would result from the present one, and wondered how the Mahatma had approved of it after having abandoned the practice for some time. We hope he will take a fresh lesson from this fresh instance of mob violence and proceed cautiously with his programme of *satyagraha*. Knowing as we do that he means well to the country, we trust the Mahatma will think twice before he starts *satyagraha*. [In a further issue the paper writes :—We are glad that Mahatma Gandhi has given up the idea of starting *satyagraha* in view of the recent distrubances at Bombay. These disturbances have therefore been a blessing in disguise. The experience of mob violence at Bombay prompts the question as to what would be the condition of the country if *satyayraha* were attempted. The progress of the non-co-operation movement has been marked by increasing violence and if it were allowed to go on, its culminating point would be a revolution in the country. It is for this reason that we have always expressed our disapproval of this movement.' We think that India's way to freedom is through constitutional agitation. The *Bháratwási* remarks :—The one wish that now dominates us is that there may be peace in the country again. After these heart-rending disturbances our heart feels the greatest sympathy for Mr. Gandhi. At the present moment there is one duty for us all, namely, to join the

Mahatma in his desire to restore peace and goodwill in the country, and forgetting all our differences to work with the sole aim of re-establishing good relations among the different communities.]

Swaráj (Sindhi) (171), 23rd Nov.

33. We cannot too strongly condemn the conduct of the people who were responsible for the disturbances at Bombay. They have disgraced the whole country and given a setback to the movement for *swaráj*. But while we condemn our own countrymen, we cannot but address a few words to the Government also. The Government cannot be entirely absolved from responsibility in the matter of the happenings at Bombay. There would have been no outburst at Bombay such as we have witnessed, if the Government had shown greater regard to the wishes of the people in respect to the visit to India of the Prince of Wales. Be that as it may, we are not prepared to suspend the non-co-operation movement. The Moderates who advise us to do so had better tell the Government that until our grievances are redressed and our demands granted, there can be no peace in the country. We would ask the Government to be more far-sighted. The example of Ireland refusing today to take Britain's proffered Home Rule and demanding full independence, should be an eye-opener for the Government. Unless it yields to our wishes in good time, a similar situation may arise here in the near future. India is in a ferment today, and liberal concessions alone will pacify the country. Nobody wants the present unrest. The world is sick of it. But perhaps it is too much to expect peace in the world so long as stronger nations actuated by self-interest are bent upon domineering over weaker ones.

Hindu (160), 23rd Nov.

34. Every Indian must deeply deplore the violence that has characterised the disturbances at Bombay. It is a pity that our people should have lost control over themselves to such extent. We must all pray to God for the early restoration of peace and for the reconciliation of all classes of people at Bombay. The Bombay disturbances signify that the people are in no mood to put up with things which do not meet with their approval. There is no doubt that this unfortunate occurrence has given a serious setback to the non-co-operation movement. There is, however, no occasion to lose heart. True courage lies in overcoming difficulties and dangers. Let the wokers redouble their efforts in the cause of *swaráj* and let the people prepare themselves for self-sacrifice by greater adherence to the principles of non-co-operation.

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 29th Nov.

35. The *Dnyán Prakásh* deplores that the Hindu and Muhammadan hooligans should have attacked the Parsis during the riots in Bombay and remarks that it was most disgraceful that the former should have raised their hands against the members of a community which produced a Dadabhai Naoroji and a Pherozeshah Mehta, men who devoted their whole lives to the service of India. The paper wonders how many more sins the people were going to commit in the name of Mr. Gandhi's movement meant by him for self-purification.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 29th Nov.; *Hindusthán* (20), 26th and 29th Nov.

36. The *Bombay Samáchár* deplores the attempts made in certain quarters to keep the memory of the recent riots in Bombay green in the minds of the people and to rip open old sores and considers it very wise and farsighted on the part of Mr. Gandhi to have issued an appeal to the people of Bombay to forget and forgive the past and to open a fund for affording relief to all those who have suffered during the disturbances irrespective of caste or creed. The paper also approves of Mr. Gandhi's suggestion to the people to settle their differences as regards damages, etc., among themselves without going to the courts of law and expresses the hope that Mr. Gandhi himself will take a lead in the matter. [The *Hindusthán* publishes an article contributed by 'R. M. K.' in which the writer deplores the recent riots in Bombay as having dealt a severe blow to non-violent non-co-operation, but the writer thinks that His Excellency Lord Reading cannot escape the blame for having given the masses cause for excitement by inviting the Prince to India in spite of the popular protest. The writer expresses grief at the excesses committed by the mob on the Parsi community but at the same time blames certain members of the community for having used the revolvers lent to them by the police in an indiscriminate manner. The writer moreover takes the Police to task for having helped the Parsis in taking vengeance upon the mob and also for harassing innocent persons. The writer in conclusion asks the members of the various communities in Bombay to forgive and forget and to live in amity. In a subsequent issue the paper while deploring the recent disturbances in Bombay takes consolation in the fact that the Parsis have begun to make common cause with the Hindus and Moslems and Mr. Gandhi has postponed civil disobedience as a result thereof and considers these as gains which justify the proverb "out of evil cometh good". The paper then proceeds to blame those who hold Mr. Gandhi and his followers solely to blame for the disturbances and give the credit of re-establishing peace and order to the Police and the Military. In the opinion of the paper the disturbances were quelled through the influence of Mr. Gandhi and his non-co-operating followers and that the Police and the Military remained silent spectators and were at times guilty of cruelty to innocent persons. The paper believes that the persons who are zealous in praising the authorities and blaming the non-co-operators are actuated by selfish motives.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 29th Nov.

37. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* says that though Mr. Gandhi has associated non-violence with non-co-operation, yet there are some among his followers who do not believe in the theory of non-violence, and try to justify the Malabár and the Bombay riots. It further adds that relying upon the exaggerated reports of these riots, some of the leaders of this type have published exciting and sensational articles and have openly come forward to fight against the very principle of non-violence. Referring to an article published in the *Mahrátta* of Sunday last, which justified the Bombay riots on the ground that the Parsis had attacked Hindu women, the paper strongly condemns this as a libel and declares that in face of such accusations, which must be suppressed, it is impossible for the Parsis to let bygones be bygones as Mr. Gandhi has advised, but that an open and public inquiry must be held before co-operators can make peace with the non-co-operators. If such baseless rumours are allowed to remain uncontradicted, adds the paper, they must create an impression on the sister communities which would prove a menace to the future peaceful relations of Parsis with them.

Lokasangraha (116), 23rd and 25th Nov.

38. The fact that civil strife commenced in Bombay soon after the Prince's arrival and continued for three or four days will give everyone much food for thought. We do not think the question as to who started rioting first can ever be solved satisfactorily. One thing is clear, *viz*,. the Hindus and the Muhammadans joined together and fought with the Parsis, the Jews, the Native Christians and the Eurasians and both sides committed several excesses. While they were making a hideous exhibition of their folly the opponents of the Hindus and the Muhammadans had the support and the sympathy of some Government officials. Is not the thought that communities whose future is inextricably mixed up with that of the other sister communities should jump at the throats of the latter in the interests of a foreign bureaucracy, very painful? Nothing could be more mean and cowardly than the assault by the Parsis on Messrs. Jayakar and Jamnadas whom they invited for a settlement. While satisfying their desire for a little sport the Parsis and others seem to have had no idea as to what extent they were wounding the feelings of the Hindus and the Muhammadans. The Prince will one day leave these shores, the white troops will return to their stations, and the arms supplied to the Parsis will also be probably taken back. The latter should have paused to consider as to what would happen to them when all this happens. It is the duty of the leaders of the various communities to meet together and to make an earnest endeavour to bring about an agreement. If the sores are not healed in time they will not fail to fester. [In another issue the paper writes :—The riots have come to an end but the questions they have brought to the fore still await solution. The most important point is whether the conduct of the Government officials was straightforward and impartial during the riots. It is the duty of the Police and the Military to put down disorders in the shortest possible time and with the minimum loss of life. But they not only failed to perform this duty, they actually took part in the riots. They supplied firearms to the Parsis and others, and made them murder the Hindus and the Muhammadans. It is this fiendish cunning of Government that is responsible for the large number of casualties. There is no doubt the Government heartily dislike the non-co-operators. The rigidity of the boycott irritated them, and as the riots provided them with an opportunity to take revenge on the non-co-operators they supplied the Parsis and others with arms and made them shed their blood. There have been many riots in India upto this time but in none of them have Government supplied arms to one of the contending parties. In the Sátára District the Satyashodhaks have been subjecting the Brahmins to unheard of persecution, but have the Government ever taken any measures to protect their lives and property ?]

Praja Bandhu (27), 27th Nov.; *Kaira Vartamán* (67), 30th Nov.; *Arya Prakásh* (12), 27th Nov.; *Gujaráti Punch* (16), 27th Nov.; *Gujarát Vartaman* (63), 30th Nov.; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (22), 27th Nov.

39. Commenting upon the disturbances in Bombay the *Praja Bandhu* writes:— The partial and unjust conduct of the Police during the disturbances cannot be forgiven. It seems from the behaviour of the Police that the bureaucracy have begun to think of witholding protection from those who refuse to co-operate with Government. These disturbances were prolonged owing to the absence of the Police from the scenes of trouble. The Police gave a rough handling to the wearers of Gandhi caps and connived at outrages the Parsis and Eurasians committed by entering the houses of Hindus and Muhammadans, looting their shops and shooting them. Will Government be able to set non-co-operation at rest by adopting an unjust and preferential policy in protecting the lives and property of their subjects ? Government should bear in mind that such a policy will tend to create chaos in the country. [The *Kaira Vartaman* makes identical remarks. The *Arya Prakásh* writes :—These disturbances originated in the arrest of certain volunteers on Thursday for pasting posters about boycotting the Prince's visit. These arrests were responsible for coming in the way of the volunteers in checking the riots on the next day. Disturbances in Madanpura were caused by the excitement among Muhammadans due to rough behaviour of certain Europeans and Eurasians towards the wearers of Gandhi caps. Many of the daily newspapers of Bombay are owned by the Parsis and these have tried to put the responsibility for the disturbances on Hindus and Moslems and have tried to defend the cruel behaviour of *badmashes* among the Parsis. The Hindu and Moslem *badmashes* may be responsible for burning liquor-shops but they did not take the life of any one, but many Hindus and Moslems have met death at the hands of Parsis and Christians, and the Police have taken no steps against them. The *Gujaráti Punch* writes :—People should refrain from *hartals* in order to avert the repetition of disturbances similar to those that took place in Bombay. The non-co-operators should, moreover, never indulge in the fuss of making a bonfire of foreign cloth. They should also never use such harsh words as 'Satanic Government' etc. The *Gujarát Vartamán* writes :—Had it not been for the non-co-operation movement, rivers of blood would not have flown in this country. The indignities which were heaped upon the Parsis in Bombay by the non-co-operators go to show that the latter want other people to submit to their wishes and if they do not do so they are subjected to maltreatment. Mr. Gandhi accepted the responsibility for the disturbances in the first instance but unfortunately he began to change front and find fault with Government as soon as peace was restored. Mr. Gandhi should be very careful in the words he uses. At any rate Mr. Gandhi seems to have lost his control over the non-co-operation movement and he will soon be a mere tool in the hands of his followers. The *Kaiser-i-Hind* writes :—The Police should without delay find out the causes of the disturbances and arrest the ring-leaders. Now that Mr. Gandhi has accepted his own responsibility for the disturbances he should do his level best to find out the instigators and to get them punished. We are inclined to think that the disturbances were the result of a deliberate plot previously hatched by certain *badmashes* of Bombay. An enquiry should be soon instituted into the matter. The allegations made by Mr. Gandhi against the Police that they helped the Parsis and Christians and supplied them with revolvers is groundless and false.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 29th Nov.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (53), 3rd Dec.

40. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, while discussing the measures to be adopted for preservation of peace in India, asserts that violence cannot be separated from the non-co-operation movement and requests Mr. Gandhi to adopt some new methods for the non-recurrence of scenes such as those recently witnessed in Bombay. Considering the duties of the Government in this matter, it remarks that the Viceroy and the provincial Governors have so far adopted an inexplicable policy even though they had foreseen the ultimate course which the movement would take. In spite of the fact that an adoption of a vigorous policy to crush it would be incompatible with the new reformed Councils, the paper is of opinion that the connivance of the Government at some of the fiery speeches of the leaders and exciting writings of some nationalist papers was unpardonable and amounted to playing with the safety of the public. It says the public has grown impatient of the passive policy of the Government and suggests that the proper time for strong action has arrived, and that some check should be first put upon the writings of some of the extremist papers. In conclusion it expects that such measures on the part of the Government will be highly commended by the reasoning public and the moderate papers. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám* refers to the warning given by the Governor of Bengal to the non-co-operators, and desires all Provincial Governments to do the same. The paper holds the non-co-operation movement responsible for the disturbances in Bombay and adds that even though His Excellency the Governor is anxious not to injure the feelings of the non-co-operators, yet the time is now come when His Excellency should meet this movement with a strong hand.]

Bombay Samáchár (56), 2nd Dec.

41. The *Bombay Samáchár* approves of the manifesto issued by the Khilafat Committee on the recent disturbances in Bombay and hopes it will be considered as the last word on the unfortunate incidents and be helpful in allaying bitter feelings. It blames certain co-operationist papers for losing their balance of mind in commenting upon the disturbances and appealing to Government to take strong action. It reminds the public that the disturbances were quelled not by Government but by their leaders and publishes a communication from a Parsi correspondent in which the writer ascribes the disturbances to a sudden outburst of frenzy and not to any preconceived plot on the part of any one. The paper then deprecates the attempts that are made in certain quarters to misconstrue the Viceroy's recent pronouncement about taking steps to maintain peace and order in the country. It appeals to the public not to lose its head on any account, and declares that it itself would be foremost in looking up to Government to protect the minorities against the terrorism of the masses. The paper concludes by appealing to members of the various communities to forgive and forget the past and to guard themselves against being misled into disturbing their peaceful relations with their sister communities.

Gujaráti (14), 4th Dec.

***42.** The *Gujaráti* remarks that certain communal papers are playing into the hands of the authorities in the matter of the recent disturbances in Bombay and expresses surprise at the Press Note issued by Government declaring that there is no truth in the reports about the Police or the Military having shown any partiality during the disturbances or having issued revolvers to any community and stating that order was restored by the authorities. It then refers to the letters appearing in the *Times of India* contributed by Parsis and says that these letters go to show that the Police were unable to protect the lives and property of the Parsis and that the community had to take the risk of taking the duty of self-protection and the protection of their places of worship upon themselves. It further says that there is no truth in the allegations made against the non-co-operators that they paid money to the *badmashes* to create disturbances. The paper then proceeds :—Is it a fact that the *badmashes* were not sent out of Bombay? What inquiries have the Police made about the allegation that the non-co-operators paid money to the *badmashes* ? Why have the Police not arrested such people ? What is the number of casualties during the disturbances, and which Magistrates gave the order for firing during the disturbances on several occasions ? What explanation have the Police to offer about people having been injured or killed without any orders from the Magistrates to open fire ? Is not the order of a Magistrate necessary for private individuals to open fire ? It is to be regretted that the Parsi papers in their anxiety to paint lurid pictures of harassment of their Community have lost sight of the seriousness of the situation created by the authorities in not affording them any protection and placing them in a position which compelled them to defend themselves. These very papers excited public feelings by publishing inflammatory headlines in support of the non-co-operation movement and now they want to lay claim to sanity. But is there any guarantee that they will not be again made scapegoats by the authorities ? It, therefore, behoves them to ask for an explanation of the conduct of the Police during the disturbances.

Nusrat (new), 6th Dec.

***43.** The *Nusrat*, in its leading article, entitled "Why the Parsis are not arrested ? A fear of a coming disturbance in Bombay " writes :—Though normal conditions prevail throughout the city, yet the people are in a panic. The arrest of the innocent along with the real culprits is not a new and unusual thing; but the citizens are at a loss to understand why Parsi offenders are not arrested. The fact that the whole of the western portion of the city was dominated by the rowdy Parsi rioters and agitators who were present there in large numbers and attacked every Hindu and Musalman, is no secret to the Government. The Police had also provided them with guns of which they made a reckless use. The educated, cowardly or careful among them fired from the roofs of their houses, and thus they caused no less damage than that caused by the firing of the Police. Now arrests are being made everywhere in the city and the Hindus and the Musalmans are being arrested but the Parsis are quite overlooked. Does this mean that they created no disturbance ? Are not Government wilfully ignoring them ? If the answer to this question is in the affirmative, then it is not just on the part of the rulers to give partial treatment to their subjects. If the Parsis have helped Government by co-operating with them, the rioters, too, have rendered no little help by breaking the principle of non-violent non-co-operation. The Parsis are holding meetings of their community in order to consider measures for their defence in future. They are thinking of requesting Government to provide them with fire-arms and to allow them to recruit volunteers, in other words, it means that they are making preparations to oppose the Hindus and the Musalmans in the near future. There are also signs which indicate that in the near future Bombay will once more be the scene of bloodshed and if it so happens, the whole responsibility will fall on the shoulders of the Government that appears to be supporting the Parsis in every way and encourages them and does not arrest them. People say that Government are laying the foundations of the disturbance and it is their wish that the Parsis, Hindus and the Musalmans may non-co-operate with one another for good, and in this way they themselves may gain strength. At any rate, there must be some reason why the Parsis are not arrested like the Hindus and the Musalmans. We request Government not to give arms to the Parsis or else they will freely shed the blood of the Hindus and Musalmans, and further that they should either release the Hindus and the Musalmans who have been arrested or should arrest the Parsi culprits also and thus give a proof of their impartial justice. If they do not do so, Bombay will always be in danger.

Appeal to Parsis and Christians who have suffered during the riots to refrain from seeking relief through courts of law.

Young India (11), 1st Dec.

44. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—" Parsis and Christians of Bombay have before them a time of great trial and temptation. It is just possible that they will be tempted to file complaints against Hindus and Musalmans. It will be a fatal blunder to succumb to the temptation. They ought to rise to the occasion and refrain from seeking relief or reparation through courts of law. Quarrels are sometimes inevitable in spite of the best of precautions. They know that the sanest element among Hindus and Musalmans deeply regret the unfortunate quarrel and are ashamed of the Hindu and Musalman aggression. Parsis and Christians should now seek only such relief as a non-official committee can secure for them. Whilst it is true that Hindus and Musalmans must keep their heads cool even if the latter seek reparation through the Government, they will put a severe strain upon human nature if they prefer official action to non-official."

Comments on the Government Press Note on the attitude of the Police and the Military during the Bombay riots.

Young India (11), 1st Dec.

45. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—" The Government of Bombay has contradicted my statement to the effect that the Police and the Military took sides during the recent trouble and that not they but the citizens restored peace. I am sorry for the contradiction. I was unprepared for it. I must add to my charges a third now to complete the picture. The Police or the Military were powerless to protect the life and property of the citizens. On the seventeenth I observed that they could not prevent tramcars and motors from being burnt. They could not prevent the liquor-shop in Bhindibazar from being reduced to ashes. Nor did they do better on the eighteenth or nineteenth. Incendiarism and looting went on unchecked. When anybody applied for protection, he was flatly told that they could not spare any more men, all hands being occupied in connection with the welcome to the Prince. Could the Police and the Military possibly restore peace when they were able to protect none and nothing in the disturbed area ? The credit for restoration of peace is not claimed for non-co-operators alone. I claim it for both co-operators and non-co-operators, for Hindus, Musalmans, Parsis and Christians including Englishmen. If all the peace-loving citizens had not joined, order could not have been restored. I claim the credit for Mian Chhotani. On the 20th instant but for Mr. Pheroze Shethna who succeeded in inducing the Military to stay their hand, a crowd would have been fired upon whereas it was dispersed within five minutes by the efforts of Dr. Pavri and Mr. Banker. I can multiply instances of such dispersal on behalf of the citizens irrespective of creed or party. Mrs. Naidu was often asked by the Military to help disperse crowds. Indeed, if co-operating and non-co-operating Parsis had not helped, it would have been impossible to restore peace. At the peace breakfast it was Mr. H. P. Modi who claimed the credit for the citizens. Though Mr. Purushottamdas administered a polite rebuke to the non-co-operators for the previous excitement, he did not disclaim the credit for the establishment of peace on behalf of the citizens. Mr. Natarajan, too, gave unstinted praise to those who had brought about the much-desired peace. Mr. K. T. Paul and Mr. Douglas did no less. Mr. Vimadalal in proposing thanks specially mentioned Mian Chhotani. As to taking sides, whilst the Police failed to protect the Parsis, many of the latter admitted to me that they looked on whilst Parsi hooligans were dealing destruction. But I do not wish to labour this point. I have no desire to blame individual members of the Police or Military. I hope one day to bring them over to the side of truth and innocence. Most are Indians, and I certainly do not despair of Englishmen, too, responding in the end if only non-co-operators will be true to their creed of non-violence. Credit may, however, be given for the forbearance of the Police and the Military in that they did not wantonly take life, they did not attempt terrorism. Let me close this chapter by instancing Malabár and Madras. Because the people are not permitted to work, the Malabár trouble is still going on ; because people did not or could not work, murder in the strike area in Madras was rampant for close on two months. The Government of Bombay may, if they choose, claim the credit for refraining from interference with the people who were trying to restore peace."

Lokamánya (114), 28th Nov.

46. The *Lokamánya* declares that the praise bestowed by Government in its Press Note on the Bombay Police and the Military for their conduct during the Bombay riots would not fail to astonish those who have had a personal experience of their doings during the disturbances. In its opinion it does not become the reputed impartiality of Government that it should come forward to make such positive statements about the conduct of the Police and the military when scarcely a week has passed since the disturbances took place and Government could have found very litle time, owing to the multifarious engagements during the Prince's visit, to impartially inquire into the numerous deplorable incidents that occurred during the riots. The only effect of the Press Note would be, according to the paper, that while the public was upto this time blaming only the Police and the Military for partiality of conduct during the riots, it would now be justified in bringing a similar accusation against Government also. It points out that many Parsis were actually seen carrying revolvers and also going about in the Police and Military motor lorries directing their fire, and also firing themselves and it says that a bare denial of these facts by Government would not suffice to convince the public that they had not taken place. The allegations cannot be disposed of, the paper says, by the mere issue of a Press Note. In the opinion of the public, the paper points out, it was the policy of the Police of associating the Parsis with themselves and the Military that prolonged the riots. It says that Mr. Gandhi and other public leaders would have been of more use in putting a stop to the disturbances than the Police and the Military. In its opinion the

Bombay newspapers during the last week have been so much flooded by complaints against the Police and the Military, that any one on their perusal would be convinced of the necessity of inquiring into them. The paper also complains that though Government knows how much Mr. Gandhi, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and other public leaders exerted themselves to pacify the people, Government has not in its Press Note acknowledged their services by even so much as a word. Government's reputation would certainly not have suffered, it says, if it had shown more magnanimity in its Press Note.

Kesari (110), 29th Nov.

47. The *Kesari* says that had the Bombay police worked with singleness of purpose for the restoration of peace in the city, they could have easily brought it about, and the whole of the credit for the achievement would doubtlessly have gone to them. But their conduct, in the opinion of the paper, instead of being straightforward, was inspired by a crooked policy, and it says that though the Bombay Government has come forward by means of a Press Note to wash off the stain, it has failed in its object. The utmost Government could fairly have said, it remarks, was that particular individuals were not guilty of partizan conduct, but how could it dare affirm that during the four days the riots lasted, none of the police were guilty of any wrongful act? Was it possible for Government to know, it asks, what each and every member of the Police force of about three thousand was doing while on duty, and therefore was it fair on its part to pay a wholesale and unjustifiable tribute to them? Can those, it asks, who have actually suffered at the hands of the Police believe in the statements made in the Press Note? It goes on:—As most of the deaths in the riots took place by bullets, and not all of them were fired by the police, but mostly by Parsis, Anglo-Indians, etc., Government should make inquiries as to how they came to possess revolvers, as the Parsi youths who were seen using them could not, looking to their age and status, have been ordinary license-holders. Moreover though Jews, Parsis and Anglo-Indians were actually seen committing excesses, no members of those communities are reported to be amongst those who have been hauled up before the Police courts. This fact, too, must be explained by the authorities. What is the use of merely indulging in protests?

Comments on the King's Message.

Hindu (160), 20th Nov.

48. King George V has as usual sent a message of love and sympathy to India through the Prince of Wales. But it is all false and hollow. It makes no reference to the Khilafat and Punjab wrongs nor to the demand for *swaráj*. India is sick of this lip sympathy which the Royalty and Statesmen of England seem to possess in abundance. We of course never expected any redress of our grievances at the hands of the Prince, who, we are sure, has come out here simply to support the tottering edifice of bureaucracy. But it is hopeless to buttress this edifice, it must go.

Comments on the foundation stone ceremonies of the Shivaji and Maratha memorials.

Shri Shivaji (143), 21st Nov.

49. Referring to the Shivaji memorial foundation stone ceremony performed at Poona by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the *Shri Shivaji* claims it as a great triumph for the people of Maharashtra who, it says, in getting it performed at the hands of the future Emperor have not only shown their undiminished love for Shivaji but have also blackened the faces of the English historians that have passed strictures against him. It also declares that if Government really approved of the ceremony, if they got it performed at the hands of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales out of their respect for Shivaji and if it was not intended by them as a political dodge against the non-co-operators, they should henceforward allow Government servants to be present at celebrations connected with Shivaji.

Lokasangraha (116), 19th Nov.

50. It is but meet that the Prince of Wales should lay the foundation stone of the Maratha War Memorial, before the Shanwar Wada, since it is to commemorate the greatness of the British Empire. But we see nothing admirable in the conduct of our native rulers, who got the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Shivaji Memorial performed by the Prince of Wales. Since Shivaji was the founder of *swarájya*, should not these rulers have paused to consider whether his spirit would shed tears of joy or of grief to see his descendants asking the heir to the Empire which destroyed his *swarájya* to lay the foundation stone of a memorial to him ? Could they not have made an exhibition of their loyalty in some other way ? The affair is as much a proof of the servility of our chiefs as of the cunning of the British Government. The latter willingly agreed to trouble the Prince with a request to lay the foundation stone of a memorial to Shivaji although hitherto they looked askance at all celebrations connected with his memory. Of course they did wish that a large number of people should assemble at Poona when the Prince visited it. But that was only a minor object. The real motive is hidden deep down beneath this foundation stone like a scorpion, and it is the winning over of the brave Marathas to their side. Education has opened the eyes of the latter and although they have still their differences with the Brahmins they have not been able wholly to escape from the influence of new ideas. The Marathas now know that it is the British Government who suppressed their martial instincts and made them impecunious. The Maharaja of Kolhápur and the bureaucracy do not want to part with their autocratic power and so they have trotted out this idea of a memorial to Shiwaji in the hope that it would be pleasing to the Marathas and would induce them to eschew politics.

The visit of the Prince of Wales.

Hindu (160), 19th Nov.

51. The bureaucracy says that the Prince of Wales has come out to India to acquaint himself with the conditions of the country. We doubt however if he will succeed in his object unless he passes through deserted streets and roads and sees for himself how the people are determined to end the present satanic system of Government. The elaborate preparations arranged in his honour by Government will hardly reveal to him the real state of things in the country. The Prince appears to be a puppet playing into the hands of the bureaucracy. It is conveniently forgotten by the admirers of the Prince that instead of sympathising with the Indians oppressed at Fiji he gave a certificate to the Government of that Island for putting down the disturbances. He thus served as a tool in the hands of the Fijian Government. What was done at Fiji is being repeated here. But India is now awake and proof against bureaucratic machinations.

Lokamánya (114), 28th Nov.

52. The *Lokamánya* says that although there was *hartal* all over India on the day of the Prince of Wales' arrival, it was surprised to find the Governors of the different provinces sending messages of a hearty welcome to His Royal Highness on behalf of the people, showing thereby how little the bureaucracy respected truth in politics. The replies to the messages given by the Prince also show, says the paper, how little His Royal Highness too is prepared to consider impolitic the prevailing circumstances. The Prince must have known of the universal *hartal* in India, it says, from the papers, but being tied down to formalities laid down by the bureaucracy he must have been unable to express his real opinion in the matter. It, however, hopes that His Royal Highness is keeping his eyes wide open during his tour and silently observing the real state of things, and if that takes place, it says, India would be recompensed partly at least for the heavy expenditure it is undergoing on account of his visit.

The Lahore Municipality and the Prince of Wales's visit to the City.

Lokamánya (114), 3rd Dec.

53. The *Lokamánya* refers to the proceedings in the Lahore Municipality to get its previous resolution boycotting the Prince of Wales' visit reversed, and says that they have only exposed the local bureaucracy to ridicule. It points out that the public was prevented from attending the meeting contrary to usual practice and that the speeches made by the proposer and supporters of the resolution for welcoming the Prince were ridiculous and teeming with hollow arguments which were utterly demolished by popular leaders like Mr. Rambhujdatt Chawdhari. It further points out that only the first part of the resolution for welcoming the Prince having been passed only by the casting vote of the

President Major Ferrar, the other part about giving of address and expenditure in that connection were wisely withdrawn by the proposer, and asks what the co-operators have gained by getting a barren resolution of welcome passed except public ridicule.

Comments on the railway tragedy in Malabar.

Servant of India (8), 1st Dec.

54. "It would be meet to refrain from commenting on the dreadful tragedy of 64 Moplah prisoners meeting their death in a railway waggon, till we have had the findings of the committee which has been appointed to investigate the matter. The presence of Mr. Manjeri S. Ramier on the Committee—than whom there is not a more independent man in Malabár—is a guarantee that the investigation will be searching and that all the relevant facts will be brought to light. For the moment we are willing to leave it there, but the fact about terrible overcrowding in a closed van is undisputed and may be commented upon. In a carriage of the capacity of 26 × 8 or 208 sq. feet 106 prisoners were huddled together; that is to say, each prisoner had not even 2 sq. feet to himself. Now the least sitting accommodation required for a single person is 2½ sq. feet. Thus the martial law prisoners carried in this van over the distance of nearly a hundred miles in a very leisurely fashion had not even the bare sitting accommodation required for each individual. Add to this the fact that the waggon was a closed one, and the inhumanity of the proceeding will be apparent. Now the question that occurs to one is: are all prisoners treated in a similarly inhuman manner, or is it the fate particularly of the Moplah prisoners? In the latter case the Government would be guilty of a vindictiveness which we refuse to believe until it has been proved; in the former case the whole penal system needs drastic amendment immediately. On this question the Government should be able forthwith to publish full information."

Gujaráti (14), 4th Dec., Eng, cols,

***55.** "Details have been published of a ghastly tragedy in which 64 out of 100 convicted prisoners, who were entrained at Tirur to be despatched to Bellary, are reported to have lost their lives as a result of being asphyxiated in a closed iron truck in which they were being carried.......... It was of course to be expected that all sorts of excuses and explanations would now be forthcoming to paliate the gravity of this frightful occurrence. Already weakness consequent on malaria and lack of food in the jungle, where the Moplahs were living before their trial under Martial Law Regulations, have been put forward as a contributory cause.......... Whatever the true explanation may be, the fact remains that the prisoners were put into a Black Hole without taking adequate precautions for its examination, or ascertaining whether it could conveniently accommodate 100 prisoners and there were proper arrangements for ventilation.......... The story of this modern Black Hole, which is certainly not mythical like that of the Calcutta Black Hole of historic fame, is simply horrible and it behoves the Committee to find out by an impartial inquiry who is responsible for the horrid deaths of so many human beings. Such an occurrence is only possible in India where prisoners and third class railway passengers including women and children are not regarded as deserving of sympathetic and humane treatment. It does not matter whether it was the petrol fumes or asphyxiation consequent on inadequate accommodation and ventilation that killed so many unfortunate prisoners. The grim fact remains that there was gross negligence and criminal indifference on the part of one or more persons. The news of the tragedy has been received with a sense of intense grief and horror all over the country, and nothing but an impartial and thorough inquiry and uncompromising action on the part of Government, regardless of race or colour, will satisfy the Indian public."

Kesari (110), 29th Nov.

56. The *Kesari* refers to the case of deaths of Moplah prisoners by suffocation and says that as a matter of fact no committee of inquiry was necessary as the district being under martial law the parties guilty in the matter could have been easily detected and severely punished. It is afraid that the inquiry is only meant to screen somehow or other those responsible for the incident, more terrible than the Black Hole tragedy, by attributing it simply to an "error of judgment".

It is the duty of the public, it says, to demand condign punishment of the parties concerned by a court of law, and declares that if the bureaucracy refuses to grant even this request it will only show thereby how lightly it values Indian lives.

Lokamánya (114), 3rd Dec.

57. The *Lokamánya* referring to the inquiry being held in connection with the deaths by suffocation of Moplah prisoners in a railway waggon, says that the result of the investigation does not promise well as in all probability nobody would be held seriously responsible for the deaths, the whole blame being laid on the current practice of conveying prisoners in closed waggons, and that the entire affair is likely to be closed by a few degradations and temporary loss of promotions for careless conduct. It is even possible, the paper remarks, that the police party in charge of the prisoners would be deemed worthy of sympathy for being brought into difficulties owing to its having followed the current practice and granted full pensions if compulsorily retired. It points out that this 'Black Hole' incident shows how true to the letter is Mr. Montagu's old condemnation of the Government of India as too wooden and antediluvian. The bureaucracy, it says, does not apparently look upon Indians as living beings, and sarcastically remarks that the dead Moplahs might even be charged with having purposely died of suffocation to bring the established practice into disrepute, and the survivors might be deemed worthy of punishment as their abettors.

Swarájya (Marathi) (147), 1st Dec.; *Rájakáran* (131), 27th Nov.;
Lokasangraha (116), 30th Nov.

58. God has made the bureaucracy of Madras an instrument of his mercy! About a hundred prisoners were entrained at Tirur and it was discovered at Podanur that fifty-six of them had escaped to heaven! History tells us that Suraj-ud-dowla lost his Kingdom because of the Black Hole tragedy. Will anyone now be punished for the repetition of a like tragedy? But we cannot say anything on this subject just at present. Commissions have still to be appointed, inquiries made, and their considered conclusions published. All this will necessarily involve much time. In the meantime we can safely say that the Moplahs who lost their lives were very fortunate indeed! Had they been living, they would have had to lead a very hard life in jail and that was not a very bright prospect. After all it was not bad that some kind Suraj-ud-dowla at Tirur shut them up in a nice little wagon, hermetically closed, and thus allowed them to escape the consequences of their acts of rebellion. [The *Rájakáran* says that much notice will not be taken of the tragedy since the sufferers were Indians. The *Lokasangraha* asks Government to hang the Moplahs outright instead of putting them to such tortures.]

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 29th Nov.; *Vijaya* (90), 1st Dec.;
Ráj Hansa (86), 27th Nov.; *Karnátak Vritt* (84), 29th Nov.

59. The news of this tragedy cannot fail to give rise to a feeling of bitter resentment against this satanic system of government in the mind of everyone hearing it. What have the Government to say in justification of this "Black Hole"—the Government which waged war against Suraj-ud-dawla on a false pretext, namely, the Block Hole of Calcutta? What were the police, who accompanied the prisoners, doing? This is a blot on humanity itself. It is necessary to appoint an independent committee to inquire into the matter. From the Punjab, Dhárwár and Chandpur cases we have had sufficient experience of the kind of justice that we are to expect from official inquiries. The Madras Government is engaged in the reprehensible work of trying to gloss over the errors of the officials concerned. There is no means for us to remedy this state of things except the establishment of *swarajya.* [The *Vijaya,* the *Ráj Hansa* and the *Karnátak Vritt* make similar comments.]

The affairs in Malabar and the attitude of Government towards the Moplahs.

Young India (11), 1st Dec.

60. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"My letter to the Liberals speaks for itself. In it I have not touched upon unproved or one-sided accounts of the happenings in Malabár. But I have before me correspondence which mentions inhumanities before which the Punjab ones dwindle into insignificance. The asphyxiation of prisoners is the most startling though by no means the most callous among the inhumanities that are said to be enacted in impenetrable Malabar. The Hindu mind is blinded by prejudice fed by interested accounts. I do not deny forcible conversions or other atrocities by the Moplahs. But my soul refuses to revenge itself upon innocent Moplahs or upon the women and children of the guilty ones, nor can I delight in torturing those who have done wrong. Such reprisals are not human...... Grant that the non-co-operators started the mischief by exciting the Moplahs against the Government, are non-co-operators keeping up the flame of Moplah passion ? Are they preventing the Government from stamping out the rebellion ? Why will the Government not grant permits to non-co-operators to go and plead with the Moplahs ? Let them be shot if they turn traitors to their pledge. Let the Government take hostages for good conduct. It is utterly inhuman to persist in wanton destruction and desolation when a possible way is open to them and when non-co-operators have offered under certain conditions to go and attempt to bring about peace...... I do beseech the Hindus of the Madras Presidency to become calm and find room for the misguided Moplahs in their hearts. Their religion does not teach them to condemn whole classes of people for the faults of a few...... Let not the Hindus by their thirst for Moplah blood justify Dyerism and O'Dwyerism. If we may resort to frightfulness and humiliations in respect of Moplahs, do we not justify the action of Sir Michael O'Dwyer and General Dyer who under a sense of fancied wrong and fear resorted to terrorism in the Punjab ? The Hindu passions are, I fear, being exploited by the Government to keep up the Malabár trouble. Let Hindus of Malabár and Mádras beware ! "

The Moplah riots.

Nusrat (*new*), 3rd Dec.

61. In an article headed " Sad extermination of the Moplahs ", the *Nusrat* remarks that it is highly disgraceful for the Government to pursue a vindictive policy against helpless and unarmed subjects and not to allow the Muslim leaders to bring the Moplahs to a reasonable frame of mind. It says that from the recent disturbances, the Government have fully realised the fact that in India, under the present circumstances, the repressive policy cannot prove so successful as one of peace and good-will. But, it adds, the difficulty is that Government are not at all inclined to conclude peace, and that especially from the moment the ex- Lord Chief Justice of England has set his foot on the Indian soil, repression has been greatly enhanced. It feels sure of the troubles coming to an end provided that the King-Emperor proclaims a general amnesty and the Muslim Ulemas and leaders are sent to Malabár with that proclamation. It adds that if this is impossible, Government should at least allow a few Ulemas and leaders to go to Malabár in order to inform the Moplahs of the non-violent attitude of the Musalmans in general. It advises the rulers to hold the life of an Indian as precious as that of an Englishman or any other white-skinned person.

Comments on the treaty with Afghanistan.

Servant of India (8), 1st Dec.

62. " The conclusion of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty has been made the occasion of much self-congratulation on the British side, from a royal message to the Amir to viceroyal thanks to Sir Henry Dobbs and a chorus of the inspired press about a British diplomatic ' success ' and the great ' satisfaction ' felt about it all. Methinks, they protest a trifle too much and too loudly....... Much is made in official communiques of a so-called *quid pro quo, viz.*, that ' no Russian Consulates will be permitted ' in the three frontier districts. Is it seriously pretended that the Russian virus, if virus it is, will not affect the Indian frontier, if no accredited Russian officials are actually stationed in Jalalabad, Ghazni and Kandahar, but have free scope everywhere else in Afghanistan ? The other point much emphasized is the discontinuation of the ' subsidy '—though the ' valuable present ' to be made on ratification, takes a good deal of gilt off that piece of gingerbread. Anybody who believes, as we do, in the self-determination of peoples must welcome the new treaty : but, one doubts how far this treaty will go without a new treaty with Russia."

Sind Observer (9), 25th and 26th Nov.

63. " The Anglo-Afghan Treaty has at last been concluded. Afghan diplomacy has scored all along the line and got all that it wanted from the British Government without sacrificing anything on its part. The Government of India, which is now presided over by a liberal, diplomatic Viceroy, has shown breadth of vision and liberality of outlook in concluding a treaty which is in consonance with the sovereign status of Afghanistan and the aspirations of the new Amir. We believe the Government of India has acted in the wisest way in making the necessary concessions to the Amir to keep him in good relationship with India....... Reading between the lines of the Anglo-Afghan Treaty, one clearly sees that the Government of India were only too anxious that the Dobbs mission should not fail. 'Peace at any price' is writ large on it. But, in fairness to Lord Reading, we must say that in making the concessions demanded by Afghanistan, His Excellency was merely acknowledging, in some respects, the rights that go with the status of a sovereign State; and in other respects, he had to stretch some points in favour of the Amir to have him as a friendly neighbour instead of a sullen foe." [In its next issue the paper writes:—"On many grounds is the treaty welcome to Indian public opinion—religious, political and otherwise. But, as far as we notice, it is largely welcomed on the ground of finance. We are now, at least for a period of three years, to have a friendly neighbour in the Amir and unless the unforeseen happens, the state of peace will continue. Now, it may reasonably be asked if there should not be an immediate curtailment in the strength of our troops, not a little portion of which are maintained to meet the imaginary peril of an Afghan invasion? It will mean a tremendous relief to our finances which are at a breaking-point. It will mean the employment of the public revenue on really fruitful and remunerative branches of the administration. This policy will give immense satisfaction to the public mind of this country. The demands of the situation as created by the Afghan Treaty and the spirit of the times urge that the Indian military problem should be reviewed from a new angle of vision."]

Gujaráti (14), 4th Dec.

***64.** The *Gujaráti* wonders how the Indian Moslems who refuse to co-operate with Government on religious grounds will take the treaty of friendship concluded between England and Afghanistan. It expresses its gratification that Afghanistan has, at last, been recognised as an independent State. It considers the exemption from duty of all goods imported by Afghanistan for her industrial development as an important concession and wonders whether any guarantee has been taken that the goods will not find their way into Central Asia. It believes this exemption from duty will indirectly compensate the Amir for the loss of his annuity. It considers it open to question whether the treaty will lead to peace on the North-Western Frontier and the reduction of India's military expenditure, but it welcomes the treaty as, in its opinion, it will pacify the Indian Moslems and remove a burden from the Indian treasury.

Political Bhomiyo (71), 2nd Dec.

65. The Treaty of friendship with Afghanistan after protracted negotiations will be welcomed in all quarters and will delight the hearts of all Indians. The settlement of the question of North-Western Frontiers will tend to reduce the burden of India's military expenditure. Every Indian's heart will be delighted at the relief of the Government of India from the Bolshevik menace. We hope the British Government will accept the treaty concluded by the Government of India and ratify it. Turkey also wants its independence to be recognised, and we hope that Britain will gain the goodwill of the Moslem world by concluding an honourable peace with Turkey before France and Italy secure their own interests by separate treaties. Let us hope that the British Government will not fail to follow in the footsteps of the Government of India by removing the discontent among the Indian Moslems as suggested by the Government of India.

Kesári (110), 29th Nov.

66. The *Kesári* referring to the conclusion of the treaty with Afghanistan says that though India has been benefited by the stoppage of the subsidy of 18 lakhs paid yearly to the Amir, the gain has been to a considerable extent counterbalanced by the British Government's agreement to forego all customs duties on stores imported for the Afghan Government. It also thinks that the British Government has not gained much in the matter of stopping the Bolshevik propaganda by the Afghan Government's assurance not to allow Soviet consulates at Jalalabad, Ghazni and Kandahar, as they are to be allowed at places like Herat, Balkh, etc.

It also points out that the treaty does nothing in the matter of stopping the inroads of the Frontier tribesmen into India, and declares that it appears as if Sir Henry Dobbs is retracing his steps back to India with such a worthless treaty in the pocket, as it would have reflected discredit upon him to have returned without having concluded any treaty. Otherwise does it not appear extremely inconsistent, it asks, that in spite of the unprovoked attack on India by the Afghans costing this country over twenty-one crores and their subsequent defeat, Afghanistan should not only go unpunished, but have its prestige increased by recognition of its independence? The Government of India has had to pocket this insult, in the paper's opinion, as it has forfeited the sympathies of its own Indian subjects.

Lokamánya (114), 27th Nov.; *Rajákaran* (131), 27th Nov.

67. The *Lokamánya* welcomes the treaty with Afghanistan on the ground that it is likely to lighten India's military burden, and remarks that the Afghans will now keep the Bolsheviks at arm's length since their complete independence has been recognized by the English. It congratulates the Viceroy on the conclusion of a treaty pregnant with such possibilities. [The *Rájakáran* says that Afghanistan should now fully equip itself with modern engines of war such as aeroplanes, machine guns, gas-bombs, etc., so that no other power will ever have the temerity to attack it.]

Comments on the treatment of political prisoners.

Vijaya (90), 28th Nov.

68. Political prisoners are neither rogues nor robbers. They are the leaders of the nation who, dissatisfied with the present system of administration, are striving for the amelioration of the condition of the people and for the uplift of the country. They are generally men of learning, distinction, self-sacrifice and self-denial. If the Government have any difference of opinion with them, they should at the worst isolate them in order to prevent them from carrying on their work; but it is not proper to mete out to them a treatment which smacks of vengeance. This tendency to take revenge is a mean tendency and we hope the bureaucracy which boasts of its love of justice will try to get over it.

The danger to India of Capitalism and Imperialism.

Hindusthán (20), 30th Nov.

69. The *Hindusthán* discourses on the evils of Capitalism and Imperialism and the failure of Russia to act up to the precepts of Tolstoy to put an end to these evils by non-violent means. The paper warns Mr. Gandhi to move at a slow pace in preparing the country for civil disobedience lest he might again have to repent for his haste and incur the responsibility of doing harm to India. Elsewhere the paper dwells upon the danger that confronts India in the shape of capitalists who in its opinion are being helped by Government to tighten the country's bonds and to bleed the country so that it may not be able to stand on its own legs when *swaráj* comes to be granted to the people. The paper then supports the movements organised by the Mavlas of Mulshi Peta to resort to *satyagraha* and it warns the Indians that the dam at Mulshi will prove a death trap to the movement of *swaráj* and exhorts them to help the Mavlas in the interest of the country.

Hindus should unite to defend their religion.

Swadharma (new), 1st Dec.

70. Referring to the alleged submergence of several temples under the Mulshi Peta scheme, the *Swadharma* writes:—His Majesty the King-Emperor and the Government of India have several times given pledges both orally and in writing for the preservation of Hindu and Muhammadan shrines. The oral pledges are, of course, apt to be soon forgotten, because they leave behind no visible trace. As for written pledges, Germany and before her some of the Indian Viceroys have shown the example as to how to consign them to the waste paper basket as mere "Scraps of paper". Why should then the bureaucracy be afraid of either written or oral promises? The Tata Company is of course still less afraid. It was the belief of several amongst us so far that

Government do not interfere with religious matters. But during the last few months instances have occurred showing that if Government's interest suffers, the bureaucracy does not hesitate to attack religion or any other thing. It is, therefore, necessary that all Hindus should unite to defend their religion.

Protest against the increase of sporting clubs in the mill area in Bombay.

Shri Shivaji (143), 21st Nov.

71. In Bombay, especially in areas inhabited by mill-hands, Government have been encouraging gambling along with drinking by allowing sporting clubs, *i. e.*, gambling houses to be started. If Government do not see their way to check in time the rapid increase of such clubs the evil will ultimately reach its climax and both people and Government will have to suffer. Government had so far been opening only liqour-shops to destroy the happy homes of the poor but as if their demoniac desire remained unsatisfied by that, they have now let loose this new temptation against the people. Government ought to be really ashamed that under their rule there should be an ever-increasing number of victims of vicious life in almost all the big cities in India.

Comments on Lord Sinha's resignation.

Kesari (110), 29th Nov.

72. The *Kesari* expresses regret that Lord Sinha should have been obliged to resign his Governorship of Behar and Orissa owing to ill-health but declares that from the popular point of view his administration has been a complete failure as it was he who first launched the crusade against non-co-operation. It declares that he would have proved an ornament to the country had he asserted himself against the overbearing bureaurcracy under him and made it bend to his own will, but as it is, nobody now cares for his resignation.

Dnyân Prakâsh (40), 1st Dec.

73. The *Dnyân Prakâsh* dilates on the sacrifices made by Lord Sinha in the service of India and remarks that the inhabitants of the territories administered by him owe their comparative immunity from repression to his presence at the head of the administration.

Protest against the grant of proportionate pensions to the I. C. S.

Hindu (160), 17th Nov.

74. When the present reforms were under discussion, the members of the Indian Civil Service threatened to resign their appointments rather than serve under Indian Ministers. To pacify them, Mr. Montagu sanctioned very substantial increases in their salaries, putting India thereby to a loss of several lacs of rupees. But this was not enough for them. Soon after they made a further demand, namely, that those who wished to resign before their time might be allowed to do so on proportionate pensions. Curiously enough this unreasonable demand of theirs has also been granted by the Secretary of State. We have no objection to *gora* officials resigning the service. On the contrary we should be glad if they did so. But we certainly object to any pensions being given them if they resign before their time. Surely their covenants do not provide for this arrangement. To grant them pensions before their time is an act of jobbery.

Swarâj (Sindhi) (171), 24th Nov.

75. It may come as a surprise to our readers to know that some *gora* members of the Indian Civil Service are thinking of non-co-operating with Government. They find that they cannot on conscientious grounds serve under Indian Ministers and have therefore asked to be allowed to retire on proportionate pensions before their time. Curiously enough this demand of theirs has been granted by Government. This is Lord Reading's justice! In strange contrast to the indulgence shown to Europeans non-co-operating with Government is the treatment given to Indians resigning Government service on grounds of conscience. Such Indians are shadowed by the C. I. D. and harassed by the police in various ways. This differential treatment is probably due to the feeling that while the Europeans have a conscience, the Indians have none. We are, however, indifferent to all this. Let Lord Reading's justice have its course.

The status of Indians in Kenya.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Nov.

76. "In view of the fact that the demands of the Indian community and the views of the Whites are well-known to all, including the Kenya Government, and there is nothing further to be elicited about them, it would be utterly useless to appoint a Royal Commission to investigate the question. In the known circumstances, the appointment of such a Commission is certain to be viewed by the Indian community as a mere dodge on the part of the Whites to gain time and to reconcile the Indians to their present lot. What is wanted is a frank recognition by the Whites of the rights of Indians as members of the British commonwealth..... But the Whites are obsessed with the idea that they are bound to be masters not only in their own homes, but in other people's homes too and they seek to cover up their selfish aims by the sanctimonious cant about the 'Whiteman's civilising mission', and the 'Whiteman's burden'. This cant forms the keynote of the memorandum on the Indian question which the East African Whites' delegation to South Africa has prepared for wide circulation in the Union..... The sooner the Whites of Kenya realise that their fantastic ideal of a 'superior' white race holding the rest of the world in helotage and leading-strings is impossible of achievement, because it is fundamentally unjust, the better for their own peaceful progress. Even a cursory glance at the proposals of Sir E. Northey's Government, as they have been published, must convince every impartial critic that they cannot, in their present form, be acceptable to Indians, as they affect adversely even their existing status. It is a misnomer to call the proposals a compromise. On the other hand, it is a case of 'heads I win and tails you lose' with the Whites. Some of the proposals seem all right in theory, but in their application they are calculated to deprive Indians of some of the rights they already possess..... And yet, the Government of Kenya have the hardihood to describe the general basis of their policy in Kenya as 'equal rights for civilised men'. Evidently, since the war, in the eyes of some Britishers, 'equality' and 'civilisation' have received new meanings, which are not to be found in the English dictionaries now in use. Are Lord Reading and his colleagues prepared to take lying down the ignominious 'concessions' proposed to be conferred on Indians? We ask what the Government of India propose to do to fulfil the solemn pledge given by Lord Chelmsford in January 1920 and confirmed by His Majesty's Ministers."

Comments on the sentence passed on Mr. Mahomed Khan of Karachi.

New Times (7), 25th Nov.

77. "Last evening's meeting congratulated Mr. Mahomed Khan on his ten days' simple imprisonment. Is the sentence intended to be something like a threat to this active political worker? We are told that nobody was serious during the trial: we are not surprised. Was not the whole thing a farce? A Government which construes picketing as fighting and volunteers as a lawless set of persons could easily construe Mr. Mahomed Khan's action as a crime under Section 68 of the Bombay Police Act! Two of the witnesses deposed that they themselves were 'excited' by Mr. Mahomed Khan's speech! And they were trusted, and Mr. Talati found no hesitation in convicting a fellow-councillor! Mr. Mahomed Khan will be back in a few days; the 'gains' of the prosecution will be his, not Government's!"

Comments on the Dharwar Sessions Judge's judgment in the Deshpande case.

Lokamánya (114), 1st and 2nd Dec.

78. The *Lokamánya* refers to Mr. Waterfield's judgment in the Deshpande case and sarcastically declares that it fully maintains the reputation for impartiality and profound knowledge of law which he earned in the Dhárwár shooting case. It mentions the grounds on which the assessors declared Mr. Deshpande not guilty and says that the Judge has failed to controvert any of the grounds in his judgment which merely teems with plausible statements. The judgment clearly shows, the paper remarks, that Mr. Waterfield has fallen a victim to the temptation not to let go the splendid opportunity of casting into jail a distinguished popular leader like Mr. Gangadharrao. [The paper in its next issue again reverts to Mr. Waterfield's judgment and declares that the judge's consciousness about the accused being one of those who have condemned his decision in the Dhárwár shooting case seems to have seriously prejudiced him against Mr. Deshpande, as shown by nearly half of the judgment being devoted to the accused's criticism of the Dhárwár shooting affair. Mr. Waterfield was, in the paper's opinion, disqualified to try Mr. Deshpande as a large part of the statements in his speech which formed the subject of the charge contained indirect reflections on Mr. Waterfield himself. Had Mr. Deshpande not been a non-co-operator, the paper remarks, he would have objected on the above ground to his case being tried by Mr. Waterfield and it would have been transferred without any trouble to some other court. That Mr. Waterfield should have come forward to try the case, simply because the accused had not objected, does not show, in the paper's opinion, his love of justice. It also refers to the judge's opinion that statements like "Government has broken its promises and has been guilty of injustice" constitute an offence under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code and says that, according to this extraordinary view, even the Moderates have been daily committing sedition and ought to be punished. The utter worthlessness of the judgment is, in the opinion of the paper, thus quite plain.]

Relations between England and Turkey.

Gujaráti (14), 4th Dec.

***79.** The *Gujaráti* declares that England has been placed in an awkward position by the defeat of Greece at the hands of the Kemalists and the conclusion of a separate treaty by France with the Government of Angora. Referring to the address presented by a deputation of the Moslem Community of Delhi to Lord Reading and the three demands made therein, the paper declares that it would be possible to concede the first two demands about the removal of international control from Constantinople and the restoration of Smyrna and Thrace to Turkey but that it would be difficult to re-establish the suzerainty of Turkey over the holy places of Islam as they have already been placed under Arab leaders who are recognised as rulers of Hedjaz and Iraq and who would refuse to bow down to the Khalif. The paper, however, believes that a settlement of their question would be possible if Britain discontinues her help to the Arab chiefs and asks them to arrive at an amicable settlement with Turkey.

Prospects of the revision of the Turkish treaty.

Lokamánya (114), 1st Dec.

80. The *Lokamánya* says that the Turkish treaty is likely to be discussed at Paris at an early date between representatives of France, England and Angora on the return of M. Briand from America and expresses the opinion that France is likely to carry a preponderating weight in the discussions as England is placed in a tight position with regard to Ireland and the situation in India also is full of anxiety as disclosed by what has happened after the arrival of the Prince of Wales in the country. Nobody will be surprised, it remarks, if under the circumstances England is anxious to conclude such a Turkish treaty as would placate the enraged Muhammadan feelings. The position of the Prince of Wales in India at the present moment seems to be, in the opinion of the paper, somewhat like that of a hostage and the British statesmen seem naturally anxious to free His Royal Highness from that position by concluding a Turkish treaty satisfactory to the Muhammadans. The critical condition of the Greek army in Asia Minor, the paper points out, will also help the conclusion of a fair Turkish treaty, and Smyrna is bound to pass into the hands of the Angora Government according to its demands. It thinks that the difference of opinion that is likely to occur between England and France as regards Thrace owing to the various kinds of pressure that Greece is sure to bring to bear upon England to allow it to remain in her hands, is likely to result in placing it under a joint Greek and Turkish control.

EDUCATION.

Protest against the closing of the Primary School Teachers' Training School at Bijapur.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 29th Nov.

81. At a time when the educational portfolio is in the hands of an Indian Minister and when the people are known to be thirsting for compulsory primary education, it was extremely improper on the part of the authorities to close the Training School for Primary Teachers at Bijápur without first placing the proposal before the people's representatives in the Legislative Council. Representatives of Karnatak, is this all that your boasted influence and power in the council can achieve?

Compulsory primary education being delayed without excuse.

Shri Shivaji (143), 21st Nov.

82. The principle of compulsory primary education having been once accepted, we fail to understand the reason why the Minister of Education has been wasting time over its application by referring the question to a Committee. Or is he doing all this in order to prove its impracticability? There appears to be no sign of compulsory primary education being started during the term of office of the present minister. What then has been the benefit to the public in having the Educational Department in the hands of an Indian Minister? We have not even got any new schools started this year though it has been the practice hitherto to open several every year. If this state of affairs is to continue we would be constrained to say that the old Executive Councillors were preferable to the present Ministers. The Minister of Education would, therefore, do well to awaken in time and legislate to make municipalities at least introduce compulsory education within their limits.

MUNICIPALITIES.

The position of Municipal bodies under the new Reforms.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 1st Dec.

83. " The Government of Bombay, in their recent resolution regarding Non-co-operating Municipalities, have only taken on, as an eminent critic on the system of local government at present obtaining in England, points out, ' the warrior spirit which fear breeds, and is more than ever determined to do battle in defence of its threatened privileges '. They have made the people realise that the possession and maintenance of even the most elementary rights of self-government more than ever depend upon the conduct of the national struggle for *swarâj*....... Those who have studied the history of the actual working of the several legislative enactments on the present subject, have long been disgusted at the continued disingenuousness betrayed by Government in their periodic indulgence in pious declarations and vague phraseology. They are, therefore, free to acknowledge their gratitude to the advisers who have dragged them into the open..... The latest Bombay Government resolution on the subject drives the last nail into the coffin of local self-government. It describes ' the extent of the independent authority of Municipalities ' thus: ' Apart from the authority they thus derive from Government they have no authority at all. ' The description has no doubt more than a family resemblance to the authoritative definition of the Prussian system of local government which has been defined as ' the Agent within the Municipal area of the Central Government, and in this capacity it is independent of the control of the Town Council '. But it would be paying an undeserved compliment to the system here prevalent if it were to be recognised as a faithful copy of the Prussian system. It is, in practice, decidedly worse than that. The authors of the ' Reforms ' have prescribed a test. They say that if their ' proposals for changes on the higher levels are to be a success, there must be no hesitation or paltering about changes in local bodies '. The test has been applied. The recent resolution of the Government is a final and conclusive proof of the utter failure of those changes. It has cured us of the mesmerism that made us dependent on Government benevolence. Everything, as we said, now depends on the efforts of the people, on their unerring conduct of the national struggle. Government, while defining the exact position, have done the rational thing in exposing their own traditional cant about local self-government."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W. Secretariat, Bombay, 9th December 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 10th December 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated: what action, if any, is being taken; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule:

Apprehension that taxation under Land Revenue head will be increased in Bombay Presidency 71
Comments on the All-India Trade Union Congress at Jharia . . 78 & 79
Comments on the failure of the Adly Mission from Egypt . . . 73—77
Comments on the Irish settlement . . . . 52—57
Comments on the postponement of the work on the Mulshi Peta Dam. 65
Comments on the sessions of the Fiscal Commission at Karáchi . . 66
Comments on the treaty with Afghanistan . . . . 69 & 70
Protest against export of foodstuffs . . . . 67 & 68
Protest against the action of the Bombay City Improvement Trust in connection with ground adjoining a Jain temple at Byculla . . 72
Protest against the treatment of political prisoners 63
Sikhs and the Punjab Government 64
The Moplah train tragedy . . . . 60—62
The responsibility of Government for the Moplah rebellion . . . 58 & 59
Excise: Comments on the Bombay Government's resolution prohibiting picketing in Bombay . . . . 47—51

His Excellency the Viceroy:

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's utterances in Calcutta . 10—12
Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Delhi Muhammadan deputation . . . . 6—8
Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Punjáb Chamber of Commerce 9
His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Benares Municipality's address . . . . 4 & 5
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales: Comments on the visit of — . 1—3

Non-co-operation:

Alleged failure of the policy of — . . . . 36 & 37
Comments on the Akhil Maharashtra Conference at Akola . . . 39—46
Comments on the arrest of — leaders . . . . 13—19
Comments on the disturbances in Bombay . . . . 33 & 34
Conviction and sentence of Pandit Nekiram 20
For India there is no alternative to — 35
Government policy of repression and the moderates 32

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation—concld.

Reflections on the policy of repression . . . . 21—31
The Khilafat question is the root of the troubles in India . . . 38

Public Service:

Comments on Lord Sinha's resignation . . . . 80—83
Strictures on the Government Resolution on proportionate pensions for the Imperial Services . . . . 87 & 88
Comments on the appointment of Mr. Cawasji Jehangir as member of the Bombay Executive Council . . . . 84—86

War: England, France and the Franko-Kemalist Agreement . . . 89

MUNICIPALITIES—

The Ahmedabad Municipality and Mr. Tilak's bust 90

RAILWAYS—

The brutal treatment of third class passengers on Indian railways . . 91

NATIVE STATES—

Comments on the dispute between the Jains and the Junagadh Durbar regarding ownership of the Girnar temples 93
Jain protest against certain action of the Palitana Durbar on the Shatrunja Hill. 94
Strictures on the administration of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhápur 92

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Insaf (66), 2nd Dec.

1. The Moderates were full of hopes that the grievances of the Indian people would be removed at the hands of the Prince of Wales but these hopes have been frustrated by the statement made by the Prince in Bombay that he has come merely to make a closer acquaintance with India. How very strange and unjust it is on the part of the bureaucracy that they are keeping the Prince busy in participating in the banquets and hunts provided for him by the Native Chiefs at a time when the hearts of the Hindus and Moslems of India have been rent asunder! How very hard-hearted it is not to allow the future King-Emperor to examine the hearts of his subjects lacerated by the cruelties perpetrated at the Jalianwalla Bagh! It is sheer injustice to the Indian Moslems to introduce to the Prince a few title hunters and to make him believe that the Indian Moslems are contented when their religion, the holy Quran and their holy places are in danger, and when their leaders are sent to jail for inculcating the teachings of the Quran and are made to grind corn and to wear a dress that is not sanctioned by their religion.

Lokasangraha (116), 9th Dec.

2. The *Lokasangraha* says that instead of promulgating repressive laws in a town about to be visited by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Government should give the inhabitants twenty-four hours' notice to quit the place. It suggestively remarks that an experience of this kind would not be quite novel to the people since they usually go to live outside a town when an epidemic of plague breaks out.

Swarájya (Marathi) (147), 8th Dec.

3. Three thousand persons attended the Durbar held in honour of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and, according to Anglo-Indian papers, he shook hands with everyone of them for two hours! But no one need suppose that this exertion fatigued the Prince, for we are reliably informed by the Anglo-Indian journals that, if need were, the Prince would have continued to shake hands for two hours more. We are further told that the Prince smiled as genially when he shook hands with the last guest as when he did with the first one. We cannot possibly disbelieve this account coming as it does from Englishmen. Now a simple arthmetical calculation tells us that in order to be able to shake hands with three thousand persons within two hours, the Prince must have shaken hands with about twenty-five persons in one minute, and smiled as many times in the same space of time! The prodigy that can accomplish a feat like that must be endowed with supernatural powers indeed! Exaggerated accounts such as these only provoke the merriment of Indians.

His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Benares Municipality's address.

Kesari (110), 6th Dec.

4. The *Kesari* refuses to repute the arguments put forward by His Excellency the Viceroy for welcoming the Prince of Wales in the course of his reply to Benares Municipality's address, as such arguments have already been met over and over again, but it gives translation of an extract from what the sister of the late Mr. MacSwiny, Mayor of Cork, has written in the course of an appreciation of her brother's services to Ireland, which goes to show, it says, the cunning spirit with which the British Government has always been inspired in bringing about such visits of members of the Royal family. The extract says that as the visits to Ireland of persons connected with the Royal family were purposely brought about by the British Government in order to favourably influence Irishmen in its own favour by taking advantage of their innate spirit of hospitality, Mr. MacSwiny and his friends had to go round to expose the real objects of such visits and to dissuade the people from welcoming Royal personages. Irish history, the paper says, is thus repeating itself in India. It fails to understand why the Viceroy is vainly troubling himself in defending the visit of the Prince of Wales when its real object is as clear as anything.

Lokamánya (114), 7th Dec.

5. The *Lokamánya* refers to the statement of His Excellency the Viceroy in the course of his reply to the Benares Municipality's address that the Government of India fully supported the repressive measures adopted by the Bengal Government and says that the support evidently extends to all the other local Governments also, as shown by what is taking place in the United Provinces and the Punjáb. It seems as if, the paper says, the Government of India would support the Bengal Government's action even if the thousands of volunteers who are rallying round Mr. C. R. Dass' banner are put under arrest by it. The Bombay Government too, in the paper's opinion, has taken advantage of the Government of India's general permission and placed its ban on the picketing of liquor shops as shown by a recent Press Note. It, therefore, dwells upon the necessity of the people and non-co-operation workers maintaining a non-violent attitude during these critical times as advised by Mr. Gandhi. It declares that the present tactics of Government are merely a repetition of what it did twelve years back, but points out that the present political situation is far different from that which then prevailed. In this connection the paper calls attention to the London *Times'* supplement issued on 17th November in commemoration of the Prince's visit to India in which it describes the vast political changes that have taken place in India during recent times and says that thoughtful Englishmen would see by its perusal that the old times when repression could succeed to a certain extent are now gone, as the number of public workers prepared to go to prison has enormously increased by the efforts of Mr. Gandhi and the public too is strongly supporting them. The paper feels confident that if the non-violent movement continues to be strongly maintained, it would be fully able to throw back the wave of repression set in motion by the bureaucracy.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to Delhi Muhammadan deputation.

Kesari (110), 6th Dec.

6. The *Kesari*, referring to the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Delhi Muhammadans, says that the occasion seems to have been purposely brought about as His Excellency is apparently repenting for the prosecution of the Ali Brothers and wants to conciliate Muslim public opinion. He has, therefore, it says, assured the Muhammadans in the course of the reply that Constantinople would soon be free from international control and that Asia Minor would not remain under the Greeks. As to the other questions His Excellency declares that the Government of India was in full sympathy with the Indian Muhammadans and was trying its best to get their desires fulfilled. All the sympathy shown by His Excellency for the Muslims, the paper declares, must be attributed to the exploits of Kemal Pasha against the Greeks and to the action of France in concluding a direct treaty with Angora against which England dare not go. As to Thrace, the paper thinks that the British politicians seem to be trying to earn the Indian Muslims' gratitude by outwardly attempting to save it from the Greeks, but it says that they would not be decieved by these tactics as they know full well with whom the British sympathise at heart.

New Times (7), 2nd Dec.

7. Commenting on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Musalmans of Delhi, the *New Times* writes :—"And what did Lord Reading say? He recognised the 'intensity' of the 'Muslim feeling'. Yet the Ali Brothers, Dr. Kitchlew and some other Muslim leaders who voiced that feeling in words not half as strong as the feeling itself, are rotting in jail! He expressed 'great sympathy' with the Indian Muslims who, he said, 'were seeking to remedy what they conscientiously believed was an injustice to their religion'. Yet, we know, this Government is pursuing a policy of repression, and Khilafatists have been sent to jail. The strangest part of His Excellency's speech is that in which he defends England's attitude to Turkey....... The *Observer* of London wrote the other day :—'We may of course, have to alter considerably the Treaty of Sevres, but it should be because events in Asia Minor have changed since the Treaty was drawn up, and not because the agitation has developed in India'. We believe the new move of Britain is due *both* to the Indian agitation and 'change of events in Asia Minor'. British imperialism is in no mood to abandon its *interests* in Asia Minor! It would make some concessions to Turkey; it is not prepared to recognise the full terms of Islam...... Lord Reading talks of the 'internationalisation of the Straits' as being 'in the interests of Turkey'. The 'internationalisation' would practically mean the Allied control. It is idle to talk of 'international' control in an arrangement which excludes Russia and Germany and is dictated by

the 'Victors',—practically by England and France!...... A revision of the Turkish Treaty will be guided by the motive of imperialism 'to hold the gorgeous East in fee with redoubled security'! Great Britain's 'great sympathy' with the Muslim has no higher motive than 'diplomacy'. It is not the sympathy born of an appreciation of the values of Islam for the modern world."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 3rd Dec.

8. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the separate treaty of peace concluded by France with the Government of Angora and the defeat of Greece at the hands of the Kemalists and declares that Britain has now secured a golden opportunity of concluding a treaty with Turkey in accordance with the wishes of her Moslem subjects. It expresses gratification at the sympathetic reply given by Lord Reading to a deputation of Moslem inhabitants of Delhi and expresses the hope that Lord Reading and Mr. Montagu will not miss the present unique opportunity of winning over the hearts of their Moslem subjects by inducing the British Cabinet to modify the Turkish treaty in accordance with Moslem sentiments.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce.

Karnatak Mitra (34), 8th Dec.

9. Lord Reading, who is dinning into our ears day and night his sermons on peace and order, seems to think that Indians should hand over all their earthly possessions to the rulers and should remain content with monthly salaries and Manchester clothing. This is perhaps what His Excellency means by peace. If this is the aim of British rule in this country, they have done a great disservice to themselves by throwing before us even the small crumb of reforms. If it be the desire of the British to rule over a country for thousands of years without experiencing any difficulties and troubles, they will have indeed to create for that purpose a new land inhabited by people devoid of self-respect, or by brutes. We believe that it was sheer good luck on the part of the British that the Indians by some adverse stroke of destiny remained lifeless for the last 150 years. To hope, therefore, that Indians should to the last be content to live in this peace of death is to forget human nature itself. His Excellency's another contention is that the movement of non-co-operation is a hindrance to the peaceful progress of law-abiding citizens. Was there no hindrance to the peace and happiness of the English during the great war? When the independence of a nation, which is the prime source of all peace and happiness, is itself endangered, is it not foolish to think of trade and such other pursuits? Lord Reading's sermon on peace has, therefore, no more value than an old woman's tale. His Excellency's words can only be appreciated by those citizens who do not know the value of independence, whose sole object in life is peace and happiness and who, while seemingly alive, are in reality dead.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's utterances in Calcutta.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 11th Dec.

*10. "His Excellency the Viceroy, speaking at a banquet at Calcutta, referred to the Irish settlement and drew from it certain lessons for the Indian people. .... The principal lesson, which the Viceroy drew for the benefit of India from the Irish settlement, may be quoted in his own words: 'But think of the difference between Ireland and India. Ireland has attained this result after long, long years. India without any of the acts which have characterised the history of the movement in Ireland attained a tremendous boon in the grant of reforms which took her already far away upon the road to that complete *swaráj* which we all want. Again, India has before it by ordinary constitutional means, by labours, by the efforts of those who are in the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State for India and in the Legislative Councils of the provinces, an opportunity of which they have been very quick to avail themselves of proving they are the people who would soon be ready for that full grant of self-government.' Did His Excellency seriously mean to convey that the constitutional means available to Ireland which had over 100 members directly elected to the House of Commons, was inferior to the Legislative Assembly, the Council of State, and the Provincial Councils which he thought gave India an advantage not possessed by Ireland? Has India ever received a hundredth part of the attention which

Parliament and the British Government have had to devote to Ireland because of this solid block of Irish members ? No one is obliged to refer to political history in postprandial speeches, but if one does, one should keep within the limits of history. We do not minimise the value of constitutional methods, but we are not able to say that the present settlement is the outcome, directly or indirectly, of such methods, unless we include the last negotiations between the British Government and Sinn Fein—an utterly unconstitutional body—among them.......... We are all for patience and have sought to inculcate it in our own way on those who seem to us to be wanting in that great virtue. But the best way of ensuring the patience of the people is for their rulers to be prompt and vigilant in redressing wrongs and promoting their prosperity, moral and material. The chief lesson of the Irish settlement, in our opinion, is for Government. It is the danger of procrastination, delay and the exaltation of vested interests over those of the people. If India ever repeats the history of Ireland, it will be less the fault of the people than of the Government here and in Great Britain. Such a movement as the Sinn Fein is not an invention of certain leaders but the outcome of a distinctive national consciousness compounded of ethnic and religious emotions whose re-action to political influence is constant and unvarying. Antagonism to an alien Government may stimulate (and even simulate) such a consciousness but it is not that consciousness. Mahatma Gandhi's mistake lies in not distinguishing the one from the other, and even more in endeavouring to build up a national unity on communal differences. The power to paralyse an existing system is not the same as the power to erect and operate an alternative one which is superior or at any rate not inferior to it in its outlook and efficiency. On the other hand, because a system is the only one possible for the time being, it does not follow that it is wise to keep it stiff, unbending, impervious to the call for more space and air. Those who feel in this way find that the only honest course open to them at present, is to accord their support to whatever makes for the upbuilding of the nation in the measures and policy of either side, and to oppose whatever in either side is opposed to steady and sure progress in that direction. They are unable to feel that the Councils by themselves, and without the pressure of public opinion (agitation if you please) outside can effect much."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 10th Dec.

11. Commenting on Lord Reading's speach to the Bengali leaders at Calcutta, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :—"The issue is what Lord Reading is pleased to call a small difference. And it is this that while the Government make a fetish of the recent 'Reforms' and say 'Thus far and no farther until the British people decide how much farther you are to go', the Indian people long to come into their own, to be free. The freedom they long for and need is a freedom that is not incompatible with their country remaining a member of the group known as the British Comonwealth of free nations. And they long for this freedom because it is their due and because without it they cannot keep themselves abreast of other countries and contribute their full and proper share towards the progress of humanity...... Even the co-operators are dissatisfied with diarchy and want full provincial autonomy and responsibility in the Central Government. 'The liberty which England desires,' Lord Reading said, 'consists not in enforcing your will on that of others by whatever means you may seek, it is that liberty which does not consist in saying that others must do as you wish. That is the very opposite of liberty. That is tyranny'. Now, we ask His Excellency if these wise words do not apply to the attitude of his Government and the British Government towards India's united demand for *swaráj*. Is it 'liberty' which makes England flout the wishes of the overwhelming bulk of the people, which asks that Indians must do as the English people wish ? Supposing the position were reversed ? What would Englishmen do ? Lord Reading says Government do not like arrests and want to avoid them. No human being likes arrest *per se*. Why is it then that men like Pandit Motilal Nehru and Lala Lajpat Rai welcome arrests ? Lord Reading regards the phenomenon as a mere defiance of Government and as such he says he will not allow it to sway his Government one hair's breadth from their present policy. But is there not another explanation of the pehnomenon ? Is it not a great sacrifice and does not the sacrifice embody the protest of the people against the continued refusal to satisfy their passionate longing for a completer and fuller freedom than they now enjoy ? You may not like, you may even condemn, the non-co-operation movement. But that is not the point. We are not discussing the merits of the non-co-operation movement. Our immediate concern is to go to the root of the matter—that is, the cause of which it is but the effect. And the cause is this, to go back again to the issue with which we began, that while the Indian people are not satisfied with the Government of India Act and want the reality of *swaráj*, the Government ignore the universal dissatisfaction and are determined, to use Sir Harcourt Butler's language, 'to see it through'. Lord Reading calls the difference a small one; the Indian people regard it as fundamental. But differences, whether small or fundamental, are capable of satisfactory adjustment, as the Irish negotiations have amply shown. The Irish Home Rule Act was on the Statute-book. Did the fact prevent Mr. Lloyd George from entering into negotiations? As regards the Turkish question, Lord Reading has repeatedly stated that he has identified himself with the views of Indian Muslims. An understanding on this point between the Government and the people is, therefore, the easier of attainment. And, as regards the Punjáb, the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England will not surely be so unjudicial as not to listen to what the people's case on the question is. What then is there which prevents a conference between the representatives of the people and the Government? Not the non-co-operators surely. For, neither the Congress nor Mahatma Gandhi have made a fetish of the non-co-operation movement and have ruled out the method of negotiation. They are concerned with the end; if that end is to be achieved by negotiation, none would welcome it more than they."

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 9th Dec.

12. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* comments on His Excellency the Lord Reading's speech before the leading Indians of Bengal and declares that it cannot but make an appeal to every thoughtful Indian. The paper endorses His Excellency's appeal for patience and declares that the Moderates desire to proceed on the lines denoted by Lord Reading in his speech. It fails to see what the Bengalis will gain by bringing about a *hartal* in connection with the Prince of Wales's visit to Calcutta, and is of opinion that such a *hartal* will be nothing more than an open insult to His Royal Highness. The paper says that the non-co-operation press has protested against the preventive measures taken by the Bengal Government, but it declares that in view of the tragic story of Bombay such severe measures have now become necessary in the interest of public safety. It is of opinion that those who wish to impose their will on the public by non-constitutional means only prove their incapacity to rule themselves and only strengthen the hands of India's enemies in England. It hopes in the end that the speech will have the desired effect on the people of Bengal, and that the latter will show their loyalty by giving a hearty welcome to the Prince of Wales.

Comments on the arrest of non-co-operation leaders.

Mahrátta (6), 11th Dec.

***13**. "Lord Reading has at last given himself up to the bureaucracy who have succeeded in capturing him in their net. The struggle was indeed very brief, so brief, that it gives grounds for suspicion that his anxiety and pretensions to do justice and fair play were nothing but a camouflage that concealed the real man. He succeeded in the beginning to create a halo round him and his intentions but the thin veneer soon melted in face of the realities and the real worshipper of brute-force was instantly out. Lord Reading was reported to be a man of wide sympathies in so far as National aspirations of down-trodden peoples were concerned and he did not fail to exploit his being a Jew to inspire some confidence in him as such. As a Jew he posed to know the inner springs of the people of the Orient and raised high expectations of himself. But after all, it is found out that consummate diplomat as he is, he used language more to conceal his inner self than to express it. In the brief period of his viceroyalty he broke his plighted word more than once....... [The paper here refers to Mr. Gandhi's interviews with His Excellency, the alleged promise not to prosecute the Ali Brothers, their consequent apology and their recent prosecutions, and proceeds:—] There were vivid signs of the impending storm of repression and after his return from Bombay, it burst with all its fury. He struck the note of repression in his speeches and the tune was taken up by the provincial satraps, one of whom, we mean Sir Harcourt Butler, declared in a gusto that he would 'see in through at all costs'. In Bengal, in the

Punjáb, in the Uinted Provinces the tide of repression is rushing on and threatens to deluge the whole land. It seems that all lessons of history that repression can never repress the longing for *swarájya* and self-determination, seem to have been lost on Lord Reading and we need not warn him that as sure as history repeats itself, the repression will react like a boomerang on the head of the bureaucracy..... The duty of the country at this momentous juncture in the National struggle is to rally round the leaders and present a solid front to the bureaucracy. In no province, such illegal orders should be obeyed. Maharashtra has its difference in the matter of details regarding the programme of non-co-operation and the leaders of Maharashtra have expressed them in view of the approaching session of the Congress, and in view of securing healthy discussion. But this need not be construed into either a revolt against the principle or a hesitation to join the fray. Otherwise freedom of speech would be a big sham. We exhort the whole of Maharashtra to watch with eagerness the opportunity to show its mettle and demonstrate to the bureaucracy that so far as they are concerned India would show an united front. Let the bureaucracy beware of the consequences of this policy of repression because if we read history aright, repression has proved to be the grave of the autocrats. The bureaucracy have thrown off their veil and they stand revealed in their true colours. The hour has at last struck. Individual civil disobedience was decided upon by the All-India Congress Committee, but the initiative naturally lay with the bureaucracy and they have made their choice. The fitness for *swarájya* and liberty can be measured only by the amount of sacrifice we are ready to make and we trust that India will come out with flying colours at the end of the struggle. The words of Mahatma Gandhi, that 'the way to *swarájya* lies thorugh the jail' are coming to fruition and India is sure to acheive its goal soon. The end of repression is *swarájya* !

Young India (11), 8th Dec.

14. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes :—"The arrest of Lala Lajpatrai and Messrsi Lalkhan, Santanam and Gopichand in the Punjáb, of Messrs. Phooken and Bardola. in Assam, Babu Jitendralal Banerji in Bengal, Maulana Mohiuddin and others in Ajmer and Mr. Harkarannath Mishra and others in Lucknow means business. It shows not merely that the Government is in earnest but that it is not going to tolerate non-co-operation any longer; nolonger is it a question of putting down violence, it is one of compelling co-operation. And this is as it should be. The Government had to appear in its true colours some day or other. No Prince had such welcome as is being offered to the Prince of Wales. The chosen leaders of the people are being put away so that the latter may accept the lead of the Government and so that there may be no *hartal* on the day of the Prince's entry into the various provinces. All this the Government of India, constituted as it is, has a right to do, and we non-co-operate because it claims and exercises such right on due occasion. The right consists in its imposing its will upon the people not recognising that of the people to have their own way except on pain of being imprisoned. The issue is clear and neatly summed up in the Lawrence statue whose removal the Government will not allow although it is the property in law of the people. It must govern by the Pen or the Sword. Once more the choice has been offered to the people. Will they accept the honourable imposition of the Sword and reject the degarding dictation of the Pen ?...... I wish I could impart my faith to the people that nothing much remains to be done in order to take us to heaven. The way is clear before us. The President-elect has stated it in unequivocal terms ; 'my first word and my last word to you is never to forsake the ideal of non-violent non-co-operation.' .... In order to enable us to enforce this great principle in our own lives, we must avoid all occasions for provacation. We, therefore, need no demonstrations now nor big meetings ; we must discipline those who have become awakened to withstand provocation and to do constructive national work, which is organisation of carding, hand-spinning and hand-weaving so as to enable the nation to supplement her slender resources and to find work for the idle hours of the millions. Hindu-Muslim unity is an article of faith with us. It is not to be cultivated or demonstrated except by all working together for national uplift and, therefore, devoting their time exclusively to manufacture of *khadi*. As soon as we have attained a complete boycott of foreign cloth and begun to manufacture our own *khadi* in our respective provinces and villages, we can become free probably without having to resort to mass civil disobedience. Therefore, aggressive civil disobedience should be avoided, at least till after finishing the boycott of foreign cloth and qualifying for the manufacture of hand-spun *khadi*. Defensive civil disobedience which is forced on us in the prosecution of our campaign we ought to welcome whenever it comes."

Indian Social Reformer (5), 11th Dec.

***15.** "The week has been signalised by quite a crop of notable arrests in the Punjáb, the United Provinces and Bengal.......... We had hoped that this method of dealing with political opponents had disappeared with the advent of the Reforms. We are sorry that we were mistaken. Whatever the wisdom of inviting the Prince to visit India at this juncture, Government, now that he is here, is bound to ensure for him as good a reception as possible, and the non-co-operationists have shown themselves to be grievously lacking in political perspective by the manner in which they have set themselves to make it appear a failure. We cannot help thinking that it is not altogether just to those who would give a warm welcome to the Prince, to think that they are to be intimidated by opposition, and our opinion is amply borne out by the experience of Bombay notwithstanding the riots. His Royal Highness's reception at any place could not have been marred by intimidation, and is not likely to be improved by these arrests. As it is, the daily swelling roll of arrests in places which he is to visit, cannot but cause pain and sorrow to His Royal Highness. If Ministers, instead of regarding themselves as parts of the Executive machine, had exerted themselves to get into touch with leaders of the people, they might have helped the Governments of which they are members to find a less obnoxious way of ensuring against *hartals* and other demonstrations of discontent. At any rate, they ought to have tried, and if they had seriously tried, they would, we believe, have largely succeeded. These wholesale arrests, after the masterly passivity of the past months, do not convey the impression of being inspired by a considered policy. They give the impression of panic on the part of Government who seem to be really at their wit's end how to deal with the situation. Sir Harcourt Butler's excited appearance at the U. P. Legislative Council and his impassioned declaration that Government was determined to see it through are hardly calculated to impart calmness and confidence to those who heard him. How different from the heroic serenity of Lord Hardinge who, when the bomb burst upon him with fearful impact and he was being removed to Hospital, told his *locum tenens*, 'No change of policy, Wilson'. Of such stuff are the builders of Empire made, not of men who allow themselves to be stampeded into opposite extremes by the circumstances of the moment. The coincidence between the passing of the Rowlatt Act on the conclusion of the Armistice, and of these arrests on the heels of the Irish Settlement, have not escaped attention."

New Times (7), 5th Dec.

16. "Yesterday came the news of the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai and three of his comrades...... Years ago, Morley, the man who worshipped at the shrine of Burke and Mill, justified the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai. To-day, Lord Reading, the man who many thought would help the Indian cause, is out to justify repression. And all in the name of law! But what value has a law which is not an instrument of liberty?...... What Lord Reading has been lately saying practically comes to this:—the bureaucracy is strong to rule. Such strength, as we have urged more than once, is weakness. The strength which comes in conflict with the soul of a people, the strength which arrests popular leaders pledged to non-violence, is the strength which undermines a State. It drives unrest underground where it does not provoke to violence....... The policy of shutting down public bodies is rightly resented. Here are associations definitely pledged to non-violence; here are men held in high esteem by the public,—who have repeatedly asked their countrymen to scrupulously refrain from violence. But the bureaucracy shuts down the associations and sends the men to jail! Lord Reading says he stands for Government by law; the situation is developing in one direction,—Government by the C. I. D.!"

Servant of India (8), 8th Dec.

17. "For our part we cannot blind ourselves to the fact, that the Government till now followed a policy of commendable self-restraint in face of much provocation, or that latterly intimidation has been used to secure a wider conformity to non-co-operation than would otherwise have been obtained. We cannot, therefore, refuse a certain measure of support to Government measures as indeed no non-co-operator can refuse, but our support is rigidly limited by the proved necessity of putting a stop to intimidation. We are not satisfied that this limit is observed in every case. For instance, the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai and other prominent persons in Lahore for contravening the order in regard to the prohibition of public meetings was not necessitated by an imminent outbreak of violence. There is no question of the Government possessing legal authority to punish the breakers of law, but all that is legal is not necessarily expedient; and we seriously doubt if it is expedient at a time when non-co-operation shows distinct signs of an early collapse to put fresh life into it by acts which throw a halo of martyrdom round non-co-operators. The wise policy which Government followed heretofore is fully justified by its results, and we earnestly hope that Government will still adhere to that policy....... As there ought to be no intimidation on the part of the people, so there ought to be none on the part of Government."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Dec.

18. "So the Lion of the Punjáb is the latest victim of the new campaign of repression which Lord Reading has inaugurated. The Associated Press message, which gives the news of the arrest, omits to mention precisely the offence for which Lala Lajpatrai and other Congress leaders of the Punjáb have been arrested. Perhaps, the head and front of their offence is that they dared to hold a general meeting of the members of the Provincial Congress Committee to consider the present situation in the province for contravention of the Seditious Meetings Act. The meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee which is only open to members is not a public meeting, contemplated by the Act........ Lord Reading, who came to India to vindicate justice, has surrendered himself much in the same way as his predecessor did and has sanctioned repressive measures to accomplish his task. 'I feel sure', he has told the members of the Calcutta Municipality, 'that he (Lord Ronaldshay) will take all the necessary measures for the enforcement of law and the maintenance of order and if it becomes necessary for the Government of India to assist him and his Government I pledge myself that prompt and effective steps will be taken for this purpose'. The pledge is ominously reminiscent of another that his predecessor gave, in an ill-fated moment promising support to the head of each local Government for such measure as he thought it might be necessary to take—a support that, as Lord Chelmsford himself confessed, 'was given unwaveringly throughout'. What was the outcome of that support? The Punjáb. May we once again remind Lord Reading that repression will never bring contentment in the country, that conciliation is the only wise policy which the occasion demands."

Lokamánya (114), 5th and 9th Dec.

19. The *Lokamánya* refers to the arrest of Lala Lajpatrai and others at Lahore and says it expects them to be given a special sentence of eight months' rigorous imprisonment under the Seditious Meetings Act, though other offenders under the Act have recently been sentenced to six or seven months. It dwells upon the prosecutions of the leaders of the Shiromani Gurudwar Prabhandhak Sabha of Amritsar under the same Act and declares that the religious question of the control of the Amritsar Golden Temple has been given a political aspect by its being mismanaged by the Punjáb Government. It refers to the defiant utterances of Sardar Mehtabsing, the Sikh leader, in the course of his trial and to the way in which new Sikh leaders are taking the place of those sentenced, and remarks that it all goes to show how deeply moved the Sikhs are over the matter. It declares that all these incidents, combined with the arrest of Lala Lajpatrai and others, prove that the wave of *satyagraha* is spreading all over the Punjáb and it opines that the Punjáb Government seems to have arrested the Lala under the fear that he is likely to become the dictator of that Province just as Mr. C. R. Das has become the dictator of Bengal. This move on the part of the Punjáb Government, in the paper's opinion, is likely to shake that province to its deepest depths and also to create a commotion throughout India. It hopes hat the conduct of the Hindu, Sikh and Moslem communities in the Punjáb in carrying out the *satyagraha* campaign, which that province has been accorded the honours to launch by the local Government, would prove a model to follow for the rest of India. [In a further issue the paper, writing about the arrests of Lala Lajpatrai, Pandit Motilal Nehru and others, says:—It may be said that by their incarceration, the whole of Northern India from Lahore to Calcutta has been cast into prison. The *Times of India* had mocked at Pandit Motilal's declaration that either *swarájya* would be achieved or they would go to prison before the Ahmedabad Congress met, but the latter part of the declaration has been realised and both the Lala and the Pandit have in the most peaceful manner taken the path to jail for the sake of *swarájya*. Other Congressmen also have been arrested and it may be said that one foot of Mr. C. R. Das, the President-elect of the Congress also is already in prison. Mr. Gandhi, the soul of the non-co-operation movement, is also persistently challenging Government to arrest him. Orders under the Seditious Meetings Act and about the suppression of the volunteer organisations are being disregarded and people are peacefully going to jail, and this political *satyagraha* said to have been fully launched with the greatest enthusiasm and singleness of purpose. The fact that the utmost peace prevails in the Punjáb and the United Provinces even after the arrest of Lala Lajpatrai and Pandit Motilal would, in the opinion of some, assure the Mahatma of the peacefulness of the movement, and thus induce him to launch *satyagraha* either in Bardoli or Anand about the time of the meeting of the Congress, as all the preliminaries have been gone through and as many as five thousand women have signed the pledge to go to prison. As remarked by the *Tribune*, had Government taken proper advantage of the manifestoes issued by Mr. Gandhi at the beginning of the Bombay riots and desisted from launching the new campaign of repression *satyagraha* would not have commenced to-day in the Punjáb and the United Provinces. But in its anxiety to take undue advantage of the position Government has committed serious errors and challenged the leaders to a trial of strength and the challenge has been accepted by them in a peaceful spirit. It appears from the accounts published that the Lala actually courted arrest under the Seditious Meetings Act. The appeal made by him to the people in the course of his message is really invaluable and stamps him as one of the priceless ornaments of India. It is hoped that the message would remain engraved on the hearts of the youthful pariots of the country. Where is the wonder if going to prison is considered to be a very light matter under the present circumstances?]

Conviction and sentence of Pandit Nekiram.

Lokamánya (114), 5th Dec.

20. The *Lokamánya* expresses its surprise that Pandit Nekiram Sharma should have been convicted and sentenced to eight months' rigorous imprisonment not under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code, but under 153-A for attempt to create hatred between classes. Nobody would find fault with Government, the paper says, for convicting a non-co-operator under section 124-A for Mr. Gandhi has already declared that he and his followers are bent upon creating disaffection against Government, but to convict him of trying to create hatred between classes would not be honest as the non-co-operators are commanded by the Congress to promote a feeling of unity among all the classes. It points out that the Pandit during the recent Bombay riots actually risked his own life and saved several Parsi families from the fire at Bhendi Bazar. It is afraid that the Pandit would not be treated well in jail, judging from the way in which he was treated as an undertrial pisoner by being handcuffed and disallowed a chair in the Magistrate's court.

Reflections on the policy of repression.

New Times (7), 3rd Dec.

21. "Lord Reading has blessed the policy of repression! And provincial heads may be expected now to show "the full strength of the Government". Arrests and yet more arrests are reported. Repression is not administration. But Government believes in force; and we must not be surprised if, after a period of waiting and watching, it is on the war-path today. Government may be expected to proceed yet further on this path.......... The Government has taken up the challenge. We should expect it to be more and more rigorous in repression as the situation develops. The bureaucracy means business! 'Wild passions have been let loose', says Lord Ronaldshay. And Lord Reading finds excuse in 'recent events'. The Bombay riot was a sin against humanity; it was, also, a big political blunder. It gives a convenient excuse to the bureaucracy to enter into an open fight with the nation-spirit—in the name of 'peace and order'! The real reason of the Government's policy of repression is simple. The *swaráj* movement has undermined the prestige of the bureaucracy. The movement is creating new psychological values; these have disturbed the mind of the bureaucracy...... Lord Ronaldshay knows now that the masses are profoundly disaffected. The *swaráj* movement is become a mass-movement. And it is easy to understand why Government is anxious to suppress the movement in this 'wonderful new era of 'reforms'!' Repression may demoralise the people; it may drive the feeling undergoround; it may revive a school of violence; or it may lead to Freedom. Much depends upon the spirit in which we prepare ourselves to meet it...... Of this we feel sure—violence on our part will not lead to Freedom. Violence on Government's part, if met by us in the spirit of self-discipline and moral idealism, will give us victory."

Hindu (160), 1st Dec.

22. Where is Lord Reading's oft-repeated boast of justice gone now? From his recent speech it would appear that he is completely under the thumb of the bureaucracy. We are not surprised at it. No Viceroy, however good he may be, can avoid the fate which has overtaken Lord Reading, who after all is an ordinary man. Repression has become the order of the day now. The *hartals* organised in connection with the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales seem to be the cause of it. Lord Reading is now prepared to use all the force at his command to maintain peace and order in the country and to protect what are called the loyal elements of the population from the violence of the non-co-operators. We doubt if this policy of repression will succeed. We think that instead of suppressing the unrest it will aggravate it. The unrest is due rather to the high-handedness of officials and Aman Sabhas than to the activities of the non-co-operators. In Sind on the general *hartal* day, the 17th November, several Government officials and members of Aman Sabhas resorted to violent methods, but thanks to the good judgment of the people there was no disturbance. It seems Lord Reading has lost his senses and forgotten the teachings of history. He must know that whenever an oppressed nation has determined to gain its liberty, victory has always been on the side of the people. What has happened elsewhere will happen in India. We are sure to win as against Government, if only we observe complete non-violence in our fight. Brute force cannot avail against soul force.

Gujaráti Punch (16), 4th Dec.; Eng. cols.

*23. "Public life in this country has once again reached a critical state. While the Bombay outbreaks have come as a rude eye-opener to the non-co-operation side, the powers that be have seen in them a fit excuse for launching upon a wholesale policy of unmitigated repression. A little thought, however, will show that in doing so the Government of India is committing the most serious blunder ever committed in history. The word repression has an ugly odour about it and even supposing that the non-co-operators were thinking of revising their programme in the light of the experience gained by a year's working at it, the very fact that the Government has decided to show its hand will induce the more ardent spirits among them to put up a brave front and out of sheer doggedness to persist in a course which has been proved to be thoroughly futile.......... Whether for good or for ill, the one tangible result of the non-co-operation propaganda has been to instil into the people a spirit of brave defiance of established authority and if the Government were ever stampeded into a violent offensive, which line of action is, curiously enough, eagerly looked forward to by both the Anglo-Indians and the non-co-operators, it will be the Government that will be the loser, not the other side. And the former will not have to go further back in the history of this country than the incident of the Karachi prosecution and the suppression of the volunteer organizations to realize that the above are no idle fears." [Elsewhere the paper writes:—"The reply given by Lord Reading to the Punjáb Chamber of Commerce's deputation that waited on His Excellency makes one thing thoroughly clear. It is that the action of the various Provincial Governments in resorting to repression on a still larger scale than hitherto has behind it the sanction of the Government of India. Being one of those who are opposed to repression, we cannot but deplore it. It may be that there is an amount of intimidation and a kind of compulsion which even honest opponents of non-co-operation have to put up with, but we fear, repression is no remedy for it. On the contrary, this remedy of Lord Reading is worse than the desease. Even Lord Reading has admitted that the movement has its root in the legitimate grievances of the people and says that what he does not approve is the way to get them righted. This is exactly the case of all honest opponents of non-co-operation and the next best remedy to deal with it—the first being a redressal of those wrongs—is not to interfere with it so long as it does not actually endanger public peace."]

Deshi Mitra (60), 8th Dec. ; *Kaira Vartamán* (67), 7th Dec.

24. Lord Reading gave us profuse promises of justice, but he has not yet done anything to justify the hopes raised by them. On the other hand a policy of repression has been adopted by Government. Does not the Viceroy realise that repression adds to discontent and that discontent in this country has increased since his advent in this country ? The policy of repression has now gone the length of declaring national volunteers corps unlawful in Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjáb and the province of Delhi. What good purpose is to be served by repression ? These volunteers have proved very serviceable to the country, and at Bombay recently they did more to quell the disturbances than the Police or the Military. It is a sign of weakness of intellect on the part of Government to be led to declare these organisations unlawful. [The *Kaira Vartamán* also protests against the repressive policy of Government and reminds them that it will tend to strengthen the non-co-operation movement and to add to the popular-discontent.]

Sind Observer (9), 6th Dec.

25. " We are yet unable to comprehend the policy of Lord Reading. He is promising the fullest support to all local Governments in their policy of repression and, in reply to every address that is presented to him, His Excellency breathes out a prayer at the end that India might rise to a position 'which her numbers, her history, her traditions and her religious spirit merit to lift her high so that she may rank in the Councils of the Empire and of the world'. This is feeding an impatient world on a dictionary of words and we may respectfully tell His Excellency that the time is past for the awakened people of India to be statisfied with words however sweet. The Government of India may yet retrieve the situation by calling a conference of leaders of all parties at Delhi at the suggestion of the Prince of Wales. Definite proposals should be made to calm the waters of Indian unrest and if the non-co-operation leaders reject all reasonable proposals they will do so at their risk. The Government will appear before the Indian people as being ready to do all that is in its power to pacify the country. But if the Government of India thinks it is too much for it to make any overtures to a paltry set of disloyalists and that the people should be satisfied with what it in its grace gives, then the country and the Government must be prepared to pass through harder times. We must repeat what we have been saying that repression is always a broken reed to lean upon. Let not the unparalleled opportunity of the presence of the future King-Emperor of India in this country slip away. Let him pour oil on the troubled waters by inviting a conference of leaders of all parties with the Government of India at Delhi."

Kesari (110), 6th Dec.

26. The *Kesari* remarks that though the recent Municipal proceedings at Amritsar and Lahore have made it clear how disinclined the public in the Punjáb is to welcome the Prince of Wales owing to the exasperated state of feeling prevalent, the bureaucracy in the province has been doing things calculated to further exacerbate the people's susceptibilities and thus shown that it has lost its head. It declares that the Punjab Government, by interfering in the affairs of the Sikh Gurudwars, is hurting the religious feelings of the community and that its action on the matter of applying the Seditious Meetings Act to the meeting of the Sikh leaders to consider the question of the Keys of the treasury of the Golden Temple and arresting them is likely to spread disaffection in the community. Another instance of the Punjáb Government having lost its head, the paper says, is to be found in the arrest of Lala Lajpatrai and three other leaders while holding a meeting of the Punjáb Congress Committee and also in the cruel manner in which it has dealt with Pandit Nekiram. It expresses the hope that the public of the Punjáb will not depart in the least from the policy of non-violence in these times of trial as therein lies the test of its patriotism. It tenders a similar advice to the public of Calcutta, where it says the 'Civil Guards' being organised by the local Anglo-Indians are sure to turn their arms against the people when there is *hartal* there on the occasion of the Prince of Wales's visit. At the same time it points out that self-defence within the limits allowed by law does not go against the vow of non-violence.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 5th and 9th Dec.; *Hindusthán* (20), 3rd Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 5th Dec.

27. The *Bombay Samáchár* believes that the repressive policy, inaugurated by Lord Ronaldshay and imitated by other Provincial Governments, must have the support of Lord Reading who, in its opinion, has failed to realise the situation and has fallen a victim to a panic. The paper then refers to the difference of opinion that has arisen in the congress camp, as seen from the presidential address of Mr. Jayakar at the third Thana District Conference and the speeches made at the Maharashtra Provincial Conference at Akola, and lends its support to the message to the country issued by Mr. Das, president-elect of the next Congress. The paper considers the message as a fitting rejoinder to the post-prandial speech made by Lord Ronaldshay at the St. Andrew's dinner and endorses Mr. Das's views about the necessity of unwavering adherence to the principle of non-violent non-co-operation and reminds the people that success of the popular movement would be ensured only by a hearty response to Mr. Das's appeal. [In a subsequent issue the paper refers to the peaceful character of the *hartal* observed throughout India on the 17th November with the exception of Bombay and blames that city for thus vitiating the political atmosphere of the country. It expresses gratification at the absence of repressive measures in the Bombay Presidency and contrasts with this the policy of repression adopted by the Governments of Bengal, the United Provinces, the Punjáb and Burma with a view to putting down the non-co-operation movement. It declares that repression cannot win over the hearts of the people and points out the mistake of Government in attempting to prove the success of the Prince's visit by adopting a policy of repression. In conclusion the paper calls upon Lord Reading to take a lesson from Ireland and to remove the grievances of the people while the Prince is in India so that Indians may give him a hearty reception. [The *Hindusthán* deplores the determination of the Government of India to adopt a policy of repression to put down the political agitation in the country and criticises the steps taken by the Government of Bengal in declaring national volunteers corps unlawful. It then refers to the speech made by Lord Ronaldshay at the Saturday Club of Calcutta and expresses fear that the Government of Bengal have still more drastic steps in contemplation. The paper thinks that the country will be driven to adopt the programme of non-co-operation settled by the Congress if Government continue to adopt repressive measures. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* on the other hand justifies the Bengal Government's repressive policy against the non-co-operation movement on the ground that it would ward off the possibilities of riots and destruction arising from the violent methods of the Congress volunteers in picketing liquor shops, organising strikes, etc. The paper refers to the two messages issued by Mr. C. R. Das and doubts the wisdom of talking about "ideals" when 95 per cent. of the people are uneducated and when the non-co-operation movement has frequently led to riots. In conclusion it emphatically declares that the Bengal Government had to adopt such measures as precautions only, when the non-co-operators, while performing their duties, in their extreme zeal used physical force and when the uneducated fanatics following their examples took recourse to objectionable violence resulting in military interference for the safety of the public.]

Karnatak Vritta (84). 6th Dec.

28. The principle underlying all history is that "liberty wins victory". The history of every nation which has been in bondage affords a convincing illustration of that principle. When the conquering nation grows fat by sucking, without let or hindrance, the blood of the conquered people and denies to them even their elementary right of existence as a nation, then a yearning for independence springs up in the minds of the conquered people. This desire for independence, however, is not easily awakened. But when once this desire is called into existence, it is a sure indication of the approaching death of the conquerors. The English after all are foreigners. They do not belong to our race or to our religion and their civilization too is different from ours. Whilst it is laid down in our religion that drinking leads people to hell, to Englishmen it is no more than an ordinary matter of daily observance. The desire for indepedence displayed itself very strongly during the days of the partition of Bengal. But at the same time this spirit of independence began to manifest itself among the people, in the hearts of the conquerors there arose a wicked desire to continue, by some means or other, to keep the people under subjection. This wicked desire, combined with selfishness of the conquerors, gave birth to the serpent of repression. If this serpent is attacked in time by all the means at our disposal and if it is hit on its vital parts, the death of the serpent, as well as of the Government which brings it into life, is assured. If, however, the serpent escapes the blow, it is sure to destroy the spirit of the people and their desire for independence. Such was the fate of the partition movement. If the people had, by a united effort, lifted up a huge stone and had thrown it on the head of this serpent of repression, the repression as well as the Government would have breathed their last long ago and there would have arisen no occasion for the present repression. The light of freedom which was kindled by the inhuman massacres in the Punjáb is now burning vigorously in the atmosphere of national consciousness. But the Government who are inimical to our interests have been trying to extinguish it by pouring the highly inflammable oil of repression upon it. Some may feel indignation, and shower reproaches on the Government. For our part we congratulate Lord Reading on the policy which he has inaugurated and regard him as a well-wisher of India, in the same sense in which we regarded Lord Curzon as our well-wisher.

Gujaráti (14), 11th Dec.

***29.** The *Gujaráti* comments on the policy of repression now being pursued in various provinces as exemplified by the arrests of leaders, the declaration of volunteer corps as unlawful associations, etc. The bureaucracy, it points out, has now come into the open field; by bringing into operation the Seditious Meetings Act, the law of sedition and other criminal laws, it has furnished to the leaders of the people the opportunity they were seeking of breaking the laws, of going to jail and thereby enjoying a period of rest. It continues :—We think that there is the hand of God in this. The bureaucracy forget that after the fear of being dragged into courts and being imprisoned in jail has been destroyed, the laws become useless. We are quite sure that in the new policy which they have started it is the people that will triumph. In arresting Lala Lajpatrai and three of his associates for holding a private meeting of the Provincial Congress Committee, the bureaucracy has exceeded all limits. From this it would look as if the intention were to destroy the glamour of the Government which had come forward to protect the people in the interest of freedom and independence. It is surprising that the bureaucracy should have further strengthend the struggle of Indians for freedom and independence by pouncing upon their rights of holding public meetings and of free speech and action. What the people wanted, that the bureaucracy have placed before them ready cooked at the right moment. It is to be seen whether the Bombay Government will act on this occasion with wisdom or whether it will play into the hands of the people's party. But the duty of the people is very clear. The fight of India is for securing the freedom and independence of all, and they must act in such a way as will lead to the attainment of that aim. Should the Bombay bureaucracy make the same mistake as the Governments of the Punjáb and the United Provinces and Bengal, the people should take advantage of that mistake.

Ráj Hansa (87), 11th Dec.

***30.** The bureaucracy has given a challenge to the non-co-operators. It has challenged them to a duel in the open and it is up to them to show by their behaviour that they possess such qualities as manliness, courage, spirit of sacrifice and genuine patriotism. Non-co-operators, arise and take heed. The officials are out to test the truth of your principle. They have launched their forces, *viz.*, the police, the military and their laws, on the field and have shown their readiness to wrestle with you. Such a golden opportunity will never come to you again. The bureaucracy has been doing you a great service by challenging you in this manner. They have placed before you an excellent opportunity for practising civil disobedience. The National Congress has proclaimed that *swaráj* will be attained within one year. The bureaucracy has replied by resolving to crush the non-co-operation movement within one year and establish their irresponsible

Government yet more firmly. When the Spanish Armada invaded England, all England, in spite of a hundred differences of caste and creed, rose as one man to drive away the common enemy. In the same way, Indians should now forget all their differences and unite for the liberation of their country by non-violent means. The Government have issued a Press Note to the effect that picketing is ellegal. As a rejoinder to this the people of the Karnatak should now organize themsleves into volunteer corps for peaceful picketing and resume picketing work which they had so long neglected.

Nusrat (new), 12th Dec.

***31.** Throughout the length and breadth of India, the news that even the wife and the sister of Mr. C. R. Das could not escape the clutches of violence and repression, will be received with mingled feelings of joy and grief. The grief is felt for the fact that ladies, the protection of whose chastity and purity is the duty of both the Hindus and the Musalmans and for whose comfort and convenience men's comfort and convenience are to be sacrificed, are being taken away to-day to bear the hardships of jail. Though the sections of Indian Penal Code are being recklessly used against the patriots, yet, up till now, Government had not interfered with the fair sex. The joy is felt for the fact that repression is passing beyond all limits and that this is the proof of its impending death. The plant of non-co-operation has been so far nourished by the violence of the Government and the more the violence the more will this plant grow. Some unfeeling people will be shamed by it into joining the ranks of the patriots.

Government policy of repression and the moderates.

Lokamánya (114), 10th Dec.

32. The *Lokamánya* refers to the support given by the *Bengalee* to the alleged policy of repression and remarks that it is indicative of the Moderates' moral degradation. It is an irony of fate, it says, that the *Bengalee*, the paper of Sir Surendranath who violently denounced repression before he took up office under Government, should now come forward to lend its support to a policy of repression. It tells Sir Surendranath that the people have not yet forgotten the humiliations heaped upon him by Government at the time of the partition agitation although he now conveniently forgets them, thanks to the fat salary he gets from them. It declares that the worst result of the Montford reforms is that they have divided the nation against itself and that but for them men like Messers. Shastri, Sapru, Harkishenlal, etc., would not have forsaken the cause of the country. It observes that the bureaucracy would not have dared to embark upon a policy of repression on such a vast scale in pre-reforms days and that if they had done so, the whole country would have shown a united front instead of being divided as at present.

Comments on the disturbances in Bombay.

Hindu (160), 26th and 28th Nov.

33. The attitude of the Police and Military during the disturbance at Bombay has caused general excitement. This is only natural. When Parsis, Eurasians and Goans freely used *lathis* or rifles against Hindus and Muhammadans the Police not only looked on and enjoyed the sight but at several places actually assisted the assailants. The Parsis burned down Mr. Govindji Vassanji's shop, yet the Police did not raise a finger against it. The Parsis freely struck Mrs. Sarojini Naidu with *lathis*, yet the Police kept quiet. They on the contrary gave good thrashings to wearers of Gandhi caps wherever they met them. They gave out, as a special case, rifles to Parsis so that they may kill their fellow-countrymen. In short the Police and Military joined hands with Parsis, Christians and Jews in killing Hindus and Muhammadans. This must excite the people. Those, however, who realise the satanism of Government can understand what was the object of the Police in so doing. If the Police and Military had wished to restore peace in the city, they would have been able to do so without resorting to great violence and high-handedness on the very first day. When there is the slightest disturbance against Government, immediately rifles and machine guns are brought over and put into action to put down the disturbance. We do not thereby suggest that this procedure should have been adopted at Bombay. If they had been inclined to restore peace they could have done so without firing. What we want to point out is that whenever there is the slightest disturbance against Government, Government is suddenly possessed by such a keen desire to restore peace that it tries to put an end to the disturbance even by firing volleys of shots. On this occasion, however, it is manifest that it had absolutely no intention of restoring quiet. The rascality of the Bureaucracy consisted in allowing Hindus, Mussalmans, Parsis and Christians to fight among themselves and thus to aggravate the disturbance so that the public might realise what would be their condition under a *swaráj* regime without the Police and Military of the *Angrez* Sircar Bahadur. Consequently the Police and Military, instead of suppressing the disturbance, forthwith helped and incited the Parsis and Christians and refrained from taking any action against any of them when they killed people and committed murders. The few arrests that they made were confined to Hindus and Muhammadans. Their apparent object was that inter-communal ill-feeling may grow so that the attainment of *swaráj* may be long delayed. We are of the opinion that if the leaders had not pacified the mob, risking their lives, the disturbances would have continued till this day, and the Bureaucracy would have gloated over them. No matter what rascalities and stratagems the Bureaucracy may resort to, the people now know it too well not to see through them. The attitude of the Police and Military will only strengthen the feelings of the people against Government, and we hope that the people will try all the more to end this Government by controlling their excitement and firmly adhering to the path of non-violence. [In a further issue the paper writes:— It is a wonder how in the face of so many complaints in the Press against the police and the military in regard to the distrubances at Bombay, the Bombay Government approves of their conduct and arrangements as being praiseworthy. The Government thinks that but for the admirable conduct of the police and the military the number of casualities would not have been so small as it was. It may be small in the eyes of Government. Indeed, but for the efforts of leaders to restore peace, the loss of life would have been much larger. Why was not the certificate of approval given to the police immediately after the event, as is the case always. The belated certificate proves beyond doubt that it was an afterthought on the part of the Government to defend its men, when several complaints against them had appeared in the Press. But the falsehood is too transparent to deceive any one.]

Musafir (164), 26th Nov.

34. We are thankful to God that the Bombay disturbances have changed the Mahatma's views. And if he sticks to them, there will be no reason to regret the unfortunate occurrences at Bombay; for, in that case, India will have been saved from further danger. Indeed we can gain nothing by fighting with the Government. In such a fight it is we who stand to lose and not the Government. It is absurd to imagine that a powerful Government such as the British Government can be frightened by our vain threats, nor do we know of any neighbouring power whose help may enable us to drive out the British. We must, therefore, give up non-co-operation and continue our struggle for liberty by means of constitutional agitation.

For India there is no alternative to non-co-operation.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Dec.

35. "Among the unpleasant results of the recent disturbances in Bombay has been a perfect chorus of gratuitous advice from the opponents of Nationalism that Mahatma Gandhi should forthwith hide his diminished head and retire to some Himalayan solitude, for, they say the movement of non-violent non-co-operaion has proved a failure, Mahatma Gandhi's own frank admissions have been twisted by the anti-Nationalist Press into abject confessions of defeat for himself and his movement, and to these false premises has been appended the conclusion that the movement must now cease....... But every Indian Nationalist, with the creed of non-co-operation in his heart, will vehemently deny that Gandhi has failed or that the preaching of non-violent non-co-operation induced the recent riots in Bombay. All honesty, clear-thinking and logic are against those whose ill-concealed fear of the Mahatma and his mission prompt their hypocritical appeals to him to stay his hand. For, if the Bombay disturbances have a moral, it is that 'Gandhism' must be preached to the people even more sternuously and

assiduously in the immediate future than has been the case in the past. ...... Those who in Bombay on the 17th November and later days resorted to the old and futile methods of open violence were not followers of Mahatma Gandhi. Nationalists in sentiment they might have been, but they were not non-co-operators, for non-co-operation and aggressive violence are as water and fire—they cannot merge in a single container. ...... Non-co-operation is not a cause—it is an effect. The disappearance of the effect would leave the cause untouched, and the cause that has produced non-co-operation is the three-fold grievance of the Indian people. With the pledges regarding Turkey broken, the Punjáb wrongs unrighted and *swaráj* not in sight, the Indian people are in no mood to rest content and if they were deprived of the weapon of non-co-operation some of them might turn to weapons less worthy,—even to those of a generation ago....... England, the Empire, the Moderates and the Government of India must face the fact that until India has attained her goal she will not pause in the effort to reach it. The lessons of all history bear out our statement. Never has a people arrived at the pitch of national consciousness to which the Indian people have to-day attained, and yet remained under subjugation or tutelage—however benevolent and light the alien rule or nominal the state of dependence. The genius of the Indian nation under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi has evolved the weapon of non-co-operation as being the most worthy to be wielded in a worthy cause. And it only remains for every Indian who loves his country to be introduced to this weapon....... The Ahmedabad Congress may revise the programme of non-co-operation in detail, but whatever the decision at which it arrives, it will be based on this cardinal fact that 'for India there is no alternative to non-violence complete and true if she is to be free'."

Alleged failure of the policy of non-co-operation.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 10th Dec.

36. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* says that the recent conferences at Thana and Akola show that some leading non-co-operators have begun to see the mistaken and harmful nature of the non-co-operation programme and even to express their disapproval of it in public. Not only so, continues the paper, but Mr. Gandhi himself has given up civil disobedience as a result of the Bombay riots and courageously declared that the public is not yet fit to take up this movement. And lastly, it says, the Irish peace has brought new light to the non-co-operators and they have now begun to express a desire that His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales should play in India a part similar to the one played by His Majesty in the Irish question and should give an interview to Mr. Gandhi. The paper looks upon these as welcome signs of returning wisdom and says it lies in the hands of the non-co-operators themselves to see their desire, in connection with the Prince fulfilled, inasmuch as if they stop their movement to boycott the Prince, and approach His Excellency the Viceroy and the Prince of Wales, His Royal Highness will willingly agree to give an audience to Mr. Gandhi and his leading colleagues. In conclusion, the paper warns non-co-operators that breaches of the law and violence cannot intimidate the Government into deflecting from their fixed determination of granting *swaráj* by degrees, but may on the contrary delay the process.

Shri Shivaji (143), 5th Dec.

37. Despite Mr. Gandhi's disillusionment by the recent Bombay riots, it appears as if the resolutions of the Working Committee of the Congress permitting civil disobedience wherever the conditions laid down have been duly fulfilled, is going to be taken advantage of at certain places and the movement launched at an early date. We would not have cared about the matter if Mr. Gandhi or his followers alone were concerned in the movement but we are afraid that its launching is likely to mislead the common people and endanger their lives through the creation of disorder, and therefore it is our duty to protest against it. Have Mr. Gandhi and his followers succeeded to any extent in maintaining their non-co-operation propaganda strictly non-violent or has its object in any way been fulfilled? The present administration has, no doubt, got its own faults, but it does not, on that account, deserve to be called "Satanic". The faults can be remedied and it is the duty of all to get them removed. To try to destroy an administration which has done several good things amounts to treason against the nation. The people have had sufficient experience of the evils of non-co-operation. Mr. Gandhi and his foolhardy followers have still the royal road of constitutional and responsible agitation open to them and we urge them not to compel His Excellency Lord Reading to resort to repression.

The Khilafat question is the root of the troubles in India.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 6th Dce., Eng. cols.

38. "We are concerned less with the inter-Allied misunderstandings than with the grave misunderstanding that has crept within the relationship of Great Britain and her Indian subjects.......... Indeed, outwardly much has been done to render lip-service to Indian aspirations, but where tangible and concrete actions were required, India's hopes have been mercilessly dashed to the ground and in no case worse than in the treatment of the aspirations, of Moslem India. For the breach of faith with the Moslems of India, England can plead no excuse.......... We have no hesitation in saying that Mr. Lloyd George, even now, has not the remotest conception of the depth of feeling that exists amongst the Muhammadans of India about the gross injustice that has been done them in the drawing up of the Treaty of Sevres.......... This misunderstanding has been, for the last two years, the greatest and most baneful nightmare throughout the length and breadth of India. We are convinced that India will know no peace till this misunderstanding is removed. Conciliation of the Moslems is one of the surest means of putting down the existing and ever-extending Indian unrest. Even the Punjáb wrong and the attainment of *swaráj* can be discussed in a calm atmosphere if Moslems are once and for all assured that a new Treaty was to be drawn up consistent with their demands."

Comments on the Akhil Maharashtra Conference at Akola.

Servant of India (8), 8th Dec.

39. "The Nationalists of Maharashtra have now openly revolted from the Congress standard. In the Conference which they held last week at Akola a resolution was passed, virtually renouncing non-co-operation and adopting obstructive tactics instead....... No one will be surprised to hear of this decision for all along Maharashtra has looked with a very critical eye upon non-co-operation. When the plan was first mooted in Calcutta, the Nationalists fought with might and main on the side of co-operation or 'responsive co-operation' as they called it; but they were badly defeated at the time and instead of following the dictates of their conscience they elected to abide by the Congress 'mandate' as they conceived it. Ever since then there has been a strong body of opinion in the Nationalist ranks clamouring for a return to constitutional methods. However, it did not find organised expression till now as the general understanding was that the non-co-operation programme was to be given a trial for a year. But the sands are now running out and it is but natural that the Nationalists should prepare again to pursue the line of action approved by their inner conscience....... An attempt will yet be made to show that the resolution adopted by the Akola Conference only embodies non-co-operation in an 'intensified' form. It is not worthwhile to quarrel with the name when the obvious intention of the resolution is to explain away the non-co-operation plan altogether. It seeks to remove the ban on State-maintained schools, only urging the people as politicians of every variety of opinion have urged, to establish independent schools; it seeks to remove the ban on law-courts which has been a special grievance of the lawyer-politicians; and it seeks to remove the ban on Councils which the Deccan Nationalists have never been able to forgive Mr. Gandhi. When all these taboos are removed, what remains of non-co-operation in the non-co-operation programme? ...... The question is, whether the Deccan Nationalists will still submit to the 'mandate theory' after the Ahmedabd Congress in the event of their being in a minority in the Congress, or whether they will assert their right to go their own way, as Mr. Gandhi himself said he would have done if the Congress had decided against non-co-operation in Calcutta. Our interest in this question arises from our conviction that the constitutional reforms cannot yield their best fruit until the Councils represent all shades of opinion and in that conviction we shall gladly welcome the re-entry of the Nationalists into the Councils."

Gujaráti Punch (16), 4th Dec.

40. Delegates to the next sessions of the Indian National Congress will be said to have done the duty they owe to the country only when they will give their votes on the resolution about non-co-operation in accordance with the wishes of their countrymen. Mr. Jayakar in his presidential address before the Thana District Conference has expressed certain opinions about modifying the programme of non-co-operation in some respects and we do not think that any staunch non-co-operationist would be able to refute the arguments advanced by Mr. Jayakar in support of his suggestions. Let us hope that the Congress will deem it advisable to adopt Mr. Jayakar's suggestions in the present cirsumstances. The suggestions will help to remove certain inconsistencies from the programme of non-co-operation and they deserve full support from the Congress.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 7th Dec.; *Sánj Vartamán* (30), 5th Dec.

41. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses its conviction that all Indian Nationalists, like Zaglul Pasha of Egypt, would express their determination to pursue their aims and readiness to bear all the sufferings entailed by their determination. It then refers to the resolutions passed at the Akhil Maharashtra Conference which recently met at Akola and believes that the Conference did not mean to weaken the non-co-operation movement but to strengthen it by removing its weak points. It is of opinion that the Congress would lose nothing by giving a careful consideration to the well-meaning resolution of the Conference about entering the Councils even though it may not be accepted by the country. The paper in conclusion asks the Moderates to give up their attempts to bring the non-co-operation movement into discredit but to place their suggestions before the ensuing Congress. [The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the change that has taken place in the attitude of Government towards the non-co-operation movement as evidenced by the steps taken by the provincial governments to declare national volunteer corps unlawful and to apply to their provinces the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act. The paper then dwells upon the dangers of civil disobedience as proved by the disturbances in Bombay, and expresses the hope that the Indian National Congress will accept the recommendation made by the Akhil Maharashtra Conference recently held at Akola in the matter of removing the boycott of Councils from its programme. The paper is of the opinion that it is worthwhile trying the experiment of practising non-co-operation by entering the Councils.]

Gujaráti (14), 11th Dec.

***42**. The *Gujaráti* points out that the people of Maharashtra were never in favour of the non-co-operation movement, and that they had joined it half-heartedly out of respect for the Congress mandate, as they did not want to jeopardise the unity of the Indian Nation; that after watching carefully the progress of the movement in other provinces during the past year, they have convinced themselves that the methods edvocated by Tilak, Sir Pherozeshah, Ranade, Dadabhai, Gokhale and others are after all the best. The paper then refers to the proceedings of the Akhil Maharashtra Conference at which it was proved that the boycott of Government schools and law-courts had been a total failure and it was distinctly declared that in boycotting the Councils the people had committed a suicidal act. In view of such opinions, asks the paper, what becomes of Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation? If the Congress were to accept such views, then it would exist only in name. But it doubts whether the Ahmedabad Congress would go so far; what it might do is to give to the Provincial Congress Committees freedom to carry on the non-co-operation movement in the manner most suited to the conditions of the province. It is also most likely, adds the paper, that the people of Maharashtra will respect the opinion of the majority in the Congress, instead of adhering to their own views.

Dnyan Prakásh (41), 9th Dec.

43. The *Dnyan Prakásh* says that the resolution passed by the Maharashtra Conference held at Akola on non-co-operation clearly shows that the Maharashtra Extremists have no faith in the movement and that they profess their adherence to it because of their desire to stick to Mr. Gandhi. It takes the *Kesari* to task for maintaining that the resolution in question marks a definite step forward in the progress of non-co-operation as, in its opinion, it is a clear indication of the desire of the Extremists to retrace their steps.

Indu Prakásh (43), 8th and 9th Dec.

44. The *Indu Prakásh* welcomes the resolution passed at the Akhil Maharashtra Conference in favour of attaining *swarájya* by all possible obstructive methods and claiming the right to retaliate if Government committed violence, on the ground that it reveals the true national characteristic of Maharashtra. It notes that Maharashtra being known for its self-respect, it is against Mr. Gandhi's ideal of patient suffering. Is there to be no limit to patience, it asks? In its opinion, even if no harm is to be done to our opponents, it is necessary to show our resentment against them, otherwise unjust people would take advantage of our patience and make life not worth living by harrasing us. It is because this principle has been brought out in the resolution, the paper remarks, that it deserves to be placed in the forefront. [In its next issue the paper remarks that unity being quite essential for facing the present critical situation, Mr. Gandhi would do well to modify his non-co-operation programme with a view to satisfy the Akola Conference dissenters. In its opinion Mr. Gandhi should remove his ban against law courts and Government Colleges, and should allow greater scope for self-respect and allow retaliation in self-defence. He should also permit non-co-operators, the paper says, to engage pleaders to defend themselves when they want to do so. These changes in the programme, it says, must be urgently made.]

Kesari (110), 6th Dec.

45. The *Kesari* gives the reasons which, according to it, led to the convening of the Akhil Maharashtra Conference at Akola (Berar) and protests against the idea that the holding of it was the outcome of a plot against Mr. Gandhi and his non-co-operation movement. It declares that the resolution which was finally passed by 83 against 62 votes at the Conference does not at all go against the principle of non-co-operation but on the contrary pushes it a step or two further. There was not a single soul at the Conference, the paper says, who was foolish enough to advocate co-operation with Government, but everyone wanted to make the use of the weapon of non-co-operation more effective than hitherto. In its opinion, the success of that party in the Conference which advocated obstructive non-co-operation has advanced the movement instead of retarding it. To those who are dissatisfied that the pleaders are not distinctly called upon by the resolution passed at the Conference to give up their practice, the paper replies that their case is covered by the clause about self-sacrifice. The clause about entering the Councils, the paper admits, is an important departure from the old position, but it argues that if some people want to follow that course, to be, no doubt, bitterly disappointed in the end in the matter of rendering service to the nation, why not allow them to pursue it and then gain a bitter experience? The Akola Conference has, the paper remarks, served the purpose of finding an outlet for certain views that were agitating people's minds, and it will thus help to create a considerably calm political atmosphere at the time of the Ahmedabad Congress.

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Comments of the Bombay Government's resolution prohibiting picketing in Bombay.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 8th Dec., Eng. cols.

47. "The Government of Bombay have seen the necessity of taking more stringent measures in relation to the picketing of liquor shops in the city of Bombay. ...... It is obvious that Government have been constrained to interfere in the matter of picketing by circumstances. The purpose of picketing if it can be kept clear, is very laudable and the Government and the public must encourage and support the movement. The liquor shop is very often the centre both of ruin and disorder in a locality...... But it is no good introducing one evil to drive out another. In social and moral reforms even the introduction of a lesser evil votes on the resolution about non-co-operation in accordance with the wishes of their countrymen. Mr. Jayakar in his presidential address before the Thana District Conference has expressed certain opinions about modifying the programme of non-co-operation in some respects and we do not think that any staunch non-co-operationist would be able to refute the arguments advanced by Mr. Jayakar in support of his suggestions. Let us hope that the Congress will deem it advisable to adopt Mr. Jayakar's suggestions in the present cirsumstances. The suggestions will help to remove certain inconsistencies from the programme of non-co-operation and they deserve full support from the Congress.

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Comments of the Bombay Government's resolution prohibiting picketing in Bombay.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 8th Dec., Eng. cols.

47. "The Government of Bombay have seen the necessity of taking more stringent measures in relation to the picketing of liquor shops in the city of Bombay. ...... It is obvious that Government have been constrained to interfere in the matter of picketing by circumstances. The purpose of picketing if it can be kept clear, is very laudable and the Government and the public must encourage and support the movement. The liquor shop is very often the centre both of ruin and disorder in a locality....... But it is no good introducing one evil to drive out another. In social and moral reforms even the introduction of a lesser evil for expelling a greater one is not to be tolerated....... Now it is obvious that the methods adopted in relation to picketing were far from being unobjectionable. There is really only one safe method of moral and social reform. It is by education and moral persuasion. Coercion and violence in any form are least calculated to promote a moral object. They soon degenerate into mere tyrannising and terrorising....... Nor can it be admitted that the moral purpose for which the picketing movement was started has always been kept clear and unadulterated. Both racial and political feeling has been given free play in the activities of the picketers. The movement is dangerous and cannot be permitted to continue unchecked, unless there is guarantee in the behaviour of the picketers that it will be confined within proper limits....... Picketing has not been kept clear of the other issues; and being what it is, it cannot claim the immunity from interference which a mere social or educational movement would be entitled to. The interference of Government is right, because the freedom of individuals and minorites cannot be taken away by real or apparent majorities so long as there is the Reign of Law."

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 11th Dec., Eng. cols.

***48.** "The Government of Bombay have at length taken steps to put a stop to the picketing of liquor-shops not only in Bombay City but throughout the whole Presidency. Had this prohibitory step been taken from the very beginning when the picketing movement was started it would, we honestly believe, have prevented the occurrence of those unfortunate and disastrous events which it was our misfortune recently to witness in this city.......... Many of the picketers were recruited from the ranks of those who composed the lowest dregs of the population of this large city.......... With such men as advocates of temperance reform what else was to be expected but an increase of hooliganism and rowdyism in the city? The police were not able, in spite of their efforts, to prevent the ill effects of the terrorism and intimidation practised by these so-called 'non-violent' picketers. We repeatedly drew the attention of the Government and also those responsible for the picketing movement towards the steadily growing danger, but all to no avail. The result was that the ruffian element among the picketers, taking advantage of the lattitude allowed to them, became bolder and bolder in their misdeeds.......... Then came the final outburst when these desperadoes, taking advantage of the disturbance that took place in one quarter of the city, put into execution their nefarious design of destroying and looting those liquor-shops against whose owners they had a grudge. We have reason to believe that this was done in accordance with a preconceived plan.......... The lack of a settled and definite excise policy on the part of the Government of Bombay is very much to be regretted. Had Government enunciated such a policy at an early date it would, we believe, have removed much misunderstanding and misapprehension from the mind of the public.......... It was in August last that Dr. Kavasji Edalji Dadachanji brought forward a resolution in the Bombay Legislative Council for the appointment of a committee of officials and non-officials to consider the excise policy of the Government and suggest what modifications were necessary. The motion was adopted and Government agreed to appoint a committee forthwith. Five months have passed, but where is the committee? It is strange that the appointment of the committee and the selection of its personnel have been delayed for so long. We do not see what cogent reasons there could be for this delay. Had this committee been set to work as early as possible, by this time it would have completed its investigations and its recommendations would have proved most useful in the light of recent events. Still it is not too late and we earnestly request the Government of Bombay to expedite the appointment of the committee before the time for the sale of licenses for next year comes round. We humbly draw the attention of the Government of Bombay that the liquor-shop keepers have suffered tremendous losses this year owing to the picketing movement and the riots. Their case requires to be sympathetically considered. We would suggest that the annual auction sale of licenses which is due to take place next March should be held in abeyance and the present license holders allowed to retain their licenses for the coming year on the fixed fee system, the fees to be apportioned according to the annual average sales. Of course we suggest this only as a temporary measure of relief. Those license holders, who have suffered grievous losses during the last riots, are filled with anxiety as to the future, and it is for the

Government to consider whether some relief ought not to be given to them in these distressful times."

Dnyan Prakásh (40), 7th Dec. ; *Indu Prakásh* (43), 7th Dec.

49. The *Dnyan Prakásh*, referring to the Government Press Note prohibiting picketing of liquor shops, remarks that Government hitherto displayed commendable patience and that they were forced to take the step they have now taken owing to the excesses committed by the mob during the recent riots in Bombay. It requests heads of those districts in which there has been no breach of the peace in connection with the temperance movement to refrain from enforcing the order and declares that it would not be impossible to prevail upon Government to rescind their order by creating a peaceful atmosphere. [The *Indu Prakásh*, on the other hand, is unable to understand why Government should have prohibited picketing when it was going on in a peaceful manner.]

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 7th Dec. ; *Hindusthán* (20), 6th Dec.

50. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* comments on the recent Government Resolution on picketing and says in effect that no one can call the resolution a hasty step. It points out that the Bombay Government looking to the good underlying the principle of picketing, suffered it so long. The paper says that the Government have been known to entertain liberal views about the natural freedom and rights of the public, and that they had determined not to interfere with the movement so long as violence was not be resorted to. But, it continues, there can be no doubt that the liberality of Government has resulted in evil consequences, and that Mr. Gandhi himself was obliged to confess that violence had been resorted to in picketing as well as in other non-co-operation propaganda, and hence Government are at last obliged to resort to the remedy of stopping picketing for the next six months. The paper suggests that violence cannot be of any use in bringing about reforms in the matter of diet, drink and dress and it advises non-co-operators to make an appeal to the conscience of the people instead. It states that after the expiry of the prohibition, the non-co-operators should imitate the Salvation Army and the Social Service League in their propaganda against the drink evil. [The *Hindusthán* on the other hand questions the statement made in the Press Note, issued by Government in respect of the prohibition of picketing of liquor-shops, about picketing having resulted in the looting or destruction of liquor-shops during the recent disturbances in Bombay. It is of opinion that the excuse about breach of the peace has been trotted out to remove the cause of loss of revenue to Government.]

Mahrátta (6), 11th Dec.

***51.** "The Government of Bombay have promulgated an order prohibiting picketing in the city of Bombay and leaving it to the discretion of other district officers to follow suit if they so wish to. The Bombay Government with all their tall talk in favour of prohibition never could persuade themselves to see anything good in any attempts, however peaceful they may be, to bring it about as a matter of fact. Since 1908 when picketing was first introduced in Poona as a means to bring about moral pressure on the erring brethren, there was never any love lost between the picketers and the Government. The excesses in Bombay at the time of the Prince's visit gave the Government the necessary peg to hang their orders of prohibiting picketing on, and they were forthwith issued. We are afraid that the contagion will spread to Poona and the good work that is being done here comparatively very peacefully, will be wasted. For the last eight months the Madya-Pan-Prathibandhak Mandal here have carried on the picketing in a laudable manner and we believe that even the police have nothing to say against their present methods. The picketing has succeeded also beyond measure and we can confidently say that the present sales of liqour are not even thirty per cent. of what they were last year. These good results are of course due to the efforts of the picketing volunteers and Mr. G. S. Lavate, their leader in particular, but we must also say that this credit is shared by Mr. Hudson, the District Magistrate, and Mr. Boyd, the District Superintendent of Police of Poona. We hope and trust they will not be tempted to use the powers given to them by the Government, as the order prohibiting picketing is likely to provide an opportunity for civil disobedience, which is sure to be resorted to."

Comments on the Irish Settlement.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Dec.

52. "Thus Ireland at last comes into her own. She is no more a subject nation but a Free State—one among the group known as the British Commonwealth of Nations. She has won her freedom at a price which few countries have paid, but the sacrifices and sufferings of generations of her patriot sons and daughters have not been in vain. They have borne fruit not only in the emancipation of Ireland but in the extension of the bounds of human freedom. For Ireland unfree was the cause of subjection of many a nationalities. A free Ireland means an assurance of freedom to the latter and of the complete transformation of the British Empire into a British Commonwealth of Nations. This tremendous change in the moral atmosphere of the Empire is indicated by nothing so much as by the fact that an erst-while reactionary like Lord Birikenhead should have been chosen to announce to an expectant world the tidings of Irish freedom and publicly to do penance for 'the recurrent error of Britain's treatment of the Irish problem, namely, paying undue attention to material things and not recognising things which were idealist'. Is there not in this a lesson for Lord Reading to profit by? In his message to the Premier congratulating him on 'the patience and the conciliatory spirit' shown by him, His Majesty feels happy in some small way to have contributed by his speech at Belfast to this great achievement. Has Lord Reading the statesmanship to show the same patience and conciliatory spirit and by putting into motion the machinery of negotiation to enable the Prince of Wales to feel in some small way happy to have contributed by his visit to the reconciliation of India? There will be rejoicing to-day throughout the Empire over which His Majesty rules. India alone will not be able to share in this rejoicing."

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Sánj Vartamán (30), 9th Dec.

54. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the message of congratulation sent by Lord Reading to Mr. Lloyd George on the successful termination of the Irish question and expresses surprise that Lord Reading should support the policy of repression in this country when people have become exasperated enough to resort to civil disobedience. It, however, believes that it would be possible for Lord Reading to follow in the footsteps of Mr. Lloyd George and to remove the misunderstanding caused between Government and the people. The paper asks both to take a lesson from the Irish settlement and hopes that Lord Reading will not lose the opportunity of serving the Empire by settling the Indian question in a satisfactory manner.

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 10th Dec.

55. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* referring to the happy termination of the long protracted Irish question, remarks that once more the British Cabinet, and particularly Mr. Lloyd George, have deeply impressed the whole world by their high statesmanship. The paper declares that the peace has considerably added to the solidarity and strength of the British Empire, and that if the immense power of the Empire is to be preserved, every Imperial object of importance must have the assent and help of all the constituents of the Empire. And the connecting link between these constituents, according to the paper, is the common loyalty to the

Crown, which even Ireland has now accepted. It adds that this new and firm policy of British statesmen to look at the aspirations of the more backward members of the Empire from a changed angle of vision augurs well for the future of India, who should now prove her capacity to govern herself.

Bombay Samáchar (56), 9th Dec.; *Sánj Vartamán* (30) 8th Dec.
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The responsibility of Government for the Moplah rebellion.

Young India (11), 8th Dec.

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Gujaráti (14), 11th Dec.

***59.** The *Gujaráti* expresses surprise that although three months have now elapsed, still Government had not yet succeeded in restoring peace in Malabar. The Moplahs are only 10 lakhs in number, the Malabar District is a very small one and the rebels are not in possession of the whole of it. Is it not then possible, asks the paper, to arrange to hive them round in in a small area? In the opinion of the paper, the manner in which things are managed gives people cause to suspect that the authorities are knowingly prolonging the operations with the object of deepening the hostility between Hindus and Musalmans. The bureaucracy, the paper says, stand to gain in every way. If the people are taught to believe that the Moderates, liberals, and the educated are their enemies, it is so much to the advantage of the bureaucracy. It continues:—It is our belief that in Malabar also the bureaucracy are playing a beautiful game; it is our duty not to become pawns in this game but to awaken the people with regard to it, and to explain to the Moplahs that the Hindus are not their enemies but that they are fighting to secure equal rights and independence for all. Whatever it might be, the conflagration in Malabar has been unduly prolonged and it is necessary to make efforts to put it out.

The Moplah train tragedy.

Kesari (110), 6th Dec.

60. The *Kesari*, referring to the evidence given before the Committee of Inquiry into the Moplah train tragedy, remarks that it would not be incorrect to say from the facts disclosed that the bureaucracy does not value the lives of Indians even as much as those of ants and other insects. It, however, would like to wait and see to what extent those responsible for the tragedy are punished, as that would serve as a measure of the kind-heartedness of the bureaucracy.

Sind Observer (9), 5th Dec.

61. Commenting on the Moplah train tragedy, the *Sind Observer* writes:—"It is a horrible story. We are not surprised at the indignation caused in England when the news of this ghastly tragedy reached that country...... All the lessons of the Moplah outrages in Malabar will now be wiped away from the minds of the Indian people by this ghastly crime on the part of some callous official responsible for it. Malabar has not afforded till now a battle cry to rally the non-co-operators and they have been forced to be on the defensive to explain away the outrages in the best way they could. Now they have taken the offensive...... The platforms in the country are already ringing with the cry of 'the second Black Hole' and the 'Malabar mouse-trap'. The Congress will give the lead. The tragedy is, doubtless, due to the callousness of some officials who have developed, like Sergeant Andrews, the morbid mentality that the life of a Moplah is cheap, valueless and of no consequence. That some men responsible for this crime will be punished goes without saying. But what of the Government of Lord Willingdon which has been mismanaging the whole business from the very beginning? After the publication of the Mesopotamia Commission's report Mr. Austin Chamberlain had resigned his appointment because he was connected with the happenings, however remotely, as the Secretary of State for India. In doing so Mr. Chamberlain followed the best traditions of British public life. Mr. Thomas, Collector of Malabar, has already been sent to England on leave. Lord Willingdon would do well to follow the example set by Mr. Chamberlain. Lord Reading, who was responsible for the resignation of Sir Thomas Holland, must also insist on the resignation of Lord Willingdon, and it will not be regretted in the Madras Presidency. Then alone will public agitation in this country not assume the depth, intensity and magnitude of the Jallianwalla Bag agitation. Some swift and prompt measures are now necessary on the part of Lord Reading."

Swaráj (Sindhi) (171), 1st Dec.

62. A few days ago it was reported in the papers that some Moplah prisoners had died through suffocation in a railway goods van. Immediately afterwards Government issued a communiqué stating that the accident had been caused through the neglect of an official and that inquiry was being made. Was this mere neglect or something more than that? It is indeed a blot on a Government which regards such brutality as no more than mere neglect. We may remind Government how the perpetrator of the alleged Black Hole tragedy, which by the way has little historical basis, was dealt with, though we do not want retribution in the case of the Moplah train tragedy. We know what a howl was made over a similar train tragedy at Rohri sometime ago. Perhaps the colour makes all the difference in such cases. In the face of all this we cannot but be sorry at Lord Reading's boast of justice and at the moderation of our Moderate friends.

Protest against the treatment of political prisoners.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Dec.

63. "The Behar and Orissa and Central Provinces Legislative Councils have adopted resolutions recommending to their respective Governments better treatment of political prisoners. Some of the official members in both Councils made sympathetic speeches, calculated to make one hope that the crying scandal of the harsh treatment which political prisoners receive in this country, both when they are under trial and when they are serving their terms of imprisonment, would be speedily put an end to. But along with these demonstrations of sympathy in some parts of the country, what do we find in actual fact in other parts? Arrests are taking place by scores in most parts of the country and we see in many places even the most cultured and highly respected Indians being hand-cuffed and marched in public as if they were cut-throats and jail birds of the worst type.......... We publish elsewhere a communication from Lala Lajpatrai—now the most distinguished victim of the new campaign of repression—regarding the treatment accorded to Pandit Nekiram Sharma while he was yet an under-trial prisoner. Not only was the Pandit hand-cuffed immediately after arrest, but the hand-cuffs were not removed even when he was taking his food in the Court. In any civilised country, the Court, if it had a grain of self-respect, would have demanded in the case of a prisoner of the status and antecedents of Pandit Nekiram and charged with an offence of the nature alleged against the Pandit that the shackles must be removed in deference to its own dignity. But in India no blush of shame or indignation creeps up the cheeks of the goddess of justice at such a spectacle!........ Do the authorities imagine that by such treatment they enhance their own prestige in the eyes of the world and draw the people in tighter bonds of sympathy with themselves? What has Lord Reading, who has come to resuscitate the traditions of British justice, to say regarding the insults which are being hurled against the majesty of justice in this country?"

Sikhs and the Punjab Government.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 8th Dec.

64. "Do the Government of India realise the gravity of the risk involved in the campaign against the Sikh Gurdwara movement on which the Punjáb officials seem to have embarked? Is there not even a single candid friend among the 'co-operators' who would warn the authorities against the consequences of such an unwise policy? When the leaders of the Gurdwara movement are persistently claiming that theirs is a purely religious movement and they are demonstrating the truth of their claim and the strength of their religious convictions by readily coming forward in dozens to suffer for their cause we ask whether the Punjáb authorities are well-advised in strengthning the impression—whether right or wrong—among the Sikhs that Government are interfering in the purely religious affairs of the community....... The authorities will, no doubt, plead that they cannot tolerate open defiance of the law, *viz.*, the Seditious Meetings Act. But before Government proceed to punish 'violators of the law', is it not incumbent on them to prove to the satisfaction of the public that no interference is contemplated by their officers in the purely religious affairs of the Sikhs? Were the Sikh 'Diwans' held to discuss purely religious matters or were they convened to debate political questions? If the former was the case as it seems to have been from all accounts, what justification was there for the officials to prohibit the 'Diwans'?

Simultaneously with such prohibition, officials themselves were holding open darbars to discuss the same affairs! The attitude of the Punjáb officials has induced the Sikh leaders to resort to passive resistance in defence of their religious liberties, which they honestly believe are menaced by the present action of the authorities....... It is to the credit of the Sikhs that they have, in face of grave provocation, preserved an unruffled temperament. They should endeavour to maintain this attitude to the end, safeguarding against even the least tinge of violence in thought, word or deed. If they believe their cause to be just, they cannot afford to let it be tarnished on any account. We have a word also to say to those who are controlling the destines of the Punjáb and of India: is it wise statesmanship to let the impression in the minds of the Sikhs be engendered rightly or wrongly, that they have to suffer in any shape for their religion? Let Lord Reading answer."

Comments on the postponement of the work on the Mulshi Peta Dam.

Kesari (110), 6th Dec.

65. The *Kesari* refers to the indefinite postponement of the work of the Mulshi Peta Dam and to the proceedings of the meeting held by the *satyagrahi* Mavlas and their sympathisers on the 1st December wherein resolutions declaring their resolve not to accept compensation for their lands were passed, and says that considering the circumstances it appears advisable that both Government and the Tata Company should now give up all idea of constructing the Dam. It remarks that though in the beginning Government was acting against the Mavlas in a spirit of partizanship and thereby compelling them to adopt *satyagraha*, its conduct later on since it has been convinced of their love for their lands and of the strength of the feeling which the public has shown in the matter, has been characterised by impartiality, and it appears as if Government has now seen the injustice of throwing into prison the *satyagrahi* Mavlas and asked the Tatas to construct the dam only after acquiring the lands with their free consent. The policy now adopted by Government, says the paper, is the correct one, but it hopes that no wrong, coercive or fraudulent, methods would be used in acquiring the lands, and it declares that there are reports of a few such instances having taken place and the amounts of compensation being subsequently returned. It also hopes that the *satyagraha* Mandal will see that no false claimants are set up and the public misled.

Comments on the Sessions of the Fiscal Commission at Karachi.

Rozana Byopar ( ), 3rd Dec.

66. Writing about the sittings of the Fiscal Commission at Karachi, the *Rozana Byopar* remarks that the real object of the Commission was to examine Indian Merchants in order to know their grievances but what actually happened was that mostly English merchants and only a few Indian Merchants were called to give their evidence. It adds that most of the witnesses were Khan Bahadurs, Honorary Magistrates, Vakils or Professors who admitted in the course of their evidence that they were invited by the Commissioner in Sind to give evidence, but that they were not merchants. Thus, says the paper, no witness was called who could have given straightforward evidence and interpreted the real heart of the Indian merchants. It states that the editor of the paper itself was a fit and proper person to appear as a witness but it was a pity that the Commission has enacted the play with the part of the hero left out.

Protest against export of foodstuffs.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 8th Dec.

67. The *Bombay Samáchár* dwells at great length upon the scarcity and high prices of food grains in India and deplores the indifference shown by Government in adopting a firm and consistent policy to save India from the disasters of scarcity and high prices. It even holds Government responsible for the recent scarcity of wheat in the Punjáb and while thanking them for temporarily prohibiting the export of wheat and importing Australian wheat to meet the situation, draws the attention of Government to the sudden rise in the prices of rice due to their permission to export the commodity to the extent of one lakh tons. It believes that there is no force in the argument advanced by Government that the stopping of export of food grains is injurious to the interest of the farmers asin its opinion high prices merely benefit the middlemen. It expresses the hope that the Government of India will give a careful consideration to the present situation and take steps to keep the granaries of the country full.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 5th Dec.

68. "His Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the address of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce referring to the food situation in this country assured his hearers that the Government of India were 'fully aware of the political importance of reasonably cheap food' and had made arrangements to import adequate quantities of wheat from abroad. 'You may be interested to learn,' Lord Reading said, 'that 60,000 tons of privately imported wheat have already arrived and that, so far as my information goes, about 1,10,000 tons are to arrive during the course of the next five or six weeks'. So far so good. But the forethought of the Government of India would have been doubly admirable if they had taken care simultaneously to see that the wheat grown in India had been kept in India for India's own needs and not allowed to be exported to foreign countries in large quantities, as it has been done for months past, though the people of this country have been repeatedly protesting against such depletion of food resources at a time of great scarcity........ Why should India be reduced to the necessity of importing Australian wheat when she is in a position to export her own wheat in even larger quantities? The Government of India were warned months ago about the scarcity of wheat and the prevailing distress, and were asked to restrict the exports of both wheat and rice, but the Olympian gods, including the 'democratic' Mr. Sarma, laughed to scorn the fears of the mere mortals in the plains. The depletion of the indigenous wheat stocks did not alarm them, for could they not arrange to import supplies from abroad when the necessity arose? So, the big European export firms engaged in buying up wheat from the granaries of the Punjab and Northern India and sending it abroad, were left to make hay while the sun shone. Now, the exports are being reduced, for there is not enough left in the country. Is such a policy calculated to benefit India? Yet, the Viceroy assured the public, 'we have sought both to increase the food resources of the country'—by importing them from abroad!—'and to assist the flour-milling industry!'........ We publish elsewhere a wail from a correspondent regarding the high prices of rice prevailing simultaneously with large exports of this staple food of the country. We are not in a position to say whether the rice crop this year, both in Burma and India, is in excess of the requirements of the two countries, but to judge from the prevailing high prices we cannot but conclude that there is every necessity of restricting the exports of rice from the country. And yet, what do we find in fact? The latest return issued by the Department of Statistics shows that the total quantity of rice entered for shipment to foreign ports at Rangoon and Calcutta from 1st January to 19th November 1921 amounted to 8,80,384 tons and 18,406 tons respectively, as against 6,14,750 and 14,033 tons during the corresponding period of last year. What with these unrestricted exports and the corner effected by certain powerful interests, the consumer in India has a hard time of it in coping with the high prices. Instead of being content with the persuit of a *laissez faire* policy, which is entailing great hardships on the people and seriously hampering the real development of the food resources of the country, is it not time that a more clear-sighted and progressive policy was followed by the Agricultural Department? Living from hand to mouth year after year is not calculated to increase the permanent economic resources of this country, however much it might benefit temporarily a few who are engaged in the export trade of India. But does the Member for Agriculture realise this?"

Comments on the treaty with Afghanistan.

Praja Bandhu (27), 4th Dec.; *Model* (25), 4th Dec.; *Al-Haq* (156), 3rd Dec.

69. The *Praja Bandhu*, congratulates the Afghans on the realisation of their aspiration to raise the country to the status of an independent power, and says:—India will be glad more at Afghan independence being recognised than at the savings of the Indian subsidy paid to that country. One of the terms of the treaty is that India should refund the customs duty collected at Indian ports on all foreign articles going to Afghanistan for the use of the State. Afghanistan at present has no port of its own and though this term does not apparently look unfavourable, yet we shall not wonder if it brings forth troubles in the end. British industries will flourish at the cost of Indian revenues. It must be said that the Indian Government has entered into a compact bringing ruin to the Indian industries and that the Imperial Legislative Assembly and the Council of State should fight for favourable alterations in these terms. [The *Model* in connection with the Afghan Treaty says:—Afghanistan being an Islamic State, independent and influential, it is possible that it will gratify the Moslem world by using all its influence in the eastern defence of Turkey. It is thus possible that Turkey and Afghanistan may be enabled to uphold the prestige and influence of Islam among the great nations. From this we are led to believe that the British Government wants to deal amicably with the Islamic States and that whatever part Turkey might have played during the last war, the British Government does not want to destroy either Islam or Islamic States. The adoption of the new constructive policy by the British and Indian Governments is proved by the last treaty with the Afghans. The *Al-Haq* writes:—The conclusion of a treaty of friendship between Britain and Afghanistan is a most happy augury for the Muslim world. The treaty among other important things provides for the mutual recognition of the external and internal independence of each of the two countries. Every thinking Muslim must rejoice over the independence of a Muslim State.]

Hindu (160), 28th Nov.

70. After protracted negotiations a treaty has been concluded by the British Government with Afghanistan recognising the latter's independence. The delay in its conclusion was probably due to Britain's unwillingness to concede all the demands of the Amir. The Bolshevik bugbear, the disturbed state of things in Central Asia and Turkey and the situation in India, however, appear to have finally shown to Britain the unwisdom of having a hostile neighbour. It will thus be seen that Afghanistan obtained all that it wanted by taking advantage of Britain's embarassments. Britain is apparently delighted with the treaty; but we very much doubt if it is a case of sincere delight. Afghanistan's example should stimulate and stiffen India's effort and resolve for securing *swaráj*. Is India going to remain a subject country while other countries are becoming free?

Apprehension that taxation under Land Revenue head will be increased in Bombay Presidency.

Sind Vási (169), 27th Nov.

71. In the Bombay Budget for the current year there is an estimated deficit of 1½ crores and this deficit is to be made up by appropriations from the reserve of 2¾ crores of previous years. It is feared that owing to the present political movement, the actual deficit at the end of the year may be found to be much larger and may not only absorb the reserve, but also necessitate fresh taxation unless expenditure is cut down. Government however is in no mood to reduce expenditure. It may, therefore, become necessary at the presentation of the next budget to consider ways and means for meeting the situation. The Government of Bombay has two main sources of revenue, the Land Revenue and the Miscellaneous Revenue. The latter source has been adversely affected by the non-co-operation movement. The only remaining source left to Government is the Land Revenue. Government will probably propose additional taxation under that head. Now, in order to prevent any fresh burden on the Sind cultivator, the zamindar members from Sind, who have hitherto supported all Government proposals, should join the other members in their efforts to cut down the expenditure. Already the taxation per head in the Bombay Presidency is much larger than it is in Bengal or Madras. If the zamindar members are not wakeful, they will have to thank themselves for it if the tax on land is increased.

Protest against the action of the Bombay City Improvement Trust in connection with ground adjoining a Jain temple at Byculla.

Hind Mitra (17), 4th Dec.

72. The City Improvement Trust after devastating the localities of the poor in Bombay, is now turning for the atonement of its past idiotic actions, to harass the innocent and encroaching upon their religious privileges. It wants the people of the Gujari Bazar to occupy a plot of open ground surrounding a Jain temple near Byculla reserved by the Jains for preserving cleanliness round their sacred place. The feelings of the Jains are deeply injured and their anger is roused by this action of the Trust. A meeting of the Jains was held in the Upashraya of Shree Godijee in protest of this action and a resolution was passed requesting Government to give them proper relief in the matter and resolving to take such other steps as may be necessary. Such high-handedness of the Trust deserves to be strongly censured and the Trust must remember that eventhough the Jains are a very quiet and mild community, yet they are roused like tigers when their religious feelings and rights are affected.

Comments on the failure of the Adly mission from Egypt.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 6th Dec.

73. " The Egyptian bubble has at last burst, revealing the real intentions of British Imperialism in Egypt. The Foreign Office, under Lord Curzon, has out-Milnered Lord Milner himself in its breach of faith with the Egyptians. All the talk of 'independence' of Egypt, in which British statesmen have been indulging since the end of the European war is now seen to have been a camouflage. All the solemn pledges given to the Egyptians from the days of Gladstone onwards, that the Protectorate was meant to be but temporary and that the independence of the country would be restored as soon as circumstances permitted after the war, are thrown overboard....... But we know that most of these 'statesmen' are afflicted with incurable shortsightedness and their prevision or rather lack of it can make no difference to the Egyptians in their struggle for their inalienable rights. The Time-Spirit works on without waiting to see what British 'statesmanship' will or will not acheive. It is, however, impertinence to lay the blame for the failure of the negotiations at the door of the Egyptian delegation as Reuter's correspondent does. The delegation had no hand in drafting the convention and were not even consulted about it. It was presented to them, cut and dried. And yet, when the delegation, weak as they are, discover that the document is calculated but to perpetuate the domination of Britain and express their unwillingness to barter away their country's freedom in the manner proposed to them, British 'statesmen' and journalists turn upon them in simulated surprise and charge them with obstruction and ingratitude!...... British 'statesmen' talk of conferring 'independence' on Egypt and recognising it as a 'Sovereign State', while in the same breath they speak of maintaining British garrisons at various places in that country, acquiring compulsorily naval harbours and aerodromes, controlling the foreign relations of the country as well as its internal financial and judicial administrations! Even the *Times* admits that the independence of Egypt is made invisible..... Lord Allenby's letter on the subject, instead of reassuring the Egyptians, brings into relief the disappointing and reactionary features of the British proposals and dashes all hopes of Egypt obtaining redress of her wrongs at the hands of the British ministers. It is particularly regrettable that Lord Allenby should have made any reference to India's sacrifices during the war in the interests of Egypt. These sacrifices were made not certainly that the subjection of the Egyptians might be perpetuated but that the day of the emancipation of all subject nationalities might draw near. But Lord Allenby's reference to India's sacrifice is doubly objectionable, because she has not been consulted in the negotiations regarding the future of Egypt. If India were consulted, she would be the very first to repudiate the suggestion that Egypt out of gratitude for such sacrifices should be content to remain in her present condition of political subjection."

Vafádar (32), 9th Dec.

74. Mr. Lloyd George and Lord Curzon have begun to lose their friends one after another owing to the grabbing policy they have adopted. Egypt, like India and Ireland, had been given a promise of independence. Adly Pasha has been instrumental in keeping Egypt under British protection and safeguarding British interests in that country in spite of the efforts of Zaglul Pasha. But now that the Adly Mission has returned to Egypt in disappointment, Zaglul is likely to gain strength and come forward to compel England to grant all his demands. India also has had full experience of British promises and it is trying to secure its birthright. We would ask the "sycophants" of India to take a lesson from Adly Pasha and to try to avert the fate he has met.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 7th Dec.

75. The *Sánj Vartamán* says that Indians will be sorry to learn of the failure of the protracted negotiations between England and Egypt, and it regrets that while professing to recognise the rights of Egypt as a Sovereign State, England should insist upon the occupation of the country by British forces. The paper suggests that Britain should guard her commercial interests without the maintenance of British forces in Egypt. It declares that Lord Curzon's imperialism has led Adly Pasha, like Zaglul Pasha, to lose faith in Britain and it expresses the hope that British statesmen will now recognise the necessity of restoring full independence to Egypt

Hindusthán (20), 9th Dec.

76. The *Hindusthán* gives the history of the National movement in Egypt and considers the failure of Britain to arrive at a settlement with Adly Pasha, whom the paper regards as the creature of the British officials in Egypt, as a clear sign of her bankruptcy in statesmanship. The paper then takes note of recent telegrams from Egypt and expresses surprise that while a man like Adly Pasha has preferred national independence to official favour, there are still to be found men in India who have no clear appreciation of national independence.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 7th Dec.

77. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* states that it is evident from the telegraphic information regarding Egypt and Turkey that Lord Curzon, as a Foreign Secretary, has proved a total failure, and that his continuance in the same office would be detrimental to the interests of the British Empire. The paper refers to the condition first proposed by Lord Milner, an out-and-out autocrat, that an army may be allowed to be garrisoned in the Suez territory. It points out that Lord Curzon goes a step further and claims that garrisons must be posted even in the interior of Egypt and that no communication should be carried on by Egypt with other foreign powers without the permisson of the British High Commissoner. The paper declares that this condition is obviously absurd and incompatible with the idea of independence. But it considers it as a good sign that the leading British papers have seen the danger lying in this claim, and it trusts that public opinion in England will put Lord Curzon down with a strong hand. Referring to the claims of Greece in Thrace and Smyrna, the paper says that Lord Curzon pretends to deal with them from the point of view of the interests of England's Allies. As, however, France and Italy have already made peace with Turkey and as America and Japan have no interest in this question, the paper condemns this as another blunder of his Lordship and it appeals to the Prime Minister to disregard him and take the matter in his own hand.

Comments on the All-India Trade Union Congress at Jharia.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Dec.

78. "To the orthodox economist, and much more to the unsympathetic critic, Mr. Baptista's address as President of the second session of the All-India Trade Union Congress at Jharia would appear to be bristling with contradictory observations, nullifying, in some respects, what he probably intended to say as to the aims and objects of the Labour movement in India. To those, who saw in this attempt to bring together the organised workers of India once a year nothing but a new stick to beat the Government with, Mr. Baptista's sketch of the programme of Labour in India will come as a disagreeable, if wholesome, surprise. The Government of India do not need any more sticks to be beaten with. However, it is absurd to imagine that the millions of workers can and should have no say in the politics of their country. Domestic politics all the world over, and even international politics, are coming more and more to be determined by Labour organisations; and the man who would make it a condition that Labour should eschew politics altogether is an anti-diluvian who has of his own accord forfeited his claim to be heard. Mr. Baptista must, therefore, be congratulated for the emphatic enunciation of the principle that 'the Trade Union Congress cannot dispense with politics'. For 'Trade Unionism is not the mere pursuit of £. *s*. *d*., but a social philosophy whose dominant doctrine is that the welfare of society rests upon the welfare of the workers'. This emphasis is necessary in a society, which like the modern English and Indian societies, displays a most disquieting inequality in wealth and engenders in consequence germs of discontent which can only be removed by bringing about equality in the distribution of the material comforts of life. Labour alone can acheive this, since Labour alone has been free from the cramping influence of the unearned income. And Labour cannot acheive this end unless it takes its active share in the shaping of the policy of the country, and through it, in influencing the world policy."

Lokamánya (114), 7th Dec.

79. The *Kesari* expresses its pleasure at the successful conclusion of the Trade Union Congress held at Jharia under the presidency of Mr. Baptista and is gratified to find that the efforts made by certain European capitalists to stop it being held proved unsuccessful, inasmuch as its stoppage would not only have resulted in a general coal miners' strike but also created unrest among other workers throughout India. It is also pleased to find that some of the European capitalists are seeing the necessity of co-operating with the workers. It characterises Mr. Baptista's speech as worthy of his reputation for fearlessness, and congratulates him upon it. It, however, points out that its very fearlessness seems to have terrified the telegraphic authorities as they have needlessly interfered with its publication. It points out that their ban on a patricular portion of the speech having been removed on 30th December, it was published in the next day's issue of the *Lokamánya*, but it was subsequently again informed that it was not to be published. It says that it would not have been published by it had it been so asked in time but protests that it sees no material difference between what it published on Sunday and what was published by the *Bombay Chronicle* on the previous Thursday. It is, therefore, surprised at the meddlesomeness of the Telegraph Department.

Comments on Lord Sinha's resignation.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 7th Dec.

80. "There will be genuine regret among all countrymen of Lord Sinha that he should have been obliged, by reason of the state of his health, to relinquish charge of his high and responsible post within a year of his appointment....... Not one among his countrymen will deny his great talents, and his high patriotism, though many will regret that he did not make full use of both in the service of his motherland. But his earlier training and the peculiar circumstances he was called to face had not a little to do with his failure. In any other country the achievements of his career would have been more conspicuous than they have been in India, in spite of the exalted positions he rose to occupy. As for his position as Governor, it must be confessed that he was a round man in a square hole. It was not meant for men of his type. His proper place was on the Judicial Bench, and in the Cabinets of Government....... Now that the report of his resignation is confirmed the public will be intrigued not a little to know on whom the sunshine of official favour will be turned next,—not that the majority of the people are very much concerned about it. But the choice of the successor will at least offord a glimpse into the working of the bureaucratic mentality and the public will be able to assess at their proper value the professions from high places with which they have been accustomed during the last few years."

Lokamánya (114), 5th Dec.

81. The *Lokamánya* refers to the resignation of Lord Sinha of his Governorship on the ground of ill-health and expresses its opinion that the ground put forward does not seem to be the real one as he has not been so much confined to his bed as to be prepared to lose the opportunity of personally welcoming the Prince of Wales to Behar as the first Indian Governor in India. It mentions the various grounds for the resignation given by some of the papers in Upper India and says that if the one given by the *Pravasi* news paper, that the resignation was due to Lord Sinha's having been asked to order the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, be true, he would deserve to be universally congratulated for having rightly done his duty as an Indian by resigning his post. It says that it seems as if Lord Reading's three Indian executive Councillors having refused to be a party to the arrest of Mr. Gandhi, His Excellency made the request to Lord Sinha. In its opinion there is nothing improbable in this, as the bureaucracy is an expert in the matter of getting such things done at the hands of men outside its own circle. It hopes that the Government of India would take steps to state the facts of the case.

Rájakáran (131), 4th Dec.; *Lokasangraha* (116), 8th Dec.

*** 82.** The *Rájakáran* says that Lord Sinha's resignation must have given genuine satisfaction to the white bureaucracy in Behar and Orissa since they are freed at least temporarily from the necessity of having to serve under an Indian. It declares that Indians would be well-advised not to accept the post of Governor in a country rent with factions. It remarks that Lord Sinha cannot be said to have enjoyed the confidence of the higher authorities, since his Executive Council consisted of two Europeans and one Indian on the ground that the interests of the planters required special protection, the obvious implication being that they were not safe in the hands of Lord Sinha. It concludes with the remark that Lord Sinha's experience will serve to warn off any possible Indian aspirant to the vacant post. [The *Lokasangraha* says that the lesson to be learnt from Lord Sinha's brief tenure of office is that the foreign character of an administration does not disappear with the appointment of an Indian at its head so long as the white bureaucracy under him remains untouched.]

Sánj Vartamán (30), 6th Dec. ; *Hindusthán* (20), 6th Dec. ;
Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 8th Dec.

83. The *Sánj Vartamán* takes note of the resignation given by Lord Sinha and remarks that his administration cannot be said to have proved a failure as he has been in office only for a short time and even if it could be considered as a failure, such a failure would be ascribed more to circumstances than to his incompetence. The paper then dwells upon Lord Sinha's great abilities and the valuable services he has rendered to India and believes that Lord Sinha, if he had remained in office, would have been of great service in advising Government not to resort to excesses in their present policy of repression. The paper then expresses a wish that an Indian may be appointed as Lord Sinha's successor and suggests that either Mr. Shriniwas Sastri or Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla or Sir Ali Imam may be appointed to the post. It then refers to the rumour about Sir William Vincent's appointment as the successor of Lord Sinha and believes that it will be a good riddance as in its opinion Sir William's influence in the Viceregal Council is responsible for the repressive policy of Government. The paper, however would not like to see the claims of Indians ignored in filling the vacancy. [The *Hindusthán* refers to the resignation of Lord Sinha and considers his administration as a failure and as one affording a warning to future Indian Governors and not an example for their emulation. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* on the other hand refers to Lord Sinha's resignation and after dwelling at length upon his abilities and past services to India, says that if Lord Sinha as Governor could not come up people's expectations, it was due to his short term in office and health. Referring to certain rumours set afloat by Nationalist papers that Lord Sinha had to resign because he could not control his European I. C. S. officers, the paper thinks it necessary that Government should issue a press note to refute this allegation and do justice to the I. C. S. officers concerned. As regards his administration, the paper agrees with the opinion of the Moderates that in very difficult circumstances his Lordship discharged his duties as Governor with courage and honesty always keeping in mind the good of the vast majority of the public.]

Comments on the appointment of Mr. Cowasji Jehangir as member of the Bombay Executive Council.

Gujaráti (14), 11th Dec.

*** 84**. Commenting upon the appointment of Mr. Cowasji Jehangir, the *Gujaráti* writes :—"This appointment, we are sure, will meet with the warm approval of the public. Mr. Cowasji Jehangir has taken a prominent part in municipal and other civic activities of this great city and is already an active member of the Local Legislative Council. Latterly politicians and patriots have blossomed very luxuriantly in the present political atmosphere of India. No previous training or study, no apprenticeship in politics, is deemed essential for figuring on public platforms as patriotic leaders. But Mr. Cowasji Jehangir has had his apprenticeship in the hard school of municipal experience and in other walks of public life. Essentially fair-minded, endowed with fine talents, strong common sense and catholic sympathies and equipped with considerable knowledge and experience of public affairs he will prove we are sure in every way qualified to discharge with ability the duties of the high office to which he has been appointed.

***Kaiser-i-Hind* (22), 11th Dec., Eng. cols.**

***85. " Mr. Cowasji Jehangir is the first Parsi to be appointed as a member of the Governor's Executive Council and the Parsi community will feel a natural pride**

that a scion of such a high and esteemed family should be the first to have this honour and privilege. The Parsis up to now were feeling somewhat a neglected community on account of the seemingly studied exclusion of Parsis from high public posts of executive responsibility. We had repeatedly drawn the attention both of the Government of Bombay and the Government of India in these columns to this unjust exclusion of a deserving community, and we are glad to see that His Excellency Sir George Lloyd has done justice to the claims of the community by appointing one of its most distinguished and promising young members to be his colleague in the Government."

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 9th Dec.; *Sánj Vartamán* (30), 9th Dec.;
Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 10th Dec.

86. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* congratulates both Government and Mr. Cowasji Jehangir on his appointment on the Executive Council in place of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla. It dwells on the services rendered by Mr. Cowasji not only as a member of the Bombay Municipal Corporation but also as a member of the Legislative Council and hopes that he will render good services to both the public and the Government. [Elsewhere in an English article, the paper remarks that it has taken the authorities over a dozen years to discover a Parsi fit to be appointed to any of the Councils. For this neglect the paper blames the system of communal representation which led Government to make appointments regardless of all other considerations. Commenting on the present appointment, the paper remarks that the choice is necessarily restricted to the class of co-operators who are better hated than Englishmen themselves, and that the selection will not be popular, though of that class, it adds, Mr. Cowasji is a forceful and talented representative. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the appointment of Mr. Cowasji Jehangir to act as a Member of the Executive Council and congratulates him on his appointment. The paper dwells upon the services of Mr. Cowasji Jehangir in the Bombay Corporation and the good impression he made upon his colleagues by his abilities and independence and expresses confidence that he will prove equally successful in the Council provided he maintains his usual independence. In conclusion the paper asks the Parsis to study politics and gain the confidence of the people with a view to serving the country by being appointed to high offices under Government. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* congratulates Mr. Cowasji Jehangir on his appointment to the Executive Council and dwelling upon his past services and abilities expects him to justify his appointment by working in the interest of the public. It further says that Mr. Cowasji belongs to no particular party and being a man of independent views is not likely to side with the bureaucracy or with the opponents of Government unjustly.]

Strictures on the Government Resolution on proportionate pensions for the Imperial Services.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 9th Dec.

87. "We learn that the members of the Imperial Services, to whom a scheme of proportionate pensions was submitted in the first week of October, are not wholly satisfied with its generous provisions, and we shall not be surprised if they, with British doggedness, continue their interminable fight for more. One of the Resolutions of the Government of India published on 8th November, refers to the wrath of officers who objected to the absolute right of Government to hold them to their service till the age of superannuation. 'Indeed', says the Resolution in fear and grief, 'certain officers, it is believed, have on this account refused to accept the new pension rules'. This example of threatened non-co-operation seems to have sobered the Government into a better sense of generosity and certainly the services have benefited by the refusal. Further grumbling may be sound as a business proposition for additional exactions, but the Indian taxpayer ought to pause and take note of the betrayal of his interests for meeting the spirit of dictation from the services...... The present Resolution exempts the direct employees of the Central Government because, forsooth, it is still an 'official Government', but of course the time will come for them and the Army officers to clamour for unearned retiring gifts...... It is true the Irish Agreement provides for compensation to Civil Servants, but what 'compensation', we ask, did British officers get out of Australia after the Commonwealth Act? And from South Africa in 1905? Trustees have no power to bind the estate of beneficiaries by onerous engagements prejudicial to their interests. The engagement to pay enhanced pensions to non-co-operating civilians is not only prejudicial to the interests of India, but it is onerous, and invalid as an engagement contravening public morality. If Mr. Smith, conscientious objector, feels it compromising to take orders from an 'Indian minister'—though he did it for years from 'Indian' members of the Executive Council—it is his choice to go. Why should India be made to pay above the stipulations of his service ?...... If the list of covenanted pensions is compared with the new catalogue of pensions, the difference will, in the mass, apart from principle, be found scandalously high. The country can only look on. Mark that the annuity is furnished not only to members of the Administrative Services who growse over the Reforms in spite of multiplied Secretaryships, but also to the technical services that have nothing to do with the exercise of political authority. The Resolution opens the gate for twelve Imperial Services. A glance at the list will make it clear that the political plea is a camouflage. The members of the Civil Veterinary Department are invited to seize the opportunity. Why not ? Have not the conditions necessary for the doctoring of horses and breeding of bulls, become 'radically' changed after the Reforms ?"

Bhárat Vasi (157), 2nd Dec.

88. The attitude of the members of the Indian Civil Service is unthinkable. They are unwilling to serve under Indian Ministers although they are India's servants and are paid from India's revenues. They have been agitating for some time past for being allowed to retire before their time on handsome proportionate pensions. These pet children of Government have now gained their point. We fail to see how the Government has agreed to the demand of these "mutineers" as they are rightly called by Mrs. Besant. We would of course be very glad if they left this country once and for all. We do not want them. We, however, doubt if they will at all go. The question is on what principle they are entitled to any pension if they retire before their time. Those who cannot serve under the new conditions had better go without pension.

England, France and the Franco-Kemalist Agreement.

New Times (7), 6th Dec.

89. "The Angora Agreement has offended England. Both Britain and France have been anxious to control Turkey. France has out-stripped England in the race. France has made a separate peace with Kemal Pasha. England is out-witted. England's notion, says a well-known English writer, was 'to make Turkey harmless, servile and weak'. And France's agreement with Angora comes in conflict with England's aims....... England's dream of dominating Turkey is shattered ! She has no option now but to come to terms with the Turk. Her new cry of 'stopping the useless war' and securing a 'prompt, unquestioned settlement of the Near East question' is not a concession to the Indian Muslim sentiment but a diplomatic move to make the most of a bad business....... The Muslims have rightly resented the British attitude to Turkey. England has dominated Constantinople ; England has set up puppet princes in the Muslim Holy Land, and England has failed in its plan and programme. England has been unable to keep Turkey in a state of vassalage. Turkish nationalists, under the leadership of Kemal Pasha, have saved a sinking nation. The moral for modern India is clear. A Nation has only to persist to win freedom—if it is united and has justice on its side."

MUNICIPALITIES.

The Ahmedabad Municipality and Mr. Tilak's bust.

Kesari (110), 6th Dec.

90. The *Kesari* refers to the objection taken by the Collector, to the proposed expenditure of Rs. 3,500 by the Ahmedabad Municipality for placing a bust of Mr. Tilak in the local public gardens, and says a Municipality that has dared to cast off Government control on primary education was expected not to care a fig for the objection put forward by the Collector. It has accordingly, it says, resolved that the Collector had no business to interfere in the matter and ordered the origanal plan to be carried out. It is to be seen, the paper remarks, what further objection the bureaucrat is going to take and asks how long this mockery of local self-government is to continue.

RAILWAYS.

The brutal treatment of third class passengers on Indian Railways.

Hindusthán (20), 7th Dec.

91. The *Hindusthán* deplores the habit of the Indian people to murmur and sit quiet. It is of opinion that the death of the Moplah prisoners by suffocation in a goods van would have been averted if the Indians had not tolerated the brutal treatment given to third class passengers in general and to pilgrims in particular. It, therefore, exhorts the Indians to educate public opinion in the matter of the indifference of railways to the convenience of third class passengers and to take effective steps to put an end to the present deplorable state of affairs on Indian railways.

NATIVE STATES.

Strictures on the administration of His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

Servant of India (8), 8th Dec. ; *Dnyán Prakásh* (40), 10th Dec.

92. In the course of an article on Kolhapur Administration, Mr. A. V. Patvardhan writes :—"That by his maladministration His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur has aroused profound discontent among the intellgensia of his subjects, everyone who has heard of that hapless State knows full well; but it is believed by some—and the misconception has been sedulously spread by His Highness's agents—that the mass of people have derived solid benefits from the Maharaja's policy, boldly conceived and steadily pursued of helping forward, first and last, the growth of the backward classes. It is often represented that his unpopularity among the politically minded classes is principally due just to this espousal on his part of the cause of the helpless ryots. Did the Maharaja really promote the interests of the masses, I should consider him a great benefactor, even if, in his uplift of the masses, he held up and, aye retarded, the progress of the advanced classes, for the latter weigh nothing in my eyes besides the former. But the fact is that the masses are ground down just as much as the higher classes, if not more; and my complaint against the Maharaja is that under his rule the ryots are absolutely neglected. A few facts gleaned from his administration reports, which by the way are carefully withheld from the public, will suffice to establish the justnessof the complaint...... Thus the salient facts which emerge from this study of the results of the Maharaja's educational policy for the last twenty-five years are as follows :—In 1918-19 Kolhapur made a net profit of more than thirty thousand rupees out of its elementary education. Allowing for this as an exceptional case, we still find that but 1 per cent. of the revenues of the State is devoted to elementary education, while in the British territory the corresponding percentage is $6\frac{2}{3}$. His Highness spends on his own household more than twenty times what he spends on the education of all his subjects....... The revenue of the State, since the Maharaja came to the *gadi*, rose from 16 to 38 lakhs, but the share which elementary education had in this generous increase is represented by only Rs. 15,000, the corresponding increase in the neighbouring British districts being three lakhs. This will show the real solicitude of His Highness the Maharaja for the welfare of the backward classes among his subjects." [The *Dnyán Prakásh* quotes facts and figures to show that education is being neglected in the Kolhapur State and significantly remarks that the Maharaja spends on himself twenty times as much as he does on primary education.]

Comments on the dispute between the Jains and the Junagadh Durbar regarding ownership of the Girnar temples.

Swarájya (Gujaráti) (62), 29th Nov.

93. The *Swarájya,* referring to the question of Jain temples on the Girnar hills, says :—The holy temples of the Jains are situated on these hills. For thousands of years the Jains have been enjoying proprietary rights over those hills. A dispute had arisen regarding the proprietorship of these temples between the Jains and the Junagadh Durbar, and the Jains had appealed to the Agent to the Governor in the matter. The high-handed and partisan decision of the Agent has given rise to deep resentment and dissatisfaction among the Jains. The Agent has committed a serious political blunder in rejecting this appeal and thus supporting the oppressive and sacrilegious measures taken by the Durbar. This is a good opportunity to test the justice of the Bombay Government and especially of Lord Reading the *ex*-High Chief Justice of England. Whatever the result may be, we would advise the Jain Community to wake up. Is it not their duty to gird up their loins to protect their sacred places if they are in danger in this so-called "Rámarajya"?

Jain protest against certain action of the Palitana Durbar on the Shatrunja Hill.

Jain (76), 4th Dec.

94. Referring to the step of the Palitana State in removing certain boards placed by the Jain Community on the water tanks on the Shatrunja Hill the *Jain* says:—On the 29th of November, with orders from the State, some public servants came to the *kunds* to remove the notice boards placed there warning the public against spoiling the water. Four servants of Sheth Anandji Kalyanji, in charge of these *kunds* said: "As you have come here to carry out the orders of the State so also we are posted here to guard this *kund* and it is our duty not to allow you to remove these boards, and we shall not allow you to remove them till we are either dead or taken prisoners". The State servants were first surprised at this non-violent *satyagraha* but afterwards imprisoned them under the warrants of the State and removed the boards. Next day the boards on all other tanks were removed in spite of the guards' protest. Those four guards were released on bail the next day. The incident has created great sensation among the Jains. We are instituting reliable inquiries into this matter and will publish their full report. It is said that the State has ordered all the boards on the *kunds* inside the fort also to be removed.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,

Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
P. W., Secretariat, Bombay, 16th December 1921.

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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated : what action, if any, is being taken ; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule :

Attitude of the Punjáb Government towards the Sikhs . . . . . . 66 & 67
Comments on the assault on Principal Mitra at Calcutta by European Sergeants 76
Comments on the Irish agreement 68
Comments on the Jheria Labour Congress 81
Comments on the Moplah train tragedy 74
Comments on the new sterling loan 73
Complaint about delay in dealing with the report of the Matiari Inquiry Committee 75
Disabilities of the depressed classes 77
How the bureaucracy is working against the people's uplift 78
Government responsible for the evil results of gambling and drinking among the Bombay mill-hands 82
Indian Musalmans and the movement of Muslim unity 79
Ireland and India . . . . 69 & 70
Protest against the action of the Bombay City Improvement Trust in connection with ground adjoining a Jain temple at Byculla 80
The Washington Conference . . . . 71 & 72
Excise : Comments on recent amendment of rules regarding sale of liquor . . 65
His Excellency the Governor : Request to — to visit the Jain temples in Káthiáwár 5

His Excellency the Viceroy :

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce. 15
Comments on the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of Delhi Musalmans . 13 & 14
Comments on the regimé of His Excellency Lord Reading 16
His Excellency Lord Reading's utterances at Calcutta . . . . . 6—12

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales :

Lessons to be learnt from the *hartals* at Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares . 1 & 2
Repression will not make the Prince's tour a success 3
The Marathas and the Prince of Wales 4

Non-co-operation :

An appeal should be made to the Viceroy to adopt a merciful policy . . 36
Appeal to Government to stop repression and call a Round Table Conference. 39

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation—concld.

Appeal to Káthiáwár Musalmans to take up the Khilafat movement . . 52
Appeal to Moderates to advise Government to stop repressive measures . 37
Benefits from the — movement 49
Comments on Mr. C. R. Das' appeal to the Moderates 38
Comments on the arrest of popular leaders . . . . 27—35
Comments on the Government Press Note on the Bombay riots . . . 53—55
Comments on the Government's Press Note warning the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, dot to allow volunteers to usurp functions of Police. . . 56 & 57
Comments on the Press Note prohibiting picketing in Bombay . . . 60—62
Comments on the proposed Round Table Conference of all parties in India . 40
Difference between *swaráj* and foreign rule 50
How Government and the people should meet the present situation . . 41
Our goal must be absolute independence 44
People look on the officials with contempt 51
Picketing of liquor-shops should not be prohibited at Poona . . . 26, 63 & 64
Propaganda on behalf of *swarájya* movement in foreign countries necessary . 47
Rumour about coming disturbances in Bombay . . . . 58 & 59
The coming Indian National Congress . . . . 42 & 43
The policy of repression against the movement . . . . 17—25
The proceedings of the Akhil Maharashtra Conference foreshadow a split in the Extremist camp 48
Why India should adopt non-violent means in her fight for liberty . . 46
Will *swaráj* be secured by the end of the year 45

EDUCATION—

A suggestion for the abolition of the Poona High School 83

RAILWAYS—

Comments on the Report of the Railway Committee 84

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Lesson to be learnt from the *hartals* at Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares.

Lokamânya (114), 14th Dec.

1. The *Lokamânya* refers to the account published in *New India*, the *Times of India* and the *Advocate of India* about the complete and peaceful *hartals* observed at Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares on the occasion of the Prince of Wales' visit to those places and asks Lord Reading if he will at least now, with this experience, recognise the mistake of forcing the people to welcome His Royal Highness against their will. It points out that Pandit Krishnakant Malaviya, though a moderate, has, seeing the repressive campaign launched by Government, got himself enrolled as a volunteer and challenged arrest. It mentions similar other instances and asks if Lord Reading will now show his statesmanship and courage by admitting the mistake he has committed in permitting the launching of repression.

Lokasangraha (116), 16th Dec.

2. From Allahabad the Prince went to Benares and the *hartal* followed him there. In the procession there, no one took part besides the Prince, the officials of Government and their henchmen. When it was seen that the shadow of *hartal* had spread over Benares the Prince hit upon a novel plan of collecting sight-seers around him. After an address was presented to him by the Hindu University, the Prince put on his head a pink turban and earned the plaudits of the spectators. What difference is there between this act of the Prince and that of a mimic ? But such devices are of no use now. As the light of a lamp pales into insignificance on the rising of the sun so also the glamour of the Prince is vanishing before the powerful light which the non-co-operation movement has begun to shed.

Repression will not make the Prince's tour a success.

Hindu (160), 9th Dec.

3. Government may pride itself on its statesmanship in having brought the Prince of Wales to this country at this time of unrest. The general *hartals* observed on the day of the Prince's arrival in Bombay appear however to have completely disillusioned Lord Reading and other *goras* in the country. Severe repression has now been started wherever the Prince is to go. Prohibition of meetings, searches, arrests and imprisonments have become the order of the day. Several great leaders have been thrown into jail. Government has done all this, believing that this coercion will succeed in ensuring a hearty welcome to the Prince. Government will soon see the error of its ways. Government probably thinks that *hartals* are the work of the agitator. We would, however, assure Government that *hartals* are spontaneous. The root cause of the trouble is that the mass of the people are sick of the bureaucracy. They know that the Prince has been brought over to this country in spite of their protests. They resort to *hartals* as an expression of their discontent. The people are no longer the dumb creatures that they were. Government may well flash across the wires glowing accounts of the reception accorded to the Prince in the country. But the character of the reception cannot remain long concealed. Do we not know what bitter controversy has been going on in several Municipalities and other bodies on the question of presenting addresses to the Prince? We doubt if the Prince would agree to receive addresses of welcome if he knew of the real state of things. In their desperate anxiety to secure a general welcome to the Prince in British India the officials have now resorted to repression and other devices to gain their object. But they will soon be disappointed. We expect so complete a *hartal*, specially in Calcutta, that, as the Bengal Congress Committee has said, the Prince himself will be staggered by it. We are surprised to note that the Prince's visit has been marked by no such things as one associates with a Royal visit, namely, the grant of boons and release of prisoners. On the contrary on this occasion in several provinces the people have been deprived of the rights they enjoyed. Under such circumstances will not the public have reason to wish that the Prince had never come out here ?

The Marathas and the Prince of Wales.

Bârâmati Samâchâr (95), 9th Dec.

4. O Marathas! You have only incurred the displeasure of the general public by inaugurating the Shivaji and Maratha memorials in front of the Shanwar

Wada in the presence of the Prince of Wales. Shinde Sarkar and Kolhapur Sarkar, whatever might have been your feelings at the time, the general public no doubt feel extremely grieved to see you saluting the Prince of Wales. Oh Marathas! when the *Bhagwa Jhenda* used to be hoisted on the Wada with the support of your arms, the countrymen of this Prince of Wales had to appear before the authorities with hands tied together to beg for permission to enter the country; but now the times are changed and you unmanly Marathas dance attendance on officials like dogs at their beck and call! Do you like slavery that you are helping Government? But while you might feel it beneficial at present, beware yours will ultimately be the same fate as ours. What will Tarabai, the heroic founder of the independent state of Kolhápur, feel to see the Chhatrapati standing before the young Prince of Wales and bowing his head before him? O Chhatrapati, turn to good account the Kingdom you have been favoured with by God otherwise you would have to meet with same fate as that of Ravan. Don't do the things you have been doing and thus defile that holy *gadi.* In former days the Marathas sacrificed their very lives for the protection of the Shanwar Wada but now with change of time their very descendants like yourselves not only do not keep quiet but actively help in getting indignities inflicted on the Wada at the hands of aliens.

Request to His Excellency the Governor to visit the Jain temples in Kathiawar.

Jain (76), 11th Dec.

5. The *Jain* says that it is reported that His Excellency the Governor is going to visit Káthiáwár and it requests His Excellency to visit the Girnar (Junagadh) and Shetrunja (Palitana) Hills to get first-hand information about the religious temples of the Jains. The paper hopes that His Excellency will give a hearing to deputations of the Jains about the Temple affairs, at both the places, and it asks the Jains in charge of these temples to make preparations for these deputations.

His Excellency Lord Reading's utterances at Calcutta.

Kesari (110), 13th Dec.

6. The *Kesari* referring to some of the utterances of His Excellency Lord Reading at Calcutta declares that he had thereby unconsciously laid bare his natural defect of not being possessed of political vision of a high order. It was not surprised, it says, at His Excellency's defence of the repressive campaign, but it never dreamt, it declares, that this famous lawyer and Jewish patriot possessed such a narrow and miserly political vision as to state that Indians had failed to understand the high value of the reforms granted to them and that it was a most difficult matter to understand the reason why movements like civil disobedience were taking place in the country. As to estimating the value of the reforms, the paper points out that while Lord Reading looks upon them as having been granted in the course of only four years *viz.*, 1917 to 1921, the people consider them as the outcome of not four but one hundred and fifty-four years, and therefore as utterly inadequate from the point of view of their fitness for self-government. The paper declares that those who are ignorant of India's aspirations cannot understand the causes of the discontent prevailing in the country. It asks Lord Reading to study the old history of England as well as the occurrences in Ireland and Egypt if he is unable to understand why Indians are courting incarceration, and then it says he will come to know the causes of the cyclonic spread of the non-co-operation movement in the country from one province to another. Referring to His Excellency's declaration that Government dislikes making arrests, the paper says that it is a welcome news but remarks that the dislike might have its origin in the fact that going to jail is now no longer considered a dishonour but an object worth striving for, and, in consequence, so many people are courting incarceration that Government is finding it or would soon find it extremely difficult to provide jail accommodation for all of them. The paper tries to cast ridicule on His Excellency's declaration that Government was not going to depart even a hair's breadth from the policy it has chalked out for itself and points out that similar declarations were made previously by former Viceroys, as Government does not, as fas as possible, like to change its policy. The principal reason why the people are resorting to civil disobedience, the paper says, is that Government has by its own act, created such a state of things that a self-respecting person has no alternative but to break the law and accept incarceration. It complains that though

there has been almost complete non-violence in the country inspite of the prevalence of discontent, Government has raised a false alarm of breach of peace and let loose the hounds of repression upon the people. Where was the wonder then, it asks, if Lala Lajpatrai disobeyed an order under the Seditious Meetings Act which, though really inapplicable to a business meeting like that of a Provincial Congress Committee, was deliberately applied to it. It also declares that Government had no business to proscribe the volunteer organisations in Bengal when complete non-violence prevailed there. It also objects to the orders of the Bombay Government authorising the district authorities to stop picketing of liqour-shops when the picketing has mostly gone on peaceably during the last eight months or so, and declares that it will be not at all surprising if the people proceed to break the order out of self-respect on the ground that it was uncalled for. The paper also calls attention to a circular alleged to have been issued by the Superintendent of Police, Belgaum, under which village officers are asked to drive out of their villages political speakers and in enforcing which police officers actually go up and stand close in front of those who may be delivering speeches and thus stop them from speaking. It will thus be plain, the paper says, that the reply to Lord Reading's query as to why people are disobeying the law is that it is so because the orders are positively unjust and that breaking them is the only course left open to those who have any self-respect. It asks His Excellency to look to what has taken place in Ireland to understand the meaning of the movement of civil disobedience in India.

Lokamánya (114), 11th Dec. ; *Lokasangraha* (116), 12th Dec. ;
Jágaruk (44), 14th Dec. ; *Swarájya* (Marathi) (147), 15th Dec.

7. Generally speeches made after full meals to which copious supplies of liquor are added are not very thoughtful. We cannot say that Lord Reading's recent utterances in Calcutta are exceptions to this general rule. The Viceroy told his hearers that Government had no option but to arrest men who deliberately broke the law. At first sight the argument seems to be all right but after a little reflection its hollowness is exposed. Does not Lord Reading know that the laws for breaking which the people are being arrested were promulgated with the object of repressing the people without any cause ? The bureaucracy cannot expect the people to submit to any kind of oppression to which it may choose to subject them in the name of the law. The application of Samities Act in Bengal is sought to be justified on the ground that the non-co-operators intimidated the people into observing *hartal* at Calcutta on the 17th November, and that it is the duty of Government to give protection to law-abiding people in the enjoyment of their rights. If the non-co-operators of Calcutta were really able to enforce their will on 14 or 15 lakhs of people, then their powers must be very remarkable indeed ! We believe Lord Reading will find on the 24th of this month when the Prince visits Calcutta that no coercion was used there on the 17th November. [The *Lokasangraha* says that no *ex*-Lord Chief Justice of England was needed to tell the people that the basis of all civilized government was law, and that all the great popular leaders who are now in jail and who have passed their lives in the profession of the law knew of this fact. It remarks that the most important point for consideration is why these leaders chose to break the law and that it is precisely this point to which Lord Reading refrained from making any reference. The *Jágaruk* writes :—The Viceroy says that he fails to understand why people court arrest. His Excellency will soon find that it is not statesmanship thus to pretend ignorance. The *Swarájya* says that the repressive policy pursued by Lord Ronaldshay and the support given to him by Lord Reading remind it of the policy of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab in 1919 and the support he enjoyed at the hands of the then Viceroy.]

Lokamánya (114), 12th Dec.

8. The *Lokamánya*, commenting on His Excellency the Viceroy's recent utterances in Calcuttta, dissents from the view expressed by His Excellency that inasmuch as both the British Government and the Government of India are desirous of granting *swarájya* to India, it would be better for the Congress party to proceed by the path which has Government's approval, and asks that if the ideals of both be the same, why should not the bureaucracy adopt the path chalked out by the Congress. As to His Excellency's declaration that he has not been able to see any good in the present movement in India even by trying, mentally, to put himself in the position of those carrying them on, the paper remarks that it is a mistake to try to understand another's sentiments simply by imagining oneself in his position without further trying to enter into his heart and know it properly. Lord Reading, it says, does indeed want to understand the position, but as he does not possess the required sympathy, he has not been able to achieve that success in respect of India's demand for *swarájya,* which Mr. Lloyd George has achieved in the case of Ireland. His Excellency, the paper remarks, has been unable to find out the secret as to why the leaders have been readily going to jail simply because of his ignorance of the spiritual principle that such honest and devoted self sacrifice is capable of moving the hardest of hearts. The paper feels confident that if the present self-sacrifice by courting incarceration continues persistently for a couple of months His Excellency shall have to convene a conference to consider the question of granting India also free *swarájya* just like the one held in connection with Ireland.

Young India (11), 15th Dec.

9. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—" Lord Reading is puzzled and perplexed. Speaking, in reply to the addresses from the British Indian Association and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, His Excellency said: 'I ask myself what purpose is served by flagrant breaches of the law for the purpose of challenging the Government and in order to compel arrest?' The answer was partly given by Pandit Motilal Nehru when he said on being arrested that he was being taken to the house of freedom. We seek arrest because the so-called freedom is slavery. We are challenging the might of this Government because we consider its activities to be wholly evil. We want to overthrow the Government. We want to compel its submission to the people's will. We desire to show that the Government exists to serve the people, not the people the Government. Free life under the Government has become intolerable, for the price exacted for the retention of freedom is unconscionably great....... Lord Reading must clearly understand that the non-co-operators are at war with the Government. They have declared rebellion against it inasmuch as it has committed a breach of faith with the Musalmans, it has humiliated the Punjab and it insists upon imposing its will upon the people and refuses to repair the breach and repent of the wrong done in the Punjab. There were two ways open to the people, the way of armed rebellion and the way of peaceful revolt. Non-co-operators have chosen, some out of weakness, some out of strength, the way of peace, *i.e.*, voluntary suffering. If the people are behind the sufferers, the Government must yield or be overthrown. If the people are not with them they have at least the satisfaction of not having sold their freedom....... The threats used by His Excellency are unbecoming. This is a fight to the finish. It is a conflict between the reign of violence and of public opinion. Those who are fighting for the latter are determined to submit to any violence rather than surrender their opinion." [In another note Mr. Gandhi writes:—] "Lord Reading has flung Ireland in our faces. Let us contemplate for a moment that romantic nation. I would like the reader to believe with me that it is not the blood that the Irishmen have taken which has given them what appears to be their liberty. But it is the gallons of blood that they have willingly given themselves. It is not the fear of losing more lives that has compelled a reluctant offer from England but it is the shame of any futher imposition of agony upon the people that loves its liberty above everything else. It is the magnitude of the Irish sacrifice which has been the deciding factor....... I know for certain that it is not legal subtleties, discussions on academic justice or resolutions of Councils and Assemblies that will give us what we want. We shall have to stagger humanity even as South Africa and Ireland have been obliged to. Only instead of repeating South African and Irish histories non-co-operators are learning from the living examples of these two nations the art of spilling their own blood without spilling that of their opponents. If they could do that they could attain *swaráj* within a few days or a few months. But if they want slavishly to follow South Africa and Ireland, Heaven help India. Then there is no *swaráj* during the present generation. And I know that the *swaráj* promised by Mr. Montagu, no matter how well-intentioned he may be, will turn out to be a delusion and a snare. Councils are no factories for making stout hearts. And freedom is miasma without stout heart to defend it."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 10th Dec.

10. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the reply given by His Excellency the Viceroy to the address presented by the British Indian Association and remarks that civil disobedience on the part of popular leaders has puzzled the Viceroy and he seems to be under the wrong impression that the leaders are challenging the law with a view to inciting the people against Government. The paper declares that civil disobedience is being organised not with a view to inciting the people to defy the law but to convince Government of the genuineness of the complaints of the people and the necessity of taking prompt and strong measures to remove popular grievances. The paper is of opinion that the Viceroy should invite Mr. Gandhi and other non-co-operators to a Round Table Conference if he wishes to get his perplexity removed. The paper reminds the Viceroy that the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the inadequacy of the new reforms are at the root of the present discontent in India and urges the Viceroy to resort to conciliatory methods and not to those of repression if he is earnest about improving the present situation in India and winning over the hearts of the people.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th and 17th Dec.

11. "The latest speech by Lord Reading bears evidence of the fact that the response of the country to his repressive policy has caused some searching of heart in him as well as among the moderates and co-operators. The speech is cast in a different mould. It is more apologetic than otherwise. His Excellency is at pains to plead that to represent his policy as one of repression and to say that his Government and the Government of Bengal have lost patience and abandoned restraint is inaccurate. And in support of his plea His Excellency says: 'There came a moment on November 17th particularly in Calcutta, when according to the reports to me, and you who live here are after all the best judges of the facts, there was intimidation, coercion, and unlawful pressure brought to bear upon persons to take action in which they did not believe, not by mere argument (that would be different) but by threats, direct or indirect, of the consequences to them if they did not join in the movement desired'...... The admission contained in this passage is significant. Lord Reading admits that he took action merely on 'reports' brought to him—reports in respect of which he says the residents of Calcutta where the best judges of facts. Now what are the facts? The *hartal* of 17th was, by universal admission, a complete and peaceful one. That there were no serious cases of intimidation and coercion is evidenced by the fact that the forces of law and order did not deem it necessary to arrest any one on that day....... Did the overwhelming bulk of the citizens of Calcutta demand repression? Let Lord Reading answer. The truth is that Lord Reading in his anxiety to create a favourable atmosphere for the Prince's visit, acted on 'reports' which the Government of Bengal and other Provinces chose to give him and on the interested outcry raised by the Anglo-Indian Press, without stopping to enquire if the voice and vital interests of the majority of the people demanded such action. And what action did he take? Granting, for a moment, intimidation and coercion was resorted to by some volunteers, was the ordinary law of the land not sufficient to deal with the offences? Government could not honestly maintain that the ordinary law had failed to cope with these offences, judging from the paucity, if not the absence of prosecutions before the new campaign was inaugurated. Can the ex-Lord Chief Justice, in the circumstances, justify the use or rather the misuse of the Cirminal Law Amendment Act?...... His Excellency asks us to believe that 'there is no intention on the part of his Government to interfere with opposition to Government, with the expression of feeling against Government or against Government action, provided that the law is duly observed. Why was the Seditious Meetings Act then abused to prohibit the honest expression of views and perfectly legitimate meetings of Congress Committees and Sikh religious bodies? And why in some places meetings of Congress Committees to elect delegates to the Ahmedabad Sessions have been prohibited? ...... The duty of all Congressmen, in the face of measures which, according to Madras lawyers, though inaugurated in the name of law and order, are subversive of law and order, is plain. As Mr. Patel says: 'Our first and most sacred duty at this vital juncture is that we Congressmen should sink all differences and present an organized and united front.' Certain of our co-operating countrymen have raised protests—in some cases, very powerful protests. But what the situation demands is action suited to the protest if that protest is to be of any avail. We can think of no action more effective and honourable than, as we have suggested on a previous occasion, resignation of membership of legislatures and Executive Councils. Will our friends rise to the occasion ?" [In a subsequent issue the paper writes :—"Lord Reading's declaration to the Bengal Mahajan Sabha lacked the fire of conviction. It was hesitating and almost apologetic. It repeated the now sadly worn charge against the nation's leaders attributing the success of *hartals* to the effects of coercion and intimidation by Congress and Khilafat workers. It is a sorry myth with which Lords Reading and Ronaldshay have time and again sought to excuse repression.......... Lord Reading admitted to the Bengal Mahajan Sabha that even the minority of the co-operators—individuals and representative bodies—had been moved to protest against the policy he defended and so lamely sought to excuse. There was a time, not so very long since, when the Government of India and the Viceroy chose to treat Moderates' expressions of opinion as the only reliable guide to Indian feeling.......... But in his speech to the Bengal Mahajan Sabha, Lord Reading tacitly represented his hitherto trusty councillors as sadly mistaken because their views did not fit in with those of the Government of India's advisers in the matter of repression—the European community of Calcutta. Sir Surendranath Bannerjee's action in authorising a statement to the Press repudiating for himself any responsibility for the action of the Bengal Executive is eloquent.......... Similarly with the other and more emphatic protests from Moderates and co-operators, Members of the Legislative Assembly and practising lawyers to which Lord Reading made reference in his speech to the Bengal Mahajan Sabha. They mean that to-day the Government of India have only the support of the European community in their policy of the indiscriminate arrest, trial and conviction of non-co-operators. Perhaps it was a belated and half-admitted realization of the above facts that robbed Lord Reading's words of conviction and lent to them a diffidence sadly at variance with their literal value. And in the Viceroy's hesitant manner—in the eloquent fact that Lord Reading avoided telling the Bengal Mahajan Sabha precisely how the present deadlock was to come to an end if the non-co-operators refused to give way—we see a message of hope to Nationalist India quite as encouraging as any which the Irish Agreement offers the civilized world."]

Lokamánya (114), 17th Dec.

12. The *Lokamánya* blames the moderates of Calcutta for giving an address to His Excellency the Viceroy through their Mahajan Sabha while repression is in full swing there and likens their action to that of Nero fiddling while Rome burnt. As to His Excellency's reply to the address, the paper characterises it as most outspoken and declares that His Excellency must indeed be thanked for presenting himself and the bureaucracy in true colours by means of it. Should not the Moderate party, it asks, open its eyes, at least after this defiant speech of His Excellency, which clearly shows, it says, that the bureaucracy has made up its mind to destroy the Congress party under the pretext of enforcing respect for the law. It openly asks the Moderates as to whether they are prepared to aid the bureaucracy in thus destroying their fellow-countrymen or whether they are at least going to stand apart. The Congress party, it declares, has prepared itself to face the bureaucracy's repression with a determination to die or to win in the struggle, and its asks whether the Moderates are going to commit the sin of assisting the bureaucracy in using the weapon of repression against their own fellows. It says that from what Sir P. C. Ray and other Moderates of Calcutta are now doing, it appears as if they are becoming conscious of the disaster that is sure to overtake the country if the Moderate party takes the wrong step. It is, however, the duty of the Moderate party throughout India, the paper remarks, to proclaim its policy at the present juncture.

Comments on the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of Delhi Musalmans.

Swaráj (Sindhi) (176), 6th Dec.

13. Several of our credulous countrymen had expected that the Prince of Wales would do something for India. These men must have been completely disillusioned now. The Prince's arrival has on the contrary been the signal for starting greater repression in the country. In reply to the Muslim Deputation at Delhi Lord Reading whose words of wisdom sometimes slip out of his mouth has now

sounded a note of sympathy with the Musalmans in the matter of the Turkish question. May we ask if the proof of that sympathy lies in the arrest and imprisonment of Muslim leaders, in the removing of the Khilafat flag and Khilafat office board at Lahore and in the disbandment of the Khilafat volunteers ? The Viceroy further said that Britain was in no way concerned with Greece in her fight with Turkey. We might remind the Viceroy of what the English papers, namely, the *Daily Mail*, the *Nation* and the *Observer*, state in this connection. Do we not know what has been the attitude of Britain towards Turkey since 1815 ? And yet Lord Reading talks of his sympathy with the Muhammadans. This is something like pouring salt over one's wounds. Let it be known that our wounds which are now festering will not heal until we have ended this cruel and sinful Government.

Praja Bandhu (27), 11th Dec.

14. The *Praja Bandhu* reproduces without acknowledgment the comments made by the *Kesari*, dated the 6th December 1921, in its article on the Viceroy's reply to the deputation of Delhi Muhammadans. [*Vide* paragraph 6 of W. R. No. 50 of 1921.]

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce.

Swarâj (Sindhi) (171), 4th Dec.

15. Repression is now in full swing. Lord Reading's reply to the Deputation of the Punjab Chamber of Commerce had left us in no doubt as to the future intentions of Government. We think that there was no need for Government to resort to severe repression in view of the spirit of non-violence which has permeated the country. Statesmanship dictated a different course. We had thought that Lord Reading would do something to pacify the people. But we have been sorely disappointed. Every speech of the Viceroy is full of threats and bluster. The Government probably think that threats will cow down the people. But non-co-operators will show to the Government that God never forsakes the side of justice. We would now tell our countrymen that the time for battle having now come, they should be prepared to give up their all with trust in God, and with full faith in their creed of non-violence for the sake of the freedom of their country.

Comments on the regime of His Excellency Lord Reading.

Hindusthân (19), 11th Dec., Eng. cols.,

16. " Lord Reading is fast losing his reputation as a liberal statesman. Since he assumed the reins of his high office in India, he has proved himself to be neither liberal nor a statesman, in the real sense of the term. Instead, he appears to have been a convenient tool in the hands of the bureaucracy. None of his predecessors had greater opportunities than Lord Reading. None of them at the same time seem to be so recklessly and deliberately throwing them away as the Ex-Lord Chief Justice of England. When Lord Reading was selected for the post he at present enjoys, people expected that his would be a glorious regimé in the history of the Viceroys in India. The trend of events, however, shows that his may perhaps be the blackest."

The policy of repression against the non-co-operation movement.

New Times (7), 7th Dec.

17. " Lord Reading's Government has embarked upon a policy of repression with a view to repair the broken prestige of the bureaucracy, but when was prestige repaired by repressing a Preople's Life ? Lord Reading, however, seems to be under the illusion that what is wrong in the West may be right in the East. India, the bureaucrat often says, is not England ! ...... Repression has failed in Ireland. It must fail in India. But one thing it will not fail in—suffering. In its mad career, Government may send to jail as many as it likes; repression means suffering. We hope and pray that suffering may not demoralise us. Some may be cowed down by suffering; some may be provoked to thoughts and acts of counter-violence. Both these forms of demoralisation must we avoid if we would help the struggle for Freedom...... To be massacred we believe would bring new blessings upon the struggle. To massacre would be to betray the soul of India. Many to-day are suffering from mental fever; and thoughts of hate and strife and violence find the atmosphere of repression congenial to their growth. When Lord Curzon launched upon his reactionary policy in Bengal, there were several young men who had fine patriotic impulses but alas! the passion of hate and violence in their hearts. A young Bengali student wrote in those days a moving letter to a nationalist paper. The letter said:—'I understand that he alone who has the subversion of the Feringi Government at heart should read your paper. I am a school-boy. I live in a hilly country. I am in need of your paper. For it tells us how to drive away the Feringi. It makes us alive to wrongs'....... And this school-boy spoke the mind of many. Today too there are students and young men who feel acutely the wrongs done to the country. They resent the policy of repression. Nothing short of moral strength can meet it. It will be a tragedy if our young men's ruling passion becomes hatred. For hate is the slayer of Idealism."

Sind Observer (9), 12th and 13th Dec.

18. "The situation in the country, in all conscience, has never been so grave, so serious and so complicated as now. Repression is in full swing. With our contemporary of the *Leader* of Allahabad we ask: Whither? Where will it end? What is all this? Will the policy succeed? Is it in the best interests of England and India?...... We admit that the law has to be enforced, order maintained and peace preserved. We grant that the Government of His Excellency Lord Reading has been patient and had put a gernerous interpretation on the law of sedition and thus avoided too many prosecutions otherwise legally justifiable. We wished the same policy had been continued....... We are, look wherever we may, by darkness encompassed round. Slowly the 'militant arm of Indian nationalalism' is being cut off. It is not unreasonable to conjecture the Congress itself may be declared unlawful very soon. That is what is coming on, and the least we expect of the Government is to tell us if it is not what they mean. It will then be possible, as the Allahabad journal referred to above points out, for the Liberals to know where they stand....... It is quite open to Mr. Gandhi to call a halt, to postpone the meeting of the Congress in the present circumstances—for according to him civil disobedience cannot succeed, if it ever can, in the present agitated condition of the country—and watch the course of events. It is quite open for Lord Reading to call for a truce, change the direction of events and calm the atmosphere. Of Mr. Gandhi and Lord Reading, we submit the responsibility of the latter is greater. After all the former is only the leader of a party, however strong and however large. Lord Reading is the King's representative, and on him lies the duty of maintaining the peace. And we repeat peace has never been the offspring of repression." [In its next issue the paper writes:—"The Seditious Meetings Act is an arbitrary law which has never received the sanction of the Indian public, including moderate opinion.......... Lala Lajpatrai and his friends' fault was that they held a Congress Committee meeting in contravention of this Act. If this Act is going to be applied to put an end to all legitimate Congress activity, it raises great constitutional issues about the liberty of the subject and the freedom of association, and the fate that has befallen the Congressmen to-day will overtake the moderates to-morrow. So long as the Congress is not declared as an illegal association—and it has 35 years of noble record behind it—we cannot see how the activities of the Congress branch organisations can be stopped even for the simple matter of electing delegates to the Congress and for transacting important Congress business. It is also noteworthy that after the extension of the Seditious Meetings Act, the field being clear, some provincial Governments are encouraging the formation of civil guards, putting more life in Aman Sabhas and ordering even the local boards and village panchayats to undertake the work of loyal propaganda in villages and to denounce the non-co-operators, who are unable to defend themselves. When the Suppression of Unlawful Assemblies Act was passed, it was clearly given to understand that it would be applied only to revolutionary societies which had as their aim the subversion of Government by violent methods. Unless Government comes out with a definite proof that men like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, Abul Kalam Azad and their comrades are engaged in a secret conspiracy to subvert the Government, their arrests under the Act are totally unjustifiable. Their guilt was that they enrolled volunteers in associations declared unlawful. Who declared these associations unlawful? It is the Executive Government. And for what? For picketing shops and for preaching a boycott of the visit of the Prince. .... Lord Reading has declared that no steps would be taken against the leaders unless there is actual preaching of violence. His Excellency has now given up that position. And well might the moderate press of the country ask, whither are we drifting? Either Mr. Gandhi must give up his movement, at which the country will feel immensely relieved or the Government must adopt the policy of courageous conciliation. Lord Reading, we are sure, is not so short-sighted as to believe that he can succeed by repression.......... It is clear that in giving a *carte blanche* to local Governments, Lord Reading has gone much beyond the necessities of the situation. Government, if it is in possession of facts, can show that these volunteer organisations are not what they look to be and ask for public sympathy. Then and then alone will moderate opinion in the country support them in the steps they have taken."

Swarájya (Gujaráti) (62), 6th Dec.; *Hind Vijaya* (64), 7th Dec.;
Vafádar (32), 16th Dec.; *Bhárat Seva* (13), 16th Dec.;
Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár (80), 16th Dec.

19. Mr. Jayantilal Amin writes in the *Swarájya* (Gujarati):—It seems from the repressive measures Government have begun to take all over India that they mean to put down the movement for *swaráj* and to crush the national aspirations of the people. It is gratifying to note that the public have so far maintained the non-violent character of their agitation in spite of the arrests of their leaders. Government hope that the people will resort to violence in consequence of these arrests, with the result that their machine guns and aeroplanes would be brought into operation and the people thus cowed down. We pray to God that the public may be saved from such a catastrophe and that they be granted patience to bear their trials in a peaceful manner. It will be easy for the people to establish *swaráj* by convincing Government of the futility of repression by bearing it patiently. [The *Hind Vijaya* writes:—Let us hope that the repressive policy adopted by Government will help the people to secure *swaráj* at an early date. The *Vafadár* remarks:—The Viceroy has declared that he is not at all impressed by the non-co-operation movement. Why then has he adopted the policy of repression if he is not afraid of the success of the movement? We do not think that there is any need for the people to secure *swaráj* either by entering the Councils or by resort to war since they are sure of securing their goal by non-violence. We fail to understand how people can act upon the advice given by Lord Reading on his advent to India 'to forgive and forget' when His Excellency has resorted to wholesale arrests. The people have shown that repression is of no avail in turning them from the path of non-violence they have adopted. The *Bhárat Seva* writes:—Non-co-operation could not achieve its object because Government did not try to suppress it, but now Government have begun to lose the sympathy of the people by adopting a policy of repression which is calculated to weaken their own position. It is a mistake on the part of Government to resort to repression under the supposition that there is no unity among the people. The *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* disapproves of the present policy of Government and it fears that the people might lose control over themselves and resort to violence if all their leaders are sent to jail.]

Ráj Hansa (87), 14th Dec.

20. The officials are mustering their forces. The police, the military and the weapons of repression are being collected and made ready for use. At the instigation of the Anglo-Indian papers Lord Reading and the bureaucrats have unjustly arrested the leaders of the non-co-operation movement with feigned reluctance. On one side are the armed officials and on the opposite side are ranged the innocent non-co-operators, peaceful and unarmed. The officials believe that by arresting the commanders and generals of the army of non-co-operators, they can force the army itself to surrender. But this is a mistake. Because the spirit of non-co-operation now pervades the whole of India and the wholesale arrests of leaders can never stop the onward march of this movement. There is already deep discontent amongst the people on account of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, and the bureaucracy has chosen this time for inviting the Prince of Wales against the wishes of the whole country. On the one hand the bureaucracy are dangling before us the bait of Reforms, while on the other hand they are depriving us of our freedom of speech

and action and clapping prominent leaders into jail. But non-co-operation which is the mainstay in the struggle for independence will never yield to these repressive measures.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 13th, 14th and 17th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchar* (56), 14th Dec.; *Hindusthán* (20), 13th Dec.; *Bombay Samáchar* (56), 17th Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 16th Dec.

21. The *Sánj Vartamán* refers to the manifesto published by four members of the Legislative Assembly warning Government of the dangers of the present policy of repression and calls upon Moderates in other parts of India to come forward to do what their brethren in Bengal have done. It expresses a hope that Lord Reading will give to the manifesto the careful consideration it deserves and call a Round Table Conference of all the political leaders in the country with a view to devising means to remove popular discontent. [In the subsequent issue the paper protests against the repressive policy of Government and wonders whether Government will follow the advice given by the Moderate papers. It declares that the repressive policy adopted by Government has failed inasmuch as it has stimulated a spirit of defiance of law as seen from the readiness shown by young men to enlist as national volunteers and to go to jail. The paper asks Government to consider the effect produced on the general public by the repressive policy and to see if it really tends to remove the popular discontent. The paper then reminds Government of their duty of carrying out the wishes of the Legislature in framing their policy and asks the question whether the Government of India have consulted the Indian Legislature, and the Provincial Governments their respective Legislative Councils, in adopting the present policy. The paper considers this policy as high-handed since it has not the approval of the Councils and exhorts people of all shades of political opinion to record their protest against it. In a further issue the paper refers to the reply His Excellency Lord Reading gave to the address of the Bengal Mahajan Sabha and remarks that the public will not accept His Excellency's statement that Government have not adopted a policy of repression and that they are merely taking the necessary steps to maintain law and order. The paper believes that a policy of repression has been adopted by Government and that they are taking strong measures to put that policy into execution. It asks whether articles appearing in the newspapers advocating boycott of the Prince's visit constitute intimidation and expresses surprise that the Viceroy should deny the charge of repression when the Lieutenant Governor of Burma has arrested popular leaders under the Defence of India Act and when repression is in full swing in Bengal, the Punjab, the United Provinces and Behár. It then refers to the protest made by the Moderates of Bengal against the repressive policy of Government and warns Government that they will lose the confidence of the Moderates and that the latter will join the Congress if this policy is persisted in. The paper wants to know if His Excellency the Viceroy took any steps to verify the reports about coercion and intimidation in Calcutta made to him and calls upon him to give out the names of the law-abiding citizens who protested against the so-called coercion. It then raises the question whether Lord Ronaldshay was right in declaring the national volunteer corps unlawful and declares that it was this step that forced popular leaders to defy the law and court imprisonment. It then remarks that the policy of repression has failed inasmuch as it has not struck terror among the people who come forward to defy the law and requests Lord Reading to put an end to the repressive policy and to remove the grievances of the people. The *Bombay Samáchár* considers it very regrettable on the part of Lord Reading to have adopted a policy of repression all over India under the guise of preserving peace and good order. It draws the attention of Government to the excitement that has been caused throughout the country by the policy of wholesale arrests of leaders on technical grounds and the readiness with which young men are coming forward to take the places of the persons who have been arrested as proved by the communique issued by the Bengal Government expressing their wish not to make more arrests. The paper reminds Government that suppression of legitimate agitation carried on in an open manner is likely to drive people to resort to underground and sinister paths and declares that Government will have to thank themselves if the country is driven to adopt Irish methods in its political agitation. The paper asks Government to take notice of the protests that are coming from members of the Indian Legislature and feels confident that Moderates in other provinces and the Bombay Presidency Association will come forward to convince Government of the evils of repression. The paper in conclusion asks Lord Reading to keep his head cool as Mr. Lloyd George did during the Irish troubles and put a stop to repression in the first instance and then call a Round Table Conference of the popular leaders as suggested in certain quarters. The *Hindusthán* reminds the Indian people that the whole world is watching their struggle for political rights and considers it possible that the remarks made by the *Nation* of America that the insignificant looking movement of civil disobedience started in India might assume greater importance than any international conference, will be justified by subsequent events. Referring to the warning issued by four members of the Legislative Assembly to Government in which they have declared that if the present policy of repression is followed Government will lose the sympathy of the co-operators and ask Government to call a Round Table Conference of leaders of all the parties in India, the paper declares that the proposed conference would be successful only if the rights and liberties of the people are respected. It then expresses surprise at the news coming from Calcutta that certain Moderates want to capture the Congress and it reminds the Moderates that since the methods of violence have failed to establish peace in the world, the world looks to India to set an example by removing her own troubles by non-violence. The *Bombay Samachár* blames the Moderates in general and those belonging to this Presidency in particular for being silent spectators of the repressive policy adopted by Government. It declares that the arguments advanced by Lord Reading in support of repression are quite groundless inasmuch as there was no intimidation or violence practised during the *hartal* observed on the 17th November in Bengal and Government were fully aware that civil disobedience would one day be instituted in accordance with the resolution passed by the Congress. The paper in conclusion exhorts the Moderates to protest against the repressive policy of Government and to ask Government to release all political prisoners and to call a Round Table Conference of all shades of political opinion in the country. It asks the Moderate leaders who are in Government service to resign if Government do not put a stop to repression. The *Jám-e-Jamshed*, on the other hand, refutes the allegation made by some non-co-operators that the Moderates had a hand in the adoption of a repressive policy by Government and declares that though the Moderates do not agree with the methods of the non-co-operators they cannot on that account be said to be less patriotic. It adds that the Extremists themselves are responsible for the present deplorable condition of the conutry. Referring to the appeals of some Moderates and lawyers to Government to give up their repressive policy, the paper wants to know why these people kept silent when the agitation of the non-co-operators led to disturbances, arson, and bloodshed, and what alternative they can suggest to Government to the latter's present policy. The paper admits that a Round Table Conference is urgently needed, but adds that the initiative cannot be taken by Government but must be taken by political bodies which should sound all the different parties and see how far they are prepared to make a compromise. In case this is done the paper has no doubt that His Excellency the Viceroy will hold such a conference as he has declared in some of his latest speeches.]

Servant of India (8), 15th Dec.

22. "The policy of stern repression upon which Government seem to have deliberately launched and the determination of the non-co-operators to persist in organising *hartals* even in the face of the unfortunate results to which they have led in the past, have produced, between them, a situation which is puzzling in the extreme. The recent riots in Bombay which took such a heavy toll of innocent life would not be altogether unredeemed if non-co-operators and Government learnt the lessons which they had to teach both parties, but unfortunately neither has learnt them to the fullest degree. Non-co-operators ought to have realised that, however much Mr. Gandhi and others may desire to observe strict non-violence, violence is apt to be committed when the common people are asked by an appeal to their emotions, to show their resentment against Government by stopping all intercourse....... But even after the bitter experiences of Bombay, even after the open and frank confession of Mahatma Gandhi that, in the name of non-violence, much violence was used and far more intimidation was practised, non-co-operators persevered in *hartals*. We think it was a serious tactical blunder; it should have been foreseen that the *hartals* would at least provide Government with an excuse to crush the movement on the pretence of an outbreak of violence. But what faced Government in Calcutta at any rate, was not merely a possibility of violence, but the actuality of coercion practiced on people on November 17th...... Conscious of the vital importance of preserving order in the country, even to permit of such movements as that of non-co-operation, we feel bound to support all such measures as may be reasonably needed to prevent violence. But that is the limit within which any restrictive measures that may be taken will have to be rigidly kept. Has Government observed this condition? The answer to this question must be in the negative. In this connection it must be remarked that though the non-co-operators did not drop *hartals* after the Bombay riots, they manifested anxiety in other ways to avoid risk of a possible breach of order....... Just while the non-co-operators were thus recoiling from the effects of the Bombay riots, Government are contemplating a blow at the movement. In Lahore the Provincial Congress Committee was meeting for the purpose of considering the situation caused by the application of the Seditious Meetings Act to the Punjab, and the Government proclaimed the meeting and chose to arrest those who would not comply with the order. It is to be remarked that Lala Lajpat Rai challenged this order not on the broad ground that he would organise a general movement of civil disobedience, but on the very narrow ground that the Congress Committee's meeting was not a public meeting and that the Seditious Meetings Act could not apply to it. If the projected meeting had been left uninterfered with, ten to one the meeting would have decided against the initiation of civil disobedience. Again, quite an appreciable section of the public had become aware of the futility of non-co-operation and is slowly but surely receding from it, and preparing to avail itself of all the avenues of public service such as the legislative councils. Just when this is happening the local Governments are using the discretion allowed to them by the Government of India in making what must be regarded as indiscrimate arrests—and strengthening the very movement which they wish to see perish. We have said before that all right-thinking citizens will be at one with the Government in their desire to preserve peace and will cordially support all measures proved to be necessary for the purpose, but for measures not immediately required for the purpose it is futile to expect popular support....... Is it too late yet to hope that the Government, undoing the wrong it has done, will revert to the policy which it was pursuing till the other day?"

Indian Social Reformer (5), 18th Dec.

***23**. "It is curious that the strongest condemnation of the new policy comes from those most opposed to non-co-operation. We do not suppose that *Justice*, the non-Brahmin ministerial organ of Madras, can by any stretch of imagination be said to be afraid of non-co-operation intimidation, and yet what does our contemporary think of the policy of arrests and prosecutions? .... The *Indian Messenger*, the weekly English organ of the Sadaran Brahmo Samaj of Calcutta, is another journal whose opinion may be quoted.......... We had ourselves more than once pointed out that non-co-operation was having its mind turned inward by its recent failures. His Excellency extolled the virtue of patience in politics. A couple of months more of patience on the part of Governments would have brought about a situation which the present arrests cannot and will not bring. The protests of the Liberal organs are even more emphatic than those of the non-party press. The *Liberal* from Allahabad, the *Servant of India* from Poona, the *Citizen* from Madras, have condemned in uncompromising terms the wholesale arrests and imprisonments of the last few days.......... Who supports the present policy?...... At the moment, things seem to have come to a dangerous deadlock, but we trust a way will still be found to ease the situation. A Round Table conference of men of different shades of opinion has been influentially suggested. It may be tried. The Irish precedent encourages the hope that out of the present difficult situation, such a conference may be the means of finding a way of escape. Mahatma Gandhi, of course, is as a consequence of the arrests of the last few days in a much stronger position than ever he occupied before and a very much stronger one than what he occupied just after the Bombay outbreak. There are one or two sentences in the Viceroy's last speech, which show that the idea has occurred to His Excellency also. By the way, the burden of Lord Reading's speeches of late is that Government regret these arrests which have been forced upon them. In other words, the initiative is no longer with Government, but with those who force these arrests. These men are able to choose their own battleground and to compel Government to action, whether they will or no, upon that ground. We venture to think that this is not a very satisfactory position for Government and the sooner something is done to give it back its lost initiative, the better will it be for it. The only way in which this can be done is for it to take at once the initiative in the way of peace."

Mahrátta (6), 18th Dec.

***24.** Mr. N. C. Kelkar writes :—"Every curve has a definite point of culmination and the curve of bureaucratic repression is now nearing that point....... What Mr. Morley wrote to Lord Minto in August 1907 holds equally good in December 1921. Says Mr. Morley: 'I have often told you of my wicked thought that Strafford was an ideal type both for Governor of Ireland in the Seventeenth Century and the Governor of India in the Twentieth Century. Only they cut off poor Strafford's head and his idea of Government has been in mighty disfavour ever since.' We have had in India periodical re-incarnations of Strafford; and this time Lord Strafford re-appears in Lord Reading's form....... In the meanwhile what should the people do ? Some are proposing a Round Table Conference with the Viceroy. But this is counting without the host. The Viceroy no doubt can spare time for the purpose, but he is not expected to take the initiative as his address even at Calcutta, he would think, must be well-known ! Well-intentioned people may be found to make a move in the matter, but I doubt whether any good purpose can be served by seeking a conference at this moment. There is, however, one thing which can be commended and is thoroughly practicable. It is that the ranks of the Nationalist party should be closed and made staunch and impregnable. Mahatma Gandhi seems to have favoured an invitation, as guests, to those Nationalists who cannot attend as delegates to the Ahmedabad Congress. And it would be desirable to focus Nationalist opinion for the moment on the one policy of civil disobdience, so that it should alone hold the field as a reply to repression so long as Government may deem it fit to continue the same."

Gujaráti (14), 18th Dec.,

***25.** The *Gujaráti* indulges in strong adverse criticism of the present policy of repression and dwells on the injustice of declaring private meetings of the Punjab Provincial Congress Committee at Lahore as unlawful while not objecting to similar meetings at Ahmedabad, and of suppressing volunteer corps in Bengal, the United Provinces, Punjab, etc., while leaving untouched similar organisations in Bombay, Poona, Ahmedabad and Karáchi. In the course of the article the paper observes :—Does Lord Reading want to exercise the autocracy and despotism of olden times or does he want to carry on the administration in accordance with public opinion ? Is public opinion wrong merely because the people cannot see and think eye to eye with the bureaucracy and because people are exhorted to break it down ? Why should those who advocate hostility towards the bureaucracy be regarded as enemies of law and order ? The bureaucracy have been blinded by the intoxication of the powers in their hands, and they have put their prudence in power. While trying to act as protectors of the liberty and independence of the people against rioters, they have ventured to lay violent hands on the leaders of the people who are fighting for liberty and independence and on volunteer corps which are doing public service. Government say that they want to preserve the peace, they do not want to suppress adverse criticism. What the people want to know is, why have the authorities sprung up only now to safeguard public peace ? If the non-co-operation movement was wrong, if *hartals* were objectionable, if volunteer organisations were unlawful, why did they remain silent so long ? If the object is to maintain a peaceful atmosphere in those cities which the Prince is to visit, is it right to urge those reasons on which popular leaders are being arrested, and will such a policy of indiscriminate arrests succeed in spreading peace ? Even those who do not belong to the party of non-co-operation and who look upon non-co-operation as labour wasted are astonished at Government's present policy. Even they are convinced that by their present methods Government will not win the sympathy of the people but will on the contrary lose it. Lord Reading says that he is at a loss to understand why people should want to go to jail. The people of India believe that there can be no freedom and independence for India unless the power of the bureaucracy is destroyed. It is very surprising that Lord Reading should not understand this much. That people should rejoice to go to jail owing to the exercise of that authority which considers their free thoughts to be a crime is a phenomenon as clear as daylight. What is strange is that Lord Reading should be prepared to lend his support to that authority in the name of law and order. After the Bombay disturbances, there was despair among the non-co-operators. The various items of their programme had not proved successful and *swarâj* was as far away as ever. A thoughtful section among them were talking of entering the Councils and of giving up the boycott of state-aided schools. Had Government waited till the conclusion of the Ahmedabad Congress, the present situation would not have been created. But the *hartals* exhausted their patience. In trying to protect the interests of those who wanted to give a welcome to the Prince, Government have entangled themselves. Not only have they given the non-co-operators just the thing they wanted but they have also made an attack on the common right of holding meetings of any kind and thereby earned the hostility of the whole country. The struggle between the people and the authorities has now commenced in India. Only the future will show on which side the elements of righteousness predominate. But one thing is certain: the distrust of the people for the present system of administration cannot be removed by the sweet words of Lord Reading. The existing distress and discontent can be removed and the confidence of the people can be won only by following the methods by which a settlement of the Irish problem was arrived at. The bureaucracy wants to crush public opinion. The Magistrates are busy inflicting sentences of various terms of imprisonment and heavy fines. How long will they go on thus filling the jails? For the people the way is very easy: they have only to enrol their names in the Congress volunteer corps. Government cannot afford to put thousands and lakhs in jail; and if before the people give up their struggle, Government have to release those put in jail, then what becomes of the talk about preserving law and order? Will the bureaucracy acknowledge its defeat? Before things come to such a pass it is necessary that Lord Reading should adopt the method of conciliating the people. [Elsewhere in its English columns the paper writes:—"Arrests, searches and convictions are proceeding apace from day to day under various provisions of law........ So long as arrest and imprisonment meant disgrace or roused a feeling of terror, such preventive or repressive measures were effective. But when every young volunteer or even ladies become prepared to face such painful ordeals, they then cease to be efficacious for any length of time. What is the feeling behind such offer to undergo suffering? It is the feeling of soreness, the feeling of injustice and the consciousness of wrongs left unredressed. That is really at the bottom of the non-co-operation movement, whatever the defects and extravagances of its programmes and ideals. The outspoken telegram addressed by the Honourable Mr. Raza Ali to the Viceroy, the statement issued by four members of the Imperial Legislative Council, the manifesto issued by certain pleaders in the Madras Presidency, and the views to which Mr. Jinnah has given expression to a representative of the *Bombay Chronicle* unmistakably demonstrate that the policy of wholesale condemnation and arrests that Government have inaugurated has not met with unqualified support at the hands of even the sober-minded and level-headed sections of the educated community of India. The situation now created is so complex and difficult that we cannot envy the position of the Viceroy in which he finds himself.......... Will a Round Table Conference, as has been once more suggested, succeed in arriving at a satisfactory settlement of all outstanding grievances? For our own part we feel somewhat doubtful on the point when divergencies of thought and feeling run on absolutely parallel or diametrically opposite lines. Will it be possible to arrive at some common basis of discussion and compromise?"]

Picketing of liquor-shops should not be prohibited at Poona.

Mahrátta (6), 18th Dec.

***26.** "The wave of repression, that is surging in other provinces of India, left Maharashtra untouched till now....... The communique issued by the Government of Bombay, prohibiting picketing of liqour-shops and other shops in the city of Bombay and leaving it to the discretion of the District Magistrates of the various districts to follow suit, if need be, was in a way the commencement of the repression era on this side of the country....... Under these circumstances, the order of prohibiting all picketing was indeed a bolt from the blue. It was absolutely unjustified and unjustifiable. For the last two months there is not a single offence recorded for which there can be any complaint. Under the circumstances, the order was nothing but inviting civil disobedience. The citizens of Poona are sensitive on the point of liquor prohibition and the order was bound to drive them to civil disobedience. We feel that the order under Section 144 is a direct challenge to the spirit of service in the temperance cause and a direct insult to the citizens of Poona. The public meeting of the citizens of Poona held on Wednesday last recorded its resolve to break the order as it was a direct challenge which was taken as such. No sensible person can understand the propriety of such order under the present circumstances. We know, as we said last week, that the responsible officers—the District Magistrate and District Superintendent of Police—could not have asked for the promulgation of such order as they could have issued the same long before, had they seen the necessity, because it is in the District Magistrate's power to issue such an order and he does not require sanction from above. But the District Magistrate did not see any necessity of such an order before. To be fair to the District Magistrate, Mr. Hudson, it must be said that he shares the credit along with the District Superintendent of Police and the temperance workers of keeping the movement peaceful till this time. We see some sinister hand from above in this order and the responsibility of the present civil disobedience lies upon the heads of the authors of the order....... We feel that this prohibiting of picketing forms part of the larger question of *swarájya* which would be solved with it. The Government have invited this civil disobedience in Poona without any cause or provocation and they will have it to their satisfaction."

Comments on the arrest of popular leaders.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 12th Dec.

27. "Repression grows apace. Almost every hour comes the news of arrest of some prominent leaders or search of some Khilafat or Congress Committee office. The sentences in some cases have been received with calm cheerfulness. One ex-President of the Congress has been sentenced to six months, another is awaiting his trial. Now, the President-Elect of the Congress, the man who has sacrificed his all for his country and whom the overwhelming bulk of his countrymen have this year chosen to give the highest honour in their power, is under arrest. The arrest of such a man in any other country but India would be impossible. Granting he has broken the law of the land, his offence is nothing compared to the crime of Sir Edward Carson who, in 1913, defiantly raised a 'rebellion' in Ulster, establishing 'fourteen Relfast regiments, each eight hundred strong, with complete Commissariat and Ambulance units', to say nothing of a real live general, accompanied by his staff, in command. At that time Lord Reading, who has now sanctioned a campaign of ruthless repression in the name of law and order, was as Sir Rufus Isacs the Attorney-General in Mr. Asquith's Cabinet which refused to take any panicky action against Sir Edward Carson and his lieutenant, Sir F. E. Smith (now Lord Birkenhead). But in India the bureaucratic atmosphere is not conducive to calm and far-sighted statesmanship....... In fact the more we ponder over the situation, the more conviction is brought home to us that Lord Reading has failed to understand the people in whose interest he says he has embarked on the new policy. They were passionately anxious for a gesture of statesmanship that would, by a bold policy of conciliation, bring about a settlement satisfactory both to Britain and India. They long looked for that gesture. But Lord Reading remained unresponsive or helpless hitherto. At long last he has made his gesture—and that gesture is as unstatesmanlike as it is prompted by panic. It is, however, yet time to retrace the steps. Lord Reading has come here with a great reputation. He is a great diplomat and he is exceptionally able. He is, moreover, fortunately anxious to do good to India. But we beg leave to point out that he has not yet understood the people of India and not, therefore, realised what they want. The only way to a proper understanding is, as we have indicated, the Irish way—the way of negotiation. As for the people the hour of their trial is come. As the arrested President-Elect says in his message to them, it is in such agony as that through which they are passing that nations are born....... Non-violence in thought, word and deed—that is the need of the hour."

Kesari (110), 13th Dec.

28. The *Kesari* denounces the arrests of Lala Lajpatrai, Mr. C. R. Das and other nationalist leaders and declares that the bureaucracy is sure to be disappointed if it expects to see, as the result of these arrestes, the *swadeshi* and boycotting movements cooling down and the people prostrating themselves before His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to welcome him. The nation, it says, has already proclaimed its decision as to whether it is to continue to rot in slavery or to achieve *swarájya* and nothing would be able to shake that decision, which is likely to be strengthened by the arrests of the leaders. It is convinced that Government is in the end bound to suffer defeat in this struggle as evidenced by the enthusiastic response made in Bengal to Mr. C. R. Das' appeal for the enrolment of volunteers, and it refuses to believe that the people would permit themselves to be put down by the bureaucracy when even elderly men like Lala Lajpatrai and Pandit Motilal Nehru are joyfully courting imprisonment in the country's cause. In this connection the paper calls attention to Mr. Gandhi's appeal for persistently carrying on the *swadeshi* and boycott movements and for observing complete non-violence, and to his resolve to hold the Ahmedabad sitting of the Congress in any circumstances unless Government suppresses it by the exercise of its repressive powers.

Lokamánya (114), 14th and 15th Dec.

29. The *Lokamánya* refers to the arrest and incarceration of many of the Congress leaders during the last few days and remarks that it appears as if a greater but silent Congress is being held in jail than that which is appointed to take place at Ahmedabad during the next Christmas. It estimates that by the 26th of December Calcutta alone will send up at least fifteen hundred delegates to this jail congress and other provinces also are sending up there their own men like Lala Lajpatrai, Pandit Motilal Nehru and others. It points out that the situation created by the repressive measures of Government is likely to affect the Bengal moderates too, who might elect to join hands with their nationalist brethren in jail. It thinks that it is likely that Mr. Gandhi himself may not long remain free and if, it observes, as said by some, the Seditious Meetings Act is to be applied to Ahmedabad in the next few days, attendance at the Congress itself would be tantamount to going to jail. It refers to the peaceful *hartals* at Allahabad on the occasion of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' visit to that place, and says that if the bureaucracy takes no lesson from it and continues to misrepresent the followers of Mr. Gandhi as a lot of anarchists, they are welcome to throw dust into people's eyes. It, however, assures the *Times of India* that if owing to the thoughtlessness and vindictiveness of the bureaucracy the Ahmedabad Congress also comes to be proscribed, all would join with Mr. Gandhi in welcoming the event. How would the delegates to the Congress like to remain out of jail, it asks, while their president-elect, Mr. Das, with other well-known leaders, is undergoing incarceration. [In its next issue the paper refers to the way in which numbers of people in Northern India and Bengal are courting arrest and imprisonment, and declares that as the expectations of the bureaucracy that it would be able to strike terror into the minds of the nationalist leaders and their followers by its repressive policy and thus ensure a grand welcome for the Prince of Wales have thus been disappointed, it might be safely said that Government's policy has suffered a defeat at the hands of the people. It points out that the idea of the bureaucracy that *hartals* and boycott of the Prince's welcome are meant as an insult to the Royal family is totally mistaken as the nationalist party is engaged in a struggle only with the bureaucracy and not with the Royal family. As to the Prince of Wales himself all entertain respect for him and consider him to be eminently qualified to create a good impression wherever he might go and to fill a Royal throne. Lord Reading must acknowledge, the paper remarks, that those leaders who have elected to go to jail today are inspired by the loftiest ideal of self-sacrifice and under the circumstances his mind must be telling him that it is his policy that has gone wrong somewhere. It is impossible to imagine the reason why His Excellency has come to think, the paper says, that these leaders are going to jail only to spite the Prince. The paper points out that the strange spectacle is to be seen to-day in Calcutta of Lord Reading standing in opposition to the whole intelligentsia of the land, and remarks that as under such circumstances a man is likely to get confused, His Excellency's duty lies in following the advice of the great and the good, and to map out his future policy after consultation with the leaders of the people like Mr. Gandhi and others. Elsewhere the paper declares that the recent incidents in the Punjab and the United Provinces have clearly proved that the people of those provinces have fully imbibed Mr. Gandhi's principles of non-violence. It declares that the bureaucracy seems to have selected these two provinces for the first experiment in wholesale repression under the impression that their warlike inhabitants would not fail, out of exasperation, to resort to violence and then Government would be at liberty to show its prowess by means of military measures and thus discredit Mr. Gandhi's movement, but it has failed in its game. Observance of peaceful attitude is the only means to win the present struggle and even the *Leader* has now declared, the paper points out, that Mr. Gandhi's followers are bound to win if they continue to be peaceful inspite of the present campaign of repression and it has also asked Government to come to terms with the Congress party now as it would be too late to attempt it hereafter. The paper approves of the *Leader's* suggestion for calling a special session of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State to consider the present situation, but doubts if Government will fall in with it, as it is its settled policy, it says, to make friends with the Moderates when its object is to be gained and to discard them thereafter. It therefore appeals to the people to concern themselves with the question as to how to win in the present peaceful struggle, and to carry out to the letter the leaders' policy of non-violenct non-co-operation.]

Young India (11), 15th Dec.

30. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"The arrest of our President-elect need not perturb us. His spirit will preside over our deliberations. We know what message he has for the country. He has become the living embodiment of it. We must elect some one to act for him out of the remnant that is permitted to meet at the Congress. Certainly no Congress has ever met under happier auspices than this will. What seemed impossible has been rendered almost possible by the welcome repression of the Government. That many of the best of us are in gaol is *swaráj*. I would call it the fullest *swaráj* if the Government simply invited every non-co-operator to offer himself, on or before the 26th instant, at the nearest police station for arrest and imprisonment to be under custody till he has apologised for his non-co-operation or till the Government feels the necessity for repentance. I would forego the Congress in spite of Vallabhabhi Patel and his devoted band working night and day to make the reception of the delegates and visitors worthy of the Capital of Gujarat. For me any such order of the Government will be complete *swaráj*. It will be good for the Government to rid itself of non-co-operators and it will give the latter their heart's desire. Their formula is *swaráj* or gaol. But in the absence of any such new year's gift from the Government we may be certainly thankful for the small mercies they have favoured us with."

Nusrat (new), 15th Dec.

31. Nowadays arrests are being made everywhere, the doors of the jail are open like the lap of a mother and the patriots are going towards them, intoxicated by the sentiment of freedom and playing with halters and chains. Government think that there should be a show of extreme forms of repression before the public whereas the latter are of opinion that they will never give up their birthright and will never turn back though they may be very harshly treated. At this time when contrary winds are blowing and both parties are bent upon being obstinate, we would warn both Government and the public lest all extreme measures may be exhausted in vain. It is still time for the Government to reconsider their repressive policy or else it would not be surprising if they have to repent. For the public it is quite necessary that in this movement they should not give up the principle of non-violence, lest the incidents of Bombay may occur again and the movement may suffer. Lord Reading who is perplexed by the present struggle should learn a lesson from Ireland. But, alas, the Indians are so unfortunate that English statesmen sink their principles deep in the Indian Ocean while coming to India. The arrest of Mr. Das means that Government have arrested the Congress and that it is their desire to wipe out the existence of the Congress and the Khilafat Committee. We wish that Lord Reading had thought over the consequences of this struggle. If there is any breach of peace Government will be solely responsible for it because they are removing those forces from society which are responsible for the maintenance of peace. If Lord Reading thinks that peace and order can be maintained by guns only, then he is quite wrong. Peace and order depends upon satisfying the demands of the public cheerfully. We hope that, keeping in view the needs of the times, Lord Reading will change his present wrong policy.

Bhárat Vasi (157), 7th Dec.; *Sind Vási* (169), 8th Dec.

32. We are extremely sorry to note that passive resistance has after all come into being. Lala Lajpatrai and several others began it in the Punjáb and were arrested while Mr. Das is preparing the National Volunteers for it in Bengal. In view of Mahatma Gandhi's declaration issued on the 17th November, we had expected that he would not permit passive resistance for some time yet. But it seems he has yielded to the pressure of the Punjab and Bengal members of the Working Committee. As there is no unanimity of opinion about this step or for the matter of that about any other among the various leaders we doubt if it will be successful. Although we have the greatest love and respect for Mahatma Gandhi we must say that he was gone too far. United action is the need of the hour, no matter if thereby the attainment of *swaráj* is postponed. We would request the Mahatma to convene a meeting of leaders of all parties with a view to meet the present critical situation. Lord Reading also should now halt in his course of repression and confer with leaders. Rashness may make matters worse. [The *Sind Vási* writes:—Government has started repression everywhere, with some justice on its side, in order to prevent the repetition of occurences such as we had in Bombay in the other provinces which the Prince of Wales is visiting shortly. We doubt however if repression will produce a calm atmosphere. The better course for the Government of India appears to be to consult the different leaders in the matter. Otherwise there will be great excitement in the country.]

Sánj Vartamán (30), 12th Dec.; *Hindusthán* (20), 12th Dec.;
Bombay Samáchár (56), 12th Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 12th Dec.;
Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 12th and 13th Dec.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (53), 13th Dec.

33. The *Sánj Vartamán* remarks that the country will be grieved at the news of the arrest of Mr. C. R. Das and other popular leaders and that grave doubts have arisen in the minds of the people as to whether the Congress will be allowed to meet at Ahmedabad this year. The paper considers it a wise step on the part of the Government of Bengal to have released Mrs. Das and expresses gratification at the message sent by the Honourable Mr. Raza Ali of the Council of State to the Viceroy protesting against the present policy of repression adopted by Government. The paper asks if it is unlawful to sell *khadi* in the market or in the streets and whether it is also unlawful to convene a meeting of the Congress Committee. It reminds His Excellency Lord Reading that the policy of repression adopted by Government at the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales will lower the prestige of Government and calls upon him to put a stop to it and to call a Round Table Conference of the leaders of the people with a view to acertaining the grievances and aspirations of the people. It concludes by remarking that arrests of popular leaders will not allay popular unrest and that all attempts of Government to meet the situation will fail so long as they have not removed the causes of discontent. [The *Hindusthán* calls upon the people not to be exasperated by the arrest of popular leaders but to appoint new leaders to take the place of those who have been sent to jail. It reminds them of the message Mr. Das has sent them and assures them that success will be vouchsafed to them in their effort for national freedom if they pursue the path of non-violence. It then refers to the protests made by moderate papers like the *Indian Social Reformer* and the *Leader* against the repressive policy adopted by Government and expresses a hope that the Government of India will take a timely hint from the warning given to Lord Reading by the liberal British journals like the *Nation* and justify the hope that the people still have in their wisdom. The *Bombay Samáchar* reproduces the message of Mr. Das to his country and appeals to the people not to be sorry or dejected or exited at the arrest of the popular leaders but to be glad as the leaders courted imprisonment and to maintain non-violence in thought, word and deed. The paper considers the recent Press Note issued by the Government of Bengal expressing their intention not to arrest ordinary volunteers but their leaders as a triumph of the non-co-operation movement and impresses upon all Indians the necessity of continuing the movement in a peaceful manner with a view to awakening Government to the sense of their folly in pursuing a repressive policy In conclusion the paper appeals to the Moderates to protest against the repressive policy of Government as their word is likely to carry weight with the authorities and to tell them that the arrests of their leaders are likely to remove a controlling influence from the masses and to lead to breaches of the peace. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* remarks that the news of the arrest of Mr. Das and several of his colleagues and of many leaders of the Gandhi party in several Provinces is much to be regretted and that the public as well as Government must feel this regret. For, it adds, the necessity to take these measures while the Prince of Wales is in India cannot add to the prestige of the Government. It declares that the object of Government was to get the Prince to meet the leaders of all the parties and be acquainted at first hand with the questions which are agitating India, and thereby to strengthen their own hands in their struggle with the British Government in connection with these questions. But, says the paper, advantage was not taken of this opportunity and the leaders of the opposite party decided on the contrary to boycott the Prince's visit and it is even said that Mr. Gandhi refused to accede to the desire of His Excellency the Viceroy to see him in this connection conveyed through Pandit Malaviya. In spite of this, it continues, the Government did not declare this resolve to boycott the Prince to be objectionable, but unfortunately the leaders failed, as admitted by Mr. Gandhi himself, to put this resolve into execution in a peaceful manner. The paper refers to the Bombay riots and to Mr. Gandhi's confession that "learned and intelligent" people had a hand in them and asks what effect would such a confession produce on the authorities. It declares that after the experience at Bombay the Provincial Governments with the approval of the Viceroy decided to allow the boycott but to prohibit the employment of volunteer organisations for purposes of picketing, etc., and to declare such organisations unlawful. The paper then refers to the resolve of the non-co-operation leaders to disobey these orders of Government and their consequent arrests, and adds that the present position is extremely regrettable and reflects credit on no one. It finally appeals to Mr. Gandhi and his followers to take steps to get an interview with His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales so that the curtain may finally and effectively be rung down on this series of unfortunate incidents. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the arrest of non-co-operation leaders like Messrs. Das and Nehru and Lala Lajpatrai, and says that Mr. Gandhi may look upon these arrests with glee and think that the incarceration of these men will hasten the advent of *swaráj*, but the number of those who think so is diminishing and many non-co-operators themselves now urge the Congress to change its policy. The paper says that as Mr. Gandhi himself is not satisfied with the results of non-co-operation it is time to change its programme. It believes that men like Messrs. Das, Nehru and Lajpatrai would do greater service to the country by remaining outside jails. The paper advises Mr. Gandhi to so alter his programme as to ensure the future peace of India, and, with that object in view, to take the advice of other patriots also. It concludes that in view of the difference of opinion in the non-co-operation circles themselves, it is necessary to make some healthy and practical changes in the programme of the present injurious movement. Referring to the protest made by the non-co-operationist papers against the repressive measures adopted by Government the paper in its subsequent issue remarks that even though these arrests are much to be regretted, yet the Government had to adopt this policy as a last resource and with a feeling of regret when the non-co-operators as it were challenged the authorities to take such measures, and it adds that if anybody is to be blamed it is those who gave the challenge. The paper says that the position of Government is peculiar: if they had adopted repressive measures from the first they would have been blamed for lack of patience, and now when they have been patient for months they are being blamed for waking up at the last hour. It declares that nobody is pleased to see such measures adopted, but the justice of the reasons in support of this policy as detailed by the Viceroy cannot be denied. Referring to the Honourable Mr. Raza Ali's protest against the repressive policy of Government and to his allegations that Government want to suppress the Congress and Khilafat movements, the paper says that these allegations are groundless and unjust to the Government which has been looking upon the movements with a sympathetic eye. In conclusion, in view of Government's responsibility to preserve peace in India, the paper thinks it to be the duty of every thoughtful citizen to support all the measures Government may take to uphold their lawful authority. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* remarks that the news of the arrests of Mr. Das and several other leaders is much to be regretted but that the non-co-operation movement which it calls the 'national calamity' is the cause of it. It believes that the proper way of showing patriotism is not to go to jail but to remain outside the jails and make *swarájya* in India attainable by co-operation with the Government. It next refers to the Bombay riots and to Mr. Gandhi's confession that the learned and the intelligent had a hand in them and thinks it needless to tell the effect these must have produced on other Local Governments. The paper remarks that the adoption of repressive measures in Bengal, however regrettable, was justifiable after the recent disturbances in Bombay and in view of the attitude of the non-co-operators challenging the Government and its laws, and adds that the Provincial Governments were reluctantly compelled to arrest the leaders as they would not be willing to take such measures while the Prince was in India.]

Mahrátta (6), 18th Dec.

*34. "N. V. G." wriets in the *Mahratta* :—"So has the struggle begun in right earnest between the bureaucracy and the long-suffering people. Bengal, the Punjab, the United Provinces were the first victims of the new policy of ruthless repression intiated by the Government of India presided over by Lord Reading who has only the habit of talking about justice in season and out of season....... So the struggle between the bureaucracy with bayonets at its back and the people, down-trodden and down-pressed, with God and the moral principles at their back, is begun with all fury and on all the fronts. Madras has come into the vortex of the repressive wave. The Government has disowned all moral principles. It has ceased to be chivalrous even. Lessons of history do not appeal to it. It treats experience as the wisdon of the unlettered. Its own pledges and promises it has buried in the earth, ha ! even without an epitaph. It worships force and brute force only—an idol which the Tsar of all Russia worshipped in vain ! Let us not look at Government with any hope for the redress of our grievances. It will be our suffering that will remedy them. Reconciliation is not unwelcome; but the people will not abjectly solicit for it. We have resorted to civil disobedience : passive resistance to all immoral and illegal orders and laws, is the last constitutional weapon of a down-pressed and depressed nationality. The hour of trial has struck and the honour of our Nation is at stake....... We are ever hopeful of India's success. India's genius will triumph. The struggle rises loud and furious. Jails are filled and flooded. The hour is the darkest; but the darkest hour comes before the dawn."

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 13th Dec.

35. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that thoughtful people never doubted that repressive laws would be put into motion if the non-co-operation movement made the situation critical. But it declares that in the opinion of many the position has not at present become so very critical as to justify the enforcement of the Seditious Meetings Act and the Samitis Act. It tells Government that they can count on the support of the people if they will only take them into their confidence. It then writes :—Government have not only resorted to repression but they are displaying undue severity. This is not right. Messrs. Nehru, Das and the other leaders have no doubt broken the law but Government ought not to stick to the letter of the law while dealing with them. If Government will not show patience while fighting non-co-operation their case will become considerably weak. They should remember that men like Mr. Nehru break the law simply because they wish to be incarcerated. To satisfy their desire in this respect is to give a longer lease of life to the non-co-operation movement.

An appeal should be made to the Viceroy to adopt a merciful policy.

Muslim Herald (173), 16th Dec.

36. We are of opinion that some aged, learned and influential Hindus and Musalmans should wait upon His Excellency the Viceroy and respectfully request him to adopt a merciful policy. The repression and vengeance have passed all limits. The Indian subjects have been ruined; but Government, too, will not feel at ease through the adoption of these measures. The hearts of the subjects should be won and this cannot be done by force.

Appeal to Moderates to advise Government to stop repressive measures.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 16th Dec.

37. The *Bombay Samáchár* congratulates Mr. Jinnah on the courage he has shown in expressing his opinion on the present situation in a frank manner and

calls upon the Moderates in this Presidency to come forward to condemn the repressive policy of Government. It asks the moderates not to indulge in a mere wail as the Honourable Mr. Mehta did at Surat nor to keep silence and thus to create an impression that they approve of the policy of Government but to follow the example of Mr. Jinnah and to ask Government to put and end to the policy of repression and to release all the persons who have been arrested recently, and thus to establish law and order in the country which has been jeopardised by the repressive policy adopted by Government in a panic.

Comments on Mr. C. R. Das' appeal to the moderates.

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 13th Dec.

38. The *Dnyán Prakásh* refers to Mr. C. R. Das' message asking the liberals to join the non-co-operators as there was no instance in the world of *swarájya* having been achieved by instalments, and says in reply that as there was no instance of the achievement of *swarájya* in a year by non-violent non-co-operation, it was the duty of the non-co-operationists to come over to the side of the liberals. It points out that even Mr. Tilak used to declare that he would be satisfied if India could have *swarájya* in thirty years. The only answer to Mr. Das' call, in the paper's opinion is that those leaders who mislead the people in their impatience are the country's enemies and that the real good of the country lies in the peaceful achievement of *swarájya* by instalments.

Appeal to Government to stop repression and call a Round Table Conference.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Dec.

39. "There is no doubt that the campaign of repression, in full swing, in various parts of the country has shocked the better minds of the Moderates and co-operators. The telegram of Mr. Raza Ali to the Viceroy is only one of the outward signs that the policy of repression has driven deep into the minds of the supporters of the bureaucracy the conviction that at last a stage has arrived in the political evolution of the country when they can no longer remain mere languid spectators, hugging to their bosom the fond hope that things will right themselves somehow. Mr. Raza Ali's telegram shows that the sense of danger has begun to dawn upon him and those who like him have hitherto stood out of the Congress, and that they will, in honour bound, refuse 'to acquiesce in a reign of terror being established in India'. The task before them is clear....... But the question remains yet to be answered: 'Is this going to be the end of all trouble?' So far as the Government are concerned repression may seem handy, but in the peculiar circumstances of the situation it fails to answer the need of the hour. We have put forward the suggestion not yet heeded by the Government that a Round Table Conference should be summoned, to which the task of settling the outstanding political differences between the rulers and the ruled should be referred. There is undoubtedly scope for such a conference, but we must add that Government must approach the matter in a mood of sincere penitence. They must be able to say to themselves and to those who are called upon to arbitrate upon the differences, that they refuse to trust to force, where justice should be the guide, and are prepared to negotiate with the accredited leaders of the people for a lasting settlement on the basis of mutual trust and goodwill. We feel sure that if Government approach the question in a spirit of sincerity and give guarantees of their *boná fides* the leaders of the people will be only roo ready to meet them in a spirit of genuine goodwill. It remains then for the Government to realise, not merely in platitudinous utterances but in actual practice, that 'the time has gone by when it was possible for any Government in India to impose its will by mere force upon the people', and that statesmanship lies along the path of understanding and agreement. The policy of repression will not create the atmosphere that is best suited for such understanding or agreement between the Government and the people but will inevitably tend to widen the existing gulf....... Whether the Government bring to bear upon their task the statesman's insight, wisdom and courage or proceed with reppression and supression, the duty of the people is clear. They must follow the lead of the Congress and remain non-violent whatever the provocation and whatever the sufferings and the sacrifices they may have to undergo."

Comments on the proposed Round Table Conference of all parties in India.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 14th Dec.

40. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* says that circumstances are opening the eyes of non-co-operators and their local English organ has been repeatedly appealing to His Excellency the Viceroy for a Round Table Conference in the presence of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. But it repeats its contention that the initiative for such a conference must come from Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues, and that they must first of all withdraw their resolve to boycott the Prince's visit. If they do so, the paper has no doubt that their request for a conference will be acceded to. According to the paper, the Viceroy has in one of his Calcutta speeches, already shown the willingness of Government to meet all the parties and it now lies with Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues to respond. In this connection the paper makes a special appeal to Musalmans, as in its opinion the question of Turkey is at this juncture of more practical importance than any other. As the Allied Powers are now ready to revise the Treaty of Sevres, the paper thinks Musalmans should give up the boycott and similar movements and request an audience with the Prince through their leaders in order to acquaint him with their grievances and wants. It takes the Viceroy's speech to the Delhi Musalmans to mean as an invitation to such a conference, and it says it is for the Musalmans now to accept the invitation. In this connection the paper says that the demands of Indian Musalmans are larger than those of the Angora Government, and it appeals to them as practical men to take steps to send a message to the British Government that they recognise Mustapha Kamal's Government and that they will be satisfied with the terms that the Angora Government will accept.

How Government and the people should meet the present situation.

Gujaráti (14), 18th Dec. Eng. cols.

***41.** "Has the Viceroy plenary powers to decide the Khilafat question or upset the decision of Lord Chelmsford's Government, the House of Lords and the Home Government in regard to the Punjab episode or to commit himself on the question of further reforms in face of the views of the Joint Committee and the provisions of the Government of India Act which is an Act of Parliament ? Before the Viceroy is condemned, it is but fair to consider these aspects of the problems he has been called upon to face. Supposing Lord Reading tendered his resignation by way of protest, as has been suggested, is there a guarantee that India will succeed in securing the services of an abler and more sympathetic statesman ? Similarly, will it be possible to secure a better Secretary of State than Mr. Montagu ? We all want the Government to act in a spirit of statesmanship and sympathy. That is a just demand. But are they not entitled in their turn to make a similar demand upon non-co-operators and others, and ask them to apply their energies to constructive and not destructive activities ? All parties have from the very outset resolutely demanded the liberalization of the constitution of the Indian Government. Let us all concentrate our energies on this demand at this stage. Defiance of law, breaches of the public peace, riots and disturbances, arrests and incarcerations, chaos, confusion and anarchy are not the royal road to the achievement of self-government. In our judgment they can only lead to the path of ruin and disaster. At the same time Government will do well to repair the grievous mistake they have committed by embarking on the policy of indiscriminate arrests. What is urgently needed to meet the present situation is generous statesmanship, high courage and broadminded sympathy on the side of Government and a display of good sense and a spirit of patient and constructive co-operation and not persistence in defiance of the existing law and the assertion of what Burke has justly characterised as 'metaphysical rights' and not reparation as measured by golden scales. If neither Government nor non-co-operators are prepared to listen to the voice of wisdom and experience, only Providence can succeed in averting a disastrous outlook for this unhappy and unfortunate country."

The coming Indian National Congress.

Gujaráti Punch (16), 11th Dec., Eng. cols.

42. "The Ahmedabad Congress meets under circumstances more critical than were ever met with in its previous history and the task before it, serious and responsible as it ever was, becomes incomparably more so in view of the new situation that has arisen in the country. In these circumstances the question as regards the exact attitude of the Congress with respect to the new situation may well be called fateful and the nature of the answer to it will affect, for good or for ill, not only our immedate future but perhaps its ultimate goal as well....... Now our first proposition is that the Congress will have to be more comprehensive in its scope and less fanatical. And a little thought will show that this is absolutely necessary if it is to retain its claim of being the 'national parliament' of this country and not to degenerate into a mere party bauble. However painful it may be, it would be futile to deny that the claim at present is nothing better than an idle boast....... As regards our second proposition, it is as necessary as the first. The Congress must take greater pains to correlate the means to the end and base its programme on realities, not beliefs, if it is to retain the love and respect of honest people....... It is too late in the day to deny the fact that there is a section of Indian politicians, and an important one at that, which sees the ultimate solution of the Indian problem only in a transference of political power from the bureaucracy to the people and which believes in using the Government machinery as the best, almost the only, way of doing it. That section will have to be taken into account if the Congress work is to be successful."

Lokamánya (114), 16th and 17th Dec.

43. The *Lokamánya* refers to the rumour that Ahmedabad is to be placed under Colonel Pratapsinh during the Congress week and to the appeal of Mr. Gandhi to the people not to be upset by such rumours. It says that as under any circumstances the Congress session must be held, the elected delegates must prepare themselves for the Ahmedabad pilgrimage and see that not a single delegate's seat is left vacant even for a day in consequence of its occupant being arrested and taken away to enjoy the hospitality of Government. The responsibility of proving that India is no longer afraid of the threats, bayonets or guns of the bureaucracy, lies, the paper says, on the shoulders of the six thousand elected delegates of the Congress. It declares that these delegates must consider it as their great good fortune to have been elected to such a Congress, and should consider it their sacred duty to attend it in spite of all possible difficulties. [In its next issue, the paper says that the chief duty of the coming Congress Session will be to give an organised shape to the numerous acts of civil disobedience that are at present taking place all over India. In its opinion the contentions of those who have been advocating modifications in Mr. Gandhi's non-co-operation programme with a view to add to the adherents of the Congress have lost their importance now in view of the recent events. It also says that it is no longer necessary to take stock of what the people have done since the Nagpur Congress in carrying out the non-co-operation programme, as it has been virtually done by the peaceful civil disobedience that has been going on during the current month. In its opinion this stock taking has been of such a brilliant character as to convince even the foolish and the blind and, it says, it has inspired even the womenfolk with the heroic spirit. What patriot will now dare say, the paper asks, that the non-co-operation movement has been barren? The assurance given by Mr. Gandhi that India is sure to have *swarájya* within twelve months is, in the opinion of the paper, on the way to fulfilment. The light of *swarájya* has dawned, it says, and even the weak and the lame can now walk fast and without fear or hesitation in the path for its attainment. It denies the *Times of India's* allegation that the Congress party, by encouraging the breach of fundamental laws of morality, is giving rise to anarchism and points out that only repressive laws are being broken. It would be the duty of the Congress now, it says, to determine once for all as to what laws are to be disobeyed in the future and what rule the passive resisters shall have to follow to preserve a perfectly peaceful atmosphere, and therefore it hopes that in view of the great responsibility lying on the shoulders of the Congress, none of the delegates will fail to attend the coming session.]

Our goal must be absolute independence.

Karnátak Vritt (84), 13th Dec.

44. The foremost question which presents itself to all thinking minds to-day is whether we should work for independence in co-operation with the British or whether we should reject their co-operation and secure complete independence by our own efforts; or, to put the same question in other words, whether we want *swaráj* within the British Empire or outside it. We shall now consider whether it is at all possible to obtain *swaráj* within the Empire and, if so, what are the reasons which should weigh with us in making this choice. If we look at the question from the geographical point of view, we shall find that we have no connection whatsoever with the British people beyond what is implied by the fact that the two races occupy different parts of the same planet. Judging from the historical standpoint, we find that our history, which has an antiquity of 5,000 years, differs in every respect from the history of the British people which commenced only two thousand years ago. From the point of view of civilization also, there are many differences between ourselves and those people. They abhor our idol worship and ridicule us as worshippers of stones. They look at our religious rites and practices with contempt and one of them has even gone to the length of saying that an Indian is a demon. We also differ from them in race and colour and there is not the remotest chance of our mixing together. Of course they are nowadays describing themselves as belonging to the Aryan stock, but until the point is definitely settled no sort of connection can be established between us. Our differences in religion are too obvious to need any comments. So, from whatever point of view we consider the question, we find that *Swaráj* within the Empire is an impossibility. The economic disadvantages attendant upon a foreign domination of our country are innumerable. Ever since the advent of the British about 3000 crores of rupees have been going out of the country every year. The money which is thus drained out of India enables the British to live in opulence and luxury while this constant drain reduces our country to poverty and destitution. From the numerous obstacles which are thrown nowadays in the way of the spread of *swadeshi* one can easily realize the solicitude which these people pretend to have for the welfare of our country. The moral disadvantages also are obvious. Our young soldiers had to spill the blood of Germans for no other reason except that our country belonged to the British Empire. Is this not an unmistakable proof of the fact that our moral strength has been completely destroyed? And last of all our manliness, which had never dwindled inspite of the dark days of the Muhammadan invasions and the oppression and misrule of the Moguls and the Peshwas, has now fled from us and nothing remains of it in our breath. To remedy this state of things it is necessary that we should attain independence by our own efforts. We can even do without railways, posts and such other benefits of British rule but we cannot do without complete independence. *Swaráj* is our birthright and we should strive for it by all the means in our power.

Will *swaráj* be secured by the end of the year.

Navjivan (69), 11th Dec.

45. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes in the *Navjivan* under the heading "A Year's Limit":—I shall have to go to the Himalayas if at the end of this year people have to ask the question 'Where is *swaráj*?' But I shall have no cause to run away to the Himalayas if people clearly realise that the way I have shown to them leads to *swaráj* and that they have almost reached their goal. This would be almost like securing *swaráj*. If all the delegates to the Congress in December next accept the path shown by me as the true path to *swaráj* and admit that they are in sight of *swaráj* and that they are determined to follow that path, then I shall say that *swaráj* has almost been secured and that what is wanting therein is due to lack of effort on our part and that a little more effort will secure us complete *swaráj*. Those people who themselves think or make others believe that I shall be able to secure *swaráj* anyhow by the end of December are unknowingly playing the part of enemies of the country and do not seem to understand the meaning *swaráj*. *Swaráj* means self-help and it is sheer dependence upon others to think of securing *swaráj* at my hands, I would merely show the way to *swaráj* and it is for them to secure it. I had hoped to secure actual *swaráj* this year but I fear it will not be possible to do so in the few days at out disposal. Bombay threw an obstacle in our way but Government now have opened the door for us by adopting a policy of repression. If we enter this door fearlessly it will not be long before we secure actual *swaráj*.

Why India should adopt non-violent means in her fight for liberty.

Karnátak Vritt (84), 13th Dec.

46. Under the heading "Be ready for war" the *Karnátak Vritt* writes:—One of the most important of nature's laws is that every living being in this world should protect itself by its own strength. This law has been consistently followed by man in the course of his evolution. He had to kill tigers and such other beasts of prey before he could make progress possible for himself. If he had adopted the principle of non-violence just then, the whole mankind would have been wiped out of existence long ago. What is true of individuals is also true of nations. If they had not protected themselves by violent means, no nation would have survived to-day. So if one nation, which is as yet in a brutal state, tries to save itself by destroying another nation, it cannot be considered to have committed a sin. Even in case of India, it would have been possible to overthrow the Government by violence in the twinkling of an eye. But such a course could only be justified on the assumption that a country like India which is the foremost spiritual nation in the world is still in a brutal state. It is for this reason that Mahatma Gandhi is preaching non-violence to young India. The British nation is a nation which is still rotting in a state of brutality and it is the duty of the nation which has passed beyond that stage to chastise the other by non-violent means and make it amenable to reason.

Propaganda on behalf of *swarájya* movement in foreign countries necessary.

Kesari (110), 13th Dec.

47. The *Kesari* dwells upon the importance of the resolution passed at the Akhil Maharashtra Conference in favour of carrying on agitation in foreign countries on behalf of the *swarájya* movement and points out that even Government has been carrying out its own propaganda in America on behalf of the bureaucracy by sending Professor Horne of the Patna University on a lecturing tour to that country. It thinks that a similar propaganda on behalf of the popular party in India is absolutely necessary at least to counteract the Government's propaganda.

The proceedings of the Akhil Maharashtra Conference foreshadow a split in the extremist camp.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 14th Dec.

48. The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the resolution passed by the Akhil Maharashtra Conference asking that the programme of non-co-operation be so modified as to remove therefrom the item relating to the boycott of councils foreshadows a split in the extremist camp. It remarks that if the Poona extremists, headed by Mr. N. C. Kelkar, had had the courage of their convictions, and if they had dissociated themselves at the very beginning from those who advocated the boycott of councils, the history of the Bombay Presidency during the past year would have been different from what it has been.

Benefits from the non-co-operation movement.

Shri Shivaji (143), 13th Dec.

49. Upto this time the people of a village knew no rest from the moment a high official of Government entered it to the moment he left it. They knew that their well-being solely depended upon their ability to please the *saheb*. Every good article that the village could produce, no matter whom it belonged to, must needs be presented to the *saheb*. In short the people thought that it was their duty to please the officials and the latter on their part believed that it was their right to exact service from the people. All this, however, has been changed thanks to the non-co-operation movement. People now know that the officials are their servants and that they are paid for looking to the interests of the people.

Difference between *swaráj* and foreign rule.

Saurashtra (new), 10th Dec.

50. If you ask, what is the difference between *swaráj* and foreign rule, then hear this :—*Swaráj*.—There is Bolshevism in Russia. A strong conspiracy to undermine the Government was detected. An enquiry was held in a small village called Charkov. The accused were proved guilty. The Magistrate pronounced the following sentences upon them : The accused, Professor Levitky and Krasunsky, having agreed to behave honestly, are sentenced to compulsory work for three years. They are allowed to move about freely. They will have to use their mental abilities for the regeneration of Russia. Professor Aloyand

Bunser will have to do compulsory work for three years on the same understanding. Professor Ivanov, in consideration of his age and being an ex-member of the first Russian Duma, is released with a warning. Foreign rule.—(1) Two years rigorous imprisonment to such beloved patriots like Maulana Mahomed Ali and Kitchlew. (2) Three years' rigorous imprisonment to the aged Yakub Hasan, ex-member of the Madras Council. (3) One year's rigorous imprisonment to Sen Gupta, a partriot and a leading Barrister of Chittagong ; *et cetera etcetera.*

People look on the officials with contempt.

Lokanáyak (115), 9th Dec.

51. O officials, have you any idea of the extent of the contempt in which you are held by the people on account of the persecution to which they are subjected by you ? You have become ungrateful to the very people who have been paying you large salaries from their hard-earned money. If you insist upon always bending them to your will, then a power will arise which will sweep away all your authority and greatness.

Appeal to Kathiawar Musalmans to take up the Khilafat movement.

Sauráshtra (new), 10th Dec.

52. Commenting on the internal mismanagement of the Káthiáwár States the *Saurashtra* asks the people to give up all fear and says :—Why should there be independence for the undeserving, the slave and the coward ? What are liberty and happiness for ? All these are monopolies of the manly and the heroic. There is no room on this earth for the impotent and the weak. How miserable are our country, our countrymen and our Kathiawadis ? We grieve to see the condition of our brethren calmly submitting to the tyranny of the bureaucratic tyrants, and bending their heads to their illegal and unjustfiable orders, and we are anxious about our future. Any kind of *zulum* cannot rouse us ; any kind of injustice cannot waken us. There is palpitation in our hearts, trembling in our legs, the swoon of fear in our eyes. If it were not so, how could there be this nervelessness among our Moslem brothers, who lay down their lives for their religion, who are well known for their religious zeal, who are strong and couragous ? What fear can there be to Moslems in working for the cause of the Khalif whose name they remember at every payer, who has made so many sacrifices for Islam in the last 600 years, and for whose sake some brave Moslems of India have gone to jails ? Why should there not be a Khilafat Committee everywhere ? Why should thousands of Moslems not join the Khilafat Conference ? Why should they refrain from discussing such an important problem only because of the prohibition of political meetings ? We only want to impress one thing. If you are men, if you cherish any love for your country, if you have any faith in your religion, abandon all fear and come out to help your country and your religion. Your mother country is crying out, your religion is shouting aloud ' Give up fear '.

Comments on the Government Press Note on the Bombay riots.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 16th Dec.

53. " After reading the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay regarding the recent unhappy disturbances, no one, who is conversant with facts, will be impressed with its fairness and impartiality. It is clear that its author or authors allowed himself or themselves to be carried away by his or their anti-non-co-operation feelings to stretch facts so as to fit in with a preconceived theory. While the loss of life has been regretted by none more than by non-co-operators and while Mahatma Gandhi has frankly explained the position of non-co-operators in respect of the disturbances, it is hardly fair for the Government to take up the attitude they have done in the Press Note. But in these days, it is futile to look for fairness on the part of officialdom in regard to non-co-operators. However, we do not think it is necessary to rake up the bygones by a wordy controversy which nobody wants. The duty of everyone of us, be he Hindu, Mussulman, Parsi or Christian, is ' to forgive and forget', and with a commendable sense of patrotism and forbearance, almost everyone in the city has come to regard the unfortunate occurrences as a thing of the past. In the circumstances the Press Note does not need any further comment."

Bombay Samáchár (56), 17th Dec.

54. The *Bombay Samáchár* criticises the Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay in connection with the disturbances in Bombay and while believing that the Press Note views the causes of the disturbances through official eyes and gives them exaggerated importance, expresses gratification that the Press Note sets at rest the doubts raised in certain quarters that the disturbances were the result of a conspiracy and were directed against the minor communities. The paper hopes that the Parsi papers who have tried to foment racial feelings will now cease to harp on the topics. It tries to refute the argument advanced in the Press Note to the effect that the Khilafat and *swaráj* agitations were responsible for the disturbances by mainly alleging that the excitement was caused by the activities of the co-operators to make the Prince's visit a success.

Gujaráti (14), 18th Dec.

***55.** The *Gujaráti* criticises in detail the Government account of the recent disturbances in Bombay and points out in what respects the account is incomplete. In the opinion of the paper, the account is fair sample of the reports issued by the bureaucracy. It thinks it surprising that it should have taken Government four weeks to publish the report and declares that it would be no exaggeration to say that it is one sided. Among other things the paper observes:—There is not the slightest reference in it to the attacks made by the Jews, Eurasians and Anglo-Indians at Parsi Statue on people wearing white caps. While it is stated that Parsis retaliated, by complete silence on the subject it is sought to be made out that the Jews, Eurasians and others did not retaliate at all. It is not stated at all in this report what the Bombay Police authorities did to quell this storm at once. What is the meaning of saying that lorries full of the Police and the military were going round the various localities? From Government's own report one thing is quite clear, *viz.*, that during the four days of the disturbances the Police had shown very great indifference in the matter of preserving peace in the city. Government say that those people who got out at the Marine Lines and Charni Road stations after returning from the bonfire of foreign clothes and created disturbances had white caps on. But what authority have Government to say that all those who put on white caps are non-co-operators and followers of the Congress? Government do not say how many among the 341 persons arrested by them are non-co-operators. Since the non-co-operators have been accused of creating the disturbances, there seems no necessity for keeping back this information.

Comments on Government's Press Note warning the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, not to allow volunteers to usurp functions of Police.

Gujaráti (14), 18th Dec.

***56.** The *Gujaráti* declares that the object of the authorities in allowing the disturbances in Bombay to continue for four days was to create enmity between the various communities and to show that the demand for *swaráj* is wrong and that if *swaráj* is established in Bombay, the big communities would harrass the smaller ones; but that instead of this object being fulfilled, the impression has been spread among the people that the authorities are unable to protect the life and property of the people; and that Government have thus lost their honour has been proved by the deputation of Ahmedabad Parsis that waited upon Mr. Gandhi to request him to make arrangements for their defence in case of a disturbance taking place in Ahmedabad, According to the paper, the Bombay Government have found this situation very irritating, and, therefore, they have immediately issued a special Press Note in which they have stated that special arrangements have been made to enable the Ahmedabad police to carry out their duties and that the District Magistrate has been warned not to allow the volunteers to usurp the functions of the Police. The paper thinks this Press Note to be rather surprising and it asks if it is not the duty of Government to inquire into the causees which led the Ahmedabad Parsis to take a step calculated to show want of confidence in Government and thereby to insult them.

Lokamánya (114), 16th Dec.; *Indu Prakásh* (43), 16th Dec.

57. The *Lokamánya* regrets that the Bombay Government should have taken ill the assurance given by Mr. Gandhi in response to a deputation from the Ahmedabad

Parsis, that Congress volunteers would be specially told off for their protection to remove the fears they felt about their safety during the Congress days. It fails to understand what wrong Mr. Gandhi has committed in removing the apprehensions felt by the Ahmedabad Parsis, and why Government should have issued a warning to the District Magistrate not to allow the Congress volunteers to usurp the authority of the Police to protect the public, and it attributes this attitude of Government to its sight, it says, being affected by the ' Gandhi disease'. It expresses its surprise that Government should have so soon forgotten the assistance rendered by the Congress and Khilafat volunteers to it and to the people during the Bombay riots. It is a novel idea of the Bombay Government, it says, that assisting the authorities in maintaining order and peace means usurping their authority. If the new civil guards of Calcutta, it says, are not considered to usurp the authority by the Police, why should the Congress volunteers be considered to be doing so? It has, however, nothing to say if this is merely the first step towards declaring the volunteers an unlawful body. If not, it asks Government to cancel the order given to the District Magistrate. [The *Indu Prakásh* considers the warning issued by the Government of Bombay to the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, as the first encounter between Government and Mr. Gandhi. Government seems to think, it says, that if Mr. Gandhi is allowed now to send Congress volunteers for the protection of the Parsis, he might one day become so powerful as to defy Government and therefore the matter must be dealt with at this very time. It expresses its anxiety as to the turn the matter is likely to take and as to whether Mr. Gandhi himself is going to be involved if the Police come in the way of Congress volunteers. It declares that in the present disturbed political atmosphere in the country everything is dependent upon Mr. Gandhi and wishes that, being a skilful leader, he will not allow himself to be enmeshed by his adversaries who are anxiously waiting to see the Congress ruined.]

Rumour about coming disturbances in Bombay.

Lokamánya (114), 16th Dec.

58. The *Lokamánya* refers to the rumour which it says is prevalent in Bombay that during the coming Christmas there are to be serious riots in the city and remarks that however much people disbelieving the rumour try to impress upon the people the fact that there is no reason why such disturbances should take place they are not believed. It sees no objection in the precautions being taken for self-protection by small communities like those of the Parsis and the Jews in view of the rumour current, but points out that the volunteer corps being organised with that object in view are giving rise to fears in the minds of the people that they might possibly be used to terrorise the Gandhi caps during the Christmas as was done during the recent riots. It admits that such rumours are bound to rise when the different communities are viewing each other with suspicious feelings but says that the rumours can be easily set at rest if these suspicions are laid aside. It points out that even leaving out of consideration the fact that the non-co-operationists have taken vows of non-violence it is clear that neither the Hindus nor the Muhammadans can hope to secure any substantial gain by rising against the other communities. The paper, therefore, sees no reason why there should take place disturbances in Bombay during the Christmas. At the same time it says there seems to be nothing to object to if Government be taking its own precautions in view of the rumours. The paper also disbelieves the suggestion that Bombay's peace might be disturbed if disturbances take place at Calcutta during the Christmas as in view of the peacefulness of the national movement going on in that city there is no possibility of disturbances taking place there. It declares that when the people of Bombay have made up their minds to stick to the vow of non-violence even if the Ahmedabad Congress is prohibited or Mr. Gandhi arrested, conditions prevailing in Calcutta are not likely to influence this city.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 18th Dec.

***59.** " Some wicked persons have been spreading wild rumours as to expected happenings in Bombay on the 23rd and 24th December, and several sensible persons seem to have been taken in by these. We have made careful enquiries from various sources and have met with the unanimous reply that the rumours are utterly groundless. To allay the apprehensions of nervous persons, prominent leaders might issue notices condemning the dissemination of false and wicked rumours. Mrs.

Naidu, as President of the Provincial Congress Committee and Swarajya Sabha, has issued an impressive appeal calling upon all citizens to maintain perfect peace. To the forceful arguments of her appeal, we may add one which ought to be appreciated by all fair-minded people. Almost alone among the Governments in India, the Government of Bombay have shown themselves capable of maintaining a level policy based on an adequate appreciation of their complex duties to the public, and it will be sheer folly to reward their sober statesmanship with stupid and purposeless exhibitions of a disordered temper. Every citizen has been put upon his honour by the attitude of the Bombay Government to countenance nothing that will embarrass them in the discharge of their responsibility to maintain the King's peace, and we have every confidence that every citizen of Bombay will act up to the high obligation which that involves. The Press Note issued by the Government of Bombay last week is, making allowance, of course, for the official point of view, a very fair and impartial statement of the causes, the course and the lessons of the recent Bombay riots. Perhaps, it is not as careful as it might have been to avoid conveying the impression that all Hindus and Muhammadans were rioters or even non-co-operators. We fully agree with the Government's just observation that there is no evidence to show that riot, arson and bloodshed formed any part of a premeditated design. Bombay merely lost her head for a couple of days and when she woke to her sober senses, she felt heartily ashamed of it all."

Comments on the Press Note prohibiting picketing in Bombay.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 15th Dec.

60. The *Bombay Samáchár* remarks that the absence of repressive measures in spite of the recent disturbances in Bombay had led the people to hope that the Bombay Government would continue to be considerate in their policy, but that these hopes have been shattered by the Press Note hastily issued by them prohibiting picketing in Bombay and leaving it to the direction of the district authorities to do the same. It is of opinion that the prohibition was unnecessary in Bombay since Mr. Gandhi had suspended picketing for six months and asks Government to issue instructions to the District Magistrate of Poona to withdraw his order prohibiting picketing as, in its opinion, picketing was peacefully and very successfully carried on in Poona and that there was no danger of any breach of the peace at that place. The paper looks upon the order of the District Magistrate as an open challenge to the people of Poona and believes that it will frustrate all the good results achieved by temperance workers of that place.

Hindusthán (20), 11th Dec. ; *Kaiser-i-Hind* (22), 11th Dec.

61. The order prohibiting picketing in Bombay seems not only mistaken but also harmful. The Government after considering the existing circumstances should show more courage and withdraw the order, and should believe that the real disturbing elements of public safety are some selfish license-holders, drunkards and the mischievous roughs, and should on the contrary encourage the picketing of liquor-shops. We earnestly believe that Government are legally and morally bound to encourage the movement. [The *Kaiser-i-Hind* criticises the Government order against picketing of liquor-shops and considers the step to have been taken very late. It is of opinion that if the Government had prohibited picketing at an earlier stage, all the troubles would have been averted, and it hopes that Government will deal with a strong hand promptly with all the movements and institutions likely to endanger the public peace and safety, and that it would not refrain from that policy on hearing onesided protests against the same.]

Prabodh (125), 11th Dec.

62. The *Prabodh* surmises that the prohibition of picketing is probably intended to make up for the loss of prestige of the Collector of Thána who, on a former occasion, had to withdraw a similar prohibition issued by him for his own district. It thinks that Government, seeing that people do not shrink from picketing in spite of several prosecutions of pickets, have been panicstriken and have as it were caught at a mere straw in thus declaring picketing to be illegal. Peaceful picketing, the paper says, has affected the Government revenue and they have therefore taken this step. It is to be seen how far it is going to save them.

Picketing of liqour-shops should not be prohibited at Poona.

Kesari (110), 13th Dec.; *Dnyân Prakásh* (40), 17th Dec.

63. The *Kesari* supports the request made, according to it, by Mr. Shankarrao Lavate, in the course of an open letter to the Collector not to disallow picketing in Poona under the new Government circular. It points out that, though there might have been slight excesses here and there for which the guilty parties have been duly punished, the general conditions prevailing would not justify the wholesale stoppage of picketing throughout the district. It is glad to state that, fortunately for the district, the heads of both the Magisterial and police departments are so very good natured and peacefully inclined that even non-co-operators have been readily co-operating with them and it proceeds to give the assurance as far as lies in its power that henceforward as in the past the work of picketing would be peacefully carried on. The paper goes on:—If in spite of this the authorities persist in notifying stoppage of picketing the responsibility would lie upon them and the promoters of the anti-drink movement would treat the notice according to the advice they would be given. The authorities should not, however, treat this as a threat, for the people of Poona do not at all wish to threaten Government. We would request the people to do everything in this matter according to the advice of Mr. Lavate, the leader of the movement, and to see that if disobedience of anti-picketing orders has to be undertaken it should be done in the first instance at least by grown up people. Students or immature boys should not take part in it without the permission of their guardians. [The *Dnyán Prakásh* says that the District Magistrate was not justified in prohibiting picketing of liquor-shops in Poona since it was carried on peacefully and without any breaches of the peace like those in Bombay. In its opinion the prohibition is bound to result in exasperating public opinion.]

Lokasangraha (116), 15th Dec.

64. The *Lokasangraha* says that the success which had so far attended the picketing movement in Poona was in no small measure due to the goodness of the Collector and the District Superintendent of Police. It expresses its conviction that the former official would not have now prohibited picketing in Poona and thus exasperated public opinion but for the recent orders of Government in the matter. It, however, declares that the District Magistrate's order prohibiting picketing was nothing but a challenge to popular leaders and that it was quite natural that the latter took it up. It declares that if Government by means of these orders means to come in the way of the performance of the sacred work the people had undertaken, the nationalist party too is determined to disobey the orders and that if Government wishes to turn Poona into another Punjab, the popular party is prepared to face the trial peacefully and with courage. In its opinion the proper thing for Government would be to withdraw the circular.

Comments on recent amendment of rules regarding sale of liquor.

Ráshtra Veer (133), 11th Dec.

65. Commenting upon the Bombay Government's Press Note notifying certain amendments in the rules for sale of liquor, the *Rashtra Veer* remarks that if Government hope with such piecemeal amendments of rules to counteract the liquor habit, it is their sheer delusion and asks Government not to persist in such a ludicrous attempt at public deception. In its opinion the public opinion in favour of total prohibition of liquor being definitely pronounced it would be unstatesmanlike for Government to ignore it any more. It adds that when the Minister for Excise is himself callously indifferent in this respect it is no use blaming Government for such piecemeal amendments of rules.

Attitude of the Punjab Government towards the Sikhs.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 14th Dec.

66. "The communique which the Punjab Government have issued holding out the asurance to the Sikhs that Government 'will not in any way interfere with their religious freedom but rather desire to strengthen and uphold the Sikh religion' will hardly carry conviction either to the community concerned or to the public at large, so long as the daily tale of arrests and convictions of Sikh leaders goes on and the ban on 'Diwans' held to discuss the purely religious question of the reform and management of Sikh Gurdwaras continues....... The communiqué speaks of attempts on the part of some Sikh leaders to mix politics with religion, but when officials deliberately take sides and interfere in the purely religious affairs of the Sikhs, how can criticism of their high-handed actions escape assuming a partly political aspect? Let Government officials refrain from such interference and there will be no occasion for Sikhs to indulge in so-called political criticism of the official action. In the communiqué one notices with regret the persistence in the attempt to misrepresent the activities of the members of the Siromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee. It is the most representative and influential body in existence among the Sikhs and has the support of the community not only in the Punjab but also in all parts of India and abroad. The hardly veiled opposition of Punjab officialdom to this Committee and the present attempt to emasculate it by incarceration of its prominent leaders are not calculated to inspire confidence in the assurance of Government that they have 'the fullest sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of the Sikh community'."

Hindu (160), 4th Dec.

67. As time advances, the British Government's declared policy of complete religious non-interference in India is becoming a false and an empty boast. It has already alienated the sympathies of its Moslem subjects by the repressive measures it has taken in regard to the Khilafat movement. And now comes the news that it has stirred up the feelings of the Sikhs by its recent action in connection with the keys of the Darbar Sahib of Amritsar in the Punjab. We do not approve of the proceedings of the Government. It had no right to interfere in a purely religious matter, and to go to court for a declaration as to who should have the management of the institution. The Government's further step in arresting several notable Sikhs including the President, the Secretary and several prominent members of the Gurdwara Committee for holding a *diwan*, a strictly religious gathering which does not come within the provisions of the Seditious Meetings Act, to protest against the action of Government is stil more open to objection. The feeling of deep resentment among the Sikhs on the arrest of their leaders one after another can therefore be well imagined. It is fortunate that owing to Mahatma Gandhi's movement of non-violent non-co-operation this feeling has not taken any serious turn so far, though we should not be surprised if it did so at any time. The responsibility for any outbreak in that case will rest on the officials, who have so unjustifiably interfered in a religious matter. We would ask the Sikhs to remain non-violent whatever may be the provocation, and if they do so, they will succeed in getting rid of the Government interference in matters relating to the Darbar Sahib.

Comments on the Irish agreement.

Servant of India (8), 15th Dec.

68. "Last week, we had a British Empire; to-day the 'British Commonwealth of Nations' is no longer a metaphor, but the technical term of a legal document. Last week, we were subjects of the King-Emperor; to-day a 'common citizenship' is ours. Last week, we were expected to yield allegiance; to-day we are asked to declare the faith that is within us....... It is for this that Ireland has fought, aye, and won; not to be a daughter, but a parent; not to owe, but to be owed. It is, therefore, that she had to insist that she was essentially free, mistress of her own State, liege to no King. It is, therefore, that the often pressed suggestion of reviving an Irish Kingdom with a King of England as Irish Monarch offered no solution of the problem. It is therefore, that the fact had to be stated so clearly as to be beyond all possibility of equivocation that Ireland is free, that she is a Free State. Having had this freedom recognised, being free to give or to withhold, Ireland has made the venture of faith and asked for 'membership of the group of nations forming' thereby and thenceforth 'the British Commonwealth of Nations.' Making that venture, Ireland declares not her allegiance but to be faithful to King George and his heirs. For allegiance is a duty corresponding to an objectively existing relationship, just as filial piety is the duty of sonship: whilst faith is purely subjective, the attitude of a free will making a deliberate choice. Thus it will be seen, how carefully chosen is every word of that oath which it has now been agreed is to be taken by all Members of Parliament of the Irish Free

State and which may well be taken as the quintessence of the whole treaty :—‘ I solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to His Majesty King George V, his heirs and successors by law in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to, and membership of, the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations ’. There with one stroke, goes ‘ subject’ and ‘Empire’. Hitherto, on one side of a purely artificial borderline was an American citizen ; on the other, a British subject. To-day, the last vestige of absolutism has vanished from all the English-speaking peoples of the world. And with ‘ subject’ vanishes ‘ Empire, ’ the rule of force, making way for ‘ adherence ’ by the free choice. The transformation is indeed wonderful in its frank acknowledgment of facts ; still more wonderful in its promises of a better future. And not least so, because for the first time, one sees a way open for a permanent association of India with that England, to which she owes so much of all that is best. The analogy of the Dominions always seemed unsatisfying, because untrue, for, after all, India is in no sense a daughter nation of England. But now that an elder nation of a different culture and mentality, now that Ireland has been welcomed as equally a parent nation on joining the British Commonwealth of Nations, now a way is clear for India, in full *swaráj*, to make a similar venture of faith and to claim, on the basis of a common citizenship, membership in this same British Commonwealth of Nations.”

Ireland and India.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 12th Dec., Eng. cols.

69. “ A mere offer of peace, security and material prosperity, is not enough to reconcile the people with a Government which does not take due account of national feeling. This we believe is also the great defect in England’s treatment of India. Indians, too, have known the material benefits of British rule. But the feeling of nationality is now roused and material benefits are not enough. The Indian problem, too, will be solved we think, if in the schemes and measures of reform that are devised, there are concessions calculated to appeal to the self-respect and the imagination of the Indian people. At the same time it has to be remembered that the Irish problem has been solved, not by the nihilistic and antagonistic attitude which the Sinn Fein extremists were insisting upon, but by a reasonable compromise. We understand that the basis of the present settlement is not a mere association of the Irish Free State with the British Empire, but that she acknowledges fealty to the King and his heirs and remains definitely within the Empire for all purposes. The Irish delegates have undertaken to provide for such a declaration in the Irish constitution. We trust this fact will have its due weight with the extremists in India. Allegiance to the King and inclusion in the Empire is one of the fundamentals of a political settlement, if it is to be acheived without bloodshed. If Mr. Gandhi and his party are sincere in their insistence on non-violence, this fundamental position must be accepted. It is not by the inculcation of a spirit of anarchy and antagonism to the British people and institutions that a bloodless revolution such as is desired can be effected.”

Sind Observer (9), 8th Dec.

70. “ The question of India is a minor matter compared with the gigantic Irish issue. When a solution could be found for Ireland, is it difficult to find one for India ? On the other hand it is more easy of solution if there is courageous statesmanship at Delhi, the signs of which we do not yet see. There is no Ulster in India blocking the way though the opposition of vested interests, the bureaucrat and the exploiter, is serious enough. But what does the opposition of the interests mean ? Driven to its logical conclusion it means simply this : India has not yet become as strong and powerful as Ireland, we have the Maharajas, we have the moderates on our side and we are strong enough to control any trouble ; and why then yield to the noisy clamour of a set of agitators ? With all the emphasis we command and the love we possess for our country we respectfully urge that this is not at all the way of looking at the situation. We say such an attitude is a direct invitation to the people to tread the unhappy Irish path....... Therefore the problem now facing the Government and the country is : Is future progress to be marked at every step by embitterment of relations, strife, trouble and turmoil leading a large number of people into the paths of defiance of authority on the one side and forcing the Government to take extraordinary steps to subdue their rebellious spirit, on the other? Where will this lead except to chaos? ...... As we have been urging often and often, the Prince of Wales must play the same part in India as the King has played in the Irish question. How and in what manner he should play that part is better left to his advisers and rulers of the country."

The Washington Conference.

Indu Prakásh (43), 14th Dec.

71. The *Indu Prakásh* refers to the deliberations of the Washington Conference and declares that it has throughout aimed at the disarmament of the Asiatic rival of the European nations, *viz.*, Japan. It adds that the net result of the Conference has been that Japan has lost Siberia, Kiauchau and Shantung while England, its ally, has already secured Mesopotamia, Palestine, etc., as a mandatory and has also established its influence in Arabia. America which raised no question about the mandated territories under England was foremost, the paper remarks, in depriving Japan of her acquisitions. What nation would now care, the paper asks, to seek the friendship of that country fleeced of her possessions? It is with the full consciousness of the fleeced condition of Japan, the paper says, that America, France and England have now agreed to admit her into the quadruple agreement.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 17th Dec.

72. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* says that the whites have at last got Japan, "the swollen frog", into their clutches. It alleges that the alliance between England and Japan was an eyesore to the white nations as they could not brook the idea of an Asiatic nation being treated as their equal, and as they have made it their principle that they have a natural right to the territories of non-whites but that the latter have not the right even to be free in their own lands. They were therefore anxious to rescind the Anglo-Japanese agreement taking advantage of which Japan had during the great war aggrandised itself at the expense of China, and the Washington Conference was therefore got up by the white powers to put it down, and they have succeeded in doing so. The paper then explains the political situation created in the Pacific by the new agreement of the Four Powers and concludes that the agreement really means that England, France and America have between them imprisoned Japan. It points the moral for those Indians who imagine that America is anxious to see India liberated and sympathises with its struggle for freedom. It asks these people to ponder over the exclusion of the Japanese from American territories and the American claim to an open door everywhere. In conclusion the paper points out that the boycott of foreign cloth, etc., can only serve to alienate American sympathy for India now that the agreement allows free trade to America in this country.

Comments on the new sterling loan.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 15th Dec.

73. "Without endorsing in every particular the borrowing policy of the Government of India; without even approving of the new sterling loan in all its salient features, it may yet be acknowledged that the salutary influence of Mr. Dalal is obvious in the terms of the new loan....... Though Mr. Dalal has apparently succeeded in making the India Office at last pay some slight attention to the Indian point of view, and stop the heedless and ceaseless gamble in Indian resources so charmingly simple to the Hailey school, we are by no means convinced that the new loan safeguards Indian interests in every direction. Without entering into the discussion of the fundamential principles of public borrowing, we may yet protest against the clause in the prospectus which says that 'the entire proceeds will be used for Indian railway purposes'. If this means that the amount is to be earmarked for buying stores and material on railway account, chiefly from British firms, India must make up her mind to paying another huge instalment of that heavy indirect tribute which she is has been hitherto made to pay. The British quotations are still appreciably higher than the continental or American; and the difference is made still more considerable by the depressed state of continental exchanges. We have in the last few months received too many hints about British unemployment and British industrial depression intended to be remedied at the cost of India on one pretext or another. It is to be hoped that those who lend their moral, if not actual, support to the campaign of repression camouflaged as maintenance of law and order, will not be satisfied unless they obtain the most stringent possible guarantees against any use of the proceeds of the new loan which though beneficial to Britain may involve injury to India. In the foregoing observations we have tacitly assumed that the Loan was necessary. But no such assumption need have been made. Government, it is true, find a rapid shrinkage in the Central resources, thanks chiefly to the trade depression. Their railway earnings are so far considerably below the estimate; and their customs revenue could not but be adversely affected by the low imports and still lower exports. But that does not argue an absolute need to borrow and borrow abroad. Will not the Government of India even now—after the Washington Conference and the Afghan Treaty—realise that their army is too costly, their civil establishments too numerous, too pampered, and too wasteful? Will they not even now understand that they have made their 'reforms' too costly to be long acceptable to even the most moderate of Moderates?"

Comments on the Moplah train tragedy.

Hindu (160), 3rd Dec.

74. There is probably no Indian who can contemplate the Moplah train tragedy with any feeling other than that of horror. That about 122 Moplahs could have been placed in a closed goods van measuring 25 feet by 8 feet, shows that Indians are treated worse than animals under the British *ráj*. If a *raj* under which such things happen is called satanic, what does it matter? We know what a howl was made in England at the death of a few soldiers at Rohri Station a few years ago, and how in consequence three high military officials were forthwith dismissed. In this slave country, however, it is not to be so. For the Black Hole tragedy, which, by the way, according to recent researches has no foundation in fact, the memory of Suraj-ul-Doulah is still held in contempt. The sin of the Government of Madras is even greater than that of Suraj-ul-Doulah, having regard to the conditions of confinement and to the character of the persons confined in each case. Let us see how the Madras Government is going to be dealt with in the matter. So far, however, nothing has happened to the officials responsible for the Moplah tragedy. Nor do we expect that anything will come out of the investigations of the Committee appointed by Government to enquire into the tragedy. When we remember that Dyer is till getting his pension from Government we feel that the Madras tragedy will be condoned on the ground that it was caused by an error of judgment on the part of the officials concerned.

Complaint about delay in dealing with the report of the Matiari Inquiry Committee.

Hindu (160), 7th Dec.

75. It is not known what has been done with the Matiari report. So many months have elapsed and yet the report has not been published. We have complained of this delay once before also, but to no effect. Does the Government mean to hush up the Matiari affair? If not, why has not the report been published yet? It will be a false excuse on the part of Government to say that it has not had sufficient time to peruse the report and have it published. The report cannot be so tedious as to account for so much delay. The inference that can be drawn is that the Government is inclined to shelter the Mukhtiarkar and the Sub-Inspector. If that is so, Government as it were gives a license to its men to fire on crowds.

Comments on the assault on Principal Mitra at Calcutta by European Sergeants.

Nusrat (new), 17th Dec.

76. The non-co-operators deserve disgrace and punishment at the hands of Government because they are ready to uproot the Government, but it is a pity that those Moderates who bow their heads low receive blows on the head. While maintaining peace and insulting *khadi*-sellers in the streets of Calcutta, a great Moderate was harshly treated by the British soldiers. Mr. Mitra, who is the principal of one of the biggest Colleges of Calcutta and tops the list of the opponents of the non-co-operation movement, was passing through the streets and was hurled down to the ground by Sergeants. We cannot say what value he put on his own fidelity at that time, but so much is certain that he must have realised that the Sergeants are not especially concerned with the non-co-operators only but that they are interested in the black colour of the Indians.

Disabilities of the depressed classes.

Mookanayak (121), 3rd Dec.

77. The *Mookanayak* dwells on the disabilities of the depressed classes and says that they are being crushed between their own countrymen who consider them untouchable and the white bureaucracy which does not wish to see them rise above the position of its menials. It compares these classes to the cub of a lion and remarks that when this cub comes of age it will not fail to wreak vengeance on those who ill-treated it when it was a little one.

How the bureaucracy is working against the people's uplift.

Prabodh (125), 11th Dec.

78. Not only does the bureaucracy dislike our political movements for *swarajya* but it does not shrink from destroying totally everything by means of which the people may try to bring about their own uplift; and so while it continues to remain intact there is no hope of our gaining anything. Even in ordinary matters of trade and industry, the moment it finds Indians going beyond merely acting as commission agents, it lays its heavy hand of destruction on their capabilities! Industrial progress of Indians at least makes the bureaucracy's countrymen feel the economic pinch; but even in purely religious matters, which are in no direct or indirect way connected with it, the independent attitude of Indians is disliked by it as evidenced by the part it is playing in connection with the Sikh religious dispute in the Punjab. It seems to be aiming, with the aid of a few selfishly minded people among ourselves, at effecting a split among us in the name of religion. That must have been its object in asking the Swami of Chafal to bestow his blessings on the Prince of Wales on the occasion of laying the foundation stone of the Shivaji memorial. But the Amritsar Sikhs seem to have discovered this aim of the bureaucracy.

Indian Musalmans and the movement of Muslim unity.

Nusrat (new), 13th Dec.

79. Europe regards the movement of Muslim unity as the deadliest enemy of its power. Most of the devotees of Islam are not allowed to-day to deliver any speech simply because at some time or other they supported the movement of Muslim unity. Efforts were also made to suppress this sentiment among the Indian Musalmans and it was said that the fate of the Turks was a matter which concerned them alone, and that the Indians had nothing to do with them. But the feeling continued to grow among the Indian Musalmans. The Hindus, the English and the Parsis are all amazed at this unity and think it to be dangerous to their own existence. Anglo-Indian contemporaries, too, very often present this unity before the Hindus in a horrible form. Now the time has come to declare openly before the statesmen of Europe that we are closely connected with the Turks and that in future we will try openly to arrange for an interchange of ideas among the Musalmans of the world and we will urge that Musalmans should jointly make arangements for the protection of Islamic countries.

Protest against the action of the Bombay City Improvement Trust in connection with ground adjoining a Jain temple at Byculla.

Jain (76), 11th Dec.

80. In connection with the decision of the Bombay City Improvement Trust to utilise the open ground round the Jain Temple at Byculla for the purpose of accommodating the people of the Gujari Bazar, the *Jain* discusses the means to be adopted to get justice and remarks:—The steps of British justice are difficult and crooked, but the Jains of Bombay need not be disappointed on that account. Even a low community like that of the Moplahs has shown that there is greater pleasure in dying than in giving up a cottage in the motherland. The Jains will not brook the encroachment of flesh-eaters on their land at the cost of their privileges.

Comments on the Jheria Labour Congress.

Shri Shivaji (143), 13th Dec.

81. Referring to the All-India Trade Union Congress at Jheria the *Shri Shivaji* remarks :—The President, in his address, seems to have dwelt more on the present political situation in India than on topics of interest to workmen. Other speakers following him also discussed the Indian political situation. It must be admitted that the liberal attitude of the mineowners contributed much to the success of the Congress. The only reason why we urge keeping politics aloof from such labour activities is that labour in India is still incapable of taking its due part in political movements and until a definite Labour Party is formed among our workmen to deal with politics in the interests of labour it would be inadvisable for any one to trot out his own political views on occasions like the recent Congress.

Government responsible for the evil results of gambling and drinking among the Bombay mill-hands.

Shri Shivaji (143), 13th Dec.

82. The mill-hands that escape the clutches of their Marwari creditors are not many, and for those that thus escape Government has provided another trap in the shape of liqour-shops. With a view to end the miseries of workmen due to their liqour-drinking habits people have memorialised Government asking for the total prohibition of drink but the kind-hearted authorities do not seem to have been moved by the appeals in the least. The paternal Government does not seem to be in favour of even some such action as late opening and early closing of liquor-shops before the mills close, at least on the two pay days during which owing to the increased consumption of liqour one finds it unsafe even to go about the streets at night. Added to this, Government has been permitting the opening in the chawls of a number of 'sporting clubs' which are no better than open gambling houses. Would it be wrong if one were to say that Government has licensed the keepers of these sporting clubs to flecee the public openly ? The economic downfall of the mill workers naturally leads to their demoralisation resulting in the commission of numerous criminal offences. It is but clear that it is the Government that is solely responsible for the evils resulting from gambling and liquor-drinking among the working population inasmuch as it can put a stop to both by a stroke of the pen if it has but the will to do it.

EDUCATION.

A suggestion for the abolition of the Poona High School.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 15th Dec. ; *Servant of India* (8), 15th Dec.

83. The *Dnyán Prakásh,* while dealing with the question of effecting economy in the administration of the Presidency, suggests the abolition of the Poona High School. It points out that in the year 1919-20 there were 299 boys in this school and their education cost Government Rs. 22,280, *i.e.*, Rs. 72 per head. It further remarks that since the grant-in-aid to the three big private institutions in the city which impart the same kind of education cost Government, in the same period, Rs. 36,164, *i.e.*, only Rs. 10 per boy, they might utilize the amount which they spend on the High School as grants-in-aid to private institutions, and thus provide for the education of a much larger number of boys. Another argument in support of its suggestion, advanced by it, is that with the abolition of the High School the Vishram Bagh Wada in which it is located at present will be available for the accommodation of the civil courts. It understands, says the paper, that the question of the removal of the civil courts from their present site in the Shanwar Wada is under the consideration of Government, and that since the construction of new buildings to accommodate all the courts will cost about Rs. 25 lakhs, they might profitably abolish the Vishram Bagh High School and utilize the building thus set free for locating the courts. [The *Servant of India* endorses the suggestion.]

RAILWAYS.

Comments on the Report of the Railway Committee.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 13th Dec.

84. "The Railway Committee's Report has been published and would have received considerable attention if the country's mind had not been so fully occupied by urgent political issues. At the outset we must say it is a matter of profound satisfaction to find that the Majority Report has conceded the Indian demand for State Management of Railways:...... The Majority Report bears evidence that the members responsible for it have very carefully weighed the question of company management and have definitely and finally condemned such management as unsuitable for this country and has opposed to the best interests of its transport and trade. After such an emphatic and convincing condemnation it would be surprising if vested interests were to pull wires at official headquarters to avoid immediate action. Yet we regret to learn that attempts are being made particularly in Calcutta to belittle the conclusions of the Majority Report in this direction. In the march of this country towards the realisation of her cherished political dreams the Report of the Railway Commission is but a passing episode. Yet we think it necessary to utter a timely warning to Lord Reading's Government not to trifle with public sentiment any more and not to permit interested opposition to the considered views of the public in the direction of State management. To prolong artificially the existence of companies which have secured altogether unequal advantages, which have done their best to strangle Indian enterprise, which have humiliated Indians by relegating them to subordinate positions and the breakdown of whose efficiency, which was at no time very great, had to be acknowledged even by the Government themselves during the war, will be nothing short of the gravest blunder....... The recent announcement that the Government have appointed a Committee to consider the question of Railway finance makes a warning necessary. We shall watch with interest the working of this Committee, but we are inclined to suspect that thwarted in their attempt at securing the verdict in favour of company management from the Raliway Committee, vested interests and official quarters are now attempting by their usual dilatory methods to delay or to avoid immediate action through this Committee. In the personnel of it we see very few financiers, and whatever other conclusions they may come to, we trust they will steer clear of the dilemma which will be presented before them in connection with the expiry of the contract with the East India Railway Company. The original resolution of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, which focussed the country's demand for state management, referred to this contract and the manner in which it was renewed for a period of five years pending this enquiry was due to the inability of Lord Chelmsford's Government to withstand the pressure brought upon them by vested interests in India and financial interests in England. Any repetition of this would be regarded as a deliberate injury to Indian interests and it is up to the members of this Committee to avoid conclusions which may be used to thwart public opinion. The Government of Lord Reading must not assume that because the mass of the country is agitated over political issues they are unmindful of insidious efforts to strike at their interests in other directions."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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Report on Newspapers

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For the week ending 24th December 1921.

District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated : what action, if any, is being taken ; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule :

Comments on the Madras Legislative Council's resolution in favor of permanent settlement of land assessment 52
Comments on the new Sterling Loan 48
Comments on the present financial position of the Government of India . 47
Comments on the proposed acquirement by Government of certain Pársi Panchayat lands at Deolali (Násik) 54
Government should conciliate India on the same lines as Ireland . . . 50
Government should publish the reports of the Rasai and Matiari Committees without delay 53
Protest against increase in certain registration fees of documents . . . 49
The forthcoming Moderate Conference at Allahabad 51
The Military burden of India 46

His Excellency the Viceroy :

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Bengal Mahajan Sabha . . . . 37 & 38
Comments on the reply of — to the deputation led by Pandit Malaviya. . 40—45
Comments on the Viceroy's utterances in Calcutta. . . . . . . 31—36
The Viceroy's share in emasculating India 39

His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales :

Comments on the action of the Hindu University in conferring the degree of LL.D. on His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales 2
Comments on the Karachi Municipality's resolution to present an address to the Prince of Wales 1
Indians in the Colonies : Protest against the repatriation of Indians from South Africa 56
Judicial Matters : Protest against alleged illegal procedure in political cases . . 55

Non-co-operation :

Comments on Government's Press Note on the Bombay riots . . . . 3 & 4
Comments on Lord Ronaldshay's speech to the Legislative Council of Bengal. 22
Comments on the notification of the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, contradicting rumours about trouble in Ahmedabad during the Congress week . 9
Comments on the proposed Round Table Conference . . . . . . 23—30
Comments on the protests of Moderates against the repressive policy of Government 21

PARAGRAPHS.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Non-co-operation—*concld.*

Comments on the repressive policy of Government . . . . 11—18
Protest against the anti-picketing order of the District Magistrate of Poona . 5—7
Sir Harcourt Butler's defence of the repressive policy in the United Provinces. 19
Statement made by Jitendralal Banerjee 10
The Congress programme 8
The duty of Moderates in connection with the repressive policy of Government 20

War : Attitude of Britain towards Turkey. . . . . 57 & 58

EDUCATION—

Protest against the action of the educational authorities in dispensing with the services of untrained teachers in the Southern Division 59

MUNICIPALITIES—

Government and non-co-operating Municipalities . . . . 60—62

NATIVE STATES—

Alleged unjustifiabile additions by the Maharaja of Kolhápur to his private lands in the State 63
Kolhápur State compares unfavourably with adjoining British territory in the matter of consumption of liquor 64

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the Karachi Municipality's resolution to present an address to the Prince of Wales.

Sind Observer (9), 15th Dec.

1. "The Karáchi Municipality unanimously voted an address of welcome to the Prince of Wales last evening after the non-co-operators had left the hall as a protest. Let us earnestly hope that the controversy on this subject would now subside and all classes of the community would join in extending a very hearty welcome to the future King-Emperor of India ..... Non-co-operators throughout the country have adopted very bad tactics in opposing the welcome to the Prince. They have shown they have neither political perspective nor the ingrained sense of hospitality so conspicuous in this country. The Prince is not the enemy of this country. Common sense and prudence dictate that he should be made a friend of India, who, on account of the incomparably high position he holds in the counsels of the Empire, may make the rough paths of India's progress smooth and throw into the scales the weight of his great influence in accelerating the pace of political progress. Let us now bury all controversy over the question. Let us show that whatever may be our domestic quarrels we are not wanting in the sense of respect and loyalty due to the Crown....... Enlightened self-interest, if nothing else, should dictate to us that we should preserve the British connection and honour the King and his heir who symbolise that connection. Non-co-operators have not yet become republicans and their quarrel is only with the bureaucracy. Why not, then, welcome the Prince who has nothing to do with the system of Government prevailing in India ?"

Comments on the action of the Hindu University in conferring the degree of LL.D. on His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

Karnátak Vritt (84), 20th Dec.

2. The *Karnátak Vritt* says:—In ancient times, Emperors used to visit the learned sages in their hermitages and pay their respects to them. But nowadays, it has been the practice to confer University degree upon every person coming into or going out of India without any discrimination. At the convocation held the other day at Benares, for the purpose of conferring degrees, the degree of L.L.D. was conferred upon the Prince of Wales. If those responsible for the management of the University had a mind to honour the Prince, it would have been enough if they had entertained him with tea, coffee and such other refreshments. The Prince also would have been highly pleased with these offerings. The action of the University authorities in conferring the degree upon the Prince does not seem to us to be quite proper. The degree can be conferred with propriety only upon those persons who have acquired proficiency in any of the various branches of learning. But, so far we have not heard from anybody about the Prince's proficiency in any branch of learning and we suspect that the degree has been conferred upon the Prince on account of His Royal blood. If what we doubt be true, then the Universities which honour Royal blood only because it is Royal, may safely disappear from our midst without any loss being felt by us on that account.

Comments on Government's Press Note on the Bombay riots.

Lokamánya (114), 19th Dec.

3. The *Lokamánya* expresses its deep satisfaction that the Government Press Note on the Bombay riots makes no charge against Hindus or Muhammadans about their having insulted Parsi or Anglo-Indian ladies during the disturbances, of doing which they were accused by the *Parsi* and other papers at the time. It declares that both the communiters will be highly pleased to find that dirty charge against them thus disproved. The fact is particularly significant, it says, in view of the high position held by a Parsi in the Bombay C. I. D. and the recent appointment of a Parsi gentleman as Executive Councillor. At the same time the paper expresses its surprise that a new charge has been made in the Press Note against Hindus and Muhammadans of having attacked the Parsi Wada and Dadyset Agiaries on the 18th November, and says that it doubts if a search of the issues of the *Times of India* during the days of the riots will corroborate the charge. It points out that no one has upto this time heard of any damage having been done to these fire temples and expresses its suspicion that the charge against the rioters might have been framed to justify the shooting excesses committed by Parsi youths during the riots, about which it regrets no mention is made in the Press Note. On the contrary, it says, a new accusation is made against Mr. Gandhi's followers, that a man with a Gandhi cap and *khadi* coat on fired a revolver at the Police in Shaikh Memon Street. This insidious attempt to connect the firing incident with the Gandhi party should not have been made in the Press Note, it says, in view of the fact that any *budmash* can dress himself in *khadi*. The paper disagrees with the causes of the riots as given in the Press Note and declares that Mr. Gandhi's speech on the 17th November at the bonfire at Elphinstone Road had nothing to do with them. It agrees with the opinion expressed by the London *Times*' Bombay correspondent that the riots could easily have been avoided if the Police had taken precautionary measures beforehand against the hooligans of Bombay. It is indeed fortunate, it says, that Government is not prepared to charge Mr. Gandhi's followers with having conspired in advance to bring about the riots. It is surprised to find that the Press Note contains not a word of thanks for those leaders of the various communities who rendered invaluable assistance to Government in ending the riots. It does not deem it strange that Government is not liberal enough to say a word or two in appreciation of the unremitting efforts of Mr. Gandhi and his followers, but it says it was Government's duty to devote a few words to thank gentlemen like Messrs. H. P. Mody, Natrajan, Purshottamdas Thakordas, etc., for their selfless exertions.

Karma Veer (82), 23rd Dec.

4. The Government have now issued a Press Note on the Bombay disturbances about a month after those disturbances actually took place. The Press Note, coming so late, would naturally be expected to be thoughtful and weighty. But the only thing the Press Note seems to aim at is to fix all the responsibility for the riots upon the non-co-operators. Among other things, it contains a false statement that the *hartal* was a failure. The statement that 50 persons dressed in *khaddar* raided a liquor-shop near the Victoria Gardens also appears to be unfounded. The Press Note also contains further statements to the effect that inflammatory speeches, directed against authority, roused the evil instincts of the people and led to these deplorable results. Though peace was established by the herculean efforts of non-co-operators and leaders of different communities and also as a result of the fast which Mahatma Gandhi observed, the Government have not lost the opportunity of patting themselves on the back and proclaiming that peace was brought about by their own police and military. The Government may try to suppress the movement of non-co-operation by laying all sorts of blame upon the non-co-operators. But if there is any truth in the principles of non-co-operation the movement is bound to succeed sooner or later. It is no doubt true that the non-co-operators have not yet established their influence upon all the hooligan elements of society. But can the Government itself claim such influence over them ? If so, why did the Moplah rebellion take place at all ? Besides, did not such disturbances take place at any time before non-co-operation was even heard of in this country ? What is then the reason for casting this undeserved blame upon non-co-operators and trying to give them a bad name ?

Protest against the anti-picketing order of the District Magistrate of Poona.

Kesari (110), 20th Dec.

5. The *Kesari* compares the Poona District Magistrate's anti-picketing order to one's action in needlessly disturbing the placid waters of a tank by throwing stones into it, and points out that people of all parties and castes and creeds both in the town and the Cantonment are unitedly working in disobeying the order which is an insult to the people and a breach of their natural rights. The spectacle, the paper says, ought to have convinced that officer of the injustice and futility of his prohibitory order, but it appears that the intoxication of the bureaucracy has not yet disappeared and that put out by the reply it has received at the hands of the public, it is concerting plans as to how to enmesh the leaders and is issuing compulsory attachments of property for recovering the fines imposed. The paper, however, declares that the people will not now allow their natural rights to be thus highhandedly trampled

under foot without a vigorous protest. It points out that even a moderate body like the Deccan Sabha and the non-Brahmin papers also have been condemning the Magistrate's action, and hopes that the Bombay Government will under the circumstances cancel its circular as nobody has come forward to support it.

Servant of India (8), 22nd Dec.

6. "Orders have been issued prohibiting the picketing of liquor-shops in Poona. Now we must confess that picketing has had its ugly features here, that some amount of physical violence and unlawful intimidation has taken place, but most of it occurred, not in front of the liquor-shops but elsewhere, which the present prohibition order will not help Government in preventing. Secondly, there has happened no violence recently. There was no occasion therefore for the order. The only reason for it seems to be that the Government of Bombay thought that it must give some practical evidence of its readiness to carry out the general policy of repression decided upon by a higher authority. One hestitates to make this allegation with reference to a Government which has shown admirable self-restraint so far on all occasions, which occurred recently, for the use of force. But it becomes difficult otherwise to explain this uncalled for order. The Government might have tried to enlist the co-operation of the people in preventing such coercion as was being practised upon the would-be drinkers. We hope that in view of the change in policy which appears to be contemplated by the Government of India, the Bombay Government will cause this order to be revoked."

Shri Shivaji (143), 20th Dec.

7. Referring to the anti-picketing order issued by the District Magistrate, Poona, the *Shri Shivaji* considers the methods of dealing with those who disobey it as farcical and fails to understand Government's object in thus giving unnecessary provocation to the people. In these civilized times, it says, declaring picketing to be illegal means a serious blow to individual liberty as people are in no way bound to obey any orders His Excellency the Governor may choose to issue. It, therefore, expresses the hope that the District Magistrate will realise the impropriety of his ways and maintain his prestige by withdrawing the autocratic order.

The Congress programme.

Mahrátta (6), 25th Dec.

***8.** "We humbly request those who wield the destinies of the Congress, to take advantage of the present opportunity and try to broaden the basis of the Congress so as to allow all to have a *locus standi* there. Whatever may be the intentions of Mahatma Gandhi, it is obvious that in spite of his solicitude for making the Congress platform broader and in spite of his protestations to make it so, the resolutions are so framed and worked out that in practice, the Congress has been reduced to a close corporation. Mahatma Gandhi has issued long instructions as to the qualification of a Congress delegate which cannot be complied with by many on account of their honest differences of opinion. If these instructions be the *sine qua non* of a Congressman, a large body of honest men who feel that they cannot by their convictions answer these demands made of them, must stand out. The success of any fighting programme depends upon the willing co-operation of all persons and in order to secure it there must be kept latitude for all to work it up according to their lights and in the way they prefer. You cannot expect all to be whole-hoggers. Follow me in every small detail of conduct of life by surrendering yourself in body, mind and intellect or you are damned to perdition may be a good dictum in blind dogmatical religions but it cannot be so in politics In short every effort must be made so as to make the Congress programme intensely practical inflicting as much harm on the opponent as possible and ensuring complete unity among the Congressmen."

Comments on the notification of the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, contradicting rumours about trouble in Ahmedabad during the Congress week.

Sind Observer (9), 16th Dec.

9. Commenting on the notification of the District Magistrate, Ahmedabad, contradicting rumours about trouble in Ahmedabad during the Congress week, the *Sind Observer* remarks :—"We are glad the District Magistrate has issued this timely notification which dispels once for all the fears entertained in some quarters that the Congress will not be permitted to hold its session in Ahmedabad on account of the present mood of the authorities. There could be no surer way of courting the bitterest opposition and the utmost indignation of all classes of the people in this country than by stopping the Congress, however widely one may disagree with its present leaders. It is a national institution to which millions of people owe affection and pay homage. Sir George Lloyd's is the only Government which has kept its head cool up to now, and we trust non-co-operators by their words and deeds at Ahmedabad and elsewhere will not force the Governor's hands to extend the Seditious Meetings Act to this Presidency and to follow in the wake of the other Indian provinces in the matter of thorough-going repression. Let us hope that this Presidency and Sind will keep a clean record."

Statement made by Jitendralal Banerjee.

Sauráshtra (new), 17th Dec.

10. The *Saurashtra* publishes a translation of the statement made before the Magistrate by Jitendralal Banarjee in which the following occurs:—If it is an offence to have asked my people to shake off the fetters of a foreign servitude that degrades and dwarfs our humanity, then I am one of the most offending souls alive and I rejoice and am thankful that God gave me the courage and hardihood to commit such an offence.

Comments on the repressive policy of Government.

Sind Wasi (169), 9th Dec.

11. We cannot but feel sorry for some of the recent acts of Lord Reading in combating non-co-operation. His first steps of starting Aman Sabhas and of protecting foreign cloth merchants against picketing were all right. The trouble, however, began with the ill-advised prosecution of the Ali Brothers. Government ought to have learnt a lesson from this first mistake. But unfortunately it fell into a second error, namely, that of bringing out the Prince in spite of repeated protests from a section of the public. We admit that the conduct of the non-co-operators on the day of the Prince's arrival in Bombay was most objectionable and required to be effectively checked. But we do not find any justification for the precipitancy with which Lord Reading has embarked on a policy of wholesale repression in the country. We had never thought that the ex-Lord Chief Justice of England would show such impatience. The situation has now become quite critical, thanks to the free hand given to the executive. The disgraceful treatment of the arrested Sikh leaders is an instance of how officials carry out the Viceroy's repressive policy. Government is really alienating the sympathy of the Moderates by permitting excesses on the part of its subordinates.

New Times (7), 16th Dec.

12. "'I leave you', said the King on his visit to India, 'a legacy of hope'. What will the Prince say when he leaves India? What legacy will the policy of Lord Reading's Government leave to the people?.......... As a result, indeed, of the policy, some of the greatest of India's political leaders are in jail. Mahatma Gandhi may be arrested any day. The Bombay Government have already given a challenge by issuing a *communique* to the effect that volunteers must not assume any of the police functions! The policy of repression has given great satisfaction to opponents of India's freedom.......... Lord Reading says Government must prevent 'intimidation and coercion'. Have the leaders who are now in jail done anything to 'intimidate' and 'coerce' others? Have they not always stood up for non-violence? And were not the volunteer organisations, too, pledged to non-violence? Is not Government pursuing methods of 'intimidation' and 'coercion'?...... Lord Reading's cult of justice, it is now becoming increasingly clear, is this power-cult....... Power-cult, indeed, is the first and last argument of bureaucracy. It failed in Russia. It has failed in Ireland. It will not succeed in India. Only we must be courageous and scrupulous in our struggle. To the strong hand let us oppose a strong mind and character. The present policy of repression may even be extended to the nationalist press. A Calcutta Anglo-Indian paper already gives us a hint of what may happen any day. .... The developing situation must be met not by compromise, but by loyalty to truth, by moral strength. No policy of force can break a nation at once upright and indomitable. Repression leads it to liberty."

Lokamánya (114), 21st Dec.

13. The *Lokamánya* declares that Calcutta having taken the lead of the whole of India in the matter of civil disobedience instead of the Bardoli Taluka which was expected to lead the movement under the guidance of Mr. Gandhi, Lord Ronaldshay, the Governor of Bengal, must be repenting of the step he has taken in launching repression. It also thinks that the measures taken by the Commissioner, N. D., in taking charge of the municipal school buildings in Surat and Nadiád by breaking of locks, is likely to lead, at an early date, to the refusal to pay the Municipal taxes in the two towns. As to the situation in Maharashtra, the paper remarks that the authorities in Poona being less hot headed than those in Bengal, they are playing their game of repression in the matter of the anti-picketing order with great caution by refraining from sending the *satyagrahis* to jail as they are conscious that their incarceration is bound to give a fillip to the movement. Again, referring to the critical position in Bengal, the paper points out that even the moderate party there has declared itself against the policy of repression and that the same party in the United Provinces also is following suit and asking the authorities to adopt conciliatory methods. It points out that Mr. Gandhi has declared himself as not against finding out a way for compromise and says that all depends on what Lord Reading is going to say to the deputation that is to wait upon him to urge the necessity of having a joint conference in the matter. It expresses the hope that the All-India Congress Committee as well as the National Congress will not fail to map out proper instructions for those who will have to attend such a conference, if one comes to be held, on behalf of the Congress.

Rájakáran (131), 18th Dec.; *Lokasangraha* (116), 19th and 23rd Dec.;
Chaitanya (98), 18th Dec.

14. The *Rájakáran* says that the question before the people now is not which of their leaders have been arrested, but which of them have not yet been arrested. It considers that the experiences of Ireland will be highly useful to India in many respects. It is convinced that a change can be brought about in the mentality of the bureaucracy by disobeying its unjust orders and by resorting to *satyagraha*. It declares that the authorities should be ashamed of themselves to prohibit picketing in the interest of people immersed in vice. The paper is of opinion that Lord Reading's stock of statesmanship is exhausted and that he has become a mere puppet in the hands of his subordinates. [The *Lokasangraha* says that when Government resort to repression and promulgate oppressive laws, it becomes the duty of the people to trample these latter under foot. It has no doubt that the whole country will soon be in the grip of the civil disobedience movement. In a subsequent issue the paper says that the defection of the Moderates has deprived the bureaucracy of their only supporters in the land. The *Chaitanya*, on the other hand, is of opinion that although Government are responsible to a certain extent for the present unhappy situation in the country, it is mainly the fruit of the non-co-operators' activities.]

Bombay Samáchár (56), 19th Dec.; *Hindusthán* (20), 17th Dec.

15. The *Bombay Samáchár* considers it natural on the part of Lord Reading who is a product of Western civilisation to fail to appreciate non-violent non-co-operation and considers the imprisonment of popular leaders and their followers as a triumphant march of the nation towards independence. It then exhorts the people to give a hearty response to the appeal made by Mrs. C. R. Das to rally round the Congress and to keep the *swaráj* flag flying and dwells upon the necessity of holding the Congress at Ahmedabad in spite of the imprisonment of popular leaders with a view to convincing Government that their policy of repression, instead of discouraging the national movement, has strengthened it. [The *Hindusthán* declares that the people are as anxious as Government for the maintenance of law and order and that they are not courting imprisonment under any delusion. It asks Government to inquire into the causes of discontent prevailing in the country and to right the Punjab and the Khilafat wrongs and put an end to the humiliating treatment given to Indians in the Colonies. It further asks Government to give up the policy of repression as, in its of opinion, it has failed to produce the result expected by them and has moreover evoked protests even from the Moderates. In conclusion the paper asks Government to grant the demands of the Congress.]

Ráshtra Veer (133), 18th Dec.

16. The *Rashtra Veer* declares that though in the present circumstances the non-co-operation movement is of no use, it being in itself non-violent it would be wrong to restrict it by any repressive measures and should therefore be let alone to let the people be themselves convinced about its futility. It, however, opines that very few of the non-co-operators except Mr. Gandhi are strictly non-violent and in view of the incidents in Malabar and Bombay City asks if they do not prove that the movement cannot always be maintained non-violent. Referring to the arrests in Calcutta and elsewhere the paper admits that it is repression to go on making such arrests, but asks if any other course for enforcing the law is open to Government. It, therefore, feels that Government would be failing in their duty if they took no legal steps to put a stop to the present methods of breaking the law. It however adds that mere repression would not remove the discontent prevailing in the country. It, therefore, suggests that side by side with the measures adopted, Government should also take steps to remove the root causes of the prevailing discontent such as the removal of the glaring defects in the Reforms.

Shri Shivaji (143), 20th Dec.

17. The bureaucracy brought His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India to achieve its secret object of proving to the British public that the unrest in India was confined to only a few anarchists. But the object has been frustrated by the people's boycott of the welcome given to the Prince. This put out the bureaucracy and it began repression under pretext of maintaining law and order by prohibiting meetings, declaring picketing to be illegal, etc. Anybody would say that by taking such steps Government, instead of maintaining law and order, is simply casting a stain on British justice. It being impossible to follow Government's reasoning in these matters what sane person would be prepared to support Government if in the name of law and order it goes on restricting the just rights of the people by magnifying trifles? As Government has launched the repressive campaign indiscriminately and without caring in the least for anybody's support, its policy has made people more eager to court imprisonment, and given a greater fillip to non-co-operation than what Mr. Gandhi and other Congress workers could do with their efforts throughout the year.

Jágaruk (44), 17th and 21st Dec.

18. As a matter of fact the breach of ordinary laws being dangerous the reasoning public will never support it. But Government by launching repression and issuing unjust orders calculated to restrict individual liberty, such as those that are, at present, being disobeyed in Calcutta, Delhi and the Punjab are causing even the opinion of the reasoning public to go against it. Its orders prohibiting meetings and volunteer organisations have thus afforded the non-co-operators an opportunity to enlist public opinion in their favour. What a *zulum* it is that people should be prohibited even from selling *khaddar* in streets! This will certainly cause the whole public to go against Government, as it can see no difference whatsoever between the bludgeon rule prevailing in Native States and the present repression in British territory. The movement for the disobedience of the anti-picketing orders begun in Poona is of the same type as that going on elsewhere. If even peaceful persuasion to desist from drinking liquor be declared illegal who would care to respect such glaringly unjust orders? Such autocratic policy on Government's part would only lead even those that ordinarily desist from taking part in political movements, to feel it imperative for themselves to actively resist such bludgeon rule inasmuch as it is directed against the elementary birth-rights of every citizen. [In the next issue, the paper declares it to be quite natural that all including the co-operators should strongly protest against Government's attempt to suppress even the constitutional Congress movement for *swarájya* and freedom. What self-respecting person, it asks, will nod his assent to Government's attempt to suppress the people's sense of self-respect and love of freedom under the pretext of maintaining law and order? It, therefore, urges Government to desist from rousing public sentiment against itself by immediately changing its unjust policy.]

Sir Harcourt Butler's defence of the repressive policy in the United Provinces.

Lokamánya (114), 23rd Dec.

19. The *Lokamánya* refers to the defence of his repressive policy made by Sir Harcourt Butler in the course of his speech before a Durbar at Lucknow and says that one is tempted to smile at the self-congratulation which His Excellency indulged in over the success of the measures. Is it not strange, the paper asks, that the Governor should come forward to speak about the success of his policy when he actually knew how the welcome to the Prince of Wales was spoilt at Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares? It admits that the authorities at Lucknow and Benares were successful, by artificial means, to get together people to welcome the Prince and thus to throw sufficient dust in his eyes to induce him to furnish a certificate to the Governor about his splendid reception at those two places, but that cannot be said about Allahabad, the paper points out, as no similar certificate has been given by the Prince about his reception there and moreover the news about the successful *hartal* at the places has reached even England. The paper is therefore surprised at the impudence of His Excellency's assertinos and it declares that the reports from the District Officers quoted by him in support of the success of his repressive measures are worthless because they are purely official. The paper further says that the eyes of His Excellency should at least have been opened by the protest which even the moderate leaders in the United Provinces have courageously issued against his repressive policy and the warning which they have given to him. It expresses the hope that just as in the case of the Governors of Bengal and Behar, Sir Harcourt Butler too would soon show signs of climbing down, and that His Excellency Lord Reading also would follow suit.

The duty of Moderates in connection with the repressive policy of Government.

New Times (7), 14th Dec.

20. "The new repressive policy of the bureaucracy is no surprise to the nationalists, but it should be a surprise to the Moderates if, indeed, they would make good the assumptions of their party. The Moderates believe that the way to political self-Government in India lies, at the present moment, through acceptance of the new 'Reforms' machinery and by co-operation with the bureaucracy. And in the various provinces the Moderates spoke with enthusiasm of constitutional agitation as having secured the country greater freedom of speech, person and the press under the 'reforms'. That the 'reforms' have hit hard the poor tax-payer, is a fact which no prominent moderate has the hardihood to challenge. That they have meant a bigger bureaucracy, is now made clear to the country when we are face to face with a repressive regime unparalleled in recent political history. What justification, moral and political, can the Moderates have now in being active supporters—or as they take pride in saying 'co-operators'—of Government? .... But what justification, we ask, can there be for the Moderate leaders,—most of whom are now a part of the bureaucratic machine slightly reconstituted,—in continuing in their offices when the fundamental right of citizenship is being questioned by the bureaucracy in India—the right of voluntary association? To suppress volunteer organisations and stop the holding of public meetings is to strike at the very root of the rights of the citizen. As a fruit of the 'Reforms', you have arrests *en mass*! You find that some of the greatest in the land, men like C. R. Das, Lajpatrai, Motilal, are in jail, and Moderate leaders sit *mum* in their offices! This silence at this time is worse than open condemnation. Does it not become increasingly clear that, in spite of patriotic professions in the Councils, the Viceroy has only to be so minded, to set at naught public opinion and arrest and imprison any greatest patriot in the land? The Viceroy will have his explanations and justifications in the name of 'law' of which be can be both the maker and the breaker; but when was any Government found wanting in explanations, excuses and *communiques* when once it had decided to pursue a particular policy? In India, the bureaucratic policy makes and unmakes the 'law'! In India liberty of the individual is a fiction. Is not the only honourable course open to Moderates in the Administration, this,—to resign their posts when Government is rushing on in its mad course with 'reforms' under the arm pit?"

Comments on the protests of Moderates against the repressive policy of Government.

Bombay Samáchar (56), 20th Dec.; *Hindusthán* (20), 20th Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 20th Dec.

21. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the protest made by the Liberal League of Lucknow against the repressive policy of Government and calls upon the Moderates of the Bombay Presidency to make a similar protest lest their silence be interpreted as support of the Government policy. The paper endorses the suggestion made in various quarters for holding a Round Table Conference and suggests the desirability of Moderates and non-co-operators making common cause to enable the country to submit its unanimous demands to Government when the Round Table Conference is convened. The paper hopes that Lord Reading will call the Round Table Conference at an early date with a view to winning over the hearts of the people of this country. [The *Hindusthán* refers to the protests that are being made by the Moderates all over India against the present policy of repression adopted by Government and believes that what Dr. Gour means to say by stating that the Moderates will have to review and re-examine their own attitude and policy towards Government is that the Moderates will join the non-co-operators if Government persist in their present policy. The paper calls upon the Moderates to plainly tell Government that co-operation on their part will be possible only on the terms laid down by the Congress. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* refers to the protest of some Moderates like Mr. Srinivas Aiyangar and commenting upon the 'liberty of citizens' which he puts forth as a plea against the repressive measures of Government, remarks that the country has had a sufficiently bitter experience of this so-called 'liberty of the citizens' in the Malabar and Moplah riots and that His Excellency Lord Reading does not require to be taught the meaning of this 'liberty'. It expresses satisfaction at the Madras Council's supporting the Government measures, and assures the readers that the Moderates consider these measures as an unpleasant duty and not as a high-handed encroachment upon the liberty of the people. The paper hopes to see the small band of protesting Moderates admit at the end of the present trouble that the policy of repression was more conducive to public safety than the 'liberty of citizens'.]

Comments on Lord Ronaldshay's speech to the Legislative Council of Bengal.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Dec.

22. "Lord Ronaldshay's appeal to non-co-operators for a truce could hardly have come as a surprise to any thinking man. From the day when the Bengal Government initiated intensive repression nothing less than the defeat of the Government was to be expected by one who has observed the spirit and temper of the people against whom repression was levelled.......... Boiled down to its essentials, Lord Ronaldshay's statement is nothing less than a call for an armistice uttered by a party which knows itself to be already defeated and which is anxious to avoid further disaster and to obtain the most favourable terms of peace procurable.......... At this stage of the preliminaries to the final attainment of *swaráj* it would be unwise for us to offer an opinion as to whether the Congress should accept the Bengal Government's appeal for a truce followed by a Peace Conference, or whether non-violent non-co-operation should be proceeded with until the offer of a Peace Conference is made in terms less equivocal than Lord Ronaldshay's guarded words. A decision in this matter can only be come to by the Congress leaders, in whom the country places confidence even more implicit than that placed by Ireland in the members of the Sinn Fein Delegations........ The Governor of Bengal has appealed that, as a preliminary to a conference, a Truce be declared and the threatened boycott of the Royal Visit on Christmas Eve countermanded by the non-co-operators. If the latter agree to do this, Lord Ronaldshay states he will advise the Government to stay their hand in the matter of arrests and prosecutions and to release all prisoners not already convicted. Now, does Lord Ronaldshay imagine that the non-co-operators desire that arrests should cease or that the arrested be released? As a matter of fact the non-co-operators have been well pleased with repression.......... Non-co-operators, however, cannot but welcome the surrender of the Bengal Government. Mahatma Gandhi has said: 'That many of the best of us are in gaol, is *swaráj*.' The Government of Bengal are just beginning to recognise the truth of this, and Lord Ronaldshay's surrender is really an acknowledgement that India has won *swaráj*. And it is fitting that the Provincial Administration which first inaugurated the policy of 'repression,' *pace* Mr. Montagu, should be the first to surrender."

Comments on the proposed Round Table Conference.

Sind Observer (9), 14th Dec.

23. Referring to the suggestion for a Round Table Conference made by four members of the Indian Legislative Assembly, the *Sind Observer* writes:—

"But judging from the Calcutta utterances we are not sure His Excellency the Viceroy is in a mood at present to accept the suggestion made by the signatories to the manifesto. He is in favour of a policy of repression and unless it fails he will not heed counsels of moderation and wisdom...... His only, he assumes, is the responsibility for maintaining the peace, he will bear it himself and he will not allow others to approach him. Where is then the place for Legislative Assemblies, Councils of State and the Indian opinion in this new order of things? The Viceroy would go back to the days of Lord Curzon. And how could a Round Table Conference be possible when the Viceroy holds the view that non-co-operation is a movement which must be suppressed? He would enforce the law at all costs which simply means the Viceroy takes the narrow view of a lawyer and not the broad view of a statesman....... If there is to be a round table conference, all parties must place the cards on the table. Lord Reading has to show, in the language of the late Mr. Gokhale, which we quoted yesterday, he has a policy of 'courageous conciliation', and not merely of repression....... A policy of thorough-going repression is difficult to pursue; it is bound to be challenged in the Legislative Chambers of the country. A Government with nothing of a constructive policy but repression cannot face the Chambers; and if the members are determined they can obstruct and create deadlocks. A Viceroy or a Governor cannot for ever depend upon his reserve powers to carry on the administration. Recognising this, it is wise on the part of the Government of Lord Reading to accept the proposal of Messrs Mazumdar, Rangachariar, Iswar Saran and Neogy to call a Round Table Conference. If the Viceroy refuses the Legislative Assembly can, on its own initiative, appoint a committee to go into the question of the present political situation....... It is doubtless Lord Reading's desire that the country should tread the paths of peace and progress. Then his Excellency must heed the safe counsel of the four members of the Legislative Assembly. If he fails at the Round Table Conference on account of the perversity of the non-co-operators, then the country will know that His Excellency has exhausted all means of conciliation and public opinion will support him in the measures he will take to preserve law and order."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 20th Dec.

24. "The suggestion that a Round Table Conference is desirable is one on which we can make only one comment. The Congress has declared its aims which are the aims of the Indian nation. These are directed towards eradicating the root causes of discontent in India. The Congress party—that is the overwhelming majority of the people of India—are pledged to accept no less a concession than *swaráj* within a very definite period; and with *swaráj* must come power to punish the Punjab malefactors and to remedy the Khilafat grievance. The only point open to discussion in a Round Table Conference is the precise nature of safeguards which (as in the Irish and Egyptian draft agreements) Great Britain would desire in order to protect certain valuable interests. A Round Table Conference embarked on with the minority determined to prune the gift of *swaráj* to but a shadow of real autonomy would merely be a waste of time and energy. The Indian people know what they want and have openly advertised the full extent of their claim."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 20th and 21st Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 21st Dec.

25. The *Sánj Vartamán* expresses gratification at the consent given by the Viceroy to receive a deputation headed by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and to call a Round Table Conference. It hopes the leaders of the non-co-operation party in Bengal will accept the suggestion made by Lord Ronaldshay before the Bengal Legislative Council that a truce between Government and the non-co-operators was an essential preliminary to a Round Table Conference and that they will for the present suspend the breaches of the law. The paper suggests that Government should on their part put a stop to their repressive policy and release all those who have been sent to jail as consequence thereof, and also invite prominent men from amongst them like Lala Lajpatrai and Pandit Motilal Nehru to the Round Table Conference. [In the subsequent issue, the paper quotes Mr. Gandhi's pessimistic views about the proposed Round Table Conference and the reply given by Mr. Montagu in Parliament to the effect that no repressive policy has been adopted in India and that people are being dealt with for breaches of the ordinary laws, and suggests to the Moderates to keep Mr. Montagu informed about the true state of affairs and to let him know that the national volunteers have been declared unlawful, the Seditious Meetings Act and the Defence of India Act have been put into force, and that the Press Act is being severely enforced. It then refers to Lord Ronaldshay's speech in opening the Bengal Legislative Council and declares that Government seem to have taken a fright at the *hartal* observed on the 17th November and are anxious to avert its recurrence. The paper remarks that the only way of stopping *hartals* is to redress the grievances of the public and to grant their demands, and suggests that Government should, before calling the proposed Conference, withdraw the orders that have provoked breaches of the law on the part of the people, release all the arrested people and give an undertaking to consider the demands of the people. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* is rejoiced at the news of Mr. Malaviya's undertaking to arrange a Conference between the Viceroy and popular leaders from various provinces. It regrets to see Mr. Gandhi's name not appearing among these leaders and believes that so long as he does not change his methods, the result of the Conference will remain doubtful, in spite of many other non-co-operation leaders modifying their programme. The paper is of opinion that it would have been better if the leaders of all parties had first met in consultation and arrived at some definite decision and then approached the Viceroy. As for the part the Moderates should play, the paper says it does not end with asking Government to give up the policy of repression; they must also take effective steps to bring about modifications in the policy of the non-co-operating Congress, and do their best to make the Congress give up civil disobedience, picketing and *hartals*.]

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 20th Dec.

26. The *Dnyán Prakásh* welcomes the proposal to hold a Round Table Conference to discuss the present political situation in India but points out that before that can be done the different parties must be sure about their aims and the means by which they are to be achieved. The paper further writes:—Government can be said to have resorted to repression only when it suppresses the legitimate activities of the people. Such is not the case now. Government could not possibly keep quiet when the people openly broke the law. Even under *swarájya* the result would not have been different under similar circumstances. Government could have been justly blamed if they had proceeded against the volunteers even when the latter carried on their work peacefully. But no one can maintain that the volunteers did not impose their will upon others by methods which were far from lawful. The fact that Mr. Gandhi was obliged to issue rules as to how the volunteers should conduct themselves clearly proves that they were guilty of some excesses.

Lokamánya (114), 22nd Dec.

27. The *Lokamánya* remarks that the success of the projected Round Table Conference will depend upon how far the Government's representatives at it would be prepared to give favourable consideration to the views of the opposite party. It admits that the conclusion of the Irish agreement does prove that His Majesty the King and His Ministers are to day inspired by high moral sentiments, that the Irish question has not been solved by the British simply with an eye to self-interest, that it is also possible that the Indian bureaucracy too might be influenced to a little extent by the high moral atmosphere at present prevalent in England. It also expects His Excellency Lord Reading to throw in his weight in favour of a compromise looking to his liberal leanings. It, however, asks the people to bear in mind that His Excellency is in the hands of the bureaucracy which has reduced him to his present pitiable plight. It points out that though the Press Act is on its death bed, it has been set in motion by the United Provinces and the Punjab Governments against newspapers in their respective provinces and the *Independent* has nearly been throttled by a new interpretation of the provisions of the Act. It asks those who are going to take part in the Conference to note all this and to be very cautious during the deliberations, and not to give in in the least in their rightful demands. It also thinks that the *swarájists* should always be prepared to create a calm atmosphere necessary for the deliberations of such conferences. At the same time it agrees with Mr. Gandhi that the principal way to secure *swarájya* is not the holding of these conferences but self-sacrifice by going to jail and it asks the Congressmen to prepare themselves for such a self-sacrifice night and day. It points out that the bureaucracy will be prepared to come to terms only when its own interests will be affected and that until all the people of India espouse the cause of *swarájya* the bureaucracy would remain unmoved as adamant. It, therefore, declares that preparations for undergoing incarcerations should go on more vigorously than ever, even while negotiating for compromise.

Young India (11), 22nd Dec.

28. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"In my opinion a conference is bound to prove abortive till Lord Reading is disabused of the idea that non-co-operation is confined to a few misguided zealots. If he wants co-operation and contentment he must placate non-co-operators. He must see that non-co-operation is not the disease, it is the chief symptom of a disease. The disease consists in a triple injury to the people of India. And no palliative will soothe the patient so long as the centre of the disease is not tackled. Government has shown itself in true colours by declaring its intention to suppress non-co-operation as such. It was on safe ground so long as it sought to put down violence or incitement to or approval of it. I have therefore no doubt that the co-operators will rise to a man against the Government madness—this vain attempt to stifle expression of opinion and agitation for redress of grievances. But I warn our friends against entertaining the idea of a conference with the Government till they find that it is truly penitent and means to appreciate the popular side. Let there be no conference on the boycott of welcome or the right of holding public meetings or forming associations of volunteers or others so long as they have no violent purpose. Boycott of the welcome will and must continue so long as the people's wishes are flouted, and public meetings and associations are elementary rights on which there can be no parleying. We must fight for them. Let it be understood that non-co-operators are not offering civil disobedience that they had intended to. Their insistence on calling and attending public meetings and forming peaceful volunteer associations ought not to be dignified by the name of civil disobedience. Non-co-operators are merely on the defensive. They have not taken, as they certainly intend to take, the offensive as soon as they are fairly certain of non-violent atmosphere. The Government has obliged them by anticipating them and providing them with a test of thier own capacity."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 22nd Dec.

29. "Mahatma Gandhi's attitude towards the proposed Round Table Conference is so logical that it should demand no explanation or defence. But his critics will doubtless misrepresent the Mahatma and declare that he is a determined zealot from whom it were hopeless that the Government of India and European interests should hope for restraint and fair-dealing. The proposal for a joint conference has come not from the Congress but from Moderates and Pandit Malaviya. The Congress would lay itself open to a charge of being weakly inconsistent if after having stated clearly its aim it should at this juncture consent to parley. For parley can only connote concessions on both sides and while the nation is prepared to deal fairly and even generously with those who are now its political opponents, nothing short of complete *swaráj* is the nation's immediate aim. The present crisis calls for clear thinking....... There should be no misconception in the minds of the bureaucracy or the people. 'Repression', Mahatma Ghandi says, 'is doing a world of good. It is opening the eyes of everybody and enabling everyone to see the Government in its true light', and to see Government in its true light is to be convinced that nothing short of immediate *swaráj* will redress our wrongs."

Mahrátta (6), 25th Dec.

***30**. Commenting on the proposed Round Table Conference, the *Mahrátta* writes:—"We must look for the *raison d'etre* of the present struggle still deeper. Those who have not grasped the root-principles of the struggle are standing aghast at the curious phenomenon that both the leaders of the opposing forces—the people and the bureaucracy—do not desire to have a conference suggested by well-meaning persons with a view to bring about a cessation of the present struggle. Mahatma Gandhi and the Viceroy both have refused to entertain any such proposal for different reasons. But one cannot but observe that Mahatma Gandhi is more candid, more logical and more consistent....... The key note of Mahatma Gandhi's refusal to have a makeshift conference is that the very principle for which he and the Indian National Congress are fighting are not given any recognition by the bureaucracy and this recognition can alone be the basis of any conference. The Punjab and the Khilafat questions also recede in the background because they can not be solved satisfactorily until swarájya is achieved . So this question of swarájya or rather the question of self-determination in the matter of swarájya is the key of the whole struggle. The Viceroy denies this very right to Indians as he says in his reply to the address of the deputation that waited upon him. —' Whatever reforms may be desired in the present constitutional system they can only come through British Parliament '. The people can understand this dictum if it is intended to convey by this that it is the British Parliament which must grant this right of self-determination in a formal manner. But there can be no common ground if it is intended as Mr. Montagu had done that the right of determining the stages of Indian's advance towards swarájya rests permanently in the British Parliament. However this seems to be the case at present and as there is no common ground where both parties agree, the struggle must continue."

Comments on the Viceroy's utterances in Calcutta.

Karnátak Vritt (84), 20th Dec.

31. Our readers can very well imagine for themselves why Lord Reading is shouting at the top of voice in season and out of season that the Prince of Wales was not invited to this country to serve any political end. The game that the bureaucracy is now playing, by inviting a member of the Royal family, is however an old one. It was tried in Ireland but it failed there also, chiefly owing to the efforts of Mr. MacSwiney who spared no pains to expose the real motives which were at the back of these Royal visits. When Lord Reading, therefore, with the intention of hiding his real motives, cries from the housetops that the Prince has been invited to India simply in order that he may enjoy the hospitality of the people, his real object in inviting the Prince stands revealed. Nor can we blame him for hiding his real motives in this manner. Because, the British want to rule this country to the end of time. Should they make up their mind to speak nothing but the truth, the British Empire will cease to exist the very next day. So, it is obvious that the Viceroy is only making use of diplomacy, no matter if it is crooked. The war which is now going on is not a political but a religious war. The outrage which was committed on the chaste women of the Punjab is not, in our opinion, indicative of mere injustice. We firmly believe that the Government, itself irreligious, was trying to efface altogether the virtue of chastity which is so sacred to the Hindus. But how can Lord Reading know the secret that the Hindus are now ready to sacrifice their lives for this religious faith of theirs. But, alas, what can he do ? He does not belong to our race or to our religion. He had never seen India before. The day on which we Indians feel that it is unjust to appoint such a person to rule over India, is the day of our independence. We do want Englishmen to remain here, but only as servants. If they wish to remain here as rulers, they will not get an inch of ground in this country.

Kesari (110), 20th Dec.

32. The *Kesari* tries to answer the question raised by His Excellency the Viceroy in one of his Calcutta speeches as to whether the steps at present being taken by Government to enforce obedience to its laws can be rightly termed repression and says that though His Excellency does not evidently like to see his Government's policy so characterised, he will find on an analysis of it that most of it has that character. As an instance in point, the paper refers to the conviction and sentence of Mr. Gangadharrao Deshpande by the Sessions Judge of Dhárwár and declares that the prosecution lodged against him was utterly groundless as the speech for making which he was charged was of the mildest character and the sanction to prosecute him vindictively asked for by the Collector had been given with closed eyes by the Bombay Government. Another instance in point, according to the paper, is the suppression of the National Volunteer organisations in Bengal, Behar, the United Provinces and the Punjab by the application of the Samities' Act. In how many cases were charges of breaches of the peace proved against the members of the organisations, it asks, to justify Lord Reading in sanctioning the application of the Act to them ? The same reasoning, it says, can be applied to the prohibition of picketing. It has been ordered, it declares, on the positively false ground of picketing being a danger to the maintenance of peace and as such the people have no alternative, as citizens, but to disregard the order. It expresses its

firm conviction that the prohibition of picketing is due to nothing else but the repressive policy of Lord Reading's Government, and wants to know how else that policy can be characterised. His Excellency is only pretending, in the paper's opinion, that the policy he has allowed to be launched is not repression. It is surprised to find His Excellency declaring that there has been no repression when innocent people are being sent to jail and, it asks, can there be any objection to say to His Excellency under the circumstances, "You dunce, this is repression! What else is it? Has repression any other distinguishing mark?" The paper in conclusion quotes a passage from Lord Morley's Reminiscenses in which he took Lord Minto to task for his repressive policy in India comparing it with that of Lord Strafford in Ireland in the seventeenth century and mentioning that while the English could at least cut off his head, there was nobody to punish the oppressive Indian bureaucracy, and remarks that it appears as if Lord Reading was Lord Strafford in one of his former births as the present repression which has outdistanced that of Lords Minto and Chelmsford cannot be otherwise explained.

Jágaruk (44), 21st Dec.

33. Commenting upon the Viceroy's recent utterances at Calcutta the *Jágaruk* thinks His Excellency's attempt to show that the new Government policy is not repressive, to be utterly lame and hollow. In taking action against what Government thinks to be lawlessness, the paper argues, it has brought into operation not the ordinary law of the land, but laws admitted on all sides to be repressive and about to be repealed, and therefore any denial of the policy being repressive is sheer pretended ignorance. It scouts the Viceroy's statement that the change in policy was due to the expressed wishes of peace-loving citizens and declares that as a matter of fact none from the Indian public have ever pressed Government for the campaign it has launched and that it was the Anglo-Indian Community of Calcutta which being put out by the successful *hartal* of the 17th November throughout the city raised an outcry against the non-co-operators and in complying with whose demand Government has earned the displeasure of the whole Indian public.

Swarájya (Marathi) (147), 22nd Dec.

34. Repression has met with denunciation from all quarters and Government's zeal for law and order has consequently become abated. At Calcutta Lord Reading indulged in postprandial orations almost daily but these have ceased of late. Since the Bar Association of Calcutta declined to invite him to a dinner he has ceased to receive any more invitations. So, with the invitations the speeches also have stopped. There is no doubt that a change has come over the Government and they now realise that it is no use relying mainly on force. The volunteers are being set at liberty and the Commissioner of Police at Calcutta has issued a notice that it is not an offence to wear *khadi* and to put on a Gandhi cap! How very sensible! And how very just too! The Anglo-Indian journals also have climbed down a little and have begun to talk in a different strain.

Nusrat (new), 19th Dec.

35. There is no doubt about the fact that Lord Reading can deliver an elaborate speech and that he is being admired by friends and foes; but in his speeches there is always an effort to prove that two and three make six instead of five. In the course of a speech recently delivered by him he says that whatever has happened and is happening is not repression. We are at a loss to understand then what repression means. The necessity has been felt for constructing new jails; even the moderates have been trembling and the Goddesses of modesty came out of their houses. But, strange to say, to him all this does not seem to be repression. Perhaps for him repression means a great resurrection in India. He complains of people compelling Government to arrest them but we wish he had told us the cause of this madness prevailing among the people. Had Government redressed the Punjáb and the Khilafat wrongs, this madness would not have appeared.

Praja Bandhu (27), 18th Dec., Eng. cols.; *Gujaráti Punch* (16), 18th Dec., Eng. cols.

36. "While repression is rampant in the land, Lord Reading is delivering speeches in explanation of the new policy of his Government. In Calcutta he delivered two speeches in the course of which be stated: 'We must pursue our own policy doing what we conscientiously believe is right whether it received praise or whether it receives blame.' These words have fallen like a bomb-shell in the camp of the Moderates.......... The Moderates must by this time be thoroughly disillusioned. The Reformed Councils of which they are so much enamoured are like a stalemate. They cannot prevent Government from acting arbitrarily.......... The Central Government is even more autocratic than the Provincial Governments and the latter receive inspiration and guidance from the former. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the spirit of autocracy is reigning supreme in the land, and carrying on a campaign of ruthless repression despite the working of the much-vaunted scheme of reforms. The Nationalists, however, find the fruition of their dream in repression. Their imprisonment will impress the masses with the secret of their message more than their words.......... Non-co-operation will be intensified with the intensification of repression, and the favourite weapon of Government will be rendered ineffectual. No Government on earth can for ever flout the wishes of the people, and the Government in India is not an exception despite its spirit of autocracy and armoury of repression. The sooner, therefore, it lays aside repression and takes to conciliation the better will it be in its own interests." [The *Gujaráti Punch* makes similar remarks.]

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the address of the Bengal Mahajan Sabha.

Sind Observer (9), 16th Dec.

37. "In his reply to the address of the Bengal Mahajan Sabha, the Viceroy refuted the charge that Government had lost patience and initiated a repressive policy.......... His Excellency expressed his regret for being under the painful necessity of arresting respectable citizens. But what do such arrests indicate? That Government has no constructive policy and wants to put down the movement by the sheer force of its strength. Nobody can say that Pandit Motilal and Mr. C. R. Das, born and bred in law, and in the enjoyment of princely incomes, have turned all of a sudden into red-hot revolutionaries. Lord Reading declared his intention was not to interfere with lawful opposition to Government and his Government wished to know and remedy legitimate grievances. We think this strain is very familiar to the ears of our countrymen. All Viceroys from Lord Curzon downwards and all Governors from Sir M. O'Dwyer upwards have often repeated similar sentiments. It was always a case of repression being sure, swift and even sudden, and redress being always tardy, half-hearted and even graceless. As to the grievances, their name is legion. Thirty-five years of Congress resolutions cry aloud for fulfilment. And people have come to the conclusion, after a series of disappointments, that they should concentrate on winning Home Rule which alone will put an end to all grievances. Is there not truth in the shrewd observation of the *Indian Social Reformer*: 'The coincidence between the passing of the Rowlatt Act on the conclusion of the Armistice, and of these arrests on the heels of the Irish settlement, has not escaped attention.'"

Servant of India (8), 22nd Dec.

38. "In his reply to the Bengal Mahajan Sabha's address Lord Reading attempted an elaborate defence of the Government's new policy of 'vindicating the law'....... If repression followed in every case only upon the outbreak of violence or upon the imminence of such an outbreak and ceased the moment the immediate danger was removed, then there would indeed be a complete justification for a resort to some repressive measures or other, though there would naturally be a question as to what measures would be suitable. But is it true that repression has always followed in the wake of violence? The Viceroy himself refers in his speech only to the conditions obtaining in Calcutta....... One may well ask Lord Reading as to what had happened in Lahore, *e.g.*, to necessitate the application of the Seditious Meetings Act, and practically to force the leaders of non-co-operation in the Punjab to offer resistance to the Government's orders, even against the wishes of Mahatma Gandhi or the general instructions of the Working Committee of the Congress? Even from the narrow legal point of view it is doubtful if the Seditious Meetings Act could apply to the business meetings of bodies like the Provincial Congress Committees; but from the larger considerations which a statesman has to keep in view it is sheer madness to force civil disobedience upon people who were themselves hesitating to start it and would have been languishing for an occasion to do so even supposing they were really burning to take it up. With what reluctance Lala Lajpat Rai commenced civil resistance is now well-known, and if after it is once launched the people of the Punjab think it a point of honour to come forward in their hundreds to support their leader and, with him, take up the gage thrown down by the Government, and if as a consequence the gaols of Lahore fill with such civil resisters, will Lord Reading still maintain that force was used by Government only as a last alternative? The truth is that Government left the non-co-operators no alternative."

The Viceroy's share in emasculating India.

Young India (11), 22nd Dec.

39. Mr. M. K. Gandhi writes:—"I am sorry that I suspect Lord Reading of complicity in the plot to unman India for eternity. It is with the greatest reluctance that I am forced to conclude that Lord Reading is trying to emasculate India by forcibly making free speech and popular organisation impossible. I am prepared to believe that in all this he thinks that he is doing good to us and that we are not yet fit to be called men and women. He will soon have his eyes opened. We must not quarrel with his belief. Nor need we feel anxious about it. Let us acquit ourselves like men and women and we shall find that everything and everybody become favourable to us."

Comments on the reply of His Excellency the Viceroy to the deputation led by Pandit Malaviya.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 23rd Dec.

40. "The main purport of the Viceroy's words to the deputation may be condensed into the following: 'I and the Government yearn for a Conference with the non-co-operators if they will only offer us one, but the offer must clearly come from them. Only let them offer us a Conference and we will very gladly accept it. But they must not remind us or the world afterwards that we asked them to offer us a Conference as that would damage our prestige. If the non-co-operators will not offer us a Conference we will try to do without it as best we can but we wish they would only make us the offer as we hereby proclaim that we yearn to accept one.' .... For all his brave words, indecision and doubt are evidenced in every sentence Lord Reading spoke. Why cannot the Viceroy of India take his own advice and rise above consideration of things petty to admit frankly that there is a popular demand in India for immediate *swaráj* and that realising this his Government were prepared to convoke a Conference both to confirm the existence of the demand and to discuss ways and means of meeting it to the satisfaction of the people? But if the Viceroy's entire speech was hesitating, his concluding words were unwise and in a city like Calcutta might well provoke race feeling against Indians on the part of a large section of the Europeans. Lord Reading should by this time be aware that the boycott of the Prince's visit is not an affront to the Prince, for His Royal Highness has been told that the people of India, the non-co-operators, have nothing but the greatest respect for him and the royal family. The Prince's visit is boycotted merely lest His Royal Highness himself and the people of England be deceived as to the state of feeling in India. The boycott is directed against the system of Government alone with which many Indians are associated, and it was, therefore, very impolitic on the part of Lord Reading to utter words that may provoke race feeling among so unbalanced a community as the Europeans of Calcutta by investing the boycott with an anti-British significance."

Bombay Samáchár (56), 23rd Dec.; *Sánj Vartamán* (30), 22nd Dec.; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 23rd Dec.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 23rd Dec.

41. The *Bombay Samachar* expresses regret at the failure of Mr. Maláviya's deputation and declares that the Viceroy has lost a golden opportunity of pacifying the minds of the people and re-establishing amicable relations between the rulers and the ruled. The paper remarks that the Viceroy will have to thank himself if the situation now assumes a graver aspect and untoward consequences ensue. It then proceeds to examine the Viceroy's reply and remarks that it was a mistake on the part of His Excellency to expect the deputation to give the guarantee he demanded from it. The paper is of opinion that the leaders of the non-co-operation movement cannot give the guarantee required by the Viceroy since they have not as yet organised civil disobedience and as the present movement of defying the law is the direct result of the high-handed policy of provincial Governments. The paper believes that the present movement of breaking the law would automatically come to an end if Government were to withdraw their orders that have provoked it. In conclusion it calls upon the Moderates to bring greater pressure to bear upon Government and to resign the posts they hold under the various Governments. [The *Sanj Vartaman* while expressing gratification at the acceptance by the Viceroy of the suggestion made by the deputation led by Mr. Malaviya to call a Round Table Conference remarks that the public will be disappointed at the refusal of the Viceroy to withdraw the orders passed in respect of the national volunteers and to release persons who have been imprisoned for defying these orders as also to withdraw the Criminal Law Amendment Act and the Seditious Meetings Act on the ground that the deputation could not give any guarantee that the popular leaders would desist from the non-co-operation movement. The paper expresses fear that the leaders of the non-co-operation movement would not be prepared to give the guarantee demanded by the Viceroy as in its opinion the non-violent non-co-operation movement organised by the Congress has nothing to do with the present movement of defying the law in a peaceful manner. The paper is of the opinion that the Viceroy's reply will place the moderates in an awkward position, still it calls upon Mr. Malaviya to continue to negotiate with Government for the acceptance of the demands made by the deputation. The *Praja Mitra and Pârsi* agrees with the deputation's request that in order that the proposed Round Table Conference might be held in a peaceful atmosphere all further arrests should be stopped and those already under arrest should be free. But it points out that while His Excellency had shown his willingness to accede to this request, the deputation was not evidently prepared to undertake that in response to this move on the part of Government the non-co-operators would also observe a truce by stopping their movements to boycott the Prince's visit, etc. The paper ridicules the claims put forward by non-co-operation organs that Government should as it were admit defeat and accept the Congress conditions without putting forward any conditions of their own. It adduces the instance of the Irish truce to show that no conference can be possible unless both parties agree to suspend their hostile activities. It still hopes, however, that better counsels will prevail with the non-co-operators and they will agree to the terms proposed by Government. The *Jame-Jamshed* says that even though the reply of the Viceroy to the deputation led by Pandit Malaviya disappointed the moderates, it would rejoice non-co-operators who will tell the uneducated masses that the Government does not wish to grant anything to them. In this connection the paper is of opinion that the Government should distribute translated copies of the Viceroy's reply in every village to remove all such misconceptions. It thinks that the moderates were rather hasty in going to the Viceroy without ascertaining beforehand whether the non-co-operators would modify their methods in case the Government was prepared to make some concessions. It further remarks that no impartial reader would expect any other reply from the Viceroy when the deputation could not with any certainty voice the opinions of the non-co-operators about the Round Table Conference, or say whether they would give up civil disobedience if the Government relaxed their repressive policy. The paper believes that the Viceroy has only refused to call the conference under existing circumstances, and that he woud gladly accede to the wishes of the moderates if the non-co-operators would join the Conference and come to some reasonable understanding by giving up their present stubborn policy.]

Hindusthán (20), 23rd Dec. ; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (53), 24th Dec. ;
Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár (80), 23rd Dec.

42. The *Hindusthán* considers Lord Reading's reply to Pandit Malaviya's deputation as a mere defence of the policy of repression adopted by Government. It is of the opinion that the present grave situation could have been tackled if His Excellency had given an assurance that Government were prepared to grant *swaráj* to India without much delay and that they would give a sympathetic consideration to the questions of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and the humiliating treatment given to the Indians in the Colonies instead of demanding an assureance of suspension of activities on the part of the non-co-operators. [The *Akhbár-e-Islám*, on the other hand, is of the opinion that the deputation would have succeeded in bringing about a Round Table Conference if the non-co-operators had conveyed through it an undertaking of suspending their activities temporarily. The *Shri Venkateshwar Samáchár* also considers the suspension of the non-co-operation movement as an essential preliminary to a Round Table Conference and requests Mr. Gandhi to give Government a chance of effecting a compromise so that the non-co-operation movement might not be held solely responsible if matters go from bad to worse.]

Dnyán Parkásh (40), 24th Dec.; *Lokamánya* (114), 24th Dec.

43. It is to be regretted that the deputation to the Viceroy headed by Pandit Malaviya did not meet with success. It would be wrong, however, to blame the Government for the loss of this opportunity to bring about an agreement between the non-co-operators and themselves. All will agree that a calm atmosphere is necessary to find out a way out of the present deadlock. Such atmosphere can only be secured if both the parties suspend their activities for some time. As Government cannot legitimately ask the non-co-operators to suspend their activities while they themselves continue to arrest them, so the non-co-operators too cannot fairly ask Government to cease arresting them while they themselves continue to preach *hartals*. It is not surprising that Lord Reading told the deputation that Government cannot change their policy so long as the non-co-operators do not mend their ways. No one asks the non-co-operators to abandon their movement altogether. They were expected to suspend their activities only so long as a discussion was on. If Mahatma Gandhi could not see his way to grant such a simple request, we fail to understand how Government can be blamed for not surrendering completely to the non-co-operators and suspending the operation of the laws they have set in motion. [The *Lokamánya*, on the other hand, writes:—All sensible persons will agree that Lord Reading lost a good opportunity of displaying his statesmanship. Where was the need for demanding an assurance from the opposing party that they would suspend their activities? What are the people doing except resisting oppressive laws? Let these latter be withdrawn and the resistance will automatically weaken.]

Gujaráti (14), 25th Dec., Eng. cols.

***44.** "On Wednesday last a deputation consisting of various leading persons from different provinces presented an address to His Excellency the Viceroy at Belvedere....... His Excellency's reply to the deputation was what might have been expected from the observations Lord Ronaldshay had made in the Bengal Legislative Council. Every fair-minded person who reads it in a dispassionate spirit will have to admit that its general tone and spirit are worthy of high commendation. It is thoughtful, outspoken and sincere and deserves to be widely read and pondered over in the spirit in which it is conceived."

Indian Social Reformer (5), 25th Dec.

***45.** "We do not think much would have been lost if the Malaviya-Besant deputation that waited upon the Viceroy last week had taken more time over its self-appointed task. From Lord Reading's reply it is clear that the implied condition on which His Excellency agreed to meet the deputation was that the Non-Co-operationists should cease their activities. On their undertaking to do so, Government were prepared to give up the policy of wholesale arrests of the last few days. As everybody knows this policy has been welcomed by non-co-operation leaders whom, in fact, it has miraculously retrieved from collapse, and we are utterly unable to imagine how any one can expect them to agree to efface themselves in return for a cessation of the arrests. If that was the condition of the reception of the deputation, it was a condition which, in the absence of a clear undertaking in writing from the Non-Co-operation leaders, neither Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya nor Mrs. Besant certainly was entitled to lead the Viceroy to expect. They, with the best of intentions, put His Excellency in a position from which he had to extricate himself as best as he could. If we may respectfully say so, Lord Reading's style of oratory is too involved and intricate to admit of definite interpretation, and while His Excellency's speech has struck some as a generous utterance, it has produced on others a contrary impression. Taking all things together, it would have been better from every point of view if the deputation had not persisted in waiting on His Excellency or if His Excellency had signified to the promoters that he could tell them nothing of advantage in the absence of a definite undertaking on the part of the Non-Co-operation leaders to cease their activities."

The Military burden of India.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 25th Dec.

***46.** " In reply to a question put in the Legislative Assembly last February, the Finance member, Mr. Hailey, said that out of the total public expenditure in India including that of the provinces, 33½ per cent. is for public defence, 11¾ per cent. for sinking fund and interest charges on the national debt, 4 per cent. for education and ¾ per cent. for sanitation...... One of the causes of the heavy military expenditure in this country is the exorbitant costliness of the British officer and soldier, due to their excessive pay and to their being trained in England instead of in this country. The soldier is on short-term service in this country and his average term is calculated at only five years and four months. Besides, being much too highly paid on an average, Rs. 1,210 per annum (fancy paying a white soldier Rs. 100 a month against Rs. 15 to a brown sepoy !), he is well clothed, housed, fed, supplied with electric lights and fans, and provided with deferred pay or gratuity at the end of his term. The expenses of recruiting and training him in England are paid by this poor country. A share of the cost of providing military schools and colleges in England is also borne by us...... This system of getting the European soldiers on loan from the army of a rich country like England is costing us immensely much more than we can bear, and it is now time that we should look round and see if it would not be more economical and feasible—assuming that a European army is necesary—to have a local European army, locally recruited and trained, and serving for a period of, say, twenty-five years, like civil servants. ...... In the past the Indian army has been freely utilised for extra-Indian purposes. In the future it is intended to be used for purposes in which India has not the remotest chance of a direct benefit. And to that end a large standing army is maintained for being drawn upon at any time, much larger than the local necessities of this country warrant. Is it not but fair and equitable that the British Government should be asked to pay a portion of the expenses ? Or, in the alternative, to reduce the strength, especially of the British part of it ? "

Comments on the present financial position of the Government of India.

Kesari (110), 20th Dec.

47. The *Kesari* reviews the present financial position of the Government of India and declares that when even the raising of such heavy loans as 7½ crores in England and 47½ crores in India during the year has not enabled Government to make both ends meet and it is compelled to notify a further loan of 15 crores in England, it goes to show the incompetency of the Finance Minister to manage Indian finances. The last Budget, it says, put down 17 crores for railway expenditure and yet 22½ crores are being spent over the item ! It declares that unless strict steps are taken to cut down the present extravagant expenditure in all directions, the mere raising of loans or the temporary expedient of the sale of Treasury Bills will not be of any help in remedying the situation.

Comments on the new Sterling Loan.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 19th Dec.

48. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* expresses gratification at some improvements in the terms of the present Sterling Loan as compared with past ones. It is pleased to note that Indians have also been given an opportunity of offering tenders for the Loan along with the British people, but it complains that the period fixed for tenders in India is very short compared with that allowed in England for rupee Loans floated in India. The paper notes with satisfaction that the Loan will not be utilised for purchases in England alone but that purchases will be made in the cheapest market. It suggests, however, that Government should go a step further and raise such Loans also in the cheapest money market just as Loans raised by the Dominions are floated in America and other countries, and that details about the purchases to be made or works to be carried out should also be published along with the terms, etc., so as to enable manufacturers to underwrite the Loan, a procedure which is found to be advantageous both to the borrowing country and its manufacturers.

Protest against increase in certain registration fees of documents.

Kesari (110), 20th Dec.

49. The *Kesari* protests that in spite of the declaration of Government that the Registration Department was meant for the convenience of the people and not as a source of revenue, and in spite of the fact that the annual savings of that Department have now mounted up to over nine lakhs, the voracious appetite of Government has induced it to increase the copying fees by four annas each for ordinary documents and by eight annas in the case of copies of wills thus adding one lakh to the registration revenue. This additional fees will, in its opinion, prove a hardship to poor people. Was it not necessary, it asks, to take sanction of the Legislative Council before ordering the levy of these additional fees ?

Government should conciliate India on the same lines as Ireland.

Bhâratwâsi (157), 10th Dec.

50. Inscrutable are the ways of Providence. On the one hand we have the happy news of the Irish settlement, happy because it has raised within us a hope of an early solution of our own problem. On the other hand we hear of the arrest and imprisonment of our leaders. The Mahatma's declaration in connection with the Bombay disturbances had led us to believe that the country would be saved from the impending calamity of civil disobedience. But it seems we were mistaken. The recent arrests of leaders coming one after another in such quick succession mark perhaps a new phase in the struggle. While we recognise the duty of Government to maintain peace and order in the country we must ask Government to see to it that its officers do not commit excesses to the injury of the people. At the same time we think in view of the wave of partriotism which is now sweeping over the country that the better course for Government would be to conciliate the Indian people as Ireland has been conciliated. The Khilafat question should be settled in the interest of Turkey and proposals should be formulated with a view to the country taking a further step towards *swarâj*. There should be no delay in the matter ; otherwise consequences may be disastrous. Let His Royal Highness emulate the noble example of his father and do for this country what his father has done for Ireland.

The forthcoming Moderate Conference at Allahabad.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 25th Dec.

*51. " The Liberals are to meet next week at Allahabad in their annual Conference. They have been, from the circumstances of their origin, handicapped from the first in their appeal to the people. They have now a great opportunity before them to retrieve their position.......... Liberal leaders believed and told the country that the introduction of the Reforms would make a policy of wholesale repression impossible. They cannot persist in that belief any longer...... The first thing they have got to do is to make it quite clear that their policy of co-operation is even more absolutely bound up with uncompromising opposition to repression than the policy of non-co-operation.......... The Liberals are involved to some extent in the discredit of the new policy. What several of them have done individually must be done collectively and emphatically by the Party Conference at Allahabad.......... The first thing which the Liberal Conference should do is strongly, completely, uncompromisingly to repudiate the policy of wholesale arrests and to acknowledge that the adoption of it within a year of the introduction of the Reforms has rendered confidence in their sufficiency untenable. The next thing is to demand that the Reforms should be carried forward so as to afford the most complete guarantee against such sudden outbursts. Meanwhile, it should be expressly declared at the Conference that members of the Party cannot accept titular honours or places carrying emoluments, though as we said last week those who hold titles ought not to be asked to make a boast of renouncing them. .... All the signs show that Government will have to come to terms with the non-co-operation leaders, and that an early, though not perhaps immediate, result will be a new election.......... Liberals are and must be impotent until non-co-operationists are in a position to formulate measures to give effect to their multifarious policy. The country cannot be made to see the essential unsoundness of Non-Co-operation ideas so long as the glamour of repression shines about them. .... If the Councils are dissolved today, quite a large number of Non-Co-operationists will gaily relinquish the part of the programme relating to the boycott of Councils. They may be swept into the Councils by a large majority, but then will come their ordeal. "

Comments on the Madras Legislative Council's resolution in favour of permanent settlement of land assessment.

Kesari (110), 20th Dec.

52. The *Kesari* welcomes the passing by the Madras Legislative Council of a resolution in favour of a permanent settlement of land assessment by 65 against 10 votes but says that the resolution having been passed against the wishes of the local Government it is a question as to whether the bureaucracy will carry it out. It however points out that possibly one of the arguments put forward by those who supported the resolution that its rejection will create discontent among the masses and serve as a weapon in the hands of the non-co-operators, will induce the bureaucracy to give effect to it. But it is also afraid that the bureaucracy out of intoxication of authority and want of statesmanship will refuse to enforce it and thus turn many of its supporters into non-co-operators.

Government should publish the reports of the Rasai and Matiari Committees without dalay.

Sind Vási (169), 10th Dec.

53. It is a great pity that the publication of the reports of the Rasai and Matiari Committees should be so long delayed in the regime of a Governor like Sir George Lloyd. The delay is probably due to the damaging character of the reports. The Bombay Government should, however, take no more time in placing them before the public ; else the latter will lose whatever faith it still has in Government. Sind members of the Bombay Provincial Council should also wake up and open the eyes of Government by moving an adjournment of the Council at the next session if the reports remain unp ublished till then.

Comments on the proposed acquirement by Government of certain Parsi Panchayat lands at Deolali (Nasik).

Kesari (110), 20th Dec.

54. The *Kesari* refers to the great commotion which, it says, has taken place in the Parsi Community owing to the notice served upon the Parsi Panchayat by the Collector of Násik for the acquirement under the Land Acquisition Act of about 12 acres of land owned by it at Deolali and used for the local Tower of Silence for the disposal of the Parsi dead. In its opinion, the Tatas and other Parsi magnates are thus being chastised by the wrathful Almighty to induce them to mend their ways with regard to the Mulshi Peta Scheme which deprives the Mavlas of their hereditary lands and which neither they nor Government are inclined to give up in spite of the most moving appeals on the part of the poor agriculturists. Where is the wonder, it asks, if the Mavlas are prepared to undertake *satyagraha* to save the hereditary lands and sacred temples belonging to thousands of their own people when the Parsis are showing such an amount of commotion over the acquisition by Government of land only 11 acres in extent and only recently acquired by the Community and used as a place for the disposal of the dead ?

Protest against alleged illegal procedure in political cases,

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Dec.

55. "While Lord Reading is anxious to convince the world that only the 'ordinary' processes of law and justice will be availed of in fighting the political movement in India, everyday happenings in the country belie the assurance he is giving. Why, for instance, if the ordinary law is taking its course, as Lord Reading assures us, are many of the trials for political offences taking place at present in jails or in camera ? Why are leaders like Lala Lajpatrai and others being tried in the Lahore Jail and not in the ordinary courts ? Why was Mr. Jitendralal Banerjee tried in camera and not in the full light of day ? Is the public confidence in the integrity and majesty of justice enhanced by such Star Chamber methods ? And yet, the tragic irony of it is that the trials are being held thus in the regime of Lord Reading the ex-Chief Justice of Great Britain, who has come, he assures us in all solemnity, to restore the majesty and integrity of justice ! "

Protest against the repatriation of Indians from South Africa.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 25th Dec.

***56.** "It is now more than one year since the repatriation scheme was invented and has been acted upon and, all the time, public opinion in India has steadfastly opposed it and has demanded of the Indian Government to put a stop to it. After about 1,500 Indians were, so to say, driven out of South Africa, the Government of India sent out a belated protest, not objecting to the repatriation scheme, but simply to the rosy conditions painted as prevalent here. It was then pointed out how misleading that was and the Government was asked to do some counter-propaganda in South Africa. The Protector of Indian Emigrants does not seem to have realised his duties; on the other hand, it is reported that he is a party to the suggestion that the Indians there should think of colonising British Guiana. The *New India* of November 23rd states that S. S. Umploti left Durban on October 29, with 714 Indian emigrants arriving in Madras on 19th November and that S. S. Umploti was to leave again to bring over others. We are surprised to know that while 1,500 Indians returned in four or five months' time one steamer alone has brought over 714 Indians. It looks then that some intensive campaign is going on on the part of South African authorities to send away as many Indians as possible. The Government of India is strangely silent on this topic. In the prevalent confusion in Indian politics, these important questions are unfortunately ignored. One wonders, so far as the Government's indifference is concerned, whether it is due to the overwork of some official at the top in charge of this portfolio. The evil of repatriation does not stop here. The annual report on Labour in Madras for the year 1920-21 states that 321 repatriates returned from South Africa and they were all sent home except only two who were provided with employment. What became of others and what is their state, the report does not say, and there is nothing to show that they have not swelled the number of listless, unemployed labourers in the country. The typical statements published, a few weeks ago, showed that these returned emigrants were victims of deception or false allurements and were desirous of going back to South Africa. In the face of these statements, it is monstrous that the Government of India should be a party to this in however small a measure. Will they not have the courage to stop or defeat this Machiavellian repatriation scheme?"

Attitude of Britain towards Turkey.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 21st Dec.

57. The *Bombay Samáchár* expresses gratification at the announcement made by the *Daily Mail* to the effect that the British Cabinet has resolved to embark upon a policy of reconciliation with Islam and hopes that the Cabinet will not merely stop short at making a just treaty with the Angora Government but that they will settle the question of the Khilafat and the possession of the Jazirat-ul-Arab, as Islam cannot be really satisfied otherwise. In view of the present situation in India, the paper suggests to the Viceroy to take in his confidence the leaders of the Khilafat movement in India in the matter of the decision of the British Cabinet with a view to pacifying the minds of the Indian Moslems and to make the way easy for the settlement of the present unrest in India.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 21st Dec.

58. "An Islamic world grown deeply pessimistic will not, we are afraid, readily rejoice at the tidings which we are able to publish elsewhere. Our London correspondent says that 'among the British proposals to France in the negotiations now going on in Downing Street regarding German economic future, is the renunciation of the separate French Treaty with the Angora Government in favour of a general peace settlement with Turkey in the nature of reconciliation with the Islamic world by all the Allies'. We fear that the general impression among Muslims will be that England is attempting to purchase the cancellation of the Franco-Kemalist Agreement on the part of French and that the price offered is Great Britain's support to French chauvinistic attitude in the matter of German indemnities. This would not be an unnatural or unreasonable attitude on the part of the Muslims. For, it will not be the first time that a treaty with Turkey has been bought and sold by the Great Powers of Europe and, as a consequence of every such transaction, Turkey suffered.......... The Muslims must not relax their efforts to insist on a just settlement and a just settlement must secure not merely the restoration of their homelands to the Turks, but also the definite recognition of the spiritual suzerainty of the Sultan-Khalif over the holy places, a recognition that is possible only if the Jazirat-ul-Arab is placed entirely under Muslim control without interference, direct or indirect, from non-Muslims.......... Muslims are pessimistic as to a real change in British policy. It is, however, not difficult for the Government to remove that pessimism by giving a practical proof of the new policy. The Government of India and the India Office, as we stated yesterday, have stood for the Khilafat movement and the agitation led by Shaukat Ali and Mahomed Ali has strengthened their hands in their contention with the Government of England. If it was unwise to have sent to prison the chief advocates of the solution which the Government of India recommended to the Government of England and the chief supporters of what was going to be Britain's future policy, it would be sheer madness, now that that policy has definitely been adopted, not to release them and their co-prisoners forthwith if the Muslims are to be assured of the sincerity of Government's professed concern for them."

EDUCATION.

Protest against the action of the educational authorities in dispensing with the services of untrained teachers in the Southern Division.

Karnátak Times (35), 16th Dec.

59. Referring to the alleged orders of the educational authorities dispensing with the services of untrained teachers in the Southern Division, the *Karnatak Times* says that dispensing with the services of a large number of teachers, who have put in several years' service, on the ground that a sufficient number of trained teachers is available for employment in all the districts, is highly unjust and improper. The paper says that these poor teachers entirely depended upon their posts for their livelihood and that by suddenly depriving them of their means of subsistence, the Government had involved hundreds of families in every district in distress. The paper hopes that the Minister of Education and the Director of Public Instruction will be pleased to re-consider the question and re-instate the untrained teachers in their posts.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Government and non-co-operating Municipalities.

Gujarati Punch (16), 18th Dec., Eng. cols.; *Praja Bandu* (27), 18th Dec., Eng. cols.

60. "The resolution of the Government of Bombay asking the Commissioner, N. D., to assign a time-limit for the inspection of the Ahmedabad Municipal Schools brings the question of the exact relations of a non-co-operating Municipality with the Government to a head. We do not, however, propose at this stage to discuss the question at length and to definitely opine as to who is right and who is wrong. According to the letter of the Law, it may be that the Government has the power it chooses to exercise; but in large political questions where Government has to deal with the opinions or convictions of large bodies of men, whether right or wrong, there are times when strict adherence to the letter of the Law is not the best of ways of tiding over the difficulties. And if in pursuance of such a belief the Government chooses to find out a *via media* and to avoid what is generally deemed an unnecessary conflict, the resolution of Rao Sahib Harilal passed at a recent meeting furnishes a goodly opportunity. It requests the Government to frame two sets of rules, one for the non-co-operating Municipalities receiving no educational grant and the other for those receiving it, the former receiving only advisory help from the Government and it would be found, on a little examination, to be a fine method of overcoming the present difficulties. It may be that this way of dealing with the question may or may not be a lasting solution of the broad question that has arisen but sufficient unto the day are the evils thereof and we think it would be thoroughly desirable if this way of solving this question were adopted. We wish it will be done." [The *Praja Bandhu* makes similar remarks.]

Hindusthán (19), 19th Dec.; *Deshi Mitra* (60), 22nd Dec.

61. The *Hindusthán* exhorts the people of Surat and Ahmedabad not to be exasperated over the action taken by Government in taking possession of Municipal schools. It is of opinion that the people should thank Government for clearing

up a delusion under which they laboured so far in respect of co-operating with Government in carrying out Municipal administration and for convincing them of the desirability of refusing co-operation even in respect of local self-Government. It further declares that the step taken by Government in respect of the aforesaid Municipalities will serve to convince the people that the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms are useless and that the Minister of Education has no real powers and that the non-co-operators are fully justified in the attitude they have adopted. [The *Deshi Mitra* also criticises strongly the attitude of Government whom it wants to bow to public opinion.]

Sánj Vartamán (30), 23rd Dec.

62. The *Sanj Vartamán* deprecates the action of Government in breaking open the primary schools in charge of the non-co-operating Municipalities of Surat, Nadiád and Ahmedabad, and remarks that Government, instead of watching, as they ought to have done, the progress of these schools under the Municipalities for a reasonable time, has taken recourse to extreme measures of threatening the Municipalities with legal proceedings. It considers this step of Government a blunder and wants to know under what law Government which asks people to be law-abiding has thought fit to break open the school locks. The paper endorses the request of the National party to the parents of the school-boys not to send their children to these Government Schools, and appeals to them likewise to wait till these Municipalities make some other arrangements for providing National education.

NATIVE STATES.

Alleged unjustifiable additions by the Maharaja of Kolhapur to his private lands in the State.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 23rd Dec.

63. The *Dnyán Prakásh* points out that when His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur came to the *gadi* he owned about 6,000 acres of land as his private property, that he has steadily been making additions to this, and that at present he owns abut 27,000 acres of land. The paper complains that with one exception no explanation is ever given in the Annual Administration Reports of the State as to how the Maharaja came to make the successive additions to his private property and adds that in the report for the year in question, *viz.*, 1908-09, it was explained that the addition was due to certain forest land being brought under cultivation and added to the Maharaja's private property. The paper ironically remarks that the Maharaja's idea seems to be that so long as a piece of land continues to be unproductive it belongs to the public, but directly it becomes a paying concern it belongs to himself.

Kolhapur State compares unfavourably with adjoining British territory in the matter of consumption of liquor.

Dnyán Prakásh (41), 22nd Dec.

64. The *Dnyán Prakásh* gives figures showing the quantity of liquor consumed in the Kolhápur State in the year 1898-99 and that consumed in the year 1918-19, and points out that the latter figure is four times as large as the former one. It also points out how the figures of consumption of liquor in the same period in the Kolhápur State compare unfavourably with those of the neighbouring British territory. It declares that this fact and another to which it had made a reference a few days ago, *viz.*, the neglect of primary education in the State, clearly prove that the Maharaja has no right to call himself a leader and a well-wisher of the backward classes.

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

Office of the Oriental Translator to Government:
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Report on Newspapers

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District Magistrates, Political Agents and all other officers in receipt of this report are requested to send to the Secretary to Government, Home Department (Special), as early as possible, information as to any local complaint which appears to them to call for notice, explaining whether the facts are as stated : what action, if any, is being taken ; and, if the facts alleged are incorrect, what is believed to be the origin of the report and what the correct facts are.

CONTENTS.

PARA.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—

British Rule :

Comments on the proceedings of the Indian Liberal Federation 1
Europeans should subscribe to the Smyrna Fund 4
Indian Military expenditure and the claims of Indians for Military Training . 5
The situation in Egypt 3
The Washington Conference 2

His Excellency the Viceroy :

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Malaviya Deputation . . . . 7—11
Comments on the Viceroy's utterances in Calcutta 12
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales : Comments on the decision of the Karachi Municipality to give a welcome to the Prince 6
Judicial matters : Comments on the conviction of Mr. Jeramdas Doulatram of Hyderabad (Sind) 47

Non-co-operation :

Alleged failure of the Moderates to do their duty in quelling the political unrest in India 26
Comments on the arrest of Abul Kalam Azad 25
Comments on the failure of the movement for a Round Table Conference. . 13—18
Comments on the nomination of Hakim Ajmal Khan to act as President of the Congress 43
Comments on the proceedings of the Ahmedabad Congress . . . . . 29—38
Comments on the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference . . . . . 44—46
Comments on the repressive policy of Government . . . . . . 19—23
Moderates should resign their seats in the Councils as a protest against the policy of repression 28
Maulana Hasrat Mohani's proposal to alter the Congress Creed . . . . 41 & 42
Mr. Gandhi as Dictator . . . . 39 & 40
Mr. Gandhi is a friend of the British Government 24
The Reformed Councils and their failure to persuade Government to give up their present repressive policy 27

M H 316—a CON

PARA.

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—*concluded.*

Press Act: Comments on the steps taken against the *Independent* under the —. . . . . 48 & 49

War: England's proposal to modify the Treaty of Sevres 50

MUNICIPALITIES—

Comments on the attitude of the Surat Municipality towards the question of Government control of Municipal Schools 53

Futility of the forcible seizure of the school buildings of the non-co-operating Municipalities . . . . 51 & 52

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.

Comments on the proceedings of the Indian Liberal Federation.

* *Indian Social Refomer* (5), 1st Jan ; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 30th Dec. 1921.

1. " The Presidential address might have passed for an able state-paper some years ago, but as a pronouncement on the political situation of the hour, it is hopelessly out of date. No previous Liberal Federation has had so much anxious and even sympathetic attention concentrated on it even from Congressmen, but unless the subsequent proceedings make up for the tame routine of the presidential address, the Liberal party will lose the great opportunity presented to them. Dewan Bahadur Iyer's political outlook is limited by the Congress on one side and the Reforms on the other. He has no guidance to give to the country except by way of criticising the one or extolling the other, no independent outlook on the weighty social problems that underlie politics, no vision as to the future of India as a nation and among nations. His address is a thinly lucid exposition dealing mainly with the mint and anise and cummin of conventional politics." [The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses general approval of the speech of the President of the National Liberal Federation held at Allahabad, but it criticises the Liberals for doing little beyond holding a Conference once a year. The paper asks them to imitate the non-co-operators and take continuous and concerted action to carry their creed to the masses.]

The Washington Conference.

Rájakáran (131), 25th Dec. 1921.

2. European statesmen are making themselves the laughing-stock of the whole world by taking part in a conference such as that being held at Washington. For European nations who have imposed their rule upon others against their will to take part in a Conference of this kind is like women of loose character taking part in the deliberations of virtuous women met together to emphasize the virtue of chastity. It would be far better if hypocritical conferences such as these did not at all meet.

The situation in Egypt.

Kesari (110), 27th Dec. 1921.

3. The *Kesari* referring to the Egyptian situation remarks that British officials are becoming unpopular everywhere owing to their insatiable desire for power and that their inveterate habit of falling at one's feet when in a tight corner and of offering insults when the danger is past, has not yet undergone any change. It expects that the repressive measures being taken against Zaghlul Pasha's followers are bound to fail in the long run and is surprised to find that the British authorities have failed to recognise the fact.

Europeans should subscribe to the Symrna Fund.

Al-Haq (156), 10th Dec. 1921.

4. Writing on the recent address presented by the Muhammadans of Delhi to the Viceroy, our contemporary of the *Daily Gazette*, suggests that the European community may well express its sympathy for the Muslim cause by subscribing to the Smyrna Fund. We welcome this suggestion. The course recommended is not without precedent. We refer to the case of European official who subscribed to the Red Crescent Fund in 1913. By adopting the suggestion the Europeans will be giving a practical proof not only of their human sympathy but of their sympathy for the Muhammadans which is bound to strike the imagination of the masses.

Indian Military expenditure and the claims of Indians for Military Training.

Jágaruk (44), 28th Dec. 1921.

5. The *Jágruk* complains that in spite of the enormous annual military expenditure of 60 to 62 crores of rupees by the country, Indians continue to remain extremely weak from the military point of view, and remarks that it does not expect any improvement in the present state of affairs so long as Government owing to their selfish policy continue to maintain a standing army of English and Indian soldiers officered mainly by Europeans. In its opinion if, following the system of forming a citizen army as in Germany and other civilized nations of the world, Government would give military training to Indians, they would not only be able to protect themselves but also the Empire, besides saving India its enormous expenditure on the standing army. It characterises as paltry the proposed expenditure of five lakhs on the formation of a citizen army in India. It shows, it says, how greatly Government loves the warlike classes in India like the Marathas. They want, it alleges, by getting up empty farces like the Shivaji Memorial, to prevail upon the Maratha to join the standing army with which to help the bureaucracy in strengthening the shackles of dependence on their own countrymen and in harrying them. Referring to the newly started Prince of Wales Royal Indian Military College at Dehradun, it declares that it makes a hopelessly inadequate provision for the supply of Indian officers for the Indian army and points out that the conditions laid down for their compulsory training in England and the heavy fees charged for the college course are deliberate obstacles put by Government in the way of middle class Indians wishing to join the college.

Comments on the decision of the Karachi Municipality to give a welcome to the Prince.

Sind Vási (169), 17th Dec. 1921.

6. We are glad that the Karachi Municipality has after all decided to give a welcome to the Prince and to spend Rs. 10,000 for the purpose. By walking out of the meeting hall on losing their motion of protest against the posting of the police outside the hall, the non-co-operators have once again exhibited themselves in their true colours and shown how far they are loyal to the King. Surely the Prince is not to blame if our grievances are not yet redressed by Government. It is also a pity that several co-operator members did not attend the meeting. Their non-attendance will now be exploited by non-co-operators to their own end. If they were against the posting of the police why did they not attend the meeting and lodge their protests against the arrangement? The recent arrests seem to have made non-co-operators desperate. It is regrettable that there is no sober-minded non-co-operator to guide them in this province. We hope Government will so arrange that not only Karachi but the whole of Sind may be able to participate in the welcome to the Prince.

Comments on His Excellency the Viceroy's reply to the Malaviya Deputation.

Karnátak Vaibhav (83), 27th Dec. 1921; *Karnátak Vritt* (84), 27th Dec. 1921;
Karma Veer (82), 30th Dec. 1921; *Naveen Bharat* (36), 26th Dec. 1921.

7. It is no fault of Lord Reading that the deputation failed in its object and the responsibility for its failure rests mainly upon the Moderates, who, instead of touching upon the root causes of the present unrest, merely contented themselves with making some superficial proposals in accordance with the canons of diplomacy. It is no doubt true that the deputation dwelt upon the discontent prevailing in the minds of the public as a result of the Punjab wrongs and the Khilafat grievances and also upon the inadequacy of the Reforms, but they did not lay before His Excellency in distinct terms the minimum demands of the people in these respects. If these things had been explained to His Excellency clearly, a definite decision would have been arrived at then and there. The deputation also requested His Excellency to put a stop to its present policy of repression. But they did not explain to him that the responsibility for initiating measures of repression rested upon Government alone and that the people were not in any way to blame for them. The deputation also failed to remove the impression which His Excellency seems to have entertained in his mind that the *hartal* at Calcutta was due to the intimidation practised by non-co-operators. They did not explain to His Excellency that the only way of replying to the orders of Government, declaring volunteer associations and meetings of Congress Commitees unlawful, was to break them. His Excellency assured the deputation that his Government had done everything that it was in their power to do in the matter of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs. But none of the members of the deputation explained to His Excellency that unless these wrongs were fully redressed and *swaráj* granted, non-co-operation would never cease. A Round Table Conference can be successful only when Government are prepared to meet the wishes of the people on these three questions. This is the secret of the present situation and in future anybody wishing to raise the question of a Conference will do well to think over these points fully before going to the Viceroy with his proposals. [The *Karnátak Vritt*, *Karma Veer* and *Naveen Bharat* make more or less similar comments.]

Kesari (110), 27th Dec. 1921.

8. The *Kesari* declares in its leader that though His Excellency Lord Reading has been sent out as India's Viceroy at the present critical time in view of his reputation as a cool-headed statesman, he has got utterly confused either owing to senility or by the unbearable strain caused by the activity of the non-co-operation movement. Otherwise, it says, he would not have shown so much inconsistency and irritability in his conduct and he would not have played a game that has recoiled upon himself. In the paper's opinion, His Excellency's first mistake consisted in thinking that he had won the whole game when he secured the Ali Brothers' apology, and under that delusion proceeded to invite the Prince of Wales to visit the country, notwithstanding the fact that the National Congress had already resolved to boycott the visit. The people on their part, the paper remarks, proceeded to make use of their own antidote against this highhandedness of the bureaucracy by observing such a strict *hartal* on the day of the Prince's arrival in India, that the bureaucracy completely lost its head over it and the Viceroy's sense of justice completely disappeared. Indian public opinion having thus made itself manifest, the paper remarks, the only right way open to the Viceroy was to take steps to gratify the demands of the public and thus to ensure welcome to the Prince in the further stages of the visit, but abandoning that straight path, His Excellency, spurred on by his evil advisers, resolved to launch repression vainly supposing that the non-co-operators would thereby be brought to their knees. But the results, the paper points out, dumbfounded the Viceroy, who was apparently labouring under the impression, according to the paper, that he had been sent to rule not thirty crores of human beings but so many heads of sheep. Referring to the wonder expressed by His Excellency in the course of his reply to Pandit Malaviya's deputation as to why the people were so very anxious to break the laws, the paper asks His Excellency, if he be unable to understand the reason, to resign and go home, and try if he can to see the effect of similar orders on the British public. The lawless repression launched, the paper declares, has recoiled upon the bureaucracy, with the result that the boycott of the Prince's welcome has increased in severity every day. The paper goes on :—Under the circumstances an assurance on the part of the bureaucracy about granting the Congress demands about *swarájya*, etc., would have mended matters, but its prestige having come in the way the intervention of intermediaries like Pandit Madan Mohan had to be secured. The Viceroy apparently imagined that on this occasion too he would win the game just as in the case of the Ali Brothers' apology, but that was not to be, as experience has taught Mr. Gandhi and his followers to be extremely cautious. This fact was apparently overlooked by His Excellency when he wished to secure the abandonment of the non-co-operation programme by the mere withdrawal of the illegal orders issued and the release of the arrested persons. Anybody would have seen that the Viceroy was wishing for the impossible, but his pride blinded him to the fact, and when he saw that the Pandit's deputation had not been able to bring about what he had wished, he insulted it by saying that its mediation was useless and thus venting his spleen against it hurt the feelings of the Moderates also. Knowing that when Government withdrew its illegal orders, the civil disobedience would automatically cease, the deputation had not explicitly mentioned the fact in their address; but when the Viceroy saw the impossibility of his object being gained by a Round Table Conference the idea of holding it was thrown overboard on a flimsy pretext. The idea of trying for an amicable settlement had originated not with the Nationalist party but with people like Mrs. Besant under the inspiration of the bureaucracy itself which wanted the *hartal* at Calcutta to be immediately called off as the first condition of the Conference. But the Nationalist leaders are not such milk-sops as to be taken in by such a trick and, therefore, they disregarded the idea of the Conference. The responsibility for the failure of the deputation thus lies on the Viceroy and the bureaucracy. The pledge for the fulfilment of the nation's demands must come in the first instance from Government and when it comes, the non-co-operation movement will automatically come to an end and so no pledge is needed from the Nationalists with regard to it. The Viceroy, seeing that his game has failed, has left in a huff for Delhi. We hope he will now peacefully reconsider the situation and bring about the stoppage of the campaign of injustice and repression. [Elsewhere the paper says :—The Viceroy gave the threat that if the people insulted the Prince of Wales by means of *hartals*, Parliament would not grant *swarájya* to them even after ten years. If the Prince's visit has nothing to do with politics, why then should the Viceroy or the Parliament link together His Royal Highness's welcome and *swarájya* ? If the refusal to welcome the present Prince of Wales makes *swarájya* to recede, why did not *swarájya* come nearer when India splendidly welcomed several members of the Royal House in bygone days ? The short, thoughtful persons know what value to attach to the Viceroy's threat. Will the Viceroy explain as to which Prince of Wales Ireland has done honour to up to this time that Parliament has now offered *swarájya* to it ?]

Gujaráti (14), 25th Dec. 1921.

9. The *Gujaráti* notes with satisfaction the absence of malice or resentment, in the reply given by Lord Reading to Pandit Malaviya's deputation and expresses its regret at the abortive result of the deputation due to the absence of any assurances from the non-co-operation party. The paper considers it a triumph of the popular party that Lord Reading should have consented to hold a Round Table Conference with them on terms of equality and hopes the popular leaders will not lose an opportunity of meeting His Excellency on the fair terms laid down by him. The paper further discusses Lord Reading's reply to the deputation and believes that the question of righting the Punjab wrongs can best be discussed at a Round Table Conference. The paper admits that the Government of India are not responsible for the Khilafat question and suggests that the Viceroy should work in consultation with a Moslem Committee in the matter of representing Moslem opinion to the Cabinet and thus gain the sympathy of the Indian Muhammadans. The paper seems to realise the truth of the remark made by the Viceroy to the effect that India can get *swaráj* only at the hands of Parliament, and therefore, suggests the advisability of carrying on political agitation in England with a view to educating the British public. The paper suggests to Lord Reading the desirability of convincing Parliament of the urgent need of making further changes in the reforms with a view to granting early *swaráj* to India so that, unlike Ireland, India might gain Home Rule without recourse to violence.

Sind Observer (9), 23rd Dec. 1921.

10. " The Viceroy's reply to the deputation headed by Pandit Malaviya is a slap in the face of those well-meaning gentlemen. In effect, the Viceroy told them that they did not know what they were talking about, and he has barred, banged and bolted the door. The deputationists will be the sadder and wiser for the labour lost. His Excellency did not take the views of a broad-minded statesman in his reply, which was expected with bated breath throughout the country. Rather he took the view of a partisan anxious to score a few debatable points at the expense of mistaken antagonists.......... The present position stands thus: The Government are not prepared to budge an inch. Most of the Moderates cannot support the Government in their present policy. The non-co-operators do not like to waste a minute on peace parleys. If the Congress modifies its programme, the Moderates might even support it, morally if not actively. A vast gulf now seem to separate them from the Government. We are not sure the Congress will modify its course.......... It will pass the civil disobedience resolutions, and ask every province to find its quota of men to fill the jails. Whether the jail is the road to *swaráj* or not the next few months, months of trouble and travail, will indicate. Congressmen are talking of the proclamation of a republic and resort to the non-payment of taxes. This may be all moonshine, but it must not be forgotten that Government will have a most difficult situation to cope with, before which even the bravest heart must, at times, quail.......... The idea of a Round Table Conference, both in the opinion of the Viceroy and Mr. Gandhi, is thus premature. We hold the view that by his reply the Viceroy has shut out all avenues of reconciliation. The Councils are the only hope. If they fail to express the national wish, then they will be discredited ; if they condemn the present policy and still the Viceroy persists in his policy, well, the Councils are in his estimation a hindrance rather than a help. Either way the question of reforms becomes urgent. As to the non-co-operators, their movement is, as it were, strengthened by the Viceroy's pronouncement. Their ranks will now be closed up. They will think, however wrongly, they must persist in their programme with their back to the wall.......... And they will go on in their mad career proclaiming their failure would mean the blotting out of the future of their country. They will construe the Viceroy's speech as a distinct challenge thrown at them to put forth their maximum effort to show they are worthy of being treated with respect. At a time like this, when all efforts have failed to bring the opposing parties to a reasonable frame of mind, we can only turn to the God of Nations to save this great country from the catastrophes that are in store for it. All other prayers addressed to mortals have failed."

New Times (7), 24th Dec. 1921.

11. Commenting on the Viceroy's reply to the deputation which waited on him to suggest a Round Table Conference, the *New Times* remarks:—"If only Lord Reading had cared to go beyond the technicalities of a lawyer, he should have felt the irony of his view. Even when he was addressing his terms to the Deputation, he should have realised that what he called 'law' was a creation of the bureaucracy, and that he was really dictating a 'law' rather than upholding the authority of Law. If the 'moderates' have any sense of reality they should realise that though working under the arm-pit of Government they, for all practical purposes, are unable to prevent the Viceroy—the 'Reforms' notwithstanding—putting into operation practically any 'law' which may endanger the liberty of any the greatest in the land. The Viceroy, a provincial Governor, or, for the matter of that, even a District officer can issue notifications and orders insulting to the intelligence and liberty of a civilised community; and the only remedy the people are permitted is a 'deputation' to wait on the Viceroy! The members of Councils by their manifestoes and failure in the Councils have practically declared:—We long to do something, but we regret we are unable to do anything! And, by some of them resigning their seats, they have practically admitted that the only remedy left open to the country is non-co-operation.......... What are the rights of the individual in India? Have we rights in India,—if by rights we mean, as we should, legal safety against arbitrary executive will or 'discretion'? Is there a Declaration of Rights or even an unwritten code concerning rights for Indians in India? The 'law' in India lays down powers for the bureaucracy. And a law which is not impersonal is practically a denial of the rights of free nationality.......... His Excellency the Viceroy throws round the bureaucratic law an unreal hallow of sanctity which no honest student of the political movement in India can appreciate. .... The 'law' which has clapped into jail some of the greatest of our countrymen is opposed to public opinion. If the Viceroy to-morrow chooses to proclaim martial law in the whole of India and suppress public meetings for any purpose whatever,—even the religious diwans of the Sikhs—it will, according to him, be still vindicating the supremacy of 'law'!.......... The unrest is there because there is no impersonal law, because the bureaucracy defies the will of the people, because the people want such a law to govern them and the state-machine as may be made and modified only by a popularly-elected legislature. .... A law in India, providing its own arbitrary control and use in the hands of bureaucracy, may defy the higher law of public opinion. But the Viceroy as its agent—or rather its master—stands by a bureaucratic 'law' and wants the whole national agitation to bend to it. When the nation and the system which is the parent of the present unrest are in conflict with each other, the arbiter cannot be the law or the system itself, but a third party which can hold the scales even—a party which can appreciate the rights of a civilized people. If the Viceroy continues to press his own 'law' to its logical conclusion, he will soon realise what his view can lead to. His 'law' will have killed liberty and its law!"

Comments on the Viceroy's utterances in Calcutta.

Gujaráti (14), 25th Dec. 1921.

12. The *Gujaráti* refers to the Viceroy's recent pronouncements on the present situation and calls upon him to make a careful study in the causes of the present discontent and to change his angle of vision to enable him to appreciate the demands of the people for administering their own affairs. The paper holds the arbitrary and high-handed policy of Government officials responsible for driving people to defy the law. It remarks that the administration should aim at giving the people their birthright of *swaráj* and that it is but natural on the part of the people to break the laws enacted by the officials to suit their own whims. The paper declares that the people have no desire of insulting the Prince of Wales by boycotting his visit and that they mean to make him acquainted with their own grievances so that the British people and Parliament may come to realise them and grant them *swaráj* and thus induce them to give up the non-co-operation movement.

Comments on the failure of the movement for a Round Table Conference.

Servant of India (8), 29th Dec. 1921.

13. "The high hopes which it is obvious Pandit Malaviya and Mrs. Besant at least entertained from the deputation, that waited on the Viceroy have been disappointed but does the disappointment come from the Viceroy or from Mr. Gandhi ?...... The Viceroy expressed perfect willingness to have such a conference, but insisted that if the Government is to be called upon to revoke the repressive laws now set in motion and to release all who have been arrested as a result of the operation of these laws, an assurance must be forthcoming from the other party to this struggle, *viz.*, the no-co-operators, that their campaign of organizing *hartals*, etc., which bring violence in their train and thus force arrest upon the Government, shall also cease. It was but a fair demand which the Viceroy made—that if there is to be a truce there must be a truce on both sides, that there must be a temporary suspension of the aggressive parts of the activities of non-co-operators, if there is to be a suspension in the operation of the present policy of Government....... Mr. Gandhi could easily have agreed without loss of prestige to the terms offered to him and might have helped to bring about peace. But unfortunately he has refused the offer. There is no doubt that repression is helping the cause of non-co-operation and that Mr. Gandhi would by acceptance lose a tactical advantage of which a blundering Government has put him in possession....... The Viceroy expresses deep sorrow for the arrests that are taking place and evinces a desire to bring the present conflict to an end. Mr. Gandhi interpreted this to mean 'the vain encirclings of the moth round the fire'. If this is to be the spirit in which Mr. Gandhi answers the effort of peace makers to effect a reconciliation the deputation must admit that it committed a mistake in attempting the task it did."

Dnyán Prakásh (40), 27th and 28th Dec. 1921.

14. The *Dnyán Prakásh* remarks that while suggesting the holding of a Round Table Conference through the papers, the non-co-operators had apparently not the faintest idea that Mr. Gandhi would put obstacles in the way of carrying out their suggestion, but his action has left them in the lurch. It was the duty of the non-co-operating leaders to warn Mr. Gandhi, says the paper, about his own responsibility in this connection, but it points out that the non-co-operation movement has left in them no independence of thought and expression and that they dare not oppose Mr. Gandhi who is dragging them in any direction he chooses. It, however, hopes that this servile attitude will not last long. Continuing, the paper examines the position taken up by certain non-co-operators, and says that to contend that as a preliminary to the Conference, Government must first guarantee a satisfactory solution of the Punjab, Khilafat and *swaráj* questions according to the expressed wishes of the people, would mean denying the necessity of holding the conference at all. In its opinion the non-co-operators ought to consent to suspending all their activities as an essential preliminary to the proposed conference with a view to show their anxiety for arriving at an amicable settlement. Referring to the Associated Press report about Mr. Gandhi's expressed desire for an amicable settlement, the paper says that Mr. Gandhi is doing nothing to translate his desire into practice. It points out that if the non-co-operators would have shown their readiness to observe certain conditions as required by Government as a preliminary to parleying Government too on their part would have come forward to observe certain conditions. When all other non-co-operator leaders were ready to come to an amicable settlement, it declares, it was not proper for Mr. Gandhi to go against them. It, however, thinks that if even now the non-co-operation leaders convince Mr. Gandhi of the mistake he has committed, it will still be possible for them to do much good to the country. [In its next issue the paper demurs to the

justification of Government's repressive policy as necessary owing to the undesirable occurrence at Calcutta on the 17th November and declares that though the peace-loving citizens of Calcutta had that day to undergo some trouble owing to the over enthusiasm of the non-co-operators, Government were not justified only on that account in suddenly changing their previous wise policy of non-interference. Granting that due precautions to prevent further trouble were necessary, it asks whether it was right to prohibit meetings wholesale and declare all volunteer organisation to be illegal in the name of law and order. In its opinion such a step is a sign of panic. Even granting that some such precaution was necessary for the city of Calcutta in view of the Prince's visit to the country, it asks why the tyrannical laws were made applicable to the whole of Bengal; What was the necessity, it asks, of restricting even the elementary rights of the people. As a result of such repression, it adds, the public discontent has become doubly intensified, defeating the very object of the measures adopted. Referring to the failure of the proposal for a Round Table Conference, it declares that there is yet no cause for disappointment in that connection as it says His Excellency Lord Reading has still left the door open for negotiations. While admitting that it would be too bold on its part to predict that Mr. Gandhi would be prepared to give up his unyielding attitude, it calls upon Government not to rely upon mere repression, but to act in a really statesmanlike manner.]

Jám-e-Jamshed (21), 26th Dec. 1921.

15. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* commenting upon Mr. Gandhi's objections to the terms offered by the Viceroy for a Round Table Conference, sees nothing "suicidal" in those terms and explains that the Viceroy was justified in demanding a temporary truce to the activities of the non-co-operators which, it believes, they could have easily done without any sacrifice of principles on their part. It is of opinion that the non-co-operators should bridle their pride and warmly accept the offer held out to them so graciously by the Viceroy who is desirous of adopting liberal methods, and to come half-way to embrace them. The paper next examines the truth of the allegation made by Mr. Gandhi that the Viceroy has encroached upon the rights of the public by declaring some public and peaceful meetings as unlawful and says that the attitude of the Viceroy in this respect is not in any way offensive, and that it is adopted only as a protective measure. Lastly it asks Mr. Gandhi to join the Round Table Conference and there put forth all his arguments, where it hopes he will receive satisfactory replies.

Gujarati Punch (16), 25th Dec. 1921, Eng. cols.

16. "Except for the serious attempts of some of the earnest public workers, foremost among whom is the revered Pandit Malaviya, to prevail upon both sides to agree to some *via media* out of the present deplorable and distressing state of affairs in this country, and the general unaminity among all shades of Indian political thought in condemning unequivocally the present policy of the Government of Lord Reading, there is little in the Indian situation which is really re-heartening. On the contrary, it has, if anything, gone from bad to worse. ...... It may well be asked what, then, is the remedy ? The answer to that question is a little difficult. If the Government of Lord Reading is not prepared to concede to the eminently reasonable and all but moderate demands of the Congress in the matter of the Punjab and press for the redemption of the Premier's pledge in the matter of the Khilafat, it is inconceivable that there can be peace, mmediate and wholesale, in this country. For if that is not to be, it is clear that the struggle will go on. The immediate question before the country, however, is, even outside the broad redressal of the fundamental grievances of the Indian people, is there nothing but ruthless repression and an institution 'of official reign of terror' with which British statesmanship can meet with popular agitation in this country ? That is the one question which to-day faces us in this country and the nature of the answer to it will decide its immediate future. Whatever the sins of omission and commission of the non-co-operators, they are, to-day, on the defensive, fighting for the elementary right of free speech and of holding any opinion. As regards civil disobedience Mr. Gandhi clearly admits that unless Government is prepared to redress the wrong against which civil disobedience is practised, it must meet it with repression. But to-day it is not the Non-co-operationist but the Government who is on the offensive and that offensive must either go or will be broken. We believe wise statesmanship would resort to the former course before the latter is forced upon it. The British Government in this country being pledged to the institution of responsible government, there is a section of people in this country—and an important one at that—which prefers to achieve it by the ordinary constitutional method which, though slow is a sure one, and that section had till now been working with the Government. It will not work and even cannot work in the same manner in the face of the new policy. The only way is to let the non-co-operator take the offensive and meet him in actual battle, not to anticipate it on his part, pursuing at the same time a bold constructive policy which will make for the establishment of better conditions in this country and bring the ideal nearer realization. That is the only way of fighting non-co-operation and strengthening the forces of constitutionalism. And unless the Government of Lord Reading is prepared to do it, the overwhelming section of the Indian public, despite its differences with non-co-operation, will throw in its lot there and defeat the very end the Government has in view. We wish Government will realize it, abandon all at once the silly repressive policy and take to a bold policy of constructive administration."

Jágruk (44), 24th Dec. 1921.; *Shri Shiváji* (143), 27th Dec. 1921.

17. Referring to the proposal to hold a Round Table Conference, the *Jágruk* criticises Lord Ronaldshay's declaration that Government would be ready to change their present policy if the responsible non-co-operating leaders abandoned their activities and remarks that as a matter of fact no non-co-operator has ever proposed such a conference nor asked Government to alter their present repressive policy. If the non-co-operators had been deliberately disobeying the ordinary law of the land they could have been justly held to blame, but it declares it has not been so and asks how non-co-operators can be blamed for breaking unjust orders issued under laws notoriously repressive. It also points out how the moderates from all sides are condemning Government's present policy as mistaken, and asks the moderate leaders if under the circumstances it is proper for them to continue to hold Ministerships and Executive Councillorships, as such a course would be taken by the people as lending support to Government in their repressive policy. [The *Shri Shiváji* considers the treatment accorded to the Malaviya deputation by the Viceroy as a blunder likely to make the public opinion more hostile to Government than it is to-day. Government's behaviour so far, it says, shows that they are wielding their power without tact and remarks that they are forgetful of the fact that mere power is not sufficient to protect kingdoms.]

Bombay Samáchár (56), 30th Dec. 1921.

18. The *Bombay Samáchár* dwells upon the success achieved by the Congress at Ahmedabad and the proof it afforded of the fitness of Mr. Gandhi to lead the nation. It recognises the earnestness of Pandit Malaviya's efforts in pressing the demand for a Round Table Conference but remarks that passing a resolution by the Congress in favour of a Round Table Conference would have affected the dignity of the Congress. If then refers to Mr. Gandhi's explanation about the terms on which he was prepared to meet the Viceroy at a Conference and hopes that the Viceroy will realise the necessity of releasing all political prisoners including the Ali Brothers, besides withdrawing repressive measures and supplying Mr. Gandhi full particulars about the Conference and thus prove that he does not mean to crush the Congress and the Khilafat movements and that he is anxious to compromise matters with the Indian people.

Comments on the repressive policy of Government.

Rájakáran (131), 25th Dec. 1921.

19. The *Rájakáran* says that the gravity of the situation in India has completely puzzled and perplexed the Viceroy. It remarks that although His Excellency continues to maintain that Government's sole object is to preserve law and order, as a matter of fact he has embarked upon a policy of repression in compliance with the advice given to him by the bureaucrats under him. It refers with satisfaction to the resignations from the Police in some provinces and observes that unless Government offer tempting salaries they will not get men to do the dirty work the Police are usually called upon to do. It then writes :—The incapacity of Lord Reading, the aged ex-judge, has now been thoroughly established. He should now tell the Prince of Wales that the good name of his house depends upon giving *swarájya* to India in the immediate future. Unless this is done British rule in India will not fail to be jeopardised. It is very good that the Prince of Wales is an eye-witness to the events that are now taking place here. If a Governor or some other high official tells him that the people are contented, he will pull him by the ear and ask him whether *hartals* are signs of popular contentment.

Jágaruk (44), 24th and 28th Dec. 1921 ; *Subodh Patrika* (47), 25th Dec. 1921.

20. In the opinion of the *Jágaruk* the recent events have shown that the non-co-operation movement has proved a success. The futility of repression in putting it down, it declares, has made ridiculous in the eyes of the people the position both of Government and the co-operators and in consequence the latter are likely to turn non-co-operatros as a protest against Government's policy of wholesale repression. [In a further issue the paper opines that in their own interest Government ought to have maintained their non-intervention policy at least so long as the non-co-operation movement remained non-violent. It expresses its disapproval of Government's action against the *Independent* newspaper and the volunteer organisations and considers that these as well as other repressive acts of Government throughout the country appear to be not merely temporary measures intended to ensure a fitting welcome to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales but constitute a permanent policy to suppress all public movements for freedom. If that be Government's real intention, it remarks, they will make their position more difficult every day and unless they change their policy betimes and release the arrested persons all self-respecting Indians will have no other alternative but to resist the repression that encroaches upon their individual liberties and to follow Mr. Gandhi, leaving none to support Government. The *Subodh Patrika* asks if the British rule would have come to an end if Messrs. Das, Nehru and Lajpatrai had not been incarcerated. It considers as worm-eaten the system of government that has to depend upon the imprisonment of public leaders for its stability, and declares that arrests of thousands of young men will not keep up the prestige of Government. It asks if the wholesale arrests that are going on all over the country are not due to the officials' prestige-ridden mentality; and deplores that while acts of violence on the part of the people are promptly taken notice of similar doings of officials pass unnoticed.]

Lokanáyak (115), 23rd Dec. 1921.

21. The *Lokanáyak* says that the success with which non-co-operation is meeting throughout the country has upset the mental balance of the satanic foreign bureaucracy and that they have now begun to make an exhibition of their stupidity. It accuses the authorities with assailing the elementary rights of the people and expresses its conviction that non-co-operation is fully capable of bringing salvation to the country. It condemns the resolution passed by the Akhil Maharashtra Conference held at Akola to the effect that the programme of non-co-operation requires to be modified in the light of past experience, and exhorts Maharashtra to go in whole-heartedly for the programme of non-co-operation as orginally laid down.

Sind Observer (9), 22nd Dec. 1921.

22. "The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri, addressing the City Club at Washington, predicted that within ten years India would speak as a co-partner with the other Dominions. He is expected to be in the know. Then, why not announce through the mouth of the Prince at Delhi that within that time India will be the mistress of her destiny ? After that announcement is made other details could be worked out to the satisfaction of all parties, including the services and those who have invested capital in the country. By this stroke of statesmanship much bitterness, hostility and opposition will be overcome. Those who are ploughing the sands of the Sahara of Non-co-operation will abandon the fruitless task and direct their energies into constructive channels of national upbuilding.......... If this policy is not to be followed what is the alternative ? Struggle, friction, fight, punishment, half-hearted concession, and graceless surrender. A determined people will, nevertheless, win in the long run. But then it will be after a vast heap of bitterness is created. People are even now going mad and demanding separation from England. Great Britain has vast interests in Asia and a loyal India will be a factor to be counted therewith. Let the Viceroy make a beginning. Let him establish full responsibility in the provinces. It is not a very big step because even the irresponsible portion of the provincial Governments, while making decisions on important questions, has to consider whether its view will be acceptable to the representatives of the people in the Councils.......... The Khilafat question is on the way to settlement. The Punjab affair may cease to attract attention in the atmosphere of new opportunities.......... We do not want Home Rule in a month or a year. Ten years is a sufficiently long period. And may Lord Reading rise to the height of the statesmanship of Lord Derby."

Bháratwási (157), 20th Dec. 1921.; *Satyawadi* (166), 13th Dec. 1921.

23. It is a great pity that the arrival of the Prince in this country should have brought so much unrest in its train and that the visit of such a noble soul should have been the subject of so much bitter controversy. We are surprised that Lord Reading should have lost all patience exactly at a time when owing to the Bombay disturbances, the attitude of the people towards the Prince's visit had actually changed, as evidenced by the splendid send-off given to the Prince by the people of Bombay. With a full realization of the difficulties of Government, we are humbly of opinion that Lord Reading has been impatient. Before starting repression he should have explained the situation to leaders of all parties and consulted his councils. If, as is alleged, the *hartal* in Calcutta on 17th November was brought about by force and intimidation Government could have arrested the mischief-makers with justice on its side. But the arrest of a man like Babu Bhagwandas merely for distributing some leaflets shows that Government has bid good-bye to reason and patience. We have always wished to enlist the Prince's sympathy by according to him a most hearty welcome. But surely his visit should not be made an excuse for creating topsy-turvydom in the country. Nor should Government's anxiety to secure a cordial reception to His Royal Highness go to the extent of exciting the people. No matter what the reception to him may be, the Prince's position is not affected. Why then create unrest in the country? We hope that the Prince will also try to bring about a reconciliation. [The *Satyawadi* remarks:—Government appears to be in a fix. Finding no other way of combating the non-co-operation movement it has now resorted to repressive measures with a view to the prevention of public meetings and volunteers' association. Like a drowning man it is catching at whatever comes in its way. We are afraid it is digging its own grave by adopting repression. The better course for it is to redress the grievances of the people if it wants peace in the country.]

Mr. Gandhi is a friend of the British Government.

Sind Observer (9), 22nd Dec. 1921.

24. "Paradoxical as it may seem, we believe Mr. Gandhi is a friend, not an enemy, of the British Government. His complaint is against a certain prevailing system. He has the highest regard for the Englishman as an individual, and he has never lost faith in the individual sense of the justice of the Britisher. While the Mahatma still continues in the leadership of the Non-co-operation movement before the De Valeras of the future depose him, we think it is the height of statesmanship to settle up the three questions (Khilafat, Punjab and Swaráj) in a reasonable way and bring peace to this distracted country."

Comments on the arrest of Abul Kalam Azad.

Swaráj (Sindhi) (171), 15th Dec. 1921.

25. So greatly is Government alarmed at the progress made by the Hindu-Muslim unity that in its present campaign of repression it is laying hands more on Muhammadans than on Hindus. Along with Mr. Das it has arrested that true patriot and Muslim leader Moulana Abul Kalam Azad. At the time when the Indian political sky was overcast with black clouds and when it was considered sedition to express one's love for one's country, this brave Mussalman, mercilessly criticised Government in the columns of the three papers started by him and suppressed by Government one after another, till he himself was finally interned at Ranchi. The Moulana is a Syed and Pir, owning a large following both in India and outside India. He holds the title of Imam-al-Hind and is one of the foremost of the leaders. After the arrest of such a notable leader and divine by the present cruel and satanic Government is it proper, we ask, for Muslim zamindars to sit quiet in their homes and co-operate with that Government when their religion is insulted and when their countrymen are treated with violence? May God give them strength to save Bharat and the Khilafat before long!

Alleged failure of the Moderates to do their duty in quelling the political unrest in India.

Kaiser-i-Hind (22), 1st Jan., Eng. cols.

*26. "Instead of following a straightforward course and standing boldly for the preservation of law and order, some of the Moderates have shown a very regrettable weakness by trying to face both ways. They have not only made their own position untenable, they have not only done harm to their own party, but they have positively failed in their true duty towards the country. Some of these half-hearted Moderates, these Moderates facing-both-ways, have protested against the Government taking repressive action; but they forget that Government refrained from taking action for one whole year and gave them ample time to check the movement for the spread of lawlessness. But when they failed in the trust that was reposed in them, Government had no other alternative left but to take action in the interests of public safety. Why now do these half-hearted Moderates turn round and blame Government for adopting repressive measures? A little reflection will show that they have totally failed to grasp the situation in doing so. Where were these Moderates sleeping for so many months when disorder was being created all over India? Why did they not send protest after protest to Gandhi against his subversive policy just as they had sent protests to Government against their "repressive" policy? What did they do to prevent the fanatical Moplahs from being incited to murder and violence? What did they do to check hired agitators from fomenting labour troubles all over India? What did they do to save ignorant, simple-minded folk from being gulled of their money in the name of *swaraj*? What did they do to rescue the youth of the country from being seduced from their studies in the name of patriotism? What did they do to resist the wicked machinations of those who treacherously robbed others of their liberty of speech and action in the name of temperance? What did they do to quench the fires of racial hatred and bitterness that were being lighted in the name of boycott? They hardly did anything. And now when they have totally failed in their duty, these half-hearted, weak-minded Moderates blame the Government for taking measures to meet their ultimate responsibility for the public safety. Is this fair? Is this reasonable? Is this straightforward?"

The Reformed Councils and their failure to persuade Government to give up their present repressive policy.

Sind Observer (9), 23rd Dec. 1921.

27. "The latest act of Sir Harcourt Butler in refusing to call a special session of the United Province Legislative Council to discuss the situation arising from the extension of the Criminal Law Amendment Act to the United Provices fits in with the logic of repression.......... Lord Reading, in his speech to Pandit Malaviya's deputation, said that the reforms had not been completely tested. Now, here is an instance where the reforms have failed. Any deliberative assembly in the world ought to be the master of its own procedure. It must be able to meet whenever it thinks it must, it must discuss matters which it thinks it must, and it must be able to get executed its decrees according as it desires. None will deny that our Councils do not possess any of these powers or attributes of the authority and dignity of a respectable Council Chamber. The Governor of a province can easily fling forth the fiat that the Council shall not meet, and then it cannot, that it shall not discuss a subject, and it cannot. We think there is a danger if the example of Sir Harcourt Butler is followed by other provincial rulers, though, fortunately, the Bengal and Madras Governments have not done so. When you have gagged all political agitation, disallowed all political gatherings, when you threaten the Press with punishment for the simple publication of mere news in which you may happen to "smell a rat," at least you must allow the Councils, however, inadequately and partially, to speak out the views of a section of the thinking public. But, if, by the exercise of the powers invested in him by a defective constitution, the Governor of a province rules out or burkes discussion on a subject he does not like, where,

then, is the method or manner in which Government can know what the feeling in the country is about their actions ? The danger of sitting on the safety-valve has been pointed out to the Government many times before, and it becomes all the more necessary now that Lord Reading and Mahatma Gandhi have announced their intention of a fight to a finish. When all is said and done, it is only the Liberals that have to bring about peace between the contending parties, and it is not to the advantage of Government to drive them to their enemy's camp by applying the policy of gag to them also."

Moderates should resign their seats in the Councils as a protest against the policy of repression.

Sindhi (167), 17th Dec. 1921.

28. It is plain that Lord Reading's policy of repression has embarrassed some of the more thoughtful Moderates and co-operators. The warning of Mr. Raza Ali to the Viceroy is an instance in point. Mr. Raza Ali appears to have realised the necessity of the Council members dissociating themselves from the present policy of the Government of India. But it is not enough that they should merely protest against it. They should show their resentment by resigning their seats and entering the Congress. That alone will prove their sincerity. It is suggested by some leaders that a Round Table Conference should be held with a view to settlement. We think that until Government repents of its past doings, gives up its reliance on force and treats our leaders with justice and honour, no such conference should be held. Indians to-day fear neither the Police nor the Military. They are prepared to act with non-violence and sacrifice their all in obedience to the call of the Congress.

Comments on the proceedings of the Ahmedabad Congress.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 1st Jan.

***29.** " Two matters in connection with the Congress proceedings have arrested public attention. One of them, the nomination of Mahatma Gandhi as ' dictator, ' however, merely regularised an existing fact, and was, besides, rendered necessary by the actual or expected incarceration of other leaders. The other is the motion for declaration of independence of the British connection brought forward by Mr. Hasrat Mohani which was strongly opposed by Mahatma Gandhi and was thrown out by the Congress. A motion by the same gentleman in the Subjects Committee to drop the principle of non-violence met with little support. Mahatma Gandhi in opposing the Independence resolution of Mr. Hasrat Mohani, for the first time since the inauguration of non-co-operation, publicly threw doubts on the solidity of the present Hindu-Muhammadan unity........ The Congress's position as explained by Mahatma Gandhi is that *swarajya* is demanded, but *swarajya* within the British connection is not ruled out by the Congress creed. This elasticity was necessary to enable the more moderate Congressmen to continue within the fold. It also permits of a basis for further negotiation, while the declaration of independence as the absolute objective must mean a final clean cut. Beyond these two matters, the most noticeable point in the Congress resolution which we print elsewhere, is that it allows of a considerable retrogression from the impracticable and harmful parts of the old programme in order to concentrate on the latest developments of the policy of repression. To our mind, the Ahmedabad Congress is a sign of a growing sense of responsibility which was aggressively absent at Nagpur last year."

Mahrátta (6), 1st Jan.

***30.** " The atmosphere in which the Congress was held at Ahmedabad was peculiarly abnormal from every point of view. The Government exasperated by the so-called insult to the Prince, has already entered on its career of ruthless repression. The whole armoury of repressive laws has been exhausted. Ordinary and extraordinary laws have been misused and abused. Freedom of speech, freedom to associate with fellow-beings, elementary rights which every civilised nation guarantees to its citizens, are denied us by our Government of India, presided over by Lord Reading whose special mission in India is to dispense justice...... In view of the fact that the Nation has already accepted the challenge of Government, the Congress set its seal of approval and has enjoined every Congress organisation to devise means of forming volunteer corps and to oppose the very unrighteous and immoral laws and orders of the Government. The Government by its recent action has declared war against the Congress and the Congress at its Ahmedabad session has accepted that position...... The Congress has very clearly defined its position. Undoubtedly it is war time and the war is non-violent on our part. The position that the Congress has taken, is the only reasonable and logical position, befitting a body that represents a self-respecting nation. The only answer to the arrogant pronouncement of the Viceroy could not but be this. The country is determined to achieve its political salvation without the aid of any single human being; what then of the British Parliament? The Congress is out to vindicate in an unmistakable manner the honour and good name of this ancient land and is resolved to take its rightful place in the ranks of the nations not as a dependency, nor as a partner of any Commonwealth based on imperialistic principles, but as a free nation co-equal with others. Let the Government read history aright and be wise in time. With all the brute-force, the mightiest Government cannot stand the organised will and steadfast determination of a freedom-aspiring nation. The policy of force is bound to fail and when it fails, God help the present Government!"

Lokamánya (114), 30th Dec. 1921.

31. The *Lokamánya*, after describing what it considers the simplicity and beauty of the arrangements for the Ahmedabad Congress, declares that the whole of the great Congress camp seemed to be inspired by the single idea that going to jail was now a pleasureable enjoyment and that the nation had already given its answer to the Government's campaign of repression. In its opinion the assemblage at Ahmedabad has declared in no uncertain terms that the nation is for Messrs. Gandhi and Das and not for the bureaucracy and thus answered the *Times of India's* query in that connection. The principal resolution passed by the Congress, it says, besides being the nation's proper reply to Government's repressive policy also showed that the days of empty talk had passed. Mr. Gandhi's speech, in the paper's opinion, was the speech of the day, and was the most spirited one he had ever delivered. It points out that the resolution and Mr. Gandhi's speech constitute a clear cut and final reply to the bureaucracy inasmuch as the Congress refused to grant Pandit Malaviya's suggestion for the introduction in the resolution of some indication of its readiness for a Round Table Conference, as the Viceroy was anxious to have one. Every one in the Congress seemed to be inspired, the paper says, with the resolve to solve once for all the question of *swarájya* notwithstanding the seriousness of the position which seems to have daunted no one. The complete *hartal* in Calcutta on the 24th, notwithstanding all the efforts put forth by the bureaucracy, showed, the paper says, that the people's power was every day increasing and it was on account of this that Mr. Gandhi rejected the Pandit's suggestion inasmuch as it did not become the Congress, conscious of its new strength, to plead for a Conference in the pursuit of delusive hopes. Mr. Gandhi has laid down clear terms for such a Conference if any is convened in the future, the paper observes, as it might possibily be held not for the release of the leaders but to secure *swarájya* for India. It declares that if the Viceroy agrees to the terms laid down neither Mr. Gandhi nor the All-India Congress Committee will come in the way of its being held.

Gujaráti (14), 1st Jan., Eng. cols.

***32.** "The 36th session of the Indian National Congress will be an event of momentous historic interest in the political annals of India.......... The most instructive and remarkable feature of all these activities was the unique personality of Mahatma Gandhi who ruled all the political storms, steered the ship of the Congress with the magic wand of his dominant moral influence and unflinching courage and firm determination and induced a large number of his countrymen to enter the portals of a new region with all its uncertainties and perils and with all its ordeals and sufferings. It is a new and a most perilous venture without a parallel in history and its true import with all its grave and evil potentialities can be appreciated from the terms and objects of the main resolution which occupied the attention of the All-India Congress Committee for hours together and which was ultimately passed by the Congress practically with a unanimous vote. The resolution based upon a number of perilous assumptions and misleading anticipations and certain to result in grave complications which will hamper the steady and peaceful progress of the country."

Kaiser-i-Hind (**22**), 1st Jan., Eng. cols.

***33**. "The much advertised Congress which was going to establish by proclamation *swaráj* and an Indian Republic, independent of the British, has come and gone like the faded fabric of a dream that no man in his senses ever expected to realize with the exception of those blind followers of a false prophet who surrendered their common-sense and reason to the Ahmedabad Oracle of equivocation and *double extendre*.......... Till the other day, this Indian Oracle was megaphoning through *Young India* and *Navjivan*, that India would certainly get *swaráj* by 31st December 1921. Now the Oracle turns round and says it is India's fault that she has not got *swaráj* by 31st December, because she has failed to fulfil certain conditions, *e.g.*, the removal of untouchability and the cultivation of the spirit of absolute non-violence, conditions which the Oracle knew perfectly well, and said in so many words, were impossible of fulfilment by—leave alone 31st December 1921, but even by the same date 2021 A.D.!! No doubt this non-fulfilment of impossible conditions by unfortunate India absolves the Great Oracle from the duty of committing suicide or seeking *vanvas, i.e.*, isolation on the Himalayas, which would practically amount to suicide, owing to the absence of his august presence from the political arena, which he has deliberately thrown into confusion with the object of attaining the unattainable. So with the end of 1921 goes the much advertised *swaráj* and also the *vanvas* or suicide. The Oracle is infallible and always right, and the failure of the Oracle in 1921 appears such a wonderful miracle to his fanatic and credulous millions of followers that they have considered the failure a sufficient qualification for dictatorship of the whole of India. But to unrepentant septics, like ourselves, it appears that when the dictatorship ends in the same fiasco as the atrocious non-co-operation movement of the last year, the Oracle will perform some new miracle, and his sheeplike believers will perhaps make him a Super-Dictator,—a Hannibal, Cæsar, Charlemagne and Napoleon combined in one, and after that, the final elevation will be in the valhalla of the gods or the *Indra Sabha*! Poor India! She may starve, her children may go naked, her trade and commerce may be ruined, famine and pestilence may stalk over the land, the very foundations of her religion and society, *e.g.*, the duty of obedience of children to their parents, of wives to their husbands, of servants to their superiors, of subjects to their rulers—the fount of all authority—human or divine, sacrificed on the alter of racial hatred and mad destruction! India wants King Stork instead of King Log, and in return she may get what she deserves. We see everywhere the hand of the destroyer reaping a rich harvest of human misery in the shape of riot, loot, murder and arson, and the man who says that he himself is responsible for the spirit of revolt which is nothing but the sprit of destruction, not being satisfied with the evil he has wrought so far, the law-hating despot, now advises this unfortunate country to go a step further and to imbibe the spirit of civil disobedience.......... If this is not national lunacy what else is it?.......... Destruction is essentially the characteristic of the lower stages of humanity and lower races of mandkind, and in this movement of civil disobedience we can see nothing but the resurgence of savagery under the camouflage of spiritualism and soul-force.......... Dictator, beware! Lest thy followers may rend thee and tear thee to pieces, when they find themselves disillusioned by the horrid spectre of destruction thy teachings have created!.......... Destroy not India to satisfy thy insatiable vanity. For human pride goeth before a fall. We predict a fall—and such a fall as will stagger humanity—for thee without any hesitation."

Bombay Chronicle (**1**), 29th Dec. 1921.

34. "The opening day's proceedings at the Ahmedabad Congress cannot but convince even those who have hitherto been sceptical as to the sincerity and and depth of India's will to *swaráj*. In whatever light we view the proceedings, whatever side of their many facets comes under scrutiny, the radiance of genuineness, of utter sincerity in patriotism is most clearly manifest....... Mahatma Gandhi's resolve to maintain inviolate the Congress creed might have been anticipated by every student of his leadership. Though a small minority of delegates to the Congress seemed not to have realised it, the truth is that adherence to the creed of non-violent non-co-operation till *swaráj* is won, is absolutely essential and all the better....... The nation's demand is a simple one and Mahatma Gandhi has rightly refused to complicate it by involving with it issues that may be regarded by some as controversial or even as vindictive in their object.

Indeed, anything but a simple demand, shorn of all emotions save patriotism and love of freedom, must needs clash with the essential purity that distinguishes 'non-violent non-co-operation' as a movement."

Lokamánya (114), 29th Dec. 1921.

35. The *Lokamánya* fully supports the principal resolution passed by the Ahmedabad Congress and declares that it has proved to the world by adopting it, that India was not to be threatened into giving up its *swarájya* agitation by the repressive policy launched by the bureaucracy and that it had full confidence in the path of non-violent non-co-operation chalked out last year by the Nagpur Congress. It then dwells upon the different parts of the lengthy resolution and referring to the first part re-affirming the non-co-operation resolution passed at Nagpur points out with satisfaction that none of the supporters of the Akola Maharashtra Conference resolution on non-co-operation came forward to oppose it in view of the recent high-handed doings of the bureaucracy and expresses its conviction that all the Maharashtra leaders will not fail to lend their full support to the peaceful struggle being carried on against the bureaucracy. The second part of the resolution, the paper says, is the nation's spirited rejoinder to the recent utterances of the Viceroy in support of the repression, as it calls upon all the people to fearlessly but peacefully disregard the orders against public meetings and volunteer organisations and the paper hopes that it will be enthusiastically carried out by all concerned and specially by the students above 18 studying in all National Schools who have been honoured with a special mention by the resolution. The paper also tacitly approves of the third part dealing with civil disobedience and as to the fourth part appointing Mr. Gandhi 'dictator', it points out that the appointment had become a necessity in view of the Government's wholesale repressive campaign. It declares that the Mahatma has accepted the position with the greatest reluctance and that it may be safely said that he would never misuse the powers with which he has been invested. It also points out that the authority to make 'peace' with Government has been reserved to itself by the Congress. It expresses the hope that in view of the unprecedented importance of this year's Congress session and the serious responsibility thrown on the nation by the abovementioned resolution, all patriotic people will emulate with one another in carrying it out.

Gujaráti (14), 1st Jan.

***36.** The *Gujaráti* discusses the proceedings of the Ahmedabad Session of the Congress and analyses in detail the main resolution about civil disobedience passed thereat. It dwells on the unique character of the session and the abnormal circumstances in which it has met and declares that Mr. Gandhi has won an unprecedented victory in it. It is of opinion that at present "Mr. Gandhi" and "Congress" are convertible terms and that the Congress is Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Gandhi is the Congress. It points out how, under Mr. Gandhi's influence and direction, the most simple and primitive arrangements have been made in the Congress *pandal* and for the reception and entertainment of the delegates, and adds that Mr. Gandhi is the true and living image of service for the country and the people have shown how great is their eagerness for *swaráj* by worshipping this image by respecting his wishes in this matter. According to the paper, it is quite clear that Mr. Gandhi's followers will not be backward in doing whatever Mr. Gandhi tells them to do. It next dwells on the peculiar circumstances in which the Ahmedabad Congress met, and says that the Congress is now directly in conflict with the bureaucracy which, while itself exercising "legalised lawlessness", assumes that the Congress demands lawless power to rule. The paper also dwells on the comprehensive nature of the main resolution passed by the Congress at the suggestion of Mr. Gandhi: it not only sums up the Congress strategy against the bureaucracy, but also embraces within itself *swaráj*, the democratic form of Government and independence. What is there, asks the paper, that is wanting in this resolution? Everyone can find in it his own reason for carrying on the fight.

Praja Mitra and Pársi (28), 30th Dec. 1921.

37. The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* ridicules what it calls the "hotch pot" resolution of the Congress and the part played by Mr. Gandhi in moving the resolution which styles himself a "Mahatma" and appoints him sole dictator. In its opinion the passing of the resolution is like the blind leading the blind. Referring to the rejection of Pandit Malaviya's proposal, regarding a Round Table Conference, the paper points out how this shows men like the Pandit have no place in the Congress. It criticises Mr. Gandhi's language towards the Viceroy in speaking on this amendment and then goes on to discuss the ill effects produced on English opinion, both Conservative and Liberal, by the boycott of the Prince.

Sánj Vartamán (30), 29th Dec. 1921. ; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 29th Dec. 1921.; *Jám-e-Jamshed* (21), 29th Dec. 1921.; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (53), 29th Dec. 1921.

38. The *Sánj Vartamán* congratulates Mr. Gandhi on the success he achieved in defeating amendments for making changes in the creed of the Congress and for allowing the Muhammadans to indulge in violence in accordance with the teachings of their religion. The paper then expresses its approval of the five resolutions passed by the Congress at Ahmedabad and declares that the Congress has done well in making a clear statement of the reasons that have led the country to boycott the visit of the Prince of Wales so that the British public and Parliament may not consider it as an insult to themselves and their Prince. The paper is of the opinion that the Congress was quite justified in rejecting Pandit Malaviya's suggestion for a Round Table Conference as in its opinion the Viceroy should have accepted the suggestions made by the deputation that recently waited upon him and should have carried on negotiations with Mr. Gandhi in the matter. It is pleased to note that the Congress has left the doors open for the Round Table Conference and calls upon the Viceroy to convene it on the terms suggested by the deputation before the situation becomes grave by the adoption of mass civil disobedience by the country. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* criticises the Congress resolutions and calls into question the honesty of the reasons for which the Congress rejected the resolutions for declaring complete independence and for giving up non-violence. These resolutions were rejected, says the paper, simply in order to keep the door of the Congress open to Moderates, etc. It also calls into question the honesty of the arrangement with the Maharashtra leaders which allows them to act according to their convictions while nominally professing the Congress creed of non-co-operation. The paper declares that the resolution about civil disobedience, if put into practice, will also prove disastrous and will give an excuse to the Government for increasing the white element in the Army and the administration of the country. The *Jám-e-Jamshed* expresses satisfaction at the rejection by the Congress of the resolution for complete independence, as, in its opinion, India is not in a position at present even economically to stand out of the British Empire. The paper regrets the resolution to start civil disobedience and criticises the appointment of Mr. Gandhi as sole dictator as being opposed to the democratic constitution of the old Congress. It also regrets that Mr. Gandhi and his followers rejected Pandit Malaviya's proposal for a Round Table Conference. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* condemns the resolution on civil disobedience passed by the Congress and remarks that the non-co-operating leaders have not thought of the position in which they will launch India by the adoption of the resolution and that boycott of foreign goods and *swarájya* are not likely to be accepted as the common goal by all the Indians.]

Mr. Gandhi as Dictator.

Bombay Samáchár (56), 28th Dec. 1921.

39. The *Bombay Samáchár* approves of the action taken by the Indian National Congress in appointing Mr. Gandhi as a Dictator and considers the step as very opportune in view of the wholesale arrests that are likely to be made by Government as the result of breaches of the law by the non-co-operators. The paper then dwells upon the qualifications of Mr. Gandhi to lead the people in their struggle for emancipation and expresses hope that the people will obey his injunctions about non-violence to enable him to secure victory.

Gujaráti (14), 1st Jan.

***40.** The *Gujaráti* referring to Mr. Gandhi's appointment as dictator and the vesting in him of all the powers of the Congress declares that in giving him all the authority the Congress has made him the uncrowned King of India, and that by reposing all their confidence in him the people have conferred on him something which is more precious than the state and magnificence of kingship. After describing what Mr. Gandhi and his successors to the dictatorship can and cannot do, the paper asks if all this means that two different rules have been established in India, *viz.*, first that of the King which is in the hands of his officers, and the second that of the people or of the Congress.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani's proposal to alter the Congress Creed.

Bombay Chronicle (1), 30th Dec. 1921.

41. "While we do not seek to minimise the significance of the efforts by Maulana Hasrat Mohani and his followers at Ahmedabad to commit the Congress and the Khilafat Conference to a definite break with the British Empire, we have no hesitation in declaring that the popular view is against any such hasty action. It has been the history of Indian Nationalism that every fresh advance towards radicalism in its demands has been forced upon it by the bureaucracy and the enemies of freedom. And leaders of Nationalist thought to-day are determined to maintain this tradition which gives their cause a flavour of sheer righteousness and conduces to secure for it the sympathy of all right-thinking men and women the world over.......... The question of a divorce from the Empire must definitely be forced on India by the British people and Parliament. It must not be anticipated by the Indian people. To do this were bad tactics and inconsistent with the purity of patriotism, rising above all angry passions, which is the true non-co-operation. .... To descend to motives of mere expediency. However sordid these may seem, we cannot ignore them in dealing with a sordid 'diplomacy.' As Hakim Ajmalkhan said, there is to be an immediate change of policy on the part of Europe's statesmen towards the Khilafat question and the Turkish settlement.......... We are of opinion that a little quiet reflection along these lines will incline even the most fiery of Maulana Hasrat Mohani's supporters in the Khilafat Conference to the view that suggestions of separation from the Empire are unwise at this juncture and premature. The enemies of Islam have always charged its followers with aggressive aims while impartial historians have consistently contended that aggression has been forced on Islam in self-defence against aggression from the West. The Khilafat Conference cannot at this stage of Islamic history run counter to the past. If Indian Muslims ever are to adopt an aggressive policy let it be forced on them by their enemies. To-day, with victory and *swaraj* through non-violent non-co-operation so clearly in sight, they cannot in mere honesty contend that circumstances compel them to aggression."

Bombay Samáchár (56), 27th and 29th Dec. 1921 ; *Praja Mitra and Pársi* (28), 27th Dec. 1921 ; *Akhbár-e-Islám* (53), 30th Dec. 1921.

42. The *Bombay Samáchár* reproduces a part of the telegram sent by the Associated Press from Ahmedabad about the advocacy made by Maulana Hasrat Mohani, President-elect of the Moslem League, for the deletion of such phrases from the Congress resolution as excluded the possibility of resort to violence and warns the Congress of the grave dangers it runs in deflecting, even by an hairs' breadth, from its original resolution about non-violence. It is of the opinion that if the Congress leaves open any loophole for violence Government will crush the Congress and the Khilafat movements with the result that anarchy and chaos will prevail in the country. The paper draws the attention of the Indian Muhammadans to the success so far achieved by the Khilafat movement and assures them of complete victory during the year 1922 if they maintained the non-violent character of their movement unimpaired. [In a subsequent issue the paper remarks that Mr. Gandhi has rendered a great service to the nation by putting a strong fight against the inclusion of 'complete independence' in the creed of the Congress and also against the proposed modification of the principle of complete non-violence to suit the wishes of certain Moslem leaders. The paper is of the opinion that the Congress will dig its own grave and frustrate the good work done in the past the day it changes its creed or swerves from non-violence. It then takes note of the address delivered by Mr. V J. Patel as Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Congress and remarks that the failure of the Government's policy is proved by the protests made by the Moderates against it. It expresses satisfaction at the progress of non-co-operation and hopes people will carry it to a successful issue. [The *Praja Mitra and Pársi* refers to the proposal of the President of the All-India Moslem League, asking for the removal of non-violence from the Congress creed and fears that he is likely to win over the opinions of the Moslem Ulemas to his side and thus endanger the Hindu-Moslem Unity. It considers the above proposal as the necessary corollary of Mr. Gandhi's dictum that every individual has a right to set aside the general law in preference to his religious duties. Lastly, the paper believes that the biting and inflammatory writings and speeches of non-co-operating leaders, are responsible for revolutionising public opinion and that the public have now become incapable of appreciating the significance of non-violence. The *Akhbár-e-Islám* expresses gratification at the rejection of the proposals made by Maulana Hasrat Mohani before the Subjects Committee of the Congress for making independence the goal of the Congress and sanctioning the use of violent methods for attaining it. It gives Mr. Gandhi credit for saving the country from the conflagration which Hasrat Mohani intended to ignite.]

Comments on the nomination of Hakim Ajmal Khan to act as President of the Congress.

Lokamánya (114), 28th Dec. 1921.

43. The *Lokamánya* referring to the nomination of Hakim Ajmal Khan to act as President of the Ahmedabad session of the Congress in the absence of Mr. C. R. Das, declares that it is quite in the fitness of things that the President of the Khilafat Conference should also preside over the deliberations of the Congress in these times of the ever-strengthening Hindu-Moslem unity. In its opinion if there be anybody among Hindus and Muhammadans most qualified to go to jail as Congress President on the heels of Lala Lajpatrai, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. C. R. Das, it is Hakim Ajmal Khan. It remarks that if anybody wants to witness the flames of self-sacrifice at present burning in Indian hearts, he should read the Hakim's two speeches as president of the two bodies. His description of the present day repressive policy as a death-blow aimed at the Congress and the Khilafat Conference, will, the paper remarks, find corroboration in the hearts of all patriots. In its opinion the Subject Committee's decision to appoint Mr. Gandhi as Dictator constitutes a rejoinder to Government's repressive policy and has also shortened the work of the Ahmedabad Congress.

Comments on the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference.

Indian Social Reformer (5), 1st Jan.

***44.** "The proceedings of the Khilafat Conference disclosed, what has been overlooked so far, that some fundamental differences between the national Indian and Muhammadan communal points of view remain to be settled in order to make Hindu-Moslem unity a reality full of beneficent promise to all the communities of our composite population. Mahatma Gandhi himself noted during the Bombay riots that the present Hindu-Moslem unity had become a menace to the smaller communities. Some remarks of Hakim Ajmal Khan, in the course of his presidential address, should not be allowed to pass without comment. The All-India Congress Committee during one of its recent meetings resolved that the foreign policy of India should be moulded in a spirit of sympathetic understanding with the Muhammadan States of Arabia, Afghanistan, Persia, Turkey and Egypt. This in itself is sound sense, and if the Hakim Sahib had been content to re-iterate it there would have been no cause for comment. But he went much farther and beyond what any responsible Indian statesman can endorse...... The Hakim Saheb was perfectly justified as a devout Muhammadan in representing emancipation from political bondage and economic slavery as synonymous with the success of Islam, and we do not propose to enquire how far facts both in India and elsewhere, in contemporary and in historical times, bear out this identification so far as non-Muhammadan peoples are concerned. But we are obliged to demur very strongly to the Hakim Sahib's anticipation that India has no greater purpose than to become a link in the Islamic federation. To suggest this is to ignore the distinctive lesson of India's spiritual evolution extending centuries beyond either Islam or Christianity. It will take us long to enter into this matter fully. Here we need only say that India's position, marked out by her culture and history no less than by her geographical position, is that of the great reconciler between Islam, Christian and Buddhist nations.......... The other fundamental difference, which the proceedings of the Khilafat Conference brought to the surface, is as regards the principle of non-violence. Hindu thought, as the result of ripe experience of the futility of objective force, evolved the great maxim which is deep-rooted in Indian faith that 'non-violence (or doing no harm) is the supreme law'. Mahatma Gandhi is the modern apostle of this central creed of the highest Hinduism. Mr. Hasrat Mohani raised in the form of an amendment at the Khilafat Conference the point that Islam does not forbid resort to violence in suitable cases and the President could only get round the corner by ruling out of order the amendment which he had allowed to be passed by the Subjects Committee previously. Not only non-Muhammadans, but even Muhammadans of sects other than that which holds by the Khilafat of Turkey, are getting estranged by the extreme language of Khilafat extremists like Mr. Hasrat Mohani. The Shia Conference recently held at Cawnpore, may be a straw, but it shows which way the wind is veering."

Bombay Chronicle (1), 28th Dec. 1921.

45. "'Statesmanly' and 'disarmingly candid' are the most suitable adjectives applicable to the presidential utterances of Hakim Ajmalkhan at the Khilafat Conference. And it was a characteristic effort...... The Islamic world can hardly be described even by its enemies as being in the least bit doubtful as to its immediate aims and aspirations or as diffident and hesitant in giving expression thereto. The Islamic world knows where its salvation lies. It knows that only in Islamic unity will be its future safety. It is, therefore, sure of itself and in this is the great strength of the Khilafat movement—a strength which repression and counter propaganda cannot so much as test far less weaken. Small wonder then that confidence was the keynote of Hakim Ajmalkhan's message to the Muslims of India—that courage and optimism rang through every sentence. The address was not merely a simple and candid settingforth of the Khilafat demand and a survey of the position as it exists to-day. It was something more. It gave frank expression to the ideals of Islam.......... Christendom has nothing to fear from an Islamic Federation of Asia and Africa, if Christendom has not mortally antagonized Islamic feeling.......... That Islam knows its friends and cherishes feelings of genuine amity towards them is discernible in, among other clear indications, Hakim Ajmalkhan's grateful references to France. There are many Muslim friends of England in the world who would wish that England had earned the affectionate gratitude of Islam as France has done. Perhaps it is not yet too late—despite the disquieting attitude of Britain towards Egypt. The coming conference of the European Powers on the Turkish and Khilafat settlement affords Britain another and perhaps a last chance."

Sánj Vartamán (30), 27th Dec. 1921.; *Bombay Samáchár* (56), 30th Dec. 1921.

46. The *Sánj Vartamán* takes appreciative note of the address delivered by Hakim Ajmalkhan as President of the Khilafat Conference held at Ahmedabad and opines that it echoes the sentiments of the Indian Moslems and shows them the right path besides presenting them a hopeful view of the situation. The paper then proceeds to take note of the compromise that is likely to be effected by France, Italy and Greece with Turkey and remarks that it now solely rests with England to conclude a just peace with Turkey by giving up the mandates she possesses over Mesopotamia and Palestine, The paper, in conclusion, endorses the appeal made by the President to the Indian Moslems to carry on their agitation in a non-violent manner and to help the Angora Fund. [The *Bombay Samáchár* also takes an appreciative note of the presidential address delivered by Hakim Ajmalkhan and while endorsing his views on the Khilafat question hopes that England will recognise the advisability of granting the just and moderate demands of the Indian Moslems and winning over their hearts so that she may not have to undergo the humiliation of granting the same under pressure from the federation of Islamic States.]

Comments on the conviction of Mr. Jeramdas Doulatram of Hyderabad (Sind).

Bharatwasi (157), 22nd Dec. 1921 ; *Hindu* (160), 22nd Dec. 1921.

47. We are surprised at the conviction of Mr. Jeramdas. We believe Government has committed a great blunder in taking this step. The conviction of Mr. Jeramdas will only give a fresh impetus to the non-co-operation movement. On the other hand, the removal of a such a cool-headed man from our midst at the present time is an act on which we cannot compliment Government. We wonder why Government now takes action for writings which are nothing more than strong criticisms of Government's measures. The article which was the subject of Mr. Jeramdas' prosecution no doubt contained a serious allegation against Government. But the same allegation had appeared in Mahatma Gandhi's *Young India* and was republished in the *Hindu* of 26th November last. In our view it would be better if Government resorted to the law of sedition much less freely than they do now. Another point on which we would draw Government's attention is that the Magistrate acted illegally in refusing to allow Mr. Jeramdas to make his statement. This he did at the instance of the District Superintendent of Police, between whom and the Magistrate whisperings were going on throughout the proceedings, a circumstance which does not accord with the traditions of a British Court of justice. The District Magistrate went through the matter with indecent hurry and the conduct of the District Superintendent of Police at the end of the proceedings was marked by no less hurry. In this connection we compliment Mr. Tahilram, the Deputy Superintendent, on his courteous and cool manner throughout the trial. We would ask Gora officials to remember that unless they change their ways there will be greater excitement among the people. [The *Hindu* writes:—Having regard to the recent writings of the *Hindu* every one expected that its editor will be prosecuted sooner or later. Mr. Jeramdas himself admitted that he was a seditionist. In these circumstances the Magistrate rightly had no option but to convict the man. It is a pity that Lord Reading has not kept his promise in the matter of prosecutions for sedition. He distinctly gave the people to understand that no action would be taken for a seditious writing unless it was an incitement to violence. We would at the same time suggest that in convictions for political offences the sentences should not be severe. The imprisonment should always be simple and for a short time. Heavy sentences are construed by the people as proceeding from vindictiveness on the part of Gora Magistrates. We are led to these observations by the sentence passed on Mr. Jeramdas. The Magistrate sentenced him for two years' rigorous imprisonment—the maximum period to which he could sentence him.]

Comments on the steps taken against the *Independent* under the Press Act.

Kesari (110), 27th Dec. 1921.

48. The *Kesari* refers to the forfeiture of the *Independent's* security by the U. P. Government and the further imposition of a security of Rs. 10,000 and says that to use a measure which is about to be repealed for throttling an outspoken organ like the *Independent* was wicked. And yet, the paper remarks, the Viceroy has been declaring that no repression is being exercised but only the ordinary laws are being enforced. It points out that even ordinary and harmless provisions can be enforced in a satanic manner as evidenced by the way in which the people are being harried by the use of sections 107, 108 and 144 of the Criminal Procedure Code, and sections 58, 61 and 65 of the Police Act. Bludgeon rule cannot be excused, it says, simply on the ground that only old laws are being enforced. Government should remember, it says, that there are limits to the people's patience.

Sind Observer (9), 23rd Dec. 1921.

49. "The *Independent*, of Allahabad, has stopped publication. The Punjab Government has warned the newspapers of the province against the danger of publishing even news items that may look objectionable in the eyes of the censors at the Secretariat. No campaign of repression is ever complete, we will not say successful, without stern action against the Press. The Indian Press, specially of the Extremist variety, is considered to be the breeding ground of sedition, and at a time of crisis it receives special attention. The Press Act is not dead, and it may yet do a lot of good work before it finally takes its farewell! .... When closely censored official news is published, nobody believes it, and the unrest is not allayed. We are convinced from a fairly long experience that an indiscriminate control of news and the wholesale operation of the Press Act do more harm to the peace of the country than the evil which is intended to be suppressed. More over the sympathy created for the conductors of the journals punished or suppressed, the publicity they receive as martyrs, and the money that pours to them far outweighs the evil that could ever be done by them."

England's proposal to modify the Treaty of Sevres.

Kesari (110), 27th Dec. 1921.

50. The *Kesari* declares that England's reported proposal for modification of the Treaty of Sevres in such a way as to conciliate Muslim public opinion, is prompted by selfish motives. It declares that England's proclaimed anxiety to conciliate the Muslims is all pretence and points out that if it really wishes to make amends for its breach of faith in the matter of the Khilafat, it should come to terms with Angora and evacuate Mesopotamia, Arabia and Palestine. If, in the paper's opinion, England does not do that, peace will not be established and the conflagration will spread beyond the limits of Turkey.

MUNICIPALITIES.

Futility of the forcible seizure of the school buildings of the non-co-operating Municipalities.

Kesari (110), 27th Dec. 1921.

51. The *Kesari* declares that the steps recently adopted by the Commissioner, N. D., for taking forcible possession of the school buildings of the Ahmedabad, Surat and Nadiad non-co-operating Municipalities are likely to prove futile as shown by the fact that in Surat not even one hundred boys out of a total of nine thousands on the rolls attended the reopening of the schools by Government on the 19th December to receive the education provided by the house-breaking authorities.

Gujaráti (14), 25th Dec. 1921.

52. The *Gujaráti* questions the legality of the step taken by Mr. Pratt, Commissioner, N. D., in taking possession of the Municipal Schools at Nadiad, Ahmedabad and Surat by forcibly breaking open the locks, and wishes that he had obtained an injunction from the court for doing so. The paper points out that the Municipalities of Surat and Nadiad had entrusted the management of the schools to the National Education League and that Mr. Pratt, by his arbitrary action, has committed the offences of trespass and house-breaking and wonders what punishment the Bombay Government are going to inflict upon him for these offences. The paper exhorts parents and guardians not to send their children to schools which Government are going to conduct to express their resentiment of the high-handed action of Government.

Comments on the attitude of the Surat Municipality towards the question of Government control of Municipal Schools.

Gujarát Mitra (15), 25th Dec. 1921., Eng. cols.

53. "The efficiency of the local Municipality as a public body which for some time past gave evidence of conscious neglect has been reduced to a pass when the more sensible among the people and the ratepayers are beginning to feel apprehensive about its future.......... The assumption by it of an attitude of undisguised and open defiance to Government authority and control in respect of the latter's powers under the Act for Primary Education has been a series of breaches of the provisions of law, and which has culminated last week in the Commissioner, N. D., being forced to set into motion the provisions of the Act for taking possession of Municipal Primary Schools in the city, whose control the Municipality had resolved to transfer by a mere stroke of the pen to an unknown, irresponsible and unrecognised body.......... No one is more genuinely sorry than ourselves for being obliged to speak so plainly as we have done in regard to the conduct of the Municipality which has overstepped the due bounds of law in transferring wholesale its control besides giving away a large sum of Rs. 40,000 of the public funds in its charge to an unrecognised body. The liability, both collectively and individually, for this seemingly open misappropriation of what they held as trustees of the ratepayers is, needless to say, both civil and criminal on all such as have voted the resolution of the Municipality, and no Government which has a stake in the country can pass over a breach of the law unconcerned or without proceeding against the delinquents in the manner it should."

SHEIKH YAKUB VAZIR MOHAMED,
Oriental Translator to Government.

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